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WILHELM GEIGER †

CULTURE OF CEYLON IN MEDIAEVAL TIMES

EDITED BY HEINZ BECHERT



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1960

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

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Editor's Introduction

Wilhelm GEIGER (1856—1943) was one of the last prominent representatives of the old school of orientalism in the pioneering period of oriental research. Iranian philology and Indology were the two vast fields of study which he mastered with equal thoroughness. His first significant works lie in the field of Iranian philology¹). Undoubtedly the interests of his teacher, Friedrich SPIEGEL, were decisive for the choice of his special sphere of research, yet the complete independence of his scholarly work is obvious from the very beginning. He was always keener to open up new fields of research than to continue working on questions which had already undergone a more or less thorough investigation.

In the field of Indology²) the influence of GEIGER's friend and predecessor in the chair of Indology in Munich, Ernst W. A. KUHN, was important. KUHN made him aware of two problems. Their solution at this point was imperative for the future development of research in Indology. First, a treatment of the grammar of Pali, and secondly, an investigation into the linguistic and literary history of Sinhalese. GEIGER's book on Pali grammar (1916) has probably become his most widely read work. The late Swedish scholar, Helmer SMITH (1882—1956), who may well be considered a scholar whose profound knowledge of Pali and its linguistic and literary history has never been surpassed, accounts for his refusal to write a new grammar of Pali, in spite of GEIGER's request, in the following words³):

“Daß von einer (auch sehr elementaren) Paligrammatik keine Rede sein kann, ist klar. Die Ihrige ist doch besser als sie jemand in der jetzigen Generation schreiben könnte; und die Detail-Verbesserungen stehen, so denke ich mir, schon in Ihrem Handexemplar. Ein Geiger² würde das Feld noch 20 Jahre lang behaupten — und zwar in deutscher Sprache; denn ein Franzose, Engländer oder Hindu, der kein Deutsch versteht, sollte sich nicht mit Pali und ähnlichem beschäftigen.”

In 1954 Franklin EDGERTON remarked in his contribution to “Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich WELLER” (edited by Joh. SCHUBERT and Ulrich SCHNEIDER),

¹) This aspect of GEIGER's work has been appreciated by H. H. SCHAEFER, ZDMG, vol. 98 (1944), p. 171—180 (= UCR, VIII p. 16—21).

²) See also W. WÜST, Wilhelm Geiger, ZDMG, vol. 98 (1944), p. 169—171 (with reference to other biographical notices); H. v. GLASENAPP, Wilhelm Geiger als Indologe, ib. 181—188 (= UCR, VIII, p. 21—25).

³) A brief but comprehensive appreciation of the work of Helmer SMITH has been given by I. B. HORNER in “Report of the Pali Text Society for 1956.”

which appeared under the title 'The Middle Indic verb system' (with reference to attempts made since GEIGER to treat the grammar of Pali):

"Wilhelm Geiger's is still the best grammar of Pali, and perhaps the best fullscale, exhaustive grammar of any Middle Indic dialect. There is no need to extol Geiger's merits . . ." (p. 79).

It is necessary to add here that GEIGER wrote this grammar in less than a year and a half. Richard Otto FRANKE, who had originally been in charge of the edition of this volume of "Grundriß der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde (Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research)", had not finished the work, the completion of which had by then become an urgent necessity.

GEIGER was destined to take over this task because he had already compiled an extensive glossary for a dictionary of Pali, which he enlarged considerably later on. This collection was never published. I was able to find out that the glossary of GEIGER contains more than three times as many references as 'The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary', edited by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and William STEDE. Only about one-sixth of the references collected by GEIGER are also to be found in the dictionary mentioned above. GEIGER's glossary was originally planned as his contribution to this dictionary, and we certainly cannot put the blame on GEIGER that his work was not made use of. Even now the publication of GEIGER's glossary would appear most desirable. His famous treatment "Pali Dhamma vornehmlich in der kanonischen Literatur" (published jointly with his wife Magdalene GEIGER in 1920), which is based on this collection, gives an idea of the wealth of material GEIGER has collected.

Since 1890 GEIGER had been exploring a field which though almost unknown till then, proved to be rich and rewarding: This was his study of the literature and language of the Sinhalese. The importance of his linguistic studies, which were first collected tentatively in his "Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen" in 1900, have been generally recognised. Apart from being a most impressive work as a whole, it marks the beginning of strictly methodical research in this field. GEIGER immediately recognised the importance of seemingly irrelevant problems such as the Maldivian language, the Roḍiya language and the Vadda language for clarifying the extremely complex linguistic history of Sinhalese. His exhaustive studies have brought to a conclusion in the comprehensive treatment of the Sinhalese language in his "Grammar of the Sinhalese Language" in 1938. It is hardly necessary to mention his work as director of the "Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language" since 1931. Considerable difficulties had to be overcome before the first fascicle appeared in March 1935. His last visit to Ceylon (the third one) also helped the preparations to this enterprise. The fruitful collaboration with Sinhalese scholars, especially with D. B. JAYATILAKA and Julius DE LANEROLLE and the continuation of the work for this great undertaking were interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War. Nevertheless, the Dictionary Office in Colombo agreed in 1941 to publish (under the direction of Julius DE LANEROLLE) the revised version of the "Etymological Glossary of the Sinhalese Language" which GEIGER had prepared for publication in 1937-38. In Germany nothing was known of the publication of this work for several years after the

war. When war broke out in 1939 GEIGER had handed over the European part in the direction of the work on the "Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language" to Helmer SMITH, with whom he had collaborated for many decades¹).

Apart from his linguistic studies, we must consider GEIGER's contribution to cultural history. In the past the opinion has been expressed that the ultimate goal of his development was the understanding of Zarathustra and Buddha. Yet I believe this interpretation is wrong. His final aim was the understanding of the entire scope of the living culture and of cultural history. The investigation of the linguistic development and the literary history was the first step. (Also his and his wife's work "Die zweite Dekade der Rasavāhini" [Sitzungsber. d. Bayr. Ak. d. Wiss., Phil. u. hist. Kl., Jg. 1918, 5] is clearly connected with his interest in Ceylon.) No less important was editing and translating the great chronicle of Ceylon, the Mahāvamsa and its continuations. Further research was necessary into its sources and into the history of its compilation²). The next requirement was a personal acquaintance with the country. GEIGER had visited Ceylon three times. It was as the result of the experience of his first journey to Ceylon in 1895—1896 that he devoted himself so intensively to the study of Sinhalese culture. We learn of the deep impression that it made on him in his description of his journey ("Ceylon. Tagebuchblätter und Reiseerinnerungen", Wiesbaden 1898). The second journey in 1925—26 was closely connected with the last phase of his work on the Mahāvamsa. In his book "Unter tropischer Sonne" (Bonn 1930), unfortunately too little read, we find not only an accurate account of his impressions of this visit but also a number of important observations on the history and culture of the country³). Afterwards he was able to complete this decisive part of his life-work with the second part of the translation of the Cūlavamsa.

If we consider the list of GEIGER's published works in the following years we find a series of linguistic investigations, and, above all, his work on the Dictionary and his new Sinhalese Grammar (1938). With these his name is deeply inscribed in the history of Sinhalese philology. But, in accordance with his final aim, after his investigation into the history of the Sinhalese, a commentary on their cultural history was to be expected. Hans Heinrich SCHAEDEER wrote in his obituary notice: "Das Leben von Kulturen in der ganzen Fülle ihrer stofflichen und geistigen Hervorbringung war es, das ihn fesselte"⁴). As GEIGER formerly had written his "Ostirānische Kultur im Altertum", published 1882 in Erlangen ("Civilisation of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times", London 1885), so now he wrote his work "Culture of Ceylon", and the present volume

¹) On the 2nd of July 1933 GEIGER had already proposed Helmer SMITH as successor in directing the Dictionary.

²) GEIGER's works on this subject are found in the bibliographical summary of GEIGER's work on Ceylon, below, p. 257. GEIGER himself draws attention in his Preface p. XXI to his investigations into the trustworthiness of the Mahāvamsa. From further research into the sources of the Sinhalese chronicles further results are of course to be expected; Professor Erich FRAUWALLNER informs me that he is preparing an investigation into these problems. Pali

³) Plates II—IV of the present volume have been taken from this work (p. 126, 152 and 53) with some slight alterations.

⁴) ZDMG, vol. 98 (1944), p. 172.

proves that this development was brought to its natural conclusion. It had been completed in autumn 1940. We may consider it to be the fulfilment of this scholar's unusually rich life. GEIGER was thus able to give his work an organic unity. His purpose was to give a picture of the culture of the Sinhalese people in its prime. The first preparatory works are to be found in the extensive glossaries concerning the cultural history at the end of his translation of the *Cūlavamsa*. He did not deal with the political history of Ceylon in his last great work. Instead he was able to refer mainly to his translation of the great chronicle, which, with its extensive comments, is an inexhaustible source. Later developments after the arrival of the Europeans lie to a great extent outside the limits GEIGER had set for his work. (See below, p. 22). His two treatises written for the Munich Academy published in the year 1941 and 1942 are to be considered the last supplements to the most important part of his life-work: the investigation of the language, history and culture of the Sinhalese people in Ceylon, the country which had become his spiritual home.

Certainly few scholars have rounded off their life-work as GEIGER was able to do. After the completion of the works mentioned above — he wrote a short but comprehensive review last of all¹⁾ — he considered his life-work as complete. He then returned to Iranian philology, the field of interest of his youth, and attempted a new translation of Firdosi's *Schahname*. He did not however intend to publish this translation: he was motivated merely by pleasure in the work for its own sake. This return to the interest of his youth was not merely sentimental but a symbol of his perfectly rounded off life.

The existence of the great treatises which are being published here, was hitherto unknown. A happy coincidence led me to the discovery of the manuscript. It was for the most part ready for the printer. Though many years have gone by, this work does not seem to have lost its impact. Since the death of GEIGER the development of Taprobanology in Europe has rested practically on Helmer SMITH's shoulders alone. Also Helmer SMITH has concentrated mainly on the linguistic field. One can say that his treatise "Wilhelm Geiger et le Vocabulaire du Singalais Classique" (*Journal Asiatique* 1950, p. 177—223) is the most impressive monument to GEIGER's memory.

It is true that several works on the culture, history and the religion of Ceylon have appeared in the meantime in Ceylon, but these have not made GEIGER's work any the less important, particularly because GEIGER had a clearly defined aim: to describe the mediaeval culture of Ceylon mainly based on the *Mahāvamsa*. During the last few years, several attempts have been made to describe in a similar way the status of culture and society of past times in India and Ceylon based on certain other texts. The reader should, however, notice that priority belongs to GEIGER's work, though its publication was delayed for 19 years. With reference to Ceylon, two monographs must be mentioned: Ralph PRERIS, *Sinhalese Social Organization, The Kandyan Period*, Colombo 1956, and, M. B. ARIYAPALA, *Society in Mediaeval Ceylon*, Colombo 1956, the latter based mainly on Sinhalese texts of the thirteenth century. It was, of course, impossible to take into consideration the whole of the informations produced by these studies while editing GEIGER's work. I was, how-

¹⁾ ZDMG, vol. 96 (1942), p. 367, to M. LA FUENTE, Piritnula.

ever, enabled by a research studentship awarded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft to add some more notes and references during a stay in Ceylon from May 1958 to May 1959. Passages and notes added or substantially altered by the editor have been marked at the end by "Ed".

On the other hand it seemed to me important, to add a list of the Sinhalese kings and the dates, of their reign according to GEIGER's chronology. Although these dates are in part not definitely established¹), it is useful to have this list in the present volume, because there is an inner connection between it and GEIGER's chronology. I have also added GEIGER's supplements to his translation of the Mahāvamsa and the Cūlavamsa. Both works have been reprinted in recent years without any alteration. It is therefore very necessary that GEIGER's supplements and alterations should be made available to the reader, so that it is possible to make use of his translations in their final form. As a basis for this, I have used GEIGER's own copy with marginal notes.

GEIGER wrote his work in English so that it would be more accessible to the readers in Ceylon and in India. We may also suppose that publication seemed to him improbable in Germany at that time. In any case his work was to be published in English and consequently, the supplement and the introduction have also been written in English²).

Mr. Len van GEYZEL did not spare time or trouble to read the manuscript in its entirety and to offer helpful advice concerning the style of the language employed. Without his unselfish efforts the present edition of GEIGER's book would not have become a reality. Therefore my best thanks are due to him. Further I wish to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Frau Geheimrat Magdalene GEIGER and my gratitude for her generous help. I also wish to thank Professor H. HUMBACH and Dr. Claus HAEBLER for reading the proofs and for several useful suggestions. Last not least, I should like to express my gratitude to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for providing a subvention for the publication of this work.

May the last work of Wilhelm GEIGER find due appreciation and gain new friends for the culture of Ceylon.

Saarbrücken

Heinz Bechert

Numbers with no further explanation refer to the Mahāvamsa; the letters and numbers in parentheses by geographical names in Part One refer to the plan of Ceylon, Plate I. Small numbers appended to names indicate the difference between two or more persons or places having the same name and occurring in the same paragraph; e. g. Ānanda¹, Ānanda².

¹) See below, GEIGER's Preface, p. XXII.

²) I am thankful to Frä. Annette KUHN for her friendly assistance.

Author's Preface

The present description of the mediaeval culture of Ceylon is in general based on the Mahāvamsa. As to the composition of this chronicle which altogether consists of four parts, I refer to § 66. For my subject mostly the second of these parts, chapter 37, v. 51—ch. 79, v. 84, composed by Dhammakitti in the thirteenth century, had to be taken into consideration. But often I had recourse to the ancient Mahāvamsa whenever I wished to trace the origin of a later idea or institution, and was looking into modern times when it seemed to be necessary to know the final result of an evolution.

I need not say much about the trustworthiness of the chronicle, but I may refer to what I said in former treatises: 1. Introduction to the translation of the Mahāvamsa (Pali Text Society 1912) and Cūlavamsa, vol. I (ib. 1929); 2. Dīpavamsa und Mahāvamsa, passim (1905, Engl. trsl. of Ethel M. Coomaraswamy 1908); 3. Noch einmal Dīpavamsa und Mahāvamsa, Zeitschr. D. Morgenl. Gesellsch. 63, p. 540—50, 1909; 4. Die Quellen des Mahāvamsa, Zeitschr. für Indologie und Iranistik 7, p. 259—69, 1929; 5. The Trustworthiness of the Mahāvamsa, Indian Historical Quarterly 6, p. 205—28, 1939. With progressive investigation my standpoint has not been altered, but merely confirmed.

The opinion of the scholars who are engaged in the study of Sinhalese history seems now to be in the main unanimous. On the whole the Mahāvamsa is a trustworthy chronicle. Its authors wish to tell the truth. But owing to the fact that they represent the one-sided mentality of Buddhist priests, a sound and cautious criticism can never be dispensed with. The main shortcoming is that the chroniclers take no notice of many objects which would be of greatest interest for us, because they were of no interest for them.

The value of the different parts of the Mahāvamsa is different; that composed by Dhammakitti has perhaps mostly the character of an historical chronicle, though in the description of the life and deeds of his favourite hero, Parakkamabāhu I, the author sometimes imitated older literary works he had studied, as for instance the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra. The third part of the chronicle which is the source of our knowledge of the last centuries of the mediaeval period is hardly inferior to the preceding portion, but the exaggerations and poetical embellishments in the account of Parakkamabāhu II's reign appear to have increased in comparison with the corresponding passages in Dhammakitti's work. The most modern portion of the chronicle is at the same time the most indifferent part. It does not come at all into account as source of historical information.

The first portion, the ancient Mahāvamsa, affords particular difficulties. There is in its older half a mixture of legends and historical truth; with Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's reign only, in the last century B. C. we reach a firmer ground. But it would be too rash simply to set aside those ancient legends, for they often contain a kernel of history wrapped up in the tales and inventions of a pious tradition. It is an indispensable and at the same time enticing task to unwrap that kernel, though what we have found out will be merely conjectural and at the best a working hypothesis.

We possess now two complete translations of the whole Mahāvamsa, the older one made by G. Turnour and the Mudaliyar L. C. Wijesinha (1889), and the other published by myself in three volumes (Mahāvamsa 1912, Cūlavamsa I, 1929 and II, 1930). Unprejudiced readers will admit, I hope, that my translation represents a progress, philologically and historically, in comparison with the older translations. But I do not make a personal merit of this fact, for Pāli science and our knowledge of Sinhalese history have immensely advanced in the mean time and I had in my work the benefit of efficacious assistance from different sides.

I remember with sincere gratitude the liberality of the British government which enabled me with my wife to visit the most important historical places in Ceylon, Tissamahārāma and Mahiyaṅgaṇa included, and in the company with, and under the guidance of, Mr. Sudbury and the late lamented Mr. A. M. Hocart the monuments and ruins of Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva, of Veherabāṇḍigala, Riṭigala, Avkana-vihāra, Sīgiri, Yāpahu, Arankālē and Dambadeniya. Thus I was able to get a lively picture of the scenery of numerous events told in the chronicle. Nevertheless I frankly confess that I by no means am content with my translation of the Mahāvamsa. There are many details which I did not well understand nor render in a correct form. I am sorry, I underestimated the difficulty of the task which perhaps may be carried out in a satisfactory manner only in Ceylon itself. One meets in the chronicle, chiefly in the Cūlavamsa, as it is not furnished with a commentary, again and again with objects, notices and terms which are unknown and unintelligible to a European, but may easily be explained by a native scholar. I corrected some of the mistakes I made in the translation at the end of the present work in Additional Notes, and one may see therein how much, for instance, I am indebted to my venerated friend Buddhadatta Thera of Ambalangoḍa for useful informations. [These additional notes have been inserted at the required place in the main-work itself.] If I had been able to consult such authorities whenever I was hesitating and conjecturing during my translation work, many of those errors would have been avoided. Now we must hope that sooner or later a new edition of my translation will be required which can be improved with the help of the numerous corrections and additions entered into the copy of my personal use. [These corrections and additions are printed below, p. 228 sq.].

As to the chronology of the ancient and mediaeval history of Ceylon the dates are by no means so certain as it may seem to the reader of my book. But in order to avoid confusion I gave them provisionally in concordance with the list printed in my translation of the Cūlavamsa II, p. IX—XV. [See below, p. 223 sq.].

Many proper names occur in the various documents in two or three different forms: Sanskrit, Pāli, Sinhalese. Such names are:

I. Sanskrit	II. Pāli	III. Sinhalese
1. Agrabodhi	Aggabodhi	Agbō (Akbō)
2. [Dustagrāmaṇi]	Duṭṭhagāmaṇi	Duṭṭugāmuṇu
3. Kāśyapa	Kassapa	Kasuba
4. Kirtisīrimeghavarṇa	Kittisīrimeghavarṇa	Kitsirimōvan
5. Parākramabāhu	Parakkamabāhu	Pārakumbā
5. Śilāmeghavarṇa	Silāmeghavarṇa	Salamēvan
7. Śrīvallabha	Sirivallabha
8. Śrīsaṅghabodhi	Sirisanghabodhi	Sirisaṅgbō

For the sake of uniformity I followed the Mahāvamsa adopting the Pāli forms. Many names do not occur except in that chronicle. The Pāli forms also suit very well for the ancient period of time up to the sixth or seventh century. For the later part of the mediaeval era the Sinhalese form of the names might perhaps be preferable, and for the pompous names assumed by the kings the Sanskrit forms, but change is not allowable.

In a few points I must in advance beg the reader's forbearance. He will excuse, I hope, slight inconsistencies in the spelling of modern topographical names. Generally I adopted the forms used in the Census of Ceylon, but in some often quoted names I wrote *n*, *t*, *d*, when the cerebral was historical, instead of *n*, *t*, *d*, and *ā* which is so characteristic for the Sinhalese language instead of *e*, as in Mahavāliganga, Dāduru-oya, &c. Repetitions are irksome in a scientific work. I was, therefore, anxious to avoid them. But in a book like the present they are sometimes inevitable, because often the same subject and the same passage of the text comes into consideration from a different point of view and in a different connexion.

Some portions of my work were already printed before, as the chapter on army and war in the Indian Historical Quarterly XIV, 1938, and other chapters in the Journal of the Greater India Society II, III, IV, V, 1935—38. They reappear in the present book with modifications and emendations.

Now I put this book into the hands of my many friends in India and Ceylon and into those of my European colleagues who are engaged in the same or similar studies. It will not be free from errors and mistakes, and critics will perhaps find fault with it regarding its general plan or in details. But it is written with studiousness and true interest. In the course of a long life I ever more became a sincere friend of the wide Indian world and its people, and an admirer of its fascinating history. Now I can say that it is my mental home, as it were, and my second fatherland. It would be the best reward for my whole work, if I could contribute a little bit to the elucidation of its languages and its ancient culture.

München-Neubiberg

Wilhelm Geiger

Part One: Geographical Background

On the geography of Ceylon two scientific monographs have appeared in recent times: A Geography of Ceylon, by Miss Elsie K. COOK, Madras 1931, and Ceylon, seine natürl. Landschaftsbilder und Landschaftstypen, by Dr. O. F. TIMMERMANN, *Mittel. d. Geogr. Gesellsch. München* XXVIII, 169—323, 1935. They are the basis of the present description¹). For the historical topography I refer to H. W. CODRINGTON, Notes on Ceylon Topography in the twelfth century, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceyl. Br.*, XXIX, No. 75, p. 62 sq., and XXX, No. 78, p. 70 sq., 1922 and 1925²).

1. Ceylon is essentially a part of the Dekkan, the vast plateau of South India, and consists geologically of a solid mass of Pre-Cambrian crystalline rock, chiefly Biotitgneiss with bands of white crystalline limestone. It stands on a continental shelf, which at a distance of five to twenty-five miles from the present shore abruptly descends to the general level of the Indian Ocean. In its North-Western part the island is connected with the continent. Here we have the shallow sea of Palk's Strait, better Palk's Bay, from which Mannär Island and in its continuation a series of rocky excrescences rise above the level of the ocean, forming the so-called Adam's Bridge, by which now-a-days a direct communication with the continent has been made possible.

The area of Ceylon is 25,232 square miles, that is 2000 square miles more than that of the Indian peninsula of Kathiawar, and a little more than that of Belgium and the Netherlands taken together. It is pearshaped, broadening to the South, and its greatest length from South to North is 270 miles, and its greatest breadth 140 miles.

From the point of view of relief Ceylon can be divided into three parts, 1. the lowlands or coastal area, lying below 300 feet, 2. the uplands between 300 and 1200 feet, and 3. the highlands in the centre of the island above 1200 feet. The ascent from one level to the other is often very steep. In the South and South-East especially the highlands rise in a wall-like structure from a broad upland terrace, whilst towards the North the hill ridges gradually merge into the lowlands.

¹) See also Norbert KREBS, *Vorderindien und Ceylon*, Stuttgart 1939; S. F. DE SILVA, *A Regional Geography of Ceylon*², Colombo 1954 (Editor.).

²) Cf. now: C. W. NICHOLAS, *Historical Topography of Ancient and Mediaeval Ceylon*, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceyl. Br., New. Ser.*, Vol. VI, Special Number, 1959. See also B. J. PERERA, *The Foreign Trade etc., I. The Ports of Ancient Ceylon*, *Ceylon Histor. Journal*, Vol. I, p. 109 sq. For the population, see N. D. WIJESSEKERA, *The People of Ceylon*, Colombo (1949); P. K. CHANMUGAM, *Anthropometry of Sinhalese and Ceylon Tamils*, *Ceylon Journ. of Science*, sect. G, IV, p. 1 sq. (Ed.).

Away from the central mass of land there is in the South-West of the island, in the province of Sabaragamuva, a series of lower parallel ridges, stretching from SE. to NW. and culminating in the peak of Gongola, 4465 feet. They are called 'Rakvana hills'. The rivers flow between the ridges which generally rise from 1500 to 3000 feet, in the same Northwesterly direction, breaking through them here and there.

2. The structure of the highlands is rather complex. They consist of a series of high plateaux, the Kandy plateau, between 2000 and 3000 feet, in its Northern portion, the Hatton plateau in the West with the Horton Plains in the South, and the basin of Uva, with an average height of 3000 feet, in the East. The plateaux are crossed in different directions by rivers which flow in deep cut narrow valleys, and lined with higher ridges. In the shallow curve of the Southern wall there rise in the West the imposing Adam's Peak, 7360 feet, and in the East the nine-pointed peak of Namunukula, 6679; in the middle between the two Kirigalpota, 7857 feet. The highest mountain of the whole system is Pidurutalagala, 8292 feet, rising nearly in its centre between the Hatton plateau and the Uva basin, 24 miles, as the crow flies, SSE. of Kandy.

Of all these mountains Adam's Peak alone is mentioned in the Mahāvamsa with the name *Sumanakūta* (38). It is called so after its tutelary deity, the deva Sumana. Ancient legends (cf. Mhvs 1.33 sq.) seem to prove that the mountain was a place of worship in the Pre-Aryan era. Up to the present it is visited by innumerable pilgrims, even by kings (cf. 80.24; 85.118 &c), though the road was difficult and dangerous. Devappaṭirāja, a minister of Parakkamabāhu II, 13th cent., had been ordered to repair this road which was obstructed in many places by swamps and jungle (86.9, 18 sq.). He started from Gangā-siripura (Gampola) (34) and ascended the valley of the Mahavāli-ganga, building bridges near Ullapanaggāma, now Ulapane, and Ambaggāma, now Ambagamuva, and in other places. Higher up, the road must have changed from the valley of the Mahavāli-ganga (14) to that of Kehelgamuva-river, since already Vijayabāhu I, 1059—1114, had rest-houses built on the path past Kadaligāma (60.64 sq.).

Such was the route for the pilgrims approaching Adam's Peak from the West. There was also a road for those who came from Hūva (Uva), i. e. from the East. Here, too, rest-houses had been erected by Vijayabāhu I (60.66). We may infer from this fact that there were colonists in the Uva basin as early as the eleventh century, or we have to assume that pilgrims coming from Rohaṇa took the road through the Hūva district.

Between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries the name *Sumanakūta* alternates in the chronicle with *Samantakūta*, perhaps because the peak is visible from all sides (*samantato*).

3. In the uplands, as also in the lowlands and in the flatter valleys of the hill country the surface is everywhere clothed with deposits which are the product of the breaking up of the crystalline rock. The deposits chiefly consist of laterite (TIMMERMANN, p. 237 sq.), but also brick clay and pottery clay are found in many parts of the Island. An old name of Ceylon or at least of that part of it where the Aryan colonists first landed, Tambapanni, points to the red colour of the laterite (*tambā* = Sk. *tāmra*) which is so characteristic in many districts

where the red roads contrast wonderfully with the green foliage of the gardens, and red clouds of dust whirl up in the wind, when the surface of the soil has been dried by the sun.

The rock underlying the deposits is very uneven and in the flat country everywhere ancient hill summits or isolated gneiss rocks peep through them, a typical feature of the landscape in the upland and lowland districts.

Such hills or groups of hills in the North are Mihintalē E. of Anurādhapura (17) and Riṭigala (18), 2520 feet, 24 miles SE. of the same place. In South-East Ceylon there is the rocky ridge, E. of Buttala, stretching from S. to N., with Miminnihela, 2118 feet as its highest point, and a series of hills along the right bank of the Mahavāliganga, ending with Dimbulāgala (cf. 5). In the Western lowlands there is the imposing ridge the so-called Elephant rock, at the foot of which is the town of Kurunāgala.

Typical examples of isolated rocks ('gneiss-blocks') are Sigiri (20), 19 miles SE. of Riṭigala, and in the Western uplands Vākirigala (Vātagiri) and Beligala, SE. and W. of Kāgalla, and Yāpahu (27) near Māhō. In the South-East is Govindasela (40), by the English called Westminster Abbey, Kataragama (43) near the village bearing the same name, and not far from the South coast Situlpavva (Cittalapabbata, 44).

On the top of such isolated hills or rocks the Buddhist ascetics liked to erect monasteries and temples. Mihintalē E. of Anurādhapura is rich in monuments and was therefore called Cetiya-giri or Cetiya-pabbata. In Pre-Buddhist times its name was Missaka (Mhvs 13.14, 20). On it, according to tradition, the holy doctrine was first expounded and therefore the hill is sacred to all Buddhists. On the Ariṭṭha-pabbata (Riṭigala, 18), ruins of an archaic type were discovered in what is now absolute wilderness. On Situlpavva (the old Cittalapabbata, 44), a monastery was erected (Mhvs 45.59).

Such rocks were often fortified in time of war, as e. g. Sigiri, old Sihagiri (20), in an admirable manner already in the fifth century by King Kassapa I Vākirigala-Vātagiri is mentioned as a fortress at the time of Vijayabāhu I, 1059—1114, who took refuge there from the Coḷas (58.31; cf. also 60.39). During his time Vijayabāhu IV built a splendid palace on the summit of this mountain, and afterwards he built a vihāra on the same high rock (88.43—47). During the alien rule of the usurper Māgha, the Govinda-sela¹) was fortified by a general of prince Bhuvanekabāhu (81.4) and Subhagiri (27), i. e. Yāpahu, by the general Subha (81.2). In later times such fortresses often became the nucleus of new towns founded by kings and taken by them as their residence (cf. below in 57).

4. The old name of the highlands was Malaya (D) which is also the name of a hilly country in Southern India. According to the Mahāvamsa (70.3 sq.). Malaya was still wilderness in the twelfth century. It was difficult to penetrate owing to the inaccessibility of the mountains and danger from wild animals, and was shut off from intercourse with other men, being traversed only by footpaths, which presented all kind of perils, and dangerous for rivers full of man-eating crocodiles. Malaya therefore was often the refuge of criminals who

¹) Its name is Govindasela or Govindācala, not Govindamala. The local name is Govindahela.

fled from punishment, or, of those who during political troubles had succumbed and were living in fear of vengeance, or of rebels who used it as a base of operations.

This much is certain that Malaya was civilised considerably later than the rest of Ceylon. Civilisation and cultivation have worked their way into it from the North through the uplands along the rivers Dambuloya and Ambanganga. Here we meet traces of the culture that flourished long before the twelfth century. Jambukola (21), now Dambulla, with its celebrated cave-temples is mentioned in the eleventh century (Mhvs 60.60), and though the name of Mahātīla (25), the modern Mātālē, does not occur before the twelfth century (66.71), it was probably of much earlier date. Nearby is the Ālokalena monastery, now Alu-vihāra, where according to tradition the holy Buddhist texts were written down in the last century B. C. (cf. 65). Another place, Nālandā, the ruins of which are still visible, lies between Mātālē and Dambulla. It is mentioned as the head-quarters of Parakkambāhu in his wars with Gajabāhu and Mānābharana (70.167; 207; 72.169).

The name of the whole district was Ambavana. It occurs in 69.9 with the names of two adjoining districts, Buddhagāma in NNW. and Bodhigāmayara in SSE. Ambavana was of strategical importance because it was the boundary district of Malaya through which the highroad led from Dakṣiṇadesa (B) to Rājaraṭṭha (A) and Pulatthinagara (22). The district on the other side of the frontier was Janapada first mentioned in the eighth century (44.56) about the same time as Pulatthinagara.

Although the road was comparatively easy from Mātālē to the valley of the Mahavāliganga and the plateau of Kandy, the towns situated in the highlands, in the proper sense of the word, are all of later origin. Gangāsiripura, the modern Gampola (34), situated on the banks of the Mahavāliganga in a strategically important position, is not mentioned before the thirteenth century (Mhvs 86.18), and Kandy (32) with its old name Seṅkhaṇḍasela-Sirivaḍḍhana only in the sixteenth century (92.7). From the reign of Vimaladhammasuriya I, 1592—1604, to the end of the Sinhalese kingdom, 1815, it was its capital. Three miles from it, on the Mahavāliganga lies Peraddoṇi, now Peradeniya, mentioned in Mhvs 91.2—4 as residence of Alkonār (Alagakonnāra), the powerful minister of Vikkamabāhu IV, 1347—75, before he built Koṭṭē near Colombo.

Farther East another approach to the highlands seems to have been discovered, leading along the Mahavāliganga and its tributaries Uma-oya and Badulu-oya to the basin of Uva. But we have no information about the details of its colonisation.

It is remarkable that after the reign of Parakkamabāhu I, 12th. cent., the name Malaya no longer occurs in the Mahāvamsa. This province has now lost its separate existence; it has become part of the united kingdom. Instead of Malaya we meet with the expression 'The five Highland Districts' (*pañc'uddha-raṭṭhāni* 94.4; cf. 95.22—23). Two of these districts, Yaṭṭhikaṇḍa and Dumbara, now Dumbara, NE. of Kandy, are mentioned in 70.5 & c. 1).

¹⁾ There is a collection of references to Malaya in the Mhvs by GEIGER: a) In the older Mhvs: 7:68: The children of Kuvapaṇṇā fled to Malaya and their descendants became the Pulindas. 24.7: Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, fallen out with his father, fled to Malaya. 25.5: Duṭṭhagāmaṇi caused the roads to be reconstructed in Malaya. 28.21: A merchant goes for ginger to

5. Numerous *rivers*, flowing in all directions, have their sources in the highlands. It is a peculiarity of all of them that the amount of water varies according to the season. Whilst they very nearly dry up in the hot months, the districts adjoining their banks are often exposed to tremendous floods during the rainy season.

By far the most important is the *Mahavāliganga* (14), *Mahāvālukagaṅgā*, the 'Great Sand River' with a total length of 206 miles. It takes its origin in the Hatton district and has in its upper course a generally Northern direction. Near Kandy it turns sharply to the East, and having broken through the hills in a deep and rocky gorge it receives tributaries from the Uva basin, the Uma-oya and the Badulu-oya on the right (cf. 4). Where the Loggala-oya meets it (cf. Lokagalla, name of a district. Mhvs 74.79 sq., 166), the Mahavāliganga again turns North and leaves the highlands. For about 45 miles it is still accompanied on the left for some distance by the spurs of the highland which gradually becomes lower towards the North. On its right bank spreads the vast jungle of Bintännē broken here and there by isolated hills.

The lower course of the river from Sarōgāma to Gōkaṇṇa and its banks were in the mediaeval period often the scene of military actions in internal war, for the Mahavāliganga was the boundary between the two provinces Rājaraṭṭha and Rohaṇa and the places where the river could be forded were of strategical importance.

Ten miles N. of the confluence with the Loggala-oya on the right bank of the Mahavāliganga in ancient times the Mahiyaṅgaṇa tope (28) was erected on a spot which already was a place of worship in Pre-Aryan times as we may infer from legends told in the Mahāvamsa 1.22 sq. The small village by which the tope is now surrounded bears the modern name Alut-nuvara 'Newtown'. The name Veragantōṭa of a hamlet situated opposite to Alut-nuvara on the left bank of the Mahavāliganga seems to point to the existence of a ford (Sinh. *toṭa*) in the river near that place.

The further course of the river is little known. About 30 miles N. of Alut-nuvara there is a ford called Dāstoṭa (Sahassatittha, 24, Mhvs 87.71; 89.47 sq.), eight miles S. of Polonnaruva. Near this place the Ambanganga (14a) joins the Mahavāliganga from the left side. From it the district of Ambavana (cf 41)

Malaya. 33.62: Vaṭṭagāmaṇi with his wife Anulā fled to Malaya. 35.26, 29: The state-elephant came to Malaya, and from Malaya to Rohaṇa. 36.50 sq.: Vohārikatissa fled to Malaya and was killed by his brother Abhaya, 37.6: The bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra, deprived of their livelihood by Mahāsena, walk to Malaya and Rohaṇa. 37.18, 20: From Malaya Meghavaṇṇābhaya rebels against Mahāsena. b) In the Cūlavamsa: 41.10: Silākāla goes to Malaya, where he rebelled against the king Upatissa. 41.35 (and 42.6, 10; 44.43, 53; 46.29; 47.3; 52.68; 53.36; 59.4): Malayarāja (cf. 70.62, 155 Malayarāyara). See below, 114. 44.28: Jeṭṭhatissa, son of Saṃghatissa, fled from Moggallāna to Merukandara and Malaya (cf. 44.55, 62, 86). 48.98: Dappula, bhāgineyya of Mahinda's II father, rebels against Mahinda from Malaya 50.20: Sena I fled to Malaya. 51.8: Mahinda, brother of Sena II, fled to Malaya (cf. 51.13). 51. 112 sqq.: The rebels against Udaya II (885—96) retired to Malaya. Mahinda constructs roads through the wilderness etc. 57.47: Malaya is difficult of access. 57.57: Kittī takes Malayamaṇḍala from Rohaṇa. 58.7: Vijayabāhu (= Kittī) has a firm position in Malaya and takes Rohaṇa from there. 59.18: Rohaṇa, Malaya and Dakkhinadesa are in rebellion against Vijayabāhu. 69.31 and 70.6—30: Mahāmalya-desa and its importance in the war between Parakkamabāhu and Gajabāhu.

got its name. On the right bank the rocky Dimbulā-gala (Dhūmarakkha, Mhvs 10.53; Mhvs trsl., p. 72)¹, 'Gunner's Quoin', becomes visible, and the river itself is crossed by the Mahagantōṭa (Kacchaka-tittha, 23; Mhvs 23.17; 25.12), 6 miles E. of Polonnaruva. From here the Mahavāliganga flows the last forty miles, as the crow flies, through lowlands, often liable to tremendous floods, and falls into Koddiyar Bay near Trincomalee. This bay is called Gōkaṇṇa in the chronicle (71.18), and it seems that its shore was a place where sorcerers liked to make incantations and to practise witchcraft (41.79; 57.5)².

Second in length is the Aruvi-arū (1) with 104 miles which is the Tamil name of the river which is called Malvatu-oya in its upper course. It rises S. of Rīṭi-gala, has first a N. and afterwards a NW. direction and falls into the Gulf of Mannār. It fills the big Nāccaduva tank and flows through Anurādhapura. In the chronicle its name is Kadamba-nadī (7.43; 15.10, 191; 22.53), and Gambhīranadī that of the Kandara-oya which joins the Malvatu-oya 17 miles from Anurādhapura.

Thirty miles S. of the Aruvi-arū the Kalā-oya (2) flows into the same Gulf after a course in a Northwesterly direction of 97 miles. Its waters fill the large Kalā-vāva, situated over 20 miles S. of Anurādhapura and covering nearly seven square miles. By the channel, now called Yoda-āḷa and in ancient times Jaya-gaṅgā (79.58) this tank is connected with the tank-system of Anurādhapura. The old name of the Kalā-oya was Gōṇa-nadī. King Dhātusena had dammed it up in the fifth century when he constructed the Kāla-vāpi (38.42), and the river is, for this reason also called Kālavāpi-nadī (70.126). Apparently the Gōṇa-nadī was the frontier between the provinces of Rājaraṭṭha and Dakkhīnadesa. Kāla-nadī and Kāla-vāpi are incorrect Pali forms of the names Kalā-oya and Kalā-vāva, as if they were in Sinh. Kalu-oya and Kalu-vāva.

The next river on the West side is the Dāduru-oya (Jajjara-nadī, 3; Mhvs 68.16,37). It has its source in the hills NW. of Kandy and flows first towards the North. After it has been joined from the right side by the Kimbulvana-oya (Kumbhīlavānaka-nadī 68.32) it turns westward and falls into the sea near Chilaw after a course of 87 miles.

¹) The Dhūmarakkha mountain is Dimbulāgala, a rocky hill on the right bank of the Mahavāliganga near the ford at Mahagantōṭa (Kacchakatittha). A modern name of the hill is 'Gunner's Quoin'. Cf. H. STOREY, *Ceylon Antiquary* III, p. 4 sq., 69 sq., 229; *Epigr. Zeyl.* II. p. 184 sq., 194 sq. The Dhūmarakkha is also mentioned Mhvs 37.213'.

Accordingly p. 289³¹—290¹ of Mhvs. trsl. must be corrected thus: 'This is the Dimbulāgala, the so-called Gunner's Quoin on the right bank of the Mahavāliganga. Cf. 10.53, note'. (Instead of 'Its position is . . .').

²) There are two lists of fords of the Mahavāliganga: a) places occupied by the Damiḷas and captured by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (Mhvs 25.7—15): Mahiyaṅgana, Ambatittha, Antarāsobha, Doṇa, Hālakola, Nālisobbha, Dīghābhayagalla, Kacchatittha, Kotanagara, Vahitṭha, Kumbagāma, Nandigāma, Khānugāma, Tamba, Unnama, Jambu. b) in the conflicts of Parakkamabāhu (Mhvs 72.1 sqq.): Sarogāma, Pūnagāma, Talanīgāma, Mahārakkha (Marake), Nālikeravattu, Anantarabhaṇḍaka, Kāṇatālavana, Yakkhasūkara (Yakure), Vihāra-vejjasāla, Assamaṇḍala, Sakkharālaya, Burudatthali, Cullanāga, Niṅḍivālukā, Yāci-tagāma, Hillaputtakakhaṇḍa, Tīthagāma, Nandigāma, Hedillakhaṇḍagāma, Billagāma, Mālāgāma, Goḷabāha, Dipāla. It is difficult to join these two lists because the places are named in 25.7 sqq. mostly after their commanders (25.25). (Ed.).

We now come to the wet districts of the Island. The rainfall of Chilaw in the North-Western province is about 75 inches while further North it drops to 50 and less. From Negombo to Kalutara on the West coast it is 100 inches and over, reaching 150 inches in the hill-country, while in the neighbourhood of the Adam's Peak it is over 200. The rainfall of London is 25 inches a year (E. K. Cook, p. 115). The rivers in this part of Ceylon are never short of water, and are liable to considerable flooding in the South-West monsoon.

Such a river is the Maha-oya (4) the mouth of which is about 22 miles S. of that of the Dāduru-oya. It has its source in the hills W. of Gampola and its total length is 78 miles. The Kālaṇi-gaṅga (Kalyāṇi, 5, as name of a district, *passim*) which falls into the sea near Colombo, is longer still, being 90 miles long. One of its sources is the Kehelgamu-oya (cf. Kadali-gāma 60.66), another the Maskeliya-oya which has its origin near Adam's Peak. Much damage is often caused in the lowlands by the floods of the Kālaṇi-gaṅga.

The Kalu-gaṅga (Kaṇha-nadī 6; Mhvs 53.20), the 'Black River', is the boundary-river between Dakkhiṇadesa and Rohaṇa. It is formed by the confluence of several smaller rivers or brooks which come down from the hills near Adam's Peak. From the left side it is joined by the rivers flowing between the ridges of the Sabaragamuva hills, and reaches the coast at Kalutara after a course of 70 miles.

Smaller rivers are the Bentota-gaṅga (cf. Bhīmā-tittha, 50, in the Pañcayojana district 85.81), the Gin-gaṅga (cf. Gimha-tittha, 49; Mhvs 75.22) or river of Galle (cf. Gālu 75.34), and the Nilvala-gaṅga (cf. Nilavāla-tittha, 8; Mhvs 75.48) or river of Mātara.

The rivers in South and South-East Ceylon are the Valavē-gaṅga, 83 miles, the Kirindi-oya, 73 miles, the Māṇik-gaṅga, 81 miles, and the Kumbukkan-oya, 70 miles. They all come down from the Southern wall of the central highlands or from the terrace in front of them.

The Valavē-gaṅga (Vana-nadī, 9; Mhvs 75.156) reaches the sea near Ambalantota where in mediaeval times the second capital of Rohaṇa, Mahānā-gahula, had been built. The Kirindi-oya (Karinda-nadī, 10; Mhvs 32.14) comes from the Ālla gap, flows past Vāllavaya, W. of Buttala (Guttasālā or Guttahālaka, 41; Mhvs 24.17; 25.6; 51.109, 117 &c) and irrigates in its lowest course the large area of Tissamahārāma with Māgama, the old capital of Rohaṇa, Mahāgāma (45).

The old name of the Māṇik-gaṅga (11) was Kappakandara-nadī (Mhvs 24.22; Mhvs trsl., p. 165³³—166¹)¹. We come across it in the story of Duṭṭha-gāmaṇi's war with his brother (24.22). On its bank stands Kataragama (Kājara-gāma, 43; Mhvs 19.54, 62; 45.45; 57.2, 66. sq.; 58.6 sq.) with a much frequented sanctuary of the god Skanda and the goddess Pattini. The Kumbukkan-oya (12) is probably the Mahānadī, mentioned in 51.121.

There are many rivers in the Eastern province, but none of them, except the Mahavāli-gaṅga is of any size. One may mention the Gal-oya (13) and the Andālla-oya which ends in the lagoons of Batticaloa (51). By damming it

¹ The Kappakandaranadī is not the Kumbukkan-oya, as I formerly assumed, but the Māṇikgaṅga. Cf. S. PARANAVITANA, *Epigr. Zeyl.* III, p. 225, n. 2. The name occurs in the form Kapikandur in a Kataragama inscription the context of which clearly shows that the Māṇikgaṅga is meant by the name.

up the often mentioned *Dīgha-vāpi* (33), now *Mahakandiya-vāva*, has been constructed. It is, however, remarkable that wherever the name occurs in the chronicle, it does not denote a tank, but always a district or canton (cf. 74.110, 180; 75.1). Further North there are the two rivers *Magalavatan-oya* and *Mudeni-arū*. They end in the same lagoons and are connected with the two big tanks *Unnichchai* and *Rukam*.

6. From the historical point of view the lowlands and uplands can be divided into three parts, the Northern, Western and South-Eastern Countries. Within the Northern Country the whole Northern Province and most of the North-Central Province of the modern division are comprised with small portions of the North-Western and Eastern Provinces. In the extreme North *Jaffna* is an important place with more than 40,000 inhabitants, but at an early date this part of the Island came entirely under Dravidian influence and its population is almost complete Tamil. The *Jaffna* district, therefore, never played any part in the history of the Aryan culture in Ceylon. It was and it is a Dravidian growth, from which the Tamils also extended Southwards in a narrow strip of land along the Eastern coast up to the *Kumbukkan-oya*. It should, however, be noted that the name of the *Jaffna Peninsula* in the chronicle was *Nāgādīpa* which today is the Sinhalese name only of a small island (Tamil *Naina-tivu*) west of *Jaffna*. (P. E. PIERIS, *Nāgādīpa*, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceyl. Br.*, XXVI, No. 70, p. 11 sq.; XXVIII, No. 72, p. 40 sq. Cf. also P. PEMARATANA, *Niyama Nāgādīpaya, Kālaṇiya*). (Ed.)¹).

But the Northern country between 8° and 8° 40' N. was first colonised by the Aryan immigrants. The oldest settlements are enumerated in *Mhvs* 7.39 sq., and again, with some discrepancies 9.9 sq. We are unable to fix the geographical position of each of them, but very soon *Anurādhagāma* became the centre and the residence of the 'King' with the new name *Anurādhapura* (17; *Mhvs* 10.73 sq.). *Tambapanninagara* the foundation of which is ascribed to *Vijaya*, himself the half-legendary leader of the first colonists, lay probably W. of *Anurādhapura* nearer the coast, *Upatissagāma*, the capital of the two successors of *Vijaya*, N. of it on the *Gambhīra-nadī*, and *Vijitagāma* or *Vijitanagara* S. of it, according to local tradition, not far from the *Kalā-vāva* (7.44; 7.45; 9.10). *Anurādhapura* was the capital of the Sinhalese kingdom up to the eleventh century and went to ruin during the domination of the *Coḷas*. In our days it is a small town with nearly 8,000 inhabitants.

Pulattthinagara (22), now *Polonnaruva*, was chosen as residence by *Vijaya-bāhu I*, 1059—1114, after he had conquered the *Coḷas* and restored the kingdom to its former independence. The town is first mentioned in the seventh

¹ Up to the 16th century the population of the *Jaffna Peninsula* was mixed of both Tamils and Sinhalese. According to the *Yālpāna-vaipava-mālai* (transl. by C. BRITO, *Colombo* 1879, p. 33), it was *San̄kili* who about 1550 A. D. expelled the Sinhalese from *Jaffna* and destroyed their places of Buddhist worship, after he had massacred the Christian converts at *Mannār*. In the *Jaffna National Museum*, a Sinhalese inscription from *Kantarōḍai* is to be seen. For Sinhalese place names in the Peninsula, cf. P. E. PIERIS, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, No. 70, p. 17. On the other hand, the *Nayinativu* edict promulgated by one *Parākkarama-pūjo* who generally is taken to be *Parakkamabāhu I*, is written in Tamil. This inscription was found in a stone slab lying opposite to the Hindu temple at *Nayinativu*. (Cf. C. RASANAYAGAM, *Ancient Jaffna, Madras* 1926, p. 208). (Ed.)

century; as it lay farther to the East it offered more security against the invasions of the Damīlas who came from the West. It remained the capital for about 160 years. After the cruel tyranny of the usurper Māgha it fell into decay. Anurādhapura which was always considered to be the 'original capital' (*mūla-rājadhānī*) was partly restored by Parakkamabāhu I in the twelfth century (76.102 sq.; 78.96 sq.), and Pulatthinagara by Vijabāhu IV in the thirteenth century (88.90 sq.). It is strange that after that the latter town entirely passed into oblivion and was not re-discovered before the nineteenth century. Now the remains of both towns are a splendid sight for visitors to the Island.

Trincomalee, now a place with more than 9000 inhabitants, situated on the bay where the Mahavāli-ganga (14) ends, is never mentioned in the ancient and mediaeval portions of the chronicle. Its palisized name Tikoṇamāla-tittha occurs only 100.76. Evidently there was in Pre-Dutch times no great amount of traffic on the Eastern coast of Ceylon. But in the NW. Mahātitttha, now Mantai, Mantota opposite Mannār (cf. 61.39; 83.16), was a much frequented harbour, from which from the first beginnings of Aryan colonisation intercourse was carried on with India (7.58 &c).

Anurādhapura was the centre of an old division of Ceylon into four parts: Northern Province (*Uttara-desa*), Eastern Province (*Pācīma-, Pubba- or Puratthima-desa*), Western Province (*Pacchima-desa*) and Southern Province (*Dakkhina-desa*, B). It is possible that originally with these names merely the land N., E., W., and S. of the capital Anurādhapura was meant. But already in the sixth century King Silākāla (Salamevan) is said to have handed over to his eldest son the Eastern Province (*desaṃ puratthimaṃ*) and to his second son the Southern Province (*desaṃ dakkhiṇaṃ* 41.33—35), and we must assume that at least from that time onwards the provinces had fixed boundaries. The division into those four parts was in use up to the ninth century; it however deserves notice that the province of Rohaṇa (C) is never mentioned together with those four provinces. From the time of Kassapa IV, 896—913, the whole Northern Country seems to have been united with the exclusion of the Southern Province. The united province was first called in a looser form *rājīno ratṭha* (52.4) and then *Rājaraṭṭha* (A; Mhvs 55.22 &c). Ceylon now became the triple kingdom of Rājaraṭṭha, Dakkhinadesa and Rohaṇa. The names Rājaraṭṭha and Dakkhinadesa fell out of use at the end of the twelfth century and the names Patitṭhāraṭṭha (82.26 &c) and Māyāraṭṭha (81.18 &c) were substituted for them. Patitṭhāraṭṭha is a Pāli translation of Sinhalese Pihīraṭa, and Māyāraṭṭha is purely Sinhalese in the first half, the word *māyā* being a derivate of Pāli *mahādi-pāda* 'prince royal'. The two provinces together with Rohaṇa were called *Ti-sihala* (81.46 &c).

7. What I geographically call the Western country, the uplands and lowlands W. of the central highlands, is nearly identical with *Dakkinadesa* (B). It is now by far the most important part of Ceylon, where the international traffic concentrates. We may take as its Northern boundary the river Kalāoya (*Gona-nadī*, 2) and as its Southern boundary the Kalu-ganga (*Kanha-nadī*, 6). It extends, therefore, between 6°30' and 8°20' N., covering the present North Western and Western provinces with parts of the province of Sabaragamuva.

The old history of Dakkhinadesa is little known. The name of one place, Kalyāṇī (35), now Kālaṇīya near Colombo, occurs in the Valāhassa-jātaka (Jāt. II 128¹⁶) and in the Mahāvamsa in some tales which have a quite legendary character (Mhvs 1.63 sq.; 15.162; 22.12 sq.), but we do not know anything about the connexion of its colonisation with that of the Northern settlements, founded by Vijaya and his companions and successors. No old names of the towns on the Western coast, Puttalam, Chilaw, Negombo are handed down by tradition. Colombo itself may have been a harbour frequented in the mediaeval times by Arabian merchants, but it gets importance only after the arrival in Ceylon of the Portuguese¹. A vihāra seems to have existed in Kalyāṇī at the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (32.51); it is also mentioned in the third century A. D. (36.7, 34) but the name of Dakkhinadesa is not met with at all in the old part of the chronicle. The province comes more into the foreground from the sixth century (cf. 6; Mhvs 41.35). Afterwards Dakkhinadesa became for many centuries the regular domain of the heir to the throne (45.23; 50.44, 49; 51.19; 52.1; 59.11; 79.60)². This was, no doubt, a great advantage for the cultural development of the province.

Even more geographical details are brought to our notice after the reign of Vijayabāhu I, 1059—1114. I mention the village or town Badalatthala (58.42; 64.9; 66.19), now Badalagoda (CODRINGTON) NE. of Kurunāgala (31). When after the death of that king the division of the kingdom took place, the capital of Dakkhinadesa was first Puṅkhagāma (61.26), perhaps the modern Dādigama, 12 miles SW. of Kāgalla (CODR.), afterwards Saṅkhatthali (63.43; 64.22 & c), probably situated S. of Kurunāgala in the centre of the province. From Saṅkhatthali the road led northwards over Badalatthala (10 miles) to Siriyāla-gāma (66.20, 69), now Hiriyaigama, and farther on to Buddhagāma nearer the highlands (58.43; 66.19 & c).

The government of prince Parakkamabāhu in Dakkhinadesa, before he reunited the kingdom, was of great importance for it. His province extended 'from the Sumanakūṭa to the seaports' (68.6), and he organized its administration in an admirable manner. In the war with Gajabāhu (70.53 sq.) the Northern and North-Eastern districts of Dakkhinadesa played a prominent part. Enumerated from NW. to SE. they are 1. Muttākara, so called after the pearl-banks in the Mannār Gulf, 2. Tabbā, and 3. Giribā, on the lower and middle course of the Kalā-oya, 4. Moravāpi, and 5. Mahīpāla, E. and SE. of the Kalā-vāva, 6. Pilaviṭṭhi, in the region containing the sources of the Kalā-oya, 7. Ālisāra, adjoining the Janapada district now Ālahāra on the Ambavān-ganga, and 8. higher up in the valley of this river, Ambavāna (CODR.).

In the interior province the district Rattakara is noticed in 68.23, whose name is preserved in that of the Ratkara-vāva, 4 or 5 miles NW. Kurunāgala. The district Ratanākara 'Mine of jewels' (69.31) no doubt corresponds to modern Ratnapura (42). This town is 29 miles distant from Adam's Peak which rises NE. of it, and the difference in height above sea-level amounts to 6800 feet between them.

¹ Colombo is mentioned by Ibn Battūta (transl. by H. A. R. GIBB, p. 260) and by the Chinese traveller Wang Ta Yuan; cf. Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceyl. Br., XXVIII, No. 73, p. 32. (Ed.).

² There are only a few exceptions, e. g. Mhvs 48.33. It is fixed since Sena I, 9th. cent.

After the tyrannic rule of Māgha during the later centuries of the mediaeval period Dakkhiṇadesa was a foothold of the Sinhalese Kings. Their residence was from the year 1232 onwards for more than fifty years Jambuddoṇi, now Dambadeniya (30) 18 miles SW. of Kurunāgala near the Maha-oya (81.15 sq.). There is at that place an isolated rock which was fortified by Vijayabāhu III¹⁾. Next we have to mention Subhagiri (27), the modern Yāpahu, 65 miles, as the crow flies, NNE. from Colombo, and 25 miles from Kurunāgala. This town itself bore the name Hatthigiripura or Hatthiselapura (31) 'Town of the Elephant rock', because it lay on the Western side of a rocky ridge resembling in its Southern part to a squatting elephant²⁾. Jayavaḍḍhana-Koṭṭē (36), also shortly called Koṭṭē is situated near the present Colombo. It was in the year 1415 chosen as residence by Parakkamabāhu VI (Mhvs 91.16; see Cūlavamsa trsl., II. p. 215, note 1). Probably at that time the Island was frequently invaded by the Damiḷas, and from Koṭṭē the King could better command the route to the interior³⁾. (G. C. MENDIS, *Early History of Ceylon*, 3th ed., Calcutta 1938, p. 115). Finally I mention Sitāvaka, the residence of Rājasīha I, 1581 till 1593, situated 25 miles E. from Colombo, near Avisavella.

8. The South-Eastern Country is called Rohaṇa, now Ruhunu. (C). The extent of Rohaṇa approximately corresponds to the modern Eastern and Southern provinces with parts of Sabaragamuva and Ūva. From NE. to SW. its frontiers which separated it from Rājaraṭṭha and Dakkhiṇadesa were the Mahavāliganga from its mouth up to the spot where it leaves the highlands, the Malaya districts, and the Kalu-ganga from its sources to its mouth near Kalutara.

According to the tradition it was a younger brother of Devānampiyatissa, Mahānāga, who in the third century B. C. had founded a separate kingdom in Rohaṇa, residing at Mahāgāma, now Māgama near the mouth of the Kirindioya (Mhvs 22.2; cf. above 4). From that time Rohaṇa plays its own role in Sinhalese history. It was, to a certain degree, always independent of the central government in Anurādhapura and Pulatthinagara, had its own rulers, generally members of the royal family, and often when the Damiḷas had taken possession of North Ceylon, the national reaction issued from Rohaṇa. The Rohaṇa rulers were always aspiring to the royal dignity. In the first half of the twelfth century after the tripartition of the kingdom (cf. 6) Rohaṇa was divided between the two brothers Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha (61.22 sq.). The former took possession of the South-Western part of the province, called Dvādasasahasaka-raṭṭha (l), the latter of its North-Eastern part, Atṭhasahasakadesa (k). The capital of Kittisirimegha was Mahānāgahula, now Ambalantoṭa (46) on the Valavē-ganga (cf. 5), that of Sirivallabha Uddhanadvāra, probably near Monaragala, about 10 miles NNE. of Buttala (41).

When Parakkamabāhu, the successor in Dakkhiṇadesa of Kittisirimegha, had conquered Rājaraṭṭha and united it with his own province, his supremacy was by no means undisputed. Sirivallabha's son, the minor Mānābharaṇa, ruler of the whole of Rohaṇa, was competing with him for the royal

¹⁾ For Jambuddoṇi, see below 57.

²⁾ For Hatthigiripura, see below 57. See also Mhvs 85.62; 88.53; 90.59; 99.77.

³⁾ Koṭṭē was founded in the 14th century by Alagakonnāra, minister of Vikkamabāhu IV. Mhvs 91.5 sq. (see Cūlavamsa trsl. II, p. 212, note 4). Koṭṭē was also the capital when the Portuguese came to Ceylon. (Ed.).

dignity, and only after a long and bloody war and after repeated campaigns against the seditious Rohaṇa people, Parakkamabāhu was able to unite the whole kingdom under "a single parasol". (71.9 sq.; 72.1 sq.; 72.22 sq.; 75.1 sq.; 76.1 sq.; cf. below, 119.) It is not quite clear whether the long drawn out resistance of Rohaṇa was originally against Parakkamabāhu himself or against the centralised government in Pulatthinagara, but it is fair to assume that during the course of war the resistance was against the person of the king who appears to have used great cruelty against the population. (Cf. below, 141) (Ed.).

It is strange that after the time of Parakkamabāhu I very little is heard of Rohaṇa. During the alien rule of Māgha it was protected by a Prince named Bhuvanekabāhu who had his residence on the Govinda-rock (81.6), and in the reign of Parakkamabāhu II in the thirteenth century Vannīs in Rohaṇa are mentioned side by side with Vannīs of Patitṭhā-raṭṭha (89.51).

That is all. We are inclined to infer from the names Dvādasasahassaka-raṭṭha and Aṭṭhasahassaka-*desa* which can be translated only as "province of the twelve thousand (eight thousand) fields or settlements", that Rohaṇa was intensively cultivated and of extraordinary prosperity in the 12th century, and that this cultivation was largely destroyed by Parakkamabāhu who restored many tanks and temples in this country after the war (79.70 sq.). Moreover, the protracted resistance of the people of Rohaṇa seems to indicate that the country was fairly thickly populated, but the villages were probably scattered. (Ed.) But the description of his campaigns in Rohaṇa clearly shows that the province was for a great part covered with jungle. I believe, therefore, that those names refer to the numerous small settlements founded in the wilderness by people (Vannīs) who had taken refuge there during the dynastic wars at the beginning of that century (61.62, 63.sq.).

In Aṭṭhasahassa, apart from the places mentioned above, the district of Dighavāpi (33) was important. It was often the scene of warlike undertakings (74.89 sq.; 75.1 sq.). Of strategic importance was the canton of Guttasālā (41), now Buttala between the Māṇik-ganga and the Kumbukkan-oya (51.109, 117; 61.12; 74.154, 156; 75.15). Near this place, at Yudagannāva, a decisive battle was fought between Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and his brother Tissa¹).

No town or village is mentioned on the seacoast, unless we assume that Batticaloa is meant by the name of Pallavavaṅka in 76.46.

The two Western-most districts of Dvādasasahassa where it bordered to Dakkhiṇadesa, were Pañcayojana-raṭṭha, now Pasdun-kōraḷe, and Navayojana-raṭṭha. Both districts are parts of the Sabaragamuva Province and belong even now to the wildest portions of Ceylon. Pañcayojana is sometimes, it seems, taken as a district of Dakkhiṇadesa (68.51; 72.57; 75.21), sometimes of Rohaṇa (57.71; 61.35). In 85.81 Bhīma-tittha (50), now Bentota about

¹ Mhvs 24.39 (Mhvs trsl., p. 167¹⁸). According to the Rājāvaliya (ed. B. GUṆASĒKARA, p. 25^{4,14}) both the battles between the two brothers took place near Yudaṅganāpiṭṭiya. This is in local tradition Yudagannāva, a mile or more NNW. of Buttala. There is a Dāgoba perhaps erected in commemoration of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's victory. The monastery where Tissa found refuge is said to have been Okkampitṭiya, situated on the bank of the Kumbukkan-oya, four miles E. of Buttala. The note in Mhvs trsl., 2nd ed., p. 302, l. 4 from the bottom is inaccurate and must be corrected according to this note. [See below, p. 232, add. to Mhvs 24.39].

18 miles S. of Kalutara is said to be situated in Pañcayojana. But the general who was ordered by Parakkamabāhu to advance to Mahānāgahula from Dakkhinadesa along the sea-coast met the first line of defence only at Gimha-tittha (49), now Ginganga near Galle (75.21 sq.). After he had broken through the entrenchment there he crossed the Gālu-nadī (Galle river), and passed the villages Vālukagāma (48, Vāligama) and Kammāragāma (Kamburugamuva). Together with the latter Nilavāla-tittha (8; perhaps Mātara) and Devanagara (47, Dondra) are mentioned. There was in Devanagara, on the Southern-most point of Ceylon, a celebrated temple of the god Uppalavanna (83.49; 85.85). The name of the town first occurs in 56.6: 'In the twelfth year (of his reign) Vikkamabāhu, whence he had just visited Devanagara, suddenly went into the company of the gods'¹). That was in the year 1041; the town was, of course, much older. According to Sinhalese sources it was founded by Dappula I (Dāpulsen), and of the seventh century. (Pārakumbāsīrita 24).

Navayojana was always part of Rohaṇa (72.60, 61). According to 75.72 sq. the way from Donivagga (now Denavaka), the basin of Pelmadulla-Madampē SE. of Ratnapura, to Navayojana was difficult, owing to the barrier of the Rakvana hills. The district of Navayojana played a prominent part, as we shall see below in 149, in the campaign of Parakkamabāhu's general Rakkha against the rebels of Rohaṇa.

9. As to the climate it is sufficient to say that it depends on the fact, that Ceylon is an island situated in the tropical calm-belt on the edge of the Indian Monsoon system (COOK, p. 106 sq.; TIMMERMANN, p. 200 sq.). The SW. Monsoon sets in in May and is in full swing in June, July, August. It causes immense rainfall on the Western slopes of the central mountains, but crosses the flat country of North-Ceylon without hindrance. The NE. Monsoon begins in November and continues till February. It brings rain to the Eastern districts, but its strength is not comparable with that of the SW. Monsoon. In November the rainfall is spread equally over the whole Island.

Irregular rainfalls are not unknown (cf. Mhvs 21.27; 70.208), and famines caused by insufficient rainfall were reported in the last century B. C., and in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, and twice in the thirteenth century A. C. (32.29; 36.20, 74; 37.189; 87.1 sq.; 90.43). Thunderstorms are frequent. Such a thunderstorm with the wind whirling up the dust, and heavy clouds veiling the firmament in a mass of darkness, with the rolling of thunder and with lightnings quivering on all sides is described in 74.228 sq. A mighty army routing the enemy is compared with a fierce storm scattering cotton (57.56; 72.3). Of the greatest importance, as we shall see in the chapter on agriculture, is the difference of the annual rainfall in the different parts of the Island. It ranges between a maximum of about 250 to 300 inches near Adam's Peak in the wettest period of the SW. Monsoon and a minimum of 25 inches during the driest month on the Northwest coast.

¹) Mhvs 56.6 (Cūlav. trsl. I, p. 190). Neither WIJESINHA nor I have properly understood the verse *upecca devanagaram gañchi devasahavyatam*. There is a pun in the verse and we must render it: 'having visited Devanagara (the God's town) he came to the company of gods', with a note 'Devanagara is the modern Dondra near the Southern-most point of Ceylon. The 'god' is the *deva Uppalavanna* whose most famous temple stood in that town'. (A vihāra in Devanagara is mentioned Mhvs 60.59. In 90.94 (14th cent.) the town is called Devapura).

10. The wealth of the flora is illustrated by the fact that about fifty tree-names are met with in the chronicle. It is, of course, the botanist's task to distinguish the trees which are indigenous to Ceylon, from those which were imported. I have only to enumerate the trees and other plants as they were known to the compilers of the Cūlavamsa, i. e. from the fourth century onwards. Fruit-trees which were planted in all the gardens, are the mango tree (*amba*, *Mangifera indica* Mhvs 14.17; 79.3), the jak-tree (*panasa*, *Artocarpus integrifolia*, 28.23, sinh. *kos-gaha*), the breadfruit-tree (*labuja*, *A. incisa*, in the name *Labujagāma* 94.11, sinh. *del-gaha*), and the banana tree (*kadalī*, *Musa sapientum*, 70.211 & c). Besides in 5.26, 11.31, 32.29 the three trees are named which bear the medicinal myrobalan fruits: *āmalaka* (*Emblica officinalis*), *haritaka* (*Terminalia chebula*) and *akkha* (*T. belerica*). Palm-trees mentioned in the chronicle are the coconut tree (*nālikera*, *Cocos nucifera*, 23.59; 61.65; *sannīra*, 74.204, is the king's coconut), the areca palm (*pūga*, *Areca catechu*, 36.47; 79.3), the palmyra palm (*tāla*, *Borassus flabelliformis* 23.46; 73.123), and two wild kinds of the Phoenix palm, one called *hintāla* (? , 73.123) and the other *khajjūra* (*Phoenix silvestris*, 100.6). The sacred tree of the Buddhists was the Bodhi tree (*Ficus religiosa*, passim). Other fig trees known to the chroniclers are the banyan tree (*nigrodha* or *vaṭa*, *Ficus indica* 10.35—36; 6.16), and the glomerous fig tree (*udumbara*, *Ficus glomerata* 23.87).

In a pleasure garden, laid out by Parakkamabāhu I (73.97 sq.) there were besides mango trees and coconut palms the following various trees and shrubs: *campaka* (*Michelia champaca*, famous for its fragrant yellow blossoms which are commonly offered in temples, 98.59); *asoka* (*Jonesia asoca*, the favourite of Sanskrit poetry); *nāga* (*Mesua ferrea*, the iron-wood tree, planted near all monasteries, because with its blossoms the Buddha images are decorated by the priests); *punnāga* (*Rottleria tinctoria*); *ketaka* (*Pandanus odoratissimus*, frequently growing on the SW. coast); *sāla* (*Shorea robusta*, occurring in the geographical names *Sālagāma* and *Sālapādapasobbha*); *pātālī* (*Bignonia suaveolens*); *nīpa* or *kadamba* (*Nauclera cadamba*); *jambū* (*Eugenia jambu*); *vakula* (*Mimusops elengi*); *tamāla* (*Xanthochymus pictorius*), *kuṭaja* (*Wrightia antidysenterica*). And all these trees were twined about with jasmine creepers of different sorts (*mālātī*, *mālikā*, *navamālikā*). In this passage the chronicler exhibits his botanical knowledge.

Finally the *Feronia elephantum* (*kapittha*) may be mentioned, whose resin, dissolved in sweetened water, was an exquisite agglutinant (29.11), the silk-cotton tree (which is probably indicated by *picula*, 15.28, SENAVERATNE, Ceylon Antiqu. & Lit. Reg. VII. 31), the bamboo (*velu*, 70. 212—3), by which the banks of the rivers are so wonderfully beautified, and the *kadambapuppha* shrub (17.31; 19.73,76; 35.104,116; Sk. *kadambapuṣpa*), so called because its blossoms resemble those of the Kadamba tree.

Sandalwood (*candana*), aloe wood (*agaru*) and camphor (*kappūra*) were used for offering in sacred shrines (61.57). Sandalwood and camphor were among the articles imported from Burma (58.9). Garlic (*lasuna*), blackpepper (*marica*, *Piper nigrum*), long pepper (*pippālī*, *Piper longum*), ginger (*siṅgivera*, growing wild in the highlands, 28.21), and liquorice (*yatthimadhuka*, 32.46) were presented to Bhikkhus, besides the three kinds of myrobalans (54.23).

The products of agriculture are enumerated below in the chapter on Rural Life.

11. Of the fauna the elephant (*hatthin*, *gaja*, *dvipa*, *nāga* in Mhvs 5.161) must be mentioned first. Herds of elephants roamed the forests of Ceylon in great numbers. They are plentiful there even now-a-days. The elephant is always the symbol of bodily strength; the heroes of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi are said to have the strength of ten elephants (Mhvs 23.8; 47; 49). Solitary elephants (*paccekahatthino*), now called 'rogue elephants', are much dreaded by reason of their ferocity, and the most strenuous and intrepid warriors who prefer a single fight to a general combat in battle are compared to them (72.248; 76.244). Elephants of the six-tusked race are met with in legends (22.61). In Ceylon tuskers are now very rare. As to domesticated elephants see below.

Lion and tiger are not indigenous to Ceylon. It is, however, remarkable that the lion (*siha*, *kesarin*) plays an important part in the popular tradition as a half-mythical animal. He is the king of animals (*mīgarāja*, 96.20) and the ideal of bravery (66.104; 72.108, 221; 96.5). Nārāyaṇa, a general of Parakkamabāhu I, is compared to a lion of extraordinary courage who falls upon gazelles or even young elephants (72.68). The lion alone is believed to be superior in strength to the elephant (70.141, 219; 72.3, 88, 155; 83.13; 96.20). He was the totem of the Sihala clan (6.5 sq.).

Beasts of prey mentioned in the chronicle are the panther (*dīpin*, 78.100), the bear (*accha* = Sk. *ṛkṣa*, *Melursus labiatus*, 5.31), and the boar (*sūkara*, 10.4; 23.66; *varāha* 54.32). Apparently the panther was not much feared because he generally shuns man. (Cf. E. TENNENT, Ceylon, London, 1859, I, 139—140). More dangerous were bear and boar. In 67.41, 44 the story occurs of a struggle the prince Parakkamabāhu had with a savage she-bear and her cubs and with a terrible boar. It is but a political invention in order to illustrate the prince's courage, but it shows how much those beasts were dreaded by the people.

Buffaloes (*mahisa*, 23.79) are numerous in the forests of Ceylon wherever they find enough water. Deer (*miga* 5.154; 23.66; 54.32; *hariṇa* 66.90) were well-known for their timidity. In a simile the flight of an army routed by a braver and stronger enemy is compared to that of deer attacked by a lion or panther (66.90; 67.48; 72.68; 75.39). The Ceylon sambhur (*Rusa Aristotelis*, *gokanna*, 14.3, 23.66) which is distinguished by enormous antlers, sometimes attacks man as we see from the story told in 70.36 sq.

Among the other beasts living in the wilderness are monkeys. The word *vānara* with which they are named in 54.32 and 87.20 corresponds to Sinh. *vaṇḍurā* and seems to denote the Presbytes cephalopterus of the low-country (TENNENT l.l. I. 130). With *kalanda* (37.204) probably the squirrel is meant. Hares (*sasa*, 23.65) were chased by boys in the forest. In the rivers and tanks there were besides fish (*maccha*, 75.58; 88.113) plenty of man-eating crocodiles (*manussa-bhakkha-kumbhila*, 70.4), tortoises (*kacchapa* 75.58) and iguanas (*godhā*, 28.9; 41.72, 73).

Among the snakes (*sappa*, 21.19) the cobra is denoted with the word *nāga* (*Naja tripudians*, 5.161; 37.112 sq.). It was popular belief that some of them had a precious jewel in their head (37.122). Wise men, it is said in 37.52, should shun from afar as a poisonous serpent (*ahiṃ v'āsivisam*) the company of the impious. Whether with *dedḍubha* (37.132) a water snake or a kind of lizard living in water is meant, remains doubtful.

Insects are not often mentioned in the chronicle. Bees were of course highly prized for the honey they produce. According to the legend bees (*madhumakkhikā*, 5.31) perpetually prepared honey for the Indian king Asoka. The murmur of bees (*bhamara*) drunk with enjoyment of the juice of blossoms was delightful to the ear (73.97). Ant-hills (*vammika* 37.113) are a favourite hidingplace of the cobra. The glow-worm (*khajjūpanaka*, 75.29; *khajjota*, 83.25) becoming dim at the rising of the sun is the symbol of vanishing glory and power, and the moth (*paṭaṅga*, 75.41) who knows not the danger of the fire and burns therein, that of imprudence.

Birds whose names occur in the Mahāvamsa are the peacock (*sikhaṇḍin*, 57.7; 74.229; *mayūra* 73.101), the ubiquitous crow (*kāka*, 60.74; 75.114); the parrot (*suva*, 5.29); the Indian cuckoo (*kokila* 73.101), a favourite of Indian poets; the wild goose (*hamsa* 30.65; 73.134), beautifully sculptured on the so-called "moon-stones"; and the crane (*balākā* 98.43). The word *karavika* (5.32) seems to be another name of the cuckoo.

12. As regards precious metals Ceylon is at the present time entirely lacking in gold. In the last century it was found in minute particles in one place only and in the beds of a few rivers flowing towards the West. But the quantity discovered up to that time has been too trivial to reward the search. (TENNENT, l. I. 29) Silver mines do not seem to have existed at all in the Island. The important part played in the chronicle by gold (*suvaṇṇa*, *soṇṇa*, *hema*, *hiraṇṇa*) and silver (*rajata*, *rūpiya*) is therefore really amazing. The most diverse articles as vases, bowls, fans, umbrellas, candelabra, and the like are made of gold or silver and used to be carried along in festival processions (Mhvs 29.57; 89.19 sq.; 90.71 & c). Golden images, chiefly of the Buddha, are frequently mentioned (48.137; 50.66; 61.57 & c; cf. below 90), and were often the booty of the Damiḷas. The community of the Bhikkhus was often given large sums of gold by the kings. Sometimes kings are said to have offered to the community or to the poor a donation equal to the weight of their own bodies. Thus did Sena I, Udaya II and Vijayabāhu I three times (50.78; 51.128; 60.21), and Parakkamabāhu I yearly (73.11). The counterbalance was no doubt solid gold or gold coins. The gold spent by king Udaya II during the eleven years of his reign was estimated as thirteen hundred thousand Kahāpanas (51.135).

There may be much exaggeration in these stories, but it is hardly credible that they are all a mere invention. We do not hear that gold or silver was ever imported from foreign countries, and this would have been improbable in such an enormous quantity. I cannot but believe, therefore, that gold and silver were formerly much more abundant in Ceylon than they are in our time. But the mines were recklessly exhausted and finally given up. From 68.12 we may infer that Parakkamabāhu when he re-organised the administration of Dakkhinadesa made a royal domain all the mines where gold and gems and the like were found. In the oldest part of the Mahāvamsa (28.13 sq.) we meet the legend that when Duṭṭhagāmaṇi had planned the building of the Mahāthūpa there appeared in a certain place in a miraculous way nuggets of gold of different sizes, the greatest measuring a span (= 9 inches), the least a finger's breadth (= $\frac{3}{4}$ inches). In a similar manner silver was discovered in the Ambaṭṭhakolaka cave where afterwards the Ridi-vihāra was built (28.20 sq.).

Copper (*loha* or *tamba-loha*) and iron (*ayo*) are not often mentioned. Copper was found, like gold and silver, in a place named Tambapitṭha 'Copper-field' (28.16). The Lohapāsāda in the Mahāvihāra was called so, because it was covered over with copperplates (27.42). Images were sometimes made of copper (36.31). (As to 'copper (or bronze) canoes' (*loha-nāvā*) see below 51). Iron gates (*ayo-dvāra* 98.70), i. e. iron-plated wings were on a great gate-building in Sirivaddhana-Kandy. One of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's warriors, Phussadeva, is said to have a staff of iron or copper, two or three finger's breadth thick shot through with his arrow (23.87—88). The metal called *tipu* may be lead or tin. With *tipu*-plates king Kittisirimegha had covered the house of the Bodhitree (41.65).

Ceylon has been famous from ancient times for its wealth of precious stones, and pearls. In the chronicle a strict distinction is made between the three kinds of gems (*maṇi* 11.22) and the seven or nine kinds of less precious stones (*ratana* 27.37; 91.18; 97.7). The latter seem to correspond to what we call semi-precious stones as topaz (*puppharāga*), tourmalin and the like. *Ratana* The three gems, sapphire (*indanīla*), emerald (*velūriya*) and ruby (*lohitāṅka*) are enumerated in 11.16, side by side with the 'numerous precious stones'. *Ratanas* were export-goods (69.33). The word *ratana*, Sinh. *ruvan* may sometimes also mean 'gold' or 'precious thing' in general. A *ratanaḅḅhika nānāratanaḅḅhita* is a 'golden arch glittering with precious things of every kind' (34.73; cf. similarly 82.53; 89.41). The Hemamālika-cetiya (Mahāthūpa) is now called Ruvanvāli-dāgoba.

Frequently *maṇi*, but never *ratana*, is joined to a compound with *muttā* 'pearl'. Together with gold, gems and pearls are the symbol of wealth. Gems and pearls (*maṇi-muttā*) are dedicated to sanctuaries (61.56; 98.33) or given as alms to the community (62.32). Ceylon is called a mine of gems, pearls and the like (64.32), and gems and pearls were part of the royal treasure (61.6). The reliquary of the Daḷadā, the Tooth relic, was set with seven hundred gems (97.53). Pearls, as big as myrobalan fruits, were found in Uruvelā, at the same time with gems and gold and silver (28.36; cf. 28, 18, 40.). They were booty in the campaign of Parakkamabāhu against Uttara-raṭṭha (70.92). In 11.14 besides the common sorts seven kinds of more precious pearls are enumerated: the horse-pearls, elephant-pearls, waggon-pearls, myrobalan-pearls, bracelet-pearls, ring-pearls and kakudhafruit-pearls. The names are difficult to explain. If we compare 11.14 with the passage 28.36, quoted above, we may assume that the pearls were distinguished according to their size.

Rock-crystal (*phalīka*) of divers kinds abundantly occurs in the mountainous districts of Ceylon. It is used for making small images. A layer of rock-crystal was in the foundation of the Mahāthūpa (29.9), and in the Lohapāsāda there was an umbrella with a silver staff and a coral foot resting on rock-crystal (27.36). Corals (*pavāḷa*), to mention them here, are frequently used as decoration on railings (27.26) and other parts of houses.

Other mineral products are yellow orpiment (*haritālā* 34.52) prepared as unguent, red arsenic (*manosilā* 15.80, 114, 149) and vermilion (*hīṅgulī* 27.18) used for producing colouring materials. In the foundation of the Mahāthūpa above a layer of stones a copperplate was laid and above this a sheet of silver cemented with *manosilā* dissolved in sesamum-oil (29.12). Cinnabar (*kuruvinda* 29.8) was also made use of in the same foundation work.

13. The population of Ceylon was never so homogeneous as that of Northern India which had become such in the course of its historical development. There the Aryan immigrants who had come from the North-West gradually mixed with the original non-Aryan population of the country and finally absorbed it, so that a new race came into existence which we may call the Indo-Aryan race. It was spread over the cultivated area of the country but it did not come into contact with people of a different race except perhaps in some frontier districts where the Indo-Aryans met with aboriginal hill- and forest-tribes.

The development turned out differently in Ceylon. Here there was always a strong antagonism between the Aryan and Dravidian races. This antagonism made itself more or less conspicuous in the different periods of Sinhalese history, but it was never entirely absent owing to the fact that the Aryans were the older stratum of colonists and the Damiḷas came over into the island as later immigrants, often also as foes and conquerors. Nevertheless the Sinhalese people cannot be called a pure Aryan race. From the beginning of the colonisation a racial mixture surely took place in Ceylon on the one hand with aboriginal inhabitants of the island, and on the other with the Dravidas of Southern India.

The first Aryan immigrants probably came to Ceylon from North-Western India in the 5th century B. C. The name or rather surname of their leader is called in the tradition Vijaya, 'the conqueror'. They met in Ceylon with a population of unknown race that was certainly neither Aryan nor Dravidian, but rather related to the uncivilised tribes of South India. This clearly appears from the fact that they are called Yakkha (Sk. *yakṣa*) in the tradition. Another name seems to have been Sabara (Sk. *Śabara*), preserved in the modern name of the province Sabaragamuva. Both these names are used to denote barbarous tribes living in the mountains and forests. Often demonic qualities are ascribed to them. Sinhalese *yakā* simply means 'devil'. A third name is *Kirāta*. It denotes in Sanskrit wretched hill people of dwarfish stature. In the army of Parakkamabāhu Kirātas served as scouts (72.208). We shall return to this interesting name below in the chapter on Army and War (145).

It is very probable that the Aryan colonists often contracted sexual relations with aboriginal women. This seems to be alluded to by the legend told in the Mahāvamsa 7.9 sq. of Vijaya's marriage with the Yakkhini Kuveni or Kuvannā. According to the legend, she bore a son and a daughter. When afterwards she was put away by her husband and returned to the Yakkhas, she was killed by them, but her children fled to Malaya into the wild mountainous region of Central Ceylon. There they grew up and the elder brother took the younger sister for his wife and they became the ancestors of the Pulindas. The word *pulinda* too is a designation for uncivilised tribes in India, but here in Ceylon perhaps for a mixed race believed to have sprung from the intermarriage of the first Aryan colonists with aboriginal women. Such may perhaps be the actual kernel of the Vijaya-Kuveni legend.

The last remnants of the aboriginal population are the Vāddās. Originally they were hunters who armed with bows and arrows wandered about in small groups in the wilderness, living in caves or rather under overhanging rocks,

without any civilisation. However these wild Vāddās grow fewer from year to year, and it is difficult to estimate their exact number. The majority of the Vāddās lives now in small hamlets, but still in the most primitive manner. There can be no doubt, however, that in the first beginnings of the colonisation of Ceylon a strong admixture of Vāddā blood altered the racial character of the Aryan immigrants.

The Vānnīs or Vānniyās do not represent a separate race in Ceylon, but are merely degenerated Sinhalese. In 45, 46 I shall return to this subject.

14. We also learn from the chronicle (Mhvs 7.48 sq.) that messengers were sent by Vijaya to Madhurā, the capital of the Draviḍian Pāṇḍu kingdom, South India, to woo a daughter of the king for himself and other girls as wives for his companions, and we are told that they came to the Island, and, together with them craftsmen and members of the various guilds. This is an interesting fact, and it is not improbable that there is some truth in it. For the new colony was no doubt in want of such help and it is easy to understand that they were fetched from South India which geographically was the nearest civilised country. Thus a strong infusion of Draviḍian blood into the Aryan population of Ceylon must have taken place in the first period of its colonisation.

We know, however, that before long the Aryan element in Ceylon was strengthened by immigrants coming from North-Eastern India, as we shall see below in 16. In the third century B.C. the Buddhist doctrine was preached in Ceylon. The Island became the home of orthodox Buddhism and it has remained so up to the present time.

The relations with the Damiḷas were very often hostile. Sinhalese history (see Journ. Greater India Soc. III, p. 155 sq.) is a long series of bloody wars with Pāṇḍu (Mhvs. 50.12 sq.) and chiefly with Coḷa armies who invaded Ceylon in order to subjugate the island and its inhabitants. The Northern provinces were often occupied by the foe for many years, whilst the faithful adherents of the national dynasty found refuge in the less accessible province of Rohaṇa. They always finally succeeded in restoring the independence of the Sinhalese kingdom.

We must also point to the fact that in Ceylon often when there were struggles for the throne, one of the candidates fled to Southern India, and having collected troops there, came back to the island and tried to win the kingdom with their help. Thus the custom arose in Ceylon, probably since the seventh century, of enlisting Draviḍian mercenaries, Damiḷas, Keraḷas and Kaṇṇāṭas in the Sinhalese army. Their number seems to have been even greater than that of the less warlike Sinhalese. The Draviḍian soldiery frequently caused serious disturbances. They revolted against their lord, chiefly when they were not sufficiently paid, plundered the country and seized the property of the peace-loving inhabitants (44, 134; 45.12 sq.; 54, 66). The worst time in this respect was the thirteenth century when, after the reign of the usurper Māgha, many Damiḷa mercenaries lived as they pleased in the villages and houses they had forcibly occupied. It was king Vijayabāhu III, 1232—36, who drove them out and freed at least the province of Māyāratt̥ha from those outrageous soldiers (81.14). Nevertheless they continued to be a public menace under his successor Parakkamabāhu II, committing all sorts of violence, until they were finally overthrown in a dreadful battle fought near Kālavāpi

tank and had to sacrifice their lives and all their accumulated treasures to the Sihala warriors (83.15—34).

15. Even in times of peace Damiḷas constantly came over to Ceylon where they earned their livelihood as merchants or artisans or perhaps as field-labourers. That at the end of the eighth century Damiḷas formed a constituent element of the population of Ceylon appears from a notice in Mhvs 48.145. There we are told how King Mahinda II presented bulls to lame people, no doubt for their conveyance. But if they were Damiḷas, he gave them horses, as they would not take cattle for that purpose.

When at the time of Sena I, 831—51, the Pāṇḍu king invaded Ceylon, all the Damiḷas who lived in scattered places, went over to his side and he gained great power thereby (50. 15). From another passage (66. 133) we learn that in the twelfth century many Damiḷas were living in Ceylon in Gajabāhu's kingdom. Damiḷas were also often in a prominent position at the royal court. Two of the paramours of Queen Anulā, 12—16 A. C. were Damiḷas (34. 19. 24 sq.); one of them, Vaṭuka, was *nagaravaddhaki*, i. e. chief of the guild of carpenters and masons (cf. R. Fick, Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time, translated by S. Maitra, pp. 283—4); the other, Niliya, even *purohita-brāhmaṇa* (vide below, 122; Journ. Gr. Ind. Soc. IV, 1937, p. 81 sq.). The Damiḷa Potthakuṭṭha in the service of King Aggabodhi (Agbō) IV, 658—74, was a person of great influence at court. After Aggabodhi's death he enthroned two successive puppet-rulers, whilst he himself administered the kingdom (46.39 sq.). If my correction of the corrupt passage 49.24 is justified, there existed in Ceylon even a peculiar Damiḷa group of priests, *Damiḷa Bhikkhusaṃgha*.

In the harem of the Sinhalese kings there were also Damiḷa women. Sotthisena, the son of King Mahānāma, was sprung from such a woman. He ascended the throne in the year 431, after his father's death, but was killed by Saṅghā, the daughter of Mahānāma and his queen, i. e. of a mother of equal birth (38.1—2). Vijayabāhu I, 1059—1114, wedded his younger sister Mittā to Pāṇḍurāja (59.41). The name shows that the husband was an offspring of the royal family of the Pāṇḍu kingdom. Mānābharāṇa was the son of Pāṇḍurāja and Mittā, and Mānābharāṇa's son was Parakkamabāhu the Great, who therefore on his grandfather's side had Draviḍian blood in his veins.

Such marriages were the issue of political considerations. They became very frequent in the last centuries of the Sinhalese kingdom but did not much concern the Sinhalese people in general. Nevertheless it is obvious that owing to the continual influx of Damiḷas, both soldiers and non-soldiers, the Sinhalese must have been considerably influenced by the Draviḍian race not only culturally, but also physically and mentally. But a complete amalgamation of the two races never took place in Ceylon. The Damiḷas were always considered as foreigners, even in times of peace, and the Sinhalese never lost the consciousness of their Aryan descent and of their right of political independence. They even preserved their old Aryan language in spite of the geographical isolation. The dialect which the first colonists spoke was probably cognate to that in which the Western and North-Western inscriptions of Aśoka are composed. In Ceylon it was influenced and enriched by dialects of Aryan immigrants who came from North-Eastern India, from Bengāl, Bihār and

Orissa, so that it became a mixed dialect which in the sequel developed on the same lines as all the Indo-Aryan vernaculars. A peculiar influence of Tamil was certainly not lacking, but it was not too strong. It is a remarkable fact that in the classical literature Tamil loan-words are rare in comparison with those borrowed from Pāli and chiefly from Sanskrit. This clearly shows that the educated Sinhalese earnestly strove to emphasize the Aryan character of their language.

In the present time (cf. E. COOK, p. 231 sq.) the number of Sinhalese living in Ceylon is more than three millions, that of Tamils, to the exclusion of the labourers in the plantations, just over half a million, and, those labourers included, more than one million. The Vāddās are estimated as numbering about 4500¹).

Though in physique Tamils and Sinhalese do not differ greatly, they form within the society two closely distinguished groups. They differ in religion. The Tamils are Hindus, mostly Śiva worshippers, the Sinhalese orthodox Buddhists. The Tamils are much more conservative than the Sinhalese and strongly tenacious of their old customs. The women of the upper classes are much more rigidly secluded by them, than by the Sinhalese. Even in dress the Tamil women differ from the Sinhalese women; the Tamil men like to wear turbans, Sinhalese wear no headdress at all. The old caste system is still preserved by many Tamils, whilst it has been greatly modified by the Sinhalese in modern times. The Tamils are much more enterprising and industrious than the Sinhalese; they are prepared to do any sort of work, as in the tea-and rubber-plantations. The Sinhalese are landowners and, however poor, they never hire themselves out for the lower forms of agricultural labour.

It is evident, that though Sinhalese and Tamils have been in cultural contact for many centuries, a total amalgamation never took place. The two peoples are still conscious of their difference, as they were in ancient times and during the whole mediaeval period²).

¹) Distribution of population in Ceylon according to "race", Census year 1953: Sinhalese 5 616 705 (Low-country Sinhalese 3 469 512, Kandyan Sinhalese 2 147 193), Tamils 1 858 801 (Ceylon Tamils 884 703, Indian Tamils 974 098), Moors 511 425, Burghers and Eurasians 45 950, Malays 25 464, Vāddās 803, Others 38 747. (Ed.).

²) For the history of the Tamils in Ceylon, see C. RASANAYAGAM, *Ancient Jaffna*, Madras 1926 and C. S. NAVARATNAM, *Tamils and Ceylon*, Jaffna (1958). There is a Tamil chronicle of Jaffna and Ceylon, written by Mayilvākana in the 18th century, the *Yālpāna-vaipava-mālai* (ed. by Mudaliyar K. SAPĀNĀTAN AVARKAL, Kolumpu 1953; transl. by C. BRITO, Colombo 1879). (Ed.).

Part Two: The People

I. Social Organisation and Caste System¹).

16. The ancient period of Sinhalese history, as it is described in the oldest part of the *Mahāvamsa* (ed. W. GEIGER 1908; trsl. 1912, new ed. 1934; PTS.) ends with the reign of king Mahāsena. The mediaeval period, described in the later continuation of the chronicle, the so-called *Cūlavamsa* (= *Mhvs* 37.51 sq.; voll. I, II, ed. W. GEIGER 1925, 1927; trsl. 1929, 1930; PTS.), begins with the reign of King Sirimeghavarna (Śrimeghavarṇa, Kitsirimēvan) who ascended the throne in 362 A. C. He atoned for the wrongs done to the Bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura by his father Mahāsena and restored the supremacy of the Theravāda, the orthodox school of Buddhism in Ceylon. As the end of the mediaeval history the arrival of the Portuguese in the Island may be assumed, for 'it is the turning-point . . . to the modern period. From this time the people of Ceylon began to look more to the West than to India for its progress . . . They also began to adopt western methods and customs' (G. C. MENDIS, *Early Hist. of Ceylon*³, Calcutta 1938, p. 126). The purely Indian culture of Ceylon turned to become a mixed Indo-European culture.

It is the culture of that mediaeval period between the years 362 and 1505 which will be described in the following pages.

I have tried above to trace the racial formation of the Sinhalese people and emphasized the fact that the first colonists came to Ceylon from NW. India. The fact is evidently shown by the names of Bharukaccha, now Broach, and Suppāraka, Sk. Śūrpāraka, as the sea-ports from which Vijaya and his companions started for their voyage which ultimately led them to Ceylon. They probably sailed in the season of the SW. Monsoon with the current which runs during that time along the Malabar coast to the South, turns round Cape Comorin, and is directed into the Gulf of Mannār to the West coast of Ceylon (cf. COOK, p. 61). I myself heard in Colombo from a most reliable scholar, the Hon'ble Mr. E. W. PERERA, that a certain place N. of Puttalam is by local tradition indicated as the spot where Vijaya first landed, and that at this place the Sinhalese Kings after their coronation used to perform the ceremony of 'girding on the sword of Vijaya'. If we bear in mind the tenacity in the East of traditions connected with certain localities we cannot merely ignore such traditions, but should try to discover the kernel of historical truth that they contain.

¹) For later developments, see Ralph PIERIS, *Sinhalese Social Organisation, The Kandyan Period*, Ceylon University 1956. (Ed.).

The colonists no doubt brought along with them as an inheritance from their ancestors the remembrance of Indian customs and institutions, the Indian ideology concerning social organisation and the superior or inferior position of the various classes. But we have also seen that the new colonists first came under Dravidian influence, and the infusion of Dravidian ingredients into the Aryan civilisation was therefore inevitable. But, fortunately, very soon a lively intercourse set in with the Aryan NE. India, with Kalinga, Magadha, Bengāl, and this intercourse was never interrupted so that the Sinhalese culture, retaining on the whole its Aryan character, could develop on parallel lines with the Indo-Aryan culture.

The fundamental basis of this culture was the Caste-System which in the course of time gradually had become very complicated, with innumerable subdivisions and with a vast number of prescriptions and regulations. In order to understand the Sinhalese culture we must therefore become acquainted with the evolution of the caste-system in Ceylon, and where it was different from the Indian system, with the causes of this difference.

17. Hardly any part of the Indian culture has so frequently and so amply been discussed by scientists as the caste-system. It may be sufficient to refer here to the well-known and oft-quoted work of E. SENART, *Les castes dans l'Inde, les faits et le système*, Paris 1896, and to that of R. FICK, *Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time*, translated by S. Maitra, Calcutta 1920.

The Indian caste-system, as it has been built up by the Brāhmaṇas and is described in the Brahmanical literature, is no doubt to a large extent a theory and often not in keeping with facts. According to this theory, the Indian people are divided into four castes: *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiśya*, *Śūdra*. The first three are the light-coloured Ārya, the Śūdras the dark-coloured original inhabitants of the country who had been subjugated by the Aryan invaders. Hence the word *varṇa* 'colour' as designation of a caste. Each of the four castes had its peculiar profession: the Brāhmaṇas were the priests, the Kṣatriyas the warriors; the Vaiśyas the agriculturists and the Śūdras the artisans.

The triple division of the Ārya is very ancient. It existed already in pre-Vedic times, for it is met with also among the Old Iranians. In the Avesta people are divided into priests (*athaurvan*), warriors (*raθaēštā*, lit: one who fights from a carriage) and farmers (*vāstrya fšuyant*, lit: cattlebreeding agriculturist). The opposition to the non-Aryan aboriginal tribes (*dāha* &c.) is also emphasized in the Avesta.

The Brahmanical theory of the four castes may have been adequate to the facts in the oldest Vedic period. The Aryan tribes which successively invaded North-Western India, were semi-nomads, while the original inhabitants lived in towns and had reached a more advanced stage of civilisation. The invaders occupied the open country for their agricultural purposes; the non-Aryans, called *dasyu*, had to work for them as craftsmen. This was the first line of demarcation, separating the conquerors from the subjugated Dasyus. Among the Ārya the priesthood had its prominent position from pre-Vedic times. The bulk of the people were engaged in cattle-breeding and agriculture and they enjoyed the protection of the most warlike families. These 'warriors' were probably also land-owners, but, being engaged in martial pursuits, they did

not cultivate their lands themselves but got them cultivated by the farmers as payment for protection.

In the course of historical development, when the Aryan rule was established in North India, the Brahmanical theory ceased more and more to resemble the facts.

The Brāhmaṇas, it is true, continued to lay claim to superiority and remained a close caste. But many of them could not earn their livelihood by priestly work and were compelled to go in search of some worldly occupation. The Kṣatriyas (R. Fick, l. l., p. 79 sq.) were no longer 'warriors', when the conquest of the country was finished and the race of the aboriginal inhabitants was absorbed by that of the invaders. But they kept alive their glorious family traditions and were conscious of their descent from the victorious classes under whose leadership the Aryans had conquered their new dwelling-places. They split up into many clans which sometimes came into conflict with one another by rivalry. Gradually they became the ruling class in the state, the nobility and the representatives of political power with the king at their head. In the eyes of the people they were no doubt superior to the Brāhmaṇas, and in the whole Buddhist literature the Kṣatriyas are always assigned the first place in the list of castes. They even vied with the Brāhmaṇas in learning and religious study and were the natural guardians of the deep truths contained in the Upaniṣads.

Yet more far-reaching were the changes and innovations in the Vaiśya and Śūdra castes. Owing to the progressive amalgamation of the races the distinction between these two castes was more and more effaced. Moreover, many Aryans were unable to gain their living by agriculture and had to learn arts and handicrafts from those whom their ancestors had subjugated. Thus, although they originally ranked among the Vaiśyas, they were on a level with Śūdras and their social position began to depend on the more or less reputable character of their occupation.

With the progress of civilisation new professions grew up and their representatives were anxious to separate themselves from those whom they considered to be lower in status owing to their pursuit of a less reputable occupation. The two old castes were thus gradually split into numerous professional groups which could be called *vannā* 'castes', but in a modified sense of this word.

By intermarriage of persons belonging to different groups new castes were formed, so that their number was constantly increasing. The rigid Brahmanical caste prescriptions, however, concerning endogamy, heredity, purity and pollution and the like, were by no means forgotten, but were observed in the Brāhmaṇa caste and transferred in the Kṣatriya caste to the single families and clans, and in the lower classes to those numerous professional groups.

Such seems to have been the social organisation in Buddhist times, for it would be erroneous to look upon the Buddha as a social reformer who destroyed the severe limits fixed by caste in India. He merely taught the worthlessness of caste as means of acquiring salvation. The Buddhist Order was open, irrespective of caste, to all individuals, who having abandoned the worldly life were striving for Nirvāṇa. For the members of the Order caste rules had ceased to exist, but they did not lose their strictness for laymen. The Brahmanical theory was so strongly embedded in the minds of the Buddhists that

they spoke of it and discussed its value in their literature, though they were certainly well aware of its incongruity with the real facts of life. It seems to be only in comparatively modern times that the Buddhist sangha split into caste groups. (Cf. J. DAVY, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, London 1821, p. 219. [Ed.]).

18. We now come to the further evolution of the caste-system in Ceylon. The Brahmanical theory of the four castes has not entirely lost its vitality in mediaeval times, and the old phraseology connected with the institution is sometimes preserved in special cases. Yet at the beginning of the 13th century the expression 'the four castes' (*catubbanna*, Mhvs 80.41) occurs as a paraphrase for the whole of society. Castes had become impure by mixture, but were scrupulously separated and purified by Āyasmanta, the general of queen Kalyāṇavati. This fact points in conventional form to a social upheaval caused by intermarriages between families of lower and higher classes which were repugnant to a more conservative and aristocratic mentality. Even in the *Nitinighaṇḍuva*, a collection of customary laws in Ceylon, compiled about the year 1818 under British auspices (cf. JOLLY, *Hindu Law and Custom*, trsl. by B. K. Ghosh, p. 94), four castes are distinguished, though they had not existed for many centuries. But it is remarkable that the *Goyivamsa*, the caste of agriculturists, is put in the fourth place (*Nitinighaṇḍuva*, Sinh. ed. by PĀṆA-BOKKĒ, Colombo 1880, p. 6 sq.).

In the chapters of the *Mahāvamsa* where mediaeval times are described, the institution of castes is seldom mentioned at all. The bifurcation of the lay-society into *kulīnā* 'people of good family' and *hinā* 'people of the lower classes', common people' plays a much more important part than caste according to the Brahmanical system. This may partly be due to the fact that the chroniclers were Buddhist priests who did not care much for caste, but in the main it is connected with a development of the social organisation beyond the stage described in the *Jātakas*.

19. I begin with the evolution of the Brāhmaṇa caste in mediaeval Ceylon. The Brāhmaṇas (*brāhmaṇa*, *vippa*, *dija*) were in principle priests and their privilege was the performance of the religious rites prescribed in the Vedas. Owing to the Indian tolerance in religious matters they were honoured and supported by the Sinhalese rulers in the same manner as the Bhikkhus, though Buddhism had become the official religion since the third century B. C. At court, as we shall see below, the Brāhmaṇas, and foremost the Purohita, had an important and influential position. The rôle they played there clearly shows the admirable vitality of Brahmanical theories and doctrines, and it indicates how deep-rooted they were still in the minds of the Indo-Aryans many centuries after they had lost their validity.

But not all Brāhmaṇas in Ceylon lived at court and served the king. The Hindu cult, though considerably less influential than Buddhism, was not persecuted there or annihilated. Temples of Siva and Viṣṇu stood in the towns; they have been found amid the ruins of Polonnaruva and partly restored. In all these sanctuaries no doubt Brāhmaṇas were officiating, and they had much knowledge of charms, augury and astrology, belief in which even in modern times is wide-spread in Ceylon. Among the spies sent out by prince Parakkamabāhu when he wished to find out the actual conditions in Gajabāhu's country, there

were also people disguised as Brāhmanas and ascetics (*tāpasā*, Mhvs 66. 132, 135). They travelled like pilgrims from village to village in order to investigate and influence the political views of the people.

One thing, however, remains doubtful. It is a wellknown fact that in post-Vedic times many members of the Brahmanical caste in Northern India had to earn their livelihood by non-priestly but more or less reputable occupations. But they did not lose their caste, for they belonged to it by birth. Such Brāhmanas are aptly called 'worldly Brāhmanas' by R. FICK, (I. I., p. 192 sq., 212sq.). If such Brāhmanas existed at all in Ceylon, they were certainly few in number. I can only quote one expression in the whole chronicle which perhaps may refer to worldly Brāhmanas; that is *vanibbino brāhmanā* in 73. 32. It is true, the percentage of Hindus as compared with Buddhists was no doubt smaller in Ceylon than in Bengāl or Orissa, and the chances of living by priestly function alone were yet smaller than in India. But, on the other hand, in a country where Buddhism was so predominant as in Ceylon, it was perhaps easier and not so dishonourable for a Brāhmaṇa, when he was reduced to poverty, to leave his caste and to enter into one of those of the former Vaiśya and Śūdra castes.

20. I have more to say about the Khattiyas. The name (= Sk. *ksatriya*) frequently occurs in the mediaeval Mahāvamsa, but it does not denote the warrior caste or even a caste at all. The caste, as we have seen, was split up into a great number of families or clans (*kula*, *vamsa*, *gotta*) who often rivalled and sometimes were even at enmity with one another; wars were fought by a militia called out in times of emergency and by an active army of mercenaries. The Khattiya is simply a man of the highest class, a nobleman, a prince. Synonyms with *khattiya* are *bāhuja* (Mhvs 59.12) and *rājañña* (89. 27) = Sk. *rājanya*. The former reminds us of the old Brahmanical legend, according to which the Kṣatriya caste sprang from the arm of the god Brahmā. The latter is met with in the triad *rāja-rājañña-mantino*, 'king, noblemen and dignitaries,' who are the firm foundations of the state.

Frequently the title *khattiya* is given by the chronicler to the prince who in legal succession ascends the throne. Such phrases as 'now his brother next in age, the prince (*khattiyō*) Kassapa became king' (48. 20) often occur in the older part of the Cūlavamsa. At the head of the nobility stands the king. In 73. 137 Parakkamabāhu I is glorified as 'the highest flag of the Khattiya clans' (*khattiya-vams'-ekaketu*) and in inscriptions of the tenth century kings are called 'the pinnacle of the Khattiya clans' (*kātkula-kot* = P. *Khattiyakula-kunta*) as for instance Kassapa IV and Dappula IV (Epigraphia Zeylanica, II 41 A.¹⁻⁵. III 127 A.²⁻⁴). Or they even boast of 'having made the other Khattiya clans their vassals' (*an kāt-kula pāmīli kala* = P. *aññe khattiya-kule pāda-mūle katā*) as Udaya III (II) and Kassapa V (Epigr. Zeyl., III, 139 A.⁵⁻⁷ I 221¹). The special title 'Great Lord' (*mahāsāmin*) seems to have been reserved to the scions of the royal clan. Dappula, an offspring of Okkāka (Ikṣvāku), afterwards king Dappula IV, 650 A.C., is given this title in 45.50, and in 57. 24, 30, 49 it is given to all the noblemen born in the clan of Mānavamma who was a descendant of the same mythical king.

There were in Ceylon several clans or families of the nobility. Some of them are mentioned in the chronicle by name: (1) Lambakaṇṇā, (2) Moriyā, (3)

Kuliṅgā, (4) Taracchā, (5) Balibhojakā. The name of the Sihalā will be discussed separately. The five names quoted above denote animals: *lambakanna* is 'hare' or 'goat', *moriya* 'peacock', *kuliṅga* means a bird, the 'fork-tailed shrike', *taraccha* is 'hyena' and *balibhojaka* 'crow'. This clearly shows that the Sinhalese clans had a totemistic character. A peacock was, for instance, the emblem and perhaps the mythical ancestor of the Moriyas.

Of all these clans the Lambakannas who according to tradition came from India to Ceylon with the Bodhi-tree during the reign of Devānampiyatissa, 3rd c. B. C., were nearest to, and probably formed a branch of, the royal dynasty. Five Lambakannas, mentioned by name, were entrusted by Parakkamabāhu I with the enlistment of soldiers for the army he wanted when beginning the struggle for the throne. In a religious feast celebrated by the same king Lambakannas played a part with other people of the noblest families (*mahākulinā*, 74. 213-4). It is noticeable that Lambakannas also existed in Southern India. They had to perform certain functions at the coronation festival of Virapaṇḍu in Madhurā, which was arranged by Parakkamabāhu I (77.25 sq.).

Next in rank to the Lambakannas seem to have been the Moriyas. The Taracchas and the Kuliṅgas apparently came to Ceylon at the same time with the Lambakannas (19.2). In the Cūlavamsa the Taracchas are mentioned only in 42.30. People of the Taraccha clan had to convey the statue of the thera Mahinda to the bund of the Mahindataṭa tank constructed by King Aggabodhi I, 568-601. About the end of the 12th century a Kuliṅga, Mahinda by name, treacherously slew King Vijayabāhu II, but he was himself killed after five days by the indignant inhabitants of the country (80.15 sq.). The Balibhojakas are mentioned but once in the later Mahāvamsa. Here the elders (*jetthā*) of the clan are said in 85.51 to have participated in a great festival, celebrated by Parakkamabāhu II in the thirteenth century. They had to fend off, it seems, by certain ceremonies or incantations all influences emanating from evil spirits which could disturb the course of the feast.

It is doubtful whether the word *monasiha* (90.7) also denotes a totemistic clan. The Monasihas were nine brothers who, bribed by the treacherous general Mitta, tried to murder the rightful heir to the throne Bhuvanekabāhu I, the son of Parakkamabāhu II. Non-totemistic is the clan-name *Girivamsa* (91.3), if this does not simply mean 'highland tribe.' A scion of the Girivamsa was the minister Alagakonnara of Vikkamabāhu IV¹).

There may have been more totemistic clans in Ceylon than the five enumerated above. But it is not necessary, I think, to assume that they were of non-Aryan origin. Totemism is a world-wide practice and was by no means unknown to the ancient Aryans. Among the *gotra*-names there are many of totemistic character, which are taken from the names of animals or plants (H. ZIMMER, Studien zur Gesch. der Gotras, Diss. Berlin 1914). The Kāśyapas are the 'tortoise-men' from Sk. *kaśyapa*. The name of the Māṇḍūkas is derived from *maṇḍūka*, 'frog'; that of the Śaunakas, Aurnavābhas, Kāpeyas from *śunaka*, 'dog,' *ūrnavābhi*, 'spider,' *kapi*, 'ape'; that of the Āsvatthya from *āsvattha*,

¹) Cf. E. W. PERERA, Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceylon Br. XVIII, No. 55, p. 283 sq. and S. PARANAVITANA, Epigr. Zeyl. IV, p. 301 sq. (Ed.).

Ficus religiosa, &c. Maurya, the name of Candragupta's and Āsoka's clan is the same word as *morīya* in the Mahāvamsa (cf. A. GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhistische Kunst*, p. 72; Mhvs-Tikā, ed. MALALASEKERA I 180²⁵). It is connected with *mora*, peacock, = Sk. *mayūra*. The form *maurya* is a Sanskritisation of the Middle-Indian *morīya*, and the name of Candragupta's mother *Murā* who became the female ancestor of the whole clan, is only an etymological invention in order to explain the Sk. word *maurya*.

21. The name *Sihala* itself has also a totemistic origin. According to the oft-quoted legends *Sihabāhu* was the son of a lion and a *Vaṅga* princess. After he had killed his father, the lion, he became king in *Kaliṅga* and was given the name *Sihala* (Mhvs 7.42). He had two sons, *Vijaya* and *Sumitta*. The former came to Ceylon as first colonist, but died without leaving legitimate descendants. The counsellors therefore invested *Sumitta*'s son *Paṇḍuvāsudeva* who was residing in *Sihapura*, the capital of *Kaliṅga*, with the royal dignity of Ceylon. He married *Bhaddakaccānā*, a *Sakya* princess, who had arrived in the Island as a fugitive. She bore him eight sons, the eldest of whom was *Abhaya*, and a daughter *Ummācittā*, and was followed by six of her brothers who settled in divers parts of the Island. The son of one of them *Dīghagāmaṇi* by name, became the consort of *Ummācittā* and begot on her a son, *Paṇḍukābhaya*, who after *Paṇḍuvāsudeva*'s death conquered the kingdom from his successor *Abhaya* and was the fourth ruler of Ceylon.

The mythological and legendary character of these traditions is manifest, on the whole as well as in the details. Their tendency obviously was to join the dynasty ruling in Ceylon with the most prominent dynasties of India, the *Kaliṅga* rulers and the *Sakyas*. Nevertheless I believe that in all those stories there is at least a germ of historical truth, but what we venture to deduce from them is, of course, merely hypothetical. According to my theory we learn from them that Ceylon was overrun by three successive waves of immigrants. The first is represented by *Vijaya* and his companions who came from NW. India. The second wave started from *Kaliṅga*. Its representative is *Paṇḍuvāsudeva*. He brought to Ceylon the name of *Sihala* which afterwards by reason of the legendary ties between him and *Vijaya* was transferred to the latter (7.42). The third wave, starting from *Vaṅga* (Bengāl) and *Magadha*, is represented, in the tradition, by *Bhaddakaccānā* and the six *Sakya* princes.

In the course of time the original clan-name was amplified and used as designation of all the inhabitants of the Island. This is clearly shown by expressions like Ruler of the *Sihalas* (*Sihalādhipa*), *Sihala* language (*Sihalā nirutti*), &c. Ceylon itself was called *Sihala-dīpa* 'Island of the *Sihalas*', and the *Sihalas* were often contrasted with other peoples like *Damiḷas*, *Rāmaññas*, *Jāvakas*. But in 54.9—11 we have the interesting fact that King *Mahinda* (*Mihindu*) IV, 10th cent., had fetched from India a princess born in the clan of the *Kaliṅga* rulers and made her his first queen. Two sons and one daughter were borne by her, and thus *Mahinda* founded the *Sihala* clan (*Sihala-vamsa*). This seems to be a renewal of the ancient legends concerning the connexion of *Vijaya* with the *Kaliṅga* dynasty which were half-forgotten at *Mahinda* IV's time, and the King made it in honour of his consort who was herself a *Kaliṅga* princess, and at the same time in order to renew the glory of his family.

22. The Khattiyas had their own laws, the *khattadhamma* (Mhvs 67. 91.). Versed in these laws valid for the nobility, prince Parakkamabāhu, at a favourable constellation, celebrated the festival of the binding on of the frontlet denoting the rank of a Mahādīpāda. We do not hear much in the chronicle about the details of those laws. The marriage-rules may have been included in them. There existed no strict endogamy within the single clans. Examples of intermarriage between them are often reported. A younger sister of the Moriya Moggallāna I, 496—513, was the consort of the Lambakaṇṇa Silākāla (39. 44—5; 41. 7; J. STILL, Index to the Mahāvamsa p. 81, III). Moggallāna (Mugalan) the son of prince Kassapa (afterwards king Vikkamabāhu I) and father of Kittī (afterwards king Vijayabāhu I) was a scion of the royal clan and bore the title 'Great Lord' (57. 29—30). He married Lokitā who was the daughter of Bodhi (57. 41) a descendant of the Lambakaṇṇa Dāthopātissa. Mahinda IV is said to have fetched the princess from Kaliṅga and made her his queen, 'though there was a race of Khattiyas in Laṅkā' (54.9). It is implied in this notice that he could woo as an equal consort a daughter of each of the Khattiya clans in Ceylon.

Equality of birth was the first requisite in a nobleman's marriage, and all the Khattiya clans were equal to each other. In the intermarriages of the Sinhalese royal family with foreign dynasties the Solar and the Lunar line (Kāliṅga and Pāṇḍu) were considered to be equal to the Sinhalese kings, but not the dynasty of the Coḷas, nor the Āriya line of the Rājputs.

At all events the most aristocratic marriage seems always to have been that with a daughter of the same clan. In several inscriptions (e. g. Epigr. Zeyl. I 221²) it is emphasized that Dev Gon (the Queen of Kassapa V, 913—23) was of the same family (*e-ma kulen* = P. *ten'eva kulena*) and therefore equal to him in birth (*sama-dā* = P. *sama-jāti*). Is this perhaps the trace of an older endogamous Khattiya law?

That certain rules were observed by the Khattiyas as regards eating is shown by a story narrated in 47. 9. sq. We learn from it that a Khattiya would never eat remnants of a Khattiya meal, for then he would admit himself to be of a lower caste. Prince Mānavamma, when he lived as a refugee in South India, was riding one day with his friend the Pāṇḍu king Narasiha on the back of the same elephant. Narasiha, feeling thirsty, drank a cocoanut and then gave it to his friend. Mānavamma hesitated to accept it owing to the clan regulations, but finally he made up his mind to drink. Narasiha at once understood the mistake he had made and drank now himself in turn what Mānavamma had left. Thus it was manifest that they considered one another to be equal in rank.

23. Since the word *kulina* is derived from *kula*, it is manifest that originally the nobility was meant by it, those who belonged to one of those clans. And indeed, where the term occurs in the chronicle, the *kulinā* are generally somehow or other connected with the ruling dynasty and with the government. They were the supporters of the kingdom and its tower of strength. From those clans the officials were taken both for civil and military service, probably by inherited right.

The kings protected and helped the noblemen in their own interest. Vijayabāhu I, 1059—1114, is said to have chosen people of good family and

charged them with his protection, and they were his permanent bodyguard (Mhvs 60.1). Parakkamabāhu I thought it his duty to protect those people of noble birth who had been ruined, by placing them in their rightful position (73.7). Women of good family (*kulīnā iṭṭhiyo*, *kulīṭṭhiyo*) were treated with much respect. King Udaya I, 792—7, used to present such women, if they were widowed (*anāthā*), with ornaments, and when they were in want, he gave them food at night (49.35). Vijayabāhu gave them villages, food and clothing according to their deserts (60.78).

It also happened that noblemen opposed the king. When in the fifth century the Damiḷas, altogether six rulers, held sway in Ceylon, most of the kinsmen of the noble families (*jana kulīnā*, 38.12) betook themselves to Rohaṇa as their refuge. But some of them attached themselves to the Damiḷas. When Dhātusena succeeded in annihilating the foreign dynasty, he severely punished those treacherous noblemen by depriving them of their villages and leaving these villages defenceless.

But already in the time described in the Jātakas the Khattiyas had ceased to be merely 'warriors', and in Ceylon at the latest by the seventh century, but probably at a yet earlier date, the kings had a regular army composed of mercenaries, chiefly Damiḷas, whom they paid for their service. The position of the Khattiyas was political rather than military, and most of them, no doubt, earned their livelihood from their landed properties. Some of the clans may have claimed descent from one of the Aryan immigrants who arrived in Ceylon in the first centuries of its colonisation and who as the first settlers were able to occupy a large area of land as family property. They became the great landed proprietors among the Sinhalese. In the chronicle clan-villages (*kulagāmā*, 38.38) and a Moriya district (*moriya-ratṭham* 69.13) are mentioned.

But side by side with those noblemen there were also landed proprietors in the Island who did not belong to one of the ancient clans. It is easy to understand that in the course of centuries by the identity of the economic interests a mutual approach of the two groups was gradually brought about. In contrast with the low-class people, the *hīnā*, they both were *kulīnā*, and the final result of the development was, as we shall see below, a fusion of the two classes of people who according to the Brahmanical theory were *ksatriyāḥ* and *vaiśyāḥ*.

24. In mediaeval Ceylon the chief social distinction was that between the agricultural and the non-agricultural population. The former was a class of uniform character, the latter comprehended the various groups of artisans, hand-workers and craftsmen. Thus both castes of the brahmanical system, the Vaiśyas as well as the Sūdras, disappeared in Ceylon; the former because they merged in the class of the *kulīnā*, the latter, because the large number of separate professional groups had become the true actuality in the Indian cultural life instead of a non-Aryan caste. In the Jātakas already 'the distinction between castes (*jāti*) and occupations (*sippa*) has gradually been obliterated and in modern times has been almost wholly abolished'. (See R. FICK, *The Social Organisation of North-East India in Buddha's Time*, transl. by Sh. Maitra, p. 327.)

In Ceylon the non-agricultural population was, in contrast with *kulīnā*, called *hīnā*, i. e. people of lower rank. The agricultural people do work for themselves according to their free will, the artisans and craftsmen do work for other

persons and expect to be paid by them. They approach, therefore, the position of unfree and half-free people, *dāsā* and *kammakarā* (see below 29).

25. The word with which a craftsman is denoted in mediaeval Ceylon is *pessa*, *pessiya*, *pessika*, Sk. *praiṣya*. It occurs already in the canonical books of Pāli-Buddhism meaning a servant, or the like. It is frequently joined with words like *dāsa* and *kammakara* or also with *kassaka* agriculturist, *sippika* artist, *vāṇija* merchant (Suttanipāta 651). In Sn 615 we read (R. FICK l. l., p. 221):

Yo hi koci manussesu parapessena jivati |
evaṃ Vāseṭṭha, jānāhi, pessiko so, na brāhmaṇo ||

'Whoever among men ekes out a living through service rendered to others, know this, Vāseṭṭha, is a Pessika, not a Brāhmaṇa'.

Performing work for others, not for himself, rendering service to others is just the chief characteristic of a craftsman according to the idea of the mediaeval Sinhalese. The plural *pessā* (*pessiya*, *pessikā*) is nearly synonymous with *hīnā*.

It is remarkable that the Pessiya were no longer designated as a 'caste' (*vaṇṇa*, *jāti*), but simply as a 'group' (*vagga*). Five or ten such groups (*pañca pessiya-vaggā* Mhvs 57.21; 67.58; *dasa p.-v.* 84.5) were distinguished. According to ВІЛЕСІУНА, (Mhvs trsl. 2nd pt., p. 94 n., 144 n.) the five groups were the carpenters, weavers, dyers (or washermen), barbers and workers in leather (or shoemakers). I do not know whether this is a mere suggestion or a tradition handed down in Ceylon, but it is regrettable that ВІЛЕСІУНА did not notice which groups are meant by *dasa pessiya-vaggā*. It is not impossible that in mentioning five and ten groups a distinction of rank is made within the crafts.

The Pessiya groups were also connected with the royal court. The king with his family and his immediate entourage enjoyed the service of craftsmen who were skilful to an extraordinary degree and did not work for other people. When prince Parakkamabāhu, after his return from Pulatthinagara arrived in Dakkhinadesa, his uncle Kittisirimegha despatched representatives of those *pañca pessiya-vaggā* to meet him (67.58). As soon as the prince had entered his own country, he was to be surrounded and attended by the retinue due to each member of the royal family.

When afterwards Parakkamabāhu II, 1236—71, reorganised the kingdom, he also 'settled' or 'rearranged' (*niyametvā thapesi*) the five and the ten Pessiya castes who belonged to the royal household (*rājakulāyatte* 84.5). We may assume that in the preceeding times of disturbance they had neglected their duties or not performed them in the prescribed manner; perhaps they had also served others for money.

The five Pessiya groups could also be granted by the king to a monastery (57.21) as slaves or serfs. In this case the artisans who had formerly served the king were now to do their work for the monks of the monastery, but they received payment from the king.

It was in the two classes of noblemen and common people and chiefly in the fifteen groups of craftsmen that the regulations of the ancient caste system continued to be observed, though perhaps in a modified and milder form.

As a rule endogamy was prescribed for each group, and the profession was hereditary in the family. It is also probable that, as in India, ever more castes came into existence; in Ceylon those professional groups split into numerous subdivisions.

26. I wish to add here a few words on the caste-system as it exists in modern Ceylon, because it really seems to be the final result of the development described in the precedent chapters. I refer to J. CORDINER, *A Description of Ceylon*, London 1807, I, p. 93 sq. and J. DAVY, *Interior of Ceylon*, London 1821, p. 112 sq., and (not seen by me) to ARMOUR, *Grammar of the (Kandyan) Law*, p. 3—4. But I also received most valuable information from my esteemed friend Mr. J. DE LANEROLLE who is not only familiar with the literature, but with the system itself by personal observation and experience.

The division of the whole society into two which had begun in the mediaeval period with the distinction between *kulinā* and *hinā* is now definitely completed. On one side stand the Vellālayās (Goyivaṃsa) or agriculturists together with the Gopallās (Paṭṭi) or cattle-breeders as a lower subdivision, and on the other side the multitude of professional castes. The former are a compact whole, while the latter are split up into many subdivisions of different rank and authority. The Vellālayās are the nobility, the *kulinā*, and the Khattiya-caste has merged into that class. Certainly we all will sympathise with the Sinhalese who thus have indicated that the most aristocratic occupation is the cultivation of the native soil. In Ceylon even a poor farmer who lives on his own land is a nobleman.

The professional castes — in this case the term 'caste' is to a certain degree justified — are all inferior to the Vellālayās. Outcasts excepted, 18 such castes are distinguished by CORDINER, and 19 by DAVY. By DE LANEROLLE 17 castes are enumerated and I reproduce his list here: 1. Navandannās, artificers (Co. Nr. 5 *cambova* for *kaṃburā* who represent a subdivision of 1).—2. Karāvās, Kevulās, huntsmen and fishers (Co. Nr. 3, D. 1).—3. Durāvās, drawers of toddy (Co. Nr. 4, D. 2).—4. Radāvās, washermen to a Vellālayā (Co. Nr. 8, D. 7).—5. Hannāliyās, tailors (D. Nr. 4).—6. Baḍahālayās, Kuṃbalās, potters (Co. Nr. 7, D. 5).—7. Āmbāṭṭayās, Panikkiyās, barbers (Co. Nr. 12, D. 6).—8. Hāliyās, weavers of cloth, since the introduction of European industry cinnamon peelers (Co. Nr. 9, D. 8).—9. Hakurās, Vahumpurayās, jaggery-makers, also employed as porters by the Vellālayās (Co. Nr. 10, D. 9).—10. Hun(n)ās, lime-burners (Co. Nr. 13, D. 10).—11. Pannayās, grass-cutters (D. Nr. 11).—12. Beravāyās, tom-tom-beaters (Co. Nr. 14, D. 15).—13. Paduvās, palanquin-bearers, watchers policemen (Co. Nr. 16, D. 14).—14. Gaḥalayās, scavengers, executioners (Co. Nr. 18).—15. Oliyās, Paliyās, charcoal burners and washermen to inferior castes (Co. Nr. 15, D. 18, 20).—16. Hinnāvās, sievemakers (Co. Nr. 11).—17. Kinnārās, mat-weavers (Co. Nr. 17, D. 21)¹.

¹) For custom, habit and social status of the Kinnārās, known also by the alternative names of Karmānta Minissu, Karmānta Kāraya, Karmāntayō or Kinnarayō, see M. D. RAGHAVAN, *The Kinnarayā, the Tribe of Mat Weavers*, *Ethnol. Survey of Ceylon*, No. 2, *Spolia Zeylanica*, Vol. 26, pt. II, p. 219—249. A description of the present caste-system among the Sinhalese was published by Bryco RYAN, *Caste in Modern Ceylon*, New Brunswick 1953. Cf. also, Ralph PIERTS, *Sinhalese Social Organization*, p. 169 sq. In the *Jana-vaṃsa* (or *Jātibhedalakṣaṇa*), a Sinhalese work of the 15th century, a description of the castes in Ceylon is included. (Ed.).

These castes have many subdivisions which are often erroneously counted as separate castes. We must, however, keep in mind that the caste-rules were not so rigorous in Buddhist Ceylon as they were and still are in India. It is certainly extravagant to say, as CORDNER did, that people of different castes lived as distinct tribes. The ancient caste restrictions are here and there still observed in the interior parts of the Island, but in towns, owing to modern forms of social life, the distinctions of caste are more and more disregarded and marriages between castes are now fairly common, chiefly among the educated classes.

27. There were many casteless people in mediaeval Ceylon and several casteless occupations. No medical caste or caste of merchants seem to have existed. The probable reason will be discussed below. Casteless were the itinerant traders who used to wander from village to village and sell cheap articles as rings and bracelets or pottery for household use. Such traders were probably meant by the word *vaṇibbaka* (or *vaṇibbin*), if it is cognate with *vāṇija*. In Buddhist Sanskrit the form is *vanīpaka*, occurring also as *vaṇiyaka* in the *Divyāvadāna* (СТЕДЪ, Pali Dict. s. v.). In the first chapters of the *Cūlavamsa* which deal with the history of the fourth to the ninth centuries we meet with the triad *kaṇa³-addhika-vaṇibbakā*. These people are supported by pious kings with abundant alms (37. 76; 41. 66; 44. 67; 51. 85). In this triad the word *kaṇa* has the most general sense; all poor people who are in distress of any kind, are meant by it. By *addhikā*, I think, the pilgrims are understood who are on the road (P. *addhan*, Sk. *adhvan*) in order to visit a temple or other sacred places. The *vaṇibbakā* were the itinerant traders. In the canonical Buddhist literature we meet with the same triad. It is preceded here (*Dīgha Nik.* I. 137²⁴, II. 354¹⁴) by *samaṇa-brāhmaṇa*, and followed by *yācaka*, denoting the professional beggar. It is obvious that in the compound are indicated all classes which should be supported by a pious Buddhist, and, of course, in the first place, by a pious king. The wayfarers must be among these and should not be omitted.

Great also was the number of mendicant Artists (*yācakā sippino*), for instance, musicians, playing the mandoline and amusing the villagers with dances and songs. There were it seems, *Damiḷas* often among the musicians. A peculiar class of artists were the snake-charmers (*ahiguṇṭhikā*) often met with even now by travellers in India. The *Ahiguṇṭhikas* are the gypsies of Ceylon roaming about in the Island and staying in the same place no longer than a few days. It is not known when they immigrated, but their Dravidian origin seems to be indubitable. They are especially found in the Northern half and the Eastern districts, and speak Telugu and broken Tamil and Sinhalese. According to *Rasavāhinī* 1. 5 (ed. Colombo 1901, p. 13³⁶⁻³⁷) we must assume that the *Ahiguṇṭhikas* were not Buddhists, but followers of a heretical probably Hinduistic religion¹).

All these types are mentioned in the interesting passage *Mhvs* 66.130 sq. where the spies are enumerated who, disguised as such people, were sent out by *Parakkamabāhu* in order to know and influence the minds of villagers in

¹) See also M. D. RAGHAVAN, *The Ahikuṇṭhakayā, the Ceylon Gipsy Tribe*, *Ethnol. Survey of Ceylon*, No. 4, *Spolia Zeylanica*, Vol. 27, pt. I, p. 141—169. (Ed.).

3 Geiger, *Ceylon*

Gajabāhu's kingdom. Among those spies there were also surgeons, practising their healing art, wandering teachers who instructed boys in the art of writing, fortune-tellers and priestly helpers, people expert in mixing of poisons, probably for love-potions, but sometimes also for more sinister purposes, and craftsmen such as goldsmiths who publicly practised their profession in villages and market-places in order to attract the interest and the desire of the inhabitants by their skilful work. They are all included in the term *yācakā sippino*, for they all practise a *sippa*, a peculiar art or craft. But it is common to them that they do not receive regular payment for their work, but must take it in each case from the villagers according to their means and willingness, like beggars (*yācakā*) who eke out their livelihood by collecting alms in the streets.

Pious kings had instituted a peculiar offering, called *daṇḍissara*, for the mendicant artisans. We cannot explain the name of this offering, but we hear of it between the years 900 and 1100 A. C. (52.3; 53.30; 60.22).

28. From casteless people we pass on to Outcastes. The Caṇḍālas were in ancient Ceylon in the same positions as in India. They had to perform the lowest and most polluting work, to cleanse streets and sewers, to carry the dead and to watch cemeteries. Near the capital, Anurādhapura, they lived in a separate village North-West of the place where the dead were exposed or burnt (Mhvs 10.91—3). It was a shameful humiliation when at the end of the first century A. C. King Īanāga ordered the Lambakaṇṇas who had revolted against him to make a road in Anurādhapura, and had set Caṇḍālas to be their overseers (35.16—17). In the mediaeval part of the Mahāvamsa Caṇḍālas are not often mentioned. Spies disguised as Caṇḍālas wandered through Gajabāhu's kingdom (66.132), and Caṇḍālas were employed with slaves for unskilled labour in public works (88.106).

In modern Ceylon the Caṇḍālas are replaced by the Roḍiyās (cf. H. NEVILL, *The Taprobanian*, June 1886, p. 88 sq. and August 1887, p. 108 sq.). What we know about the Roḍiyās is highly interesting. They are spread over the whole Island, living in separate hamlets, and have to do the same unclean work as formerly the Caṇḍālas. The intercourse with them is strictly avoided by Sinhalese of the better classes. They are beggars as well as thieves by hereditary custom and speak a conventional secret language comparable to the language of thieves in Germany. It is a corrupt form of Sinhalese mixed with foreign words, the origin of which is sometimes obscure. They have their peculiar manners and customs often different from those of the Sinhalese, but they are by no means a degenerate race. They enjoy bodily strength, the women are often very handsome. As regards their origin and first appearance in Ceylon we are confined to their own very fantastic traditions. It is however remarkable that in these traditions their origin is connected with the personalities of Parakkamabāhu and one of his daughters. I am inclined to suppose that they were people of a non-Sinhalese tribe who migrated in Parakkamabāhu's era, that is about the twelfth century, into Ceylon. There these foreigners were always regarded as people of the lowest and most detestable class. But they mixed with the Caṇḍālas, absorbed them gradually and became thus in their stead the class of outcastes in Ceylon. This is, however, only a suggestion which may serve as a working hypothesis for future investigation.

(Cf. W. GEIGER, Ceylon und seine Bewohner, Mitt. d. Geogr. Ges. Hamburg, XIII, p. 84 sq. For studies in their language, cf. below, Bibliography, p. 256. A new monograph on the Roḍiyās was published by M. D. RAGHAVAN, Handsome Beggars, The Roḍiyās of Ceylon, Colombo 1957. [Ed.]

29. Finally we come to the foremost social difference in ancient and mediaeval Ceylon, to that between Freeman and Slaves (*dāsa*). Slavery was a common institution in India up to modern times, and the Indian lawbooks, the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra included, contain minute details concerning it. Four classes of slaves are distinguished in the Vinaya, ed. OLDENBERG, IV, 224³³, seven in the Manusmṛti VIII, 415, and fifteen in the Nāradaśmṛti (BÉFLOER, Kauṭaliya-Studien II, p. 30 sq.). It is interesting that in the Nitinighaṇḍuva (Sinh. ed., p. 8 sq.) the classification is the same as in the Vinaya: the first two classes are those who are born in the house (*antojāta*) or bought for money (*dhanakkūla*), the third and fourth apparently those made prisoners in war (*karamara*) and carried off by force (*ānūta*).

It is easy to understand that we are unable exactly to trace this distinction in the chronicle, though it may have existed in mediaeval Ceylon as well as in India. The first slaves were no doubt Damiḷas taken prisoners in war. King Silāmeghavaṇṇa (Salamēvan) 617—627, after having beaten the Damiḷas who had invaded the Island in order to conquer the kingdom for Śrīnāga, captured those who escaped slaughter, subjected them to all kinds of humiliation, and made them slaves (44.70—73).

Common to all Dāsas was the total absence of personal freedom. They were part of their lord's property in the same sense as money, fields and cattle. For their livelihood they were given a patch of land, called *divel* in Sinhalese (H. W. CODRINGTON, Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon, p. 18). In the houses of rich people, chiefly in the royal household, the number of slaves seems to have been very great. They could be given away to other people, if their lord wished to do so. Silāmeghavaṇṇa distributed the Damiḷa slaves he had made (see above and Mhvs 40.70 sq.) to monasteries. Aggabodhi (Agbō) IV, 658—74, placed slaves at the disposal of the Bhikkhu community wherever they were wanted (46.10), and the Damiḷa Potthakuṭṭha who was serving the same king, having erected a splendid building in some monastery, could also assign it villages together with slaves (46.19). King Parakkamabāhu I is said to have assigned in the hospital built by him at Pulatthinagara, to each sick person, a male or female slave who had to attend on the patient (73.34—36). Queen Kalyānavatī, beg. of the 13th century, built a monastery in the village Paṇṇasālā and granted it villages, fields and gardens, articles of domestic use and slaves (80.35—36). Her general Āyasmanta also created a *pariveṇa* and supplied it with slaves, male and female (*dāsīdāse* 80.40). Yet in the 18th century King Kittisirirājasīha is said to have assigned to the holy Tooth relic besides other precious presents, numerous villages and fields together with many slaves both male and female (100.11).

As we may infer from the chronicle, it sometimes happened that people who were in debt or unable to earn their livelihood, sold themselves and perhaps also their wives and children to their creditor or to some other rich man in order to maintain their existence. Under unfortunate circumstances this state could grow into permanent slavery. But, originally at least and on

principle, it was temporary and could come to an end through redemption. Parakkamabāhu II is praised for having redeemed numerous people who had been enslaved during the despotic dominion of the usurper Māgha (87.46—7).

There was always humiliation or abuse in the words *dāsa* and *dāsī* and they were, therefore, avoided at least by more sensitive people. King Aggabodhi VIII, 801—812, once addressed, probably in anger, one of his slaves with the word *dāsa*, but he afterwards repented of it; to make up for this, he allowed the slave to use the same word towards himself (49.62). This story shows that we have no reason to assume that the slaves were always ill-treated in any way by their lords, much less than they were treated with cruelty. When the officials of a king call themselves his slaves, as in 70.202, this is, of course, a rhetorical humiliation.

In Sinhalese the word for female slave is *miḍi* which derives from Sk. P. *mūḍitā*, 'shaved'. This shows that in former times a female slave was not allowed to wear long hair, but had to shave her head when she was taken into a family.

A somewhat different social position was enjoyed by the Kammakara. The word is often combined with *dāsa*, even in the form of a compound, as also the corresponding Sk. word *karmakara*. In the Kautaliya (2nd ed. SHAMA SASTRY, p. 142, trsl. 178—9) the *Karmakara-dāsāḥ* are enumerated as the domestic property of a man along with animals; in the Jātakas (III, 129¹⁴) they are mentioned as belonging to the household of a rich merchant (R. FICK, l. l., pp. 262, 305). In the same manner according to the Mahāvamsa Dāsas and Kammakaras depended on a lord who had legal authority over them. In the disturbed times which preceded the reign of Parakkamabāhu in the 12th century, both classes revolted against their lords (*sāmino* 61.68). But the Kammakaras were not personally unfree like the slaves, though their freedom was limited by certain restrictions. They had to perform some work for their lord at regular intervals or on certain occasions, as, for instance, during the harvest or when new buildings were to be erected. As payment for this service a small estate, a *divel*, was assigned them, from which they could gain a livelihood. The labour was substituted for the rent. Sometimes *Kammakara* is rendered by 'hired labourer', but, I think, the translation 'serf' would be more appropriate.

The designation *kammakara* does not imply humiliation as does the word *dāsa*. In a broader sense it can be used for any person who is bound to perform services prescribed for him by a superior. Thus in 47.33 the petty officers of an army commanded by a general are called by this title; the same designation is used (46.19) by the chronicler of the Damiḷa Potthakuṭṭha at King Aggabodhi IV's court (cf. above 15). In such cases we have simply to translate the word as 'servant'.

The Kammakaras could, like slaves, be given away to another lord. In this case they were appointed to render the new lord the same service that they had rendered the old one. Sena I, 831—51 is said in 50.64 to have granted slaves and serfs to a monastery he had built on the Aritṭha mountain. By King Vikkamabāhu II, 1116—1137, the 'royal workman' (*rājakammikā*, 62.34) were ordered to rebuild ruined temples and relic-shrines and destroyed tanks. Here probably the Kammakaras in the royal service are to be understood.

The word *kammakara* ought not to be confounded with *kammakāra*, the latter being no technical term but simply denoting a man who has to perform some work, a 'workman' in the most general sense.

II. Family and Domestic Life¹).

30. The family is the basis of the whole cultural development of mankind, and if a single people has advanced to a higher stage of civilisation, the character of family life is always a good test of the value of that civilisation. It is, therefore, regrettable that family and domestic life were of little interest to the authors of the *Cūlavamsa*. They were Buddhist priests and themselves living without family. What they did mostly care for was the welfare of the Buddhist community and the relation of the king and the royal government to the priesthood on which the prosperity or adversity of the order depended. What we can say about family and domestic life in mediaeval Ceylon is merely based on incidental passages met with here and there in the chronicle.

Much more material is furnished by the *Jātakas* about family life in North-Eastern India. Putting together this material in an interesting paper on the subject, published in 'Indian Culture' III, p. 209 sq., R. MEHTA sums up his views in the statement 'that domestic love and family tie were, in those days, on a sound footing'. On the whole, I think, the same may be said of family life in mediaeval Ceylon, though it was not always so peaceful in the ruling family. Here, as often occurs in the world, the insatiable desire for personal power sometimes caused the most atrocious crimes. Even fratricide occurred and kings killed their sons from whom they feared dethronement. Kassapa I (Kasuba), 5th cent., had his own father Dhātusena murdered in order to ascend the throne instead of the heir apparent Moggallāna and to occupy the treasures collected by the king. (38.84 sq.)

The head and master of the family (*kuṭumba*), the *kuṭumbika*, was the father (*pitā*), but at his side the mother (*mātā*) was held in highest esteem, and both are called parents in the copulative compound *mātāpitaro* (Mhvs 87.19, 55) In 49.51—61 the tender love of King Aggabodhi (Agbō) VIII, 801—812, for his mother is described. He served her day and night, visited her every morning, bathed and attired her himself, offered her delicious food with his own hand, prepared her couch, and sat by her rubbing her limbs to help her go to sleep. When she was asleep, he did reverence three times, placed servant-guards, and left the room without turning his back on her.

Marriage in mediaeval Ceylon was usually monogamous. In the richer classes polygamy may not have been unknown; the king had a harem, but, among his wives and concubines only two were regarded as queens. It is probable that the domestic ceremonies and rites observed by the single families were those prescribed by the Brahmanical *Gṛhya-sūtras*, as it was certainly the case at court (see below). The term for marriage ceremony was *parinaya*, v. *nī + pari* 'to lead round', because the bridegroom holding the bride by

¹ Cf. also, M. B. ARIYAPALA, *Society in Mediaeval Ceylon*, Colombo 1956, p. 284 sq. (Ed.).

the hand and reciting some verses takes her three times round the sacred fire that burns on the domestic hearth. In 72.91 prince Parakkamabāhu, full of pride, says: I shall make the earth my bride (*parinessāmi mahim*) purchased by combat'. The final phrase in this sentence (*saṃgāma-panikata*) contains an allusion to the ancient custom of purchasing a bride with a present given to her family.

If the bride was born in the house of a well-to-do man, she did not come empty-handed into her new home, but with a dowry. To Silākāla King Moggallāna (Mugalan) I gave his sister to wife together with adequate revenues (*saha bhogena* 39.55), and Upatissa II provided his daughter in the same manner with a dowry (41.7; cf. also 50.58, 60). Parakkamabāhu II boasts of having brought king's daughters with gifts (*rājakaññāyo sapābhata*, 87.28) from India to Ceylon.

When the householder died, probably the eldest son succeeded him in his position. He was now head and master of the family. Ordinarily he would have treated his mother with respect and kindness, but it seems that sometimes the fate of widows was a sad one. They had lost their lord and protector (*nātha*) and had to depend on charity (cf. 23).

The brothers of the father were also addressed as 'father'. Parakkamabāhu I called his father Mānābharāṇa and his two uncles Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha, his three fathers (*tayo me pitaro* 64.33). The elder brother of the father is 'the great father' (*mahāpitar* 51.24), his younger brother 'the little father' (*cullapitar* 88.53, 57). Mahinda II also calls the cousin of his father, Aggabodhi VII, *cullapitar* (48.82); his grandfather Kassapa III, and Aggabodhi's father Mahinda I had been brothers.

The brother of the mother is called *mātula* (7.65; 10.7, 29, 82; 64.33) and his consort *mātulanī* (41.72; 50.9); *mātulā* is perhaps term for the father's sister (57.28). King Aggabodhi I, 568—601, makes his mother's brother *uparāja* (42.6), and the Queen (*mahesi*) of Aggabodhi II was the daughter of his *mātula* (42.41). For the granduncle in the paternal line the term is *ayyaka* (10.73 sq.); in Sanskrit *āryaka* is an honorific term for grandfather.

The paternal grandfather is *pitāmaha*, the maternal *mātāmaha* (9.27), his wife *mātāmahī* (59.28).

31. Children were, as MEHTA says, the happy corner of the household. Sons (*putta*, *sūnu*, *suta* 87.18, *atraja* 93.3) were more desired than daughters (*dhītā*), and even now-a-days many a pilgrimage is undertaken to Kataragama by Sinhalese women for the purpose of having a male child (J. M. SENAVERATNE, Ceylon Antiquary and Lit. Register V, p. 92). When the chronicler wants to describe the most intense and delicate feeling, he compares it with the love of a mother for the son of her womb (41.63). King Sena I, 831—851, is said to have looked on all creatures as on a dear son (50.1); he was, therefore, a true father to his subjects.

The education seems to have been strict and sometimes even harsh. In order to describe the mild and benevolent character of prince Vijayabāhu, the son of Parakkamabāhu II, the chronicler tells us (87.57) that children beaten by father or mother went to him and told him of their woes. The prince summoned the parents, exhorted them to beat their children no longer and let them have the necessary food from his own storehouse, so that the little ones were satisfied and joyful.

The terms for 'brother' are *bhātar*, *bhātuka*. The same terms are used for the sons of two brothers. Aggabodhi (Agbō) VI calls Aggabodhi VII his 'brother' (48.51); they were the sons of the two brothers Kassapa (Kasub) III and Mahinda (Mihindu) I. The nephews, the sons of the brother, were called 'sons' by their uncle like his own sons. (52.11; 63.51). Parakkamabāhu is the *nandana*, lit. 'who is rejoicing' his father (Sk. idem), of his uncle Kittisirimegha (63.38).

King Parakkamabāhu II, 1236—71, when addressing his five sons and his nephew (87.18.19) is said to have distinguished three kinds of sons: the low kind (*avajāta*), the like kind (*anujāta*) and the higher kind (*atijāta*). The first kind are those who waste the property of their parents which has come to them as a family heritage, — the second those who preserve and protect this heritage, — the third those who acquire many other possessions, thus increasing the wealth of the family and enjoying it happily like prudent folk.

It is easy to understand that daughters (*dhītaro*) do not play the same part in the chronicle as sons. A man calls his sister *bhaginī* (Sk. idem), or, if she is younger, *anujā* (63.40; 61.1). The grandson is *nattar* (69.23; Sk. *naptr*). An important position has the *bhāgineyya*, the sister's son, within the family. He stands immediately after the sons and, as it seems, even before the sons of the brother. The *bhāgineyya* was specially welcome as son-in-law. Several kings as Aggabodhi I, Dappula II, Vijayabāhu I gave a daughter as wife to their sister's son (42.10; 49.71; 59.44). We will see later that often the most important posts in the state were bestowed by the king on his *bhāgineyya*, who, under certain circumstances could even become heir to the throne.

32. The great number of nouns used to denote the different grades of affinity seems to prove the importance that was attributed to relationship. As to the royal house we can easily understand why they preferred marriages within the family. They intended thereby to protect and to increase the private power of the dynasty. But similar reasons will no doubt have caused the same result in other families, at least in those of the richer classes. In order to strengthen the familiar tradition it was customary to give a son the grandfather's name. It may be sufficient to quote a few examples. The Moriya Dhātusena had a son Dāthānāma, and the latter again a son Dhātusena (38.14—15). In the same way we meet the sequence Sirināga¹ — Vohārikatissa — Sirināga² (36.21, 27, 54); Sirivallabha¹ — Mānābharāṇa — Sirivallabha² (59.42; 64.19; 72.291). Sometimes it was a younger son who received the grandfather's name. Among the sons of Dappula (II) a younger one who never became king was named Udaya after Dappula's father Udaya (I) (50.44). There were two brothers Aggabodhi (III) and Kassapa II, and the latter had a son Mānavamma. Of Mānavamma's two sons the eldest bore the name Aggabodhi after Mānavamma's *cullapitar*, the second the name Kassapa after the grandfather (WICKREMASINGHE Epigraphia Zeylanica III, p. 16—17). Lilāvati, the first Queen of king Vijayabāhu I, had the same name as her maternal grandmother (*mātāmahi* 59.28).

Sons were also often named after their uncles. Thus Aggabodhi (IX) and Mānābharāṇa after their *cullapitars* (49.43 and 83; 59.42 and 64.19), Aggabodhi (II) after his maternal uncle (WICKREMASINGHE, l. l., p. 15). We must however keep in mind, that certain names were used with predilection — we have to distinguish at least fourteen Aggabodhis (Agbō), twenty-one Mahindas

(Mihindu), eight Udayas (Udā) — and that we often do not know whether the name of a king was his original name or adopted by him at his coronation.

Finally a few words on the fact also observed by S. PARANAVITANA (see my "Contributions from the Mahāvamsa", § 3; Journ. Greater India Soc. II, p. 92), that in Ceylon traces may be found of an ancient matriarchal system crossing the patriarchal order. The terminology of relationship seems to point to this same fact. It is perhaps not merely incidental, for instance, that the terms for the paternal and maternal uncle and grandfather are differentiated. But it is particularly the exempt position of the *bhāgineyya* which can hardly be explained but as a vestige of such an ancient social order and it is a well-known fact that a matriarchal system of society was prevalent till quite recently in the Kandyan districts and probably still continues in remote villages. Even amongst the low country Sinhalese some traces of this system existed till some time after the arrival of the Portuguese¹).

33. We do not hear of domestic rites and ceremonies in the chronicle but of those performed at court by the Purohita according to Brahmanical rules. To the ceremonies to be noted in the description of the court-life (cf. below 122) we may add the pregnancy ceremony (*gabbhāparihāra* Mhvs 62.36) which was performed a few months after conception, again the ceremony of giving the child a name (*nāmakaraṇa* 62.52), that of giving the first rice food (*annapāsana* 62.53), generally performed after six months, when the child was to be weaned, and that of piercing the ear (*kannavedha* 62.53) in the third or fifth year of the child's life. It is not too rash, I think, to assume that ceremonies similar to those in the royal family were also usual in the houses of the common people either with or without priestly assistance. They were, of course, less solemn and sumptuous than at court. It is, however, doubtful, whether traces of such ceremonies which were based on the rules of the ancient Sūtra literature are still to be found in modern Ceylon. 'Ceremonies connected with the daily life of the Sinhalese are numerous and varied in their character. Every social and domestic event has its peculiar ceremony. Birth, childhood, feeding of a child, cropping of his hair, puberty, marriage, travel, sickness and death, the building of a house, business, games, agriculture, from felling a forest to ploughing, sowing, reaping, and thrashing and storing of crops have all their special ceremonies' (W. A. DE SILVA, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch., XXVIII, Nr. 74, 1921, p. 71; cf. Nr. 73, p. 14 sq.). But what we learn about those ceremonies from W. A. DE SILVA's very interesting papers seems to prove that they are of a different character and all connected with the popular worship of the planetary spirits and with propitiation of the demons.

For the deceased the *petakiccāni* were performed, as, for instance, for the general Rakkhā, who had died of dysentery during a campaign in Rohaṇa (74.145). The purpose of the ceremony was to secure for the deceased a way out of the world of roaming souls (*peta*) and an entrance into that of the manes. The corpses of dead people were apparently burnt only if they

¹ Cf. Ralph PIERIS, Sinhalese Social Organization, The Kandyan Period, p. 195 sq.; Fr. A. HAYLEY, A Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Sinhalese, Colombo 1923; S. PARANAVITANA, Matrilineal Descent in the Sinhalese Royal Family, Ceylon Journ. of Science G II, p. 235 sq. (Ed.).

belonged to the higher classes. Otherwise they were merely exposed on the *susāna*, the burying ground, a lonely place in the jungle where they became the prey of wild beasts. King Upatissa I sent for such a corpse from the *susāna* and substituted it for a criminal who had been sentenced to death, but whom he, out of pity, let escape by night (37.205—6).

34. The chief article of food was rice, as it is also now-a-days in Southern India. Rice is called *vīhi*, if produced on swampy fields, and *sāli*, if it has been grown on hills where no artificial irrigation is required; *tanḍulāni* are the grains of rice before they are cooked. *Bhatta* (Sk. *bhakta*, Sinh. *bata*) means cooked rice or simply meal. There were two sorts of cooked rice, *yāgu* or *odana*, and *pāyāsa*; the former words are generally translated with 'rice-gruel', the latter with 'milk-rice'. Both dishes are frequently offered to priests as alms (Mhvs 24.26; 36.68—69; 41.98—99; 49.88 &c; 22.70; 45.25 &c). Other words for 'milk-rice' are *khīranna* (35.65) or *khīrodana* (38.27), and *dadhibhatta*, if it was cooked with curdled milk (45.25; 51.133).

The Sinhalese cooks were clever in making a rice-dish savoury by preparing it with oil (*tela* 34.62), or as a sour dish with vinegar (*ambila-bhatta* 70.211), or more frequently as a sweet dish with various ingredients such as sugar (*sakkharā*, in lumps: *guḷa*, or as syrup: *phāṇita*), honey (*madhu*) and butter (*sappi*), besides milk (*khīra*) or milkeurds (*dadhi*).

Honey, butter and lumps of sugar were served as festival entertainment (29.28). Dishes filled with finest rice-gruel prepared with sweet milk were offered to a sanctuary (89.44), and raw sugar, lumps of sugar, and honey distributed to the poor and sick in the dispensaries erected by king Parakkamabāhu I (73.30).

During a bad famine king Silāmeghavaṇṇa, 7th cent., had entertained the Bhikkus with milk-rice made with butter and syrup (44.66). The *saṅkhata madhu-pāyāsa* mentioned in 32.39 was according to the *Ṭikā* (ed. MALALA-SEKERA II, p. 594²³) milk-rice prepared with sugar, honey, butter and oil (*sakkhara-madhu-sappi-telehi samyojita*). An exquisite dish was rice prepared with the milk of a king-coconut (*sannīra*), butter and fine spices (*sūpehi*) (39.16). Black pepper (*marica* 25.114, 26.16), long pepper (*pippalī*), garlic (*lasuna*), the three kinds of myrobalans (*tīphalāni*) and ginger (*siṅgivera* 28.21), the latter fetched from Malaya, were also used as spices (cf. 54.23).

All the ingredients belonging to a meal are enumerated in 89.52—53. We are here told that in the 13th century the headmen (kings) of the Vannī clan collected in their provinces Patīṭṭhāraṭṭha and Rohaṇa and offered the Buddhist community rice (*sāli*) with various condiments (*vyañjana*), sour milk, sweet milk, clarified butter (*ghata*) besides honey, syrup, raw sugar and sugar in lumps.

It is a curious fact that Sinhalese of the rural class now-a-days seldom seem to milk their cows and rarely to drink milk (H. WHITE, Ceyl. Antiqu. and Lit. Reg. V, p. 16). But it is doubtful whether we have to admit such a prejudice for the mediaeval period. We have just learned that among the Vannī gifts there was also sweet milk (*duddha* = Sk. *dugdha*), most probably as a beverage. Dāthopatiṣṣa II, 7th cent., is said to have distributed to the priests gifts of curdled milk-rice, sweet milk (*khīra*) and *pāyāsa* (45.25), and Mahinda II, 8th cent., gave the Brāhmaṇas sweet milk with sugar (*khīraṃ sasakkharaṃ*) to

drink out of golden goblets (48.144). Therefore J. M. SENAVERATNE is certainly right when he says (l. l., p. 19) that, if the ancient Sinhalese were not great milk-drinkers, they at least had no prejudice against this beverage.

Dry corn, mostly produced in Henas (Sinh. *hēna*, *sēna*), i. e. on ground made cultivable by burning the jungle, was not so commonly used for food as rice, but roast corn (*lāja*) and bean-soup (*māsodana*) are mentioned as food in 38.95, 98.

Dried fish (*maccha*) were eaten with rice (89.52), rarely meat. Fish and meat were always considered a luxury. But chicken (*mamsa sākuna* 38.98) was, besides beansoup, a favoured dish of king Dhātusena. It was offered to him by the aged Thera who formerly had been his teacher and whom he visited shortly before his death, in order to converse with him about his plight.

35. Frequently we meet the compound *khajja-bhojja*. What that means becomes manifest from Mhvs 85.38. Here the compound *anna-pāna* 'food and drink' is explained with *khajja-bhojja*, i. e. solid and tender food = *anna*, and *leyya-peyya*, what can be sipped or drunk = *pāna* (cf. also 89.45). *Yāgu* was reckoned among the *pānas*, for it is joined with *khajja-bhojja* just as *pāna* with *anna* (14.55; 36.100), and king Sena I, 9th cent., is said to have made to widows an offering of milk-rice with the solid food belonging thereto (*yāgu-dānaṃ sakhajjakam* 50.75).

Of solid food cakes (*pūva*) were in great demand; children liked them most, of course (44.67). There were different sorts of cake. A 'sugar-cake' (*guḷa-pūvaka*, 10.3) is mentioned in the ancient Mahāvamsa; but it would also be possible to translate this compound as a Dvandva with 'lumps of sugar and cakes'. A peculiar kind, fried in clarified butter, was the 'net-cake' (*jāla-pūva* 32.40), probably the same as what now-a-days is called *dāl-kāvuma*, a cake made of rice-flour, oil and jaggery (J. M. SENAVERATNE, Ceyl. Antiqu. and Lit. Reg. IV, p. 55). The *kapalla-pūva* (35.67) seems to have been a sort of pancake.

Fruit probably belonged to tender food (*bhojja*). It is easily understood why fruits are rarely mentioned as almsgiving. The reason is that they were universally eaten and procurable everywhere. Mango and breadfruit trees and bananas were to be found in the garden of a poor cultivator as well as in the neighbourhood of a monastery. But it is expressly said that plantains (*kadalī*) were in the store of the troops when they sailed from Ceylon to begin the campaign against Rāmañña (70.211).

Whether eggs ever were eaten or used in cooking is not certain (cf. below 82). They are never mentioned in a list of the articles of food offered to priests or poor people.

Intoxicating drinks (*surā*), chiefly toddy, the fermented sap of the sprouts of certain palm-trees, were not unknown. Toddydrinking (*surāpāna*) was a word indicating pleasure and amusement in leisure hours (25.32). But it seems that generally people of the better classes abstained from drinking *surā*. King Aggabodhi VIII, 9th cent., forbade the bringing in of fish, meat and intoxicating drinks into the town on the Uposatha days (49.48). He knew that on such days people were easily drawn to pleasure and often committed excesses. Seduced by his low class favourites king Sena V indulged in drinking *surā*. After taking it he was like a wild beast gone mad, and as he could no longer digest food he died young (54.70—72). To priests the taking of such

drinks was entirely forbidden; when thirsty they were refreshed by pious laymen with sugar-water (*sakkharapāna* 30.39).

Chewing a leaf of betel (*tambūla*) with pieces of dried areca-nut and with a little powdered lime (*cunna*) is an ancient and widespread custom in India, mentioned in the oldest part of the Mahāvamsa (35.62). It is common also now-a-days, at least, in the lower classes of the Sinhalese people as a stimulant which seems to make the constant rice-meals more digestible. Even priests used to chew betel and king Mahinda IV, 10th cent., is said to have offered to the bhikkhus betel-leaves as mouth-perfume (*tambūla-mukhavāsa* 54.22) with many other things.

Finally I quote from 100. 1 sq. the list of gifts offered in the eighteenth century by King Kittisirirājasīha to the Tooth relic temple in Kandy for the gratification of the priesthood as well as for the daily ritual performed in the shrine of the sacred relic. There were offered by the King all kinds of flowers, such as jasmine and the blossoms of *campaka*, *punnāga*, *nāga*, *kaṣi-kāra* and *ketakī* trees, white and blue lotus flowers; perfumes such as sandal and aloe wood, and many kinds of fragrant incense; furthermore sugar, honey and so forth, delicious remedies like areca nut, camphor and betel leaves; various prepared dishes such as sweet food, rice and cake; golden bananas, rose-apples, bread fruits, mangoes and *phārusa* fruits, date plums, oranges and sweet *munḍakas*, yellow and green coconuts, pomegranates, dates, grapes and various other fruits with many fine roots and leaf vegetables of every kind.

36. Leaving aside the priestly robes which are to be described later on, we are unable to give an accurate description of the dress (*vaitha*) worn by Sinhalese men and women in the mediaeval period. But there was probably no great difference between it and the dress as it is at present, and as it was worn at the beginning of the last century, after Ceylon had fallen into British power. CORDINER (Ceylon, I, p. 94 sq.) says, the dress of the men is generally nothing more than a piece of cloth wrapped round the waist, the length and quality of which corresponds to the circumstances of the wearer. R. KNOX, An Historical Relation of Ceylon, London 1681, p. 142 sq. also mentions the jackets worn by people of higher rank and the dress of Kandyan noblemen. Instead of a jacket they wore as gala-dress an upper garment that has the form of a wide-sleeved gown and was girded about the loins. The quantity of clothes wrapped round the hips swells their waist to an extraordinary size which is considered as an emblem of their dignity. It also stands to reason that the king's state-robe when he, surrounded by the highest official and sitting on the throne, appeared to his subjects on some festival occasion, was quite different from his usual dress.

The cloths worn by the women of the lower classes are longer than those of the men, generally reaching below the knee. Most of them wear also short jackets just long enough to cover their breasts. Others throw a piece of cloth over their shoulders to answer the same purpose. But women of some of the lower classes were formerly obliged to go and do their ordinary work with their breasts completely exposed. This was no doubt an ancient custom, but it is now abolished. Even women of the Rodiyā caste now generally cover their breasts with a cloth hanging down from their shoulders when they appear in public.

The garments of rich and poor people during mediaeval times probably less differed in shape than in the value of the stuff. There were clothes made of linen (*khoma* = Sk. *kṣauma*) or silk (*koseyya* = Sk. *kaūseyya*, Mhvs 70.109)¹). Side by side with these stuffs in 73.84 also *cīna* is mentioned. With this word no doubt a special kind of silk imported from China is meant. In the 11th century costly stuffs (*vatthāni*), probably also silk, were brought on ships to Ceylon from Burma (*Rāmañña*) together with camphor, sandalwood and other goods (58.9). Fine and costly stuffs were also often presented to the priests for the making of their robes (35.65; 51.131).

In cold weather or higher up in the hill-country often a mantle or cloak was worn above the usual dress. The two words for 'mantle', *pāvāra* and *kambala*, seem to be synonymous. In 66.101, 103 we read that Parakkamabāhu when he, on the way to Pulatthinagara, had reached the hilly districts, had donned a red *kambala*. He wore it even in combat. In 66.109 he is said to have laid aside his bloodsoiled *pāvāra* when he approached the frontier of Gajabāhu's kingdom, and to have cleansed the blood stains from his sword. Cloaks were also given to priests in the cool season (60.70).

37. Common people generally went barefooted and bareheaded. Shoes (*pāduka*) were rather considered as ornament or a part of festival dress than as an article of normal wear. Sandals (*upāhanā*) may more frequently have been in use, perhaps on longer journeys. I may refer to a story narrated in Mhvs 30.29 sq. A Thera had come from Koṭṭhivāla to Anurādhapura where they were just erecting the Great Thūpa. As he wished to take part he made a brick and gave it to a workman who embedded it in the tope. When the king heard of this fact he ordered one of his officials to accompany the priest on his way back to his monastery. When the two were near this place, the official made the Thera sit down in a cool shady spot, gave him sugar-water, rubbed his feet with fragrant oil and put sandals (*upāhanā*) on them. It is manifest, therefore, that the priest had gone the whole way barefooted.

The hair of both, men and women, was simply tied in a knot on the top of the head. When Parakkamabāhu, whilst dallying on his way to Gajabāhu's capital at Nāvāgirisā, was suddenly attacked by the persecutors, he wrapped himself tightly in his cloak, bound his topknot fast (*cūlikam dalham abajjha* 66.103) and, sword in hand, plunged into the midst of the fight.

A silk cloth wound about the head (*dukūla-paṭṭa* 23.38) was, as the context shows, a decoration rather than a covering for the head. The same must be said concerning the crown or diadem (*moli*, *makuṭa*) worn by the king. It was an emblem of the royal dignity (49.54) and a part of his state apparel (72.311; 77.25; 90.61). Dancing women also wore head-ornaments called *makuṭa* (32.78).

To keep off the solar heat umbrellas and fans were in use. The words *chatta*, *ātapatta* (= Sk. *chattra*, *ātapatra*) are generally translated with 'umbrella', and *viṇāṇi*, *tālavāṇṭa* (= Sk. *viṇāna*, *tālavrnta*) with 'fan'. But it is sometimes difficult to make such a distinction between umbrellas and fans. According to CORDINER (l. l., p. 97) what we may call an umbrella was shaped exactly

¹) *koseyya* in the description of the canopy (*vitāna*) in a royal tent of Parakkamabāhu IV; Mhvs. 90.70.

like a fan. Such umbrellas were formed of the leaf of a palmyra-palm (*tāla*), as the word *tālavanta* shows, by sewing the divided slips together. They were folded up and spread out like a fan, being about seven feet in length and five feet in breadth at the expanded end. Flies were driven away with fly-flaps (*cāmara*). It is, however, doubtful whether and to what extent all these things were used by common people. The umbrellas apparently were always an attribute of rank and dignity. They may have been different in form and colour in accordance with the social position of the owner. A white umbrella was one of the royal insignia and the particular symbol of royal power (see 119 c). CORDINER tells us (l. l.) that Sinhalese noblemen, when they appeared in public, were always attended by some of their domestics carrying over them an umbrella. A fan (*vījanī*) was in the hand of a priest who was to preach a sermon (85.46—7). A *vālavījanī*, i. e. a fan made of the tail of a yak, was among the presents sent by King Asoka to King Devānampiyatissa (11.28). The word is here synonym of *cāmara* (74.202, 213, 220), called chowry (hi. *cauñrī*) in Indo-English (YULE and BURNELL, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.). It is remarkable that wherever umbrellas, fans, fly-whisks and the like are mentioned in the chronicle, it is in connexion with the description of a festival procession. They were carried along with other decorations or emblems by persons who themselves took part in the procession, and they were made of gold and silver and studded with pearls and jewels in order to show the high rank of their owners and thereby to enhance the pomp and splendour of the feast (74.213; 76.113, 115; 85.27; 89.19).

38. Ornaments (*ābharana*) of different kind were well liked by men and women. Poorer women of the lower classes wore rings and bangles made of glass (*kāc'āṅgulīya-valaya*, Mhvs 66.134). These cheap ornaments were sold in the villages by itinerant traders. More costly ornaments, worn by rich people, were made of silver and gold and adorned with pearls and jewels. In 73.84 earrings (*kuṇḍala*), bracelets (*aṅgada*) and strings of pearls (*hāra*) are mentioned. Such ornaments were often conferred to officials or generals as reward for valuable services rendered to the king. Thus Parakkamabāhu, when he heard of the successful campaign of his generals in South India, had sent to them earrings (*kaṇṇakuṇḍala*), necklaces of pearls (*hāra*) and golden bracelets (*valaya*) along with precious vessels and exquisite garments (76.206). When the same king's general Laṅkāpura had subdued the hostile leader Valuṭṭhi-rāyara, he bestowed on him gifts such as a golden bracelet and the like, in order to make him his lasting friend (76.237). With the same end Parakkamabāhu himself presented the commander of Kālavāpi, Gokaṇṇa, an official of his rival Gajabāhu, with ornaments he had himself worn, consisting of various precious stones, and with an excellent elephant, and to his subofficers he gave costly earrings and the like (66.44—45). Gajabāhu tried to bribe Parakkamabāhu's general Rakkha by sending him abundant presents such as costly ornaments of jewels. But Rakkha mutilated the envoys and sent them with the presents to his Lord (70.108—110).

In the ancient Mahāvamsa among the presents sent by king Asoka to Devānampiyatissa ear-ornaments (*vatamsa*) and chains (*pāmaṅga*) are mentioned (11.28; cf. the notes in my trsl.). That King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi wore earrings appears from the story told in 25.88 sq. When he was fighting

against the *Damiḷa Bhalluka* one of his heros, *Phussadeva*, was sitting behind the king on the back of the elephant. He let fly an arrow into *Bhalluka's* mouth but lightly touched the king's earring. To atone for this he cut off the lobe of his own ear. *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi* is also said to have given away two precious earrings at the time of a famine. They were sold and with the money earned thereby food was procured for five great *Theras* (32.29—30)¹.

Perfumes (*gandha*) were commonly used. Four sorts are distinguished (*catujjātisugandha* 89.42): saffron (*kuṅkuma*), a powder prepared from the blossoms of the *tagara* shrub (*Tabernaemontana coronaria*), the olibanum of the *turukkha* tree (*Boswellia serrata*) and the blossoms of the clove-tree (*Caryophyllus aromaticus*). We know that the application of scented ointment was customary after a bath, and that the use of such an ointment was also allowed to the *Bhikkhus*. Therefore perfumes were often among the presents given to a priest (30.37; 85.83), and flowers, perfumes and incense are mentioned in connexion with temple festivals (90.73)².

39. Household furniture was no doubt very simple in mediaeval Ceylon. It consisted chiefly of mats which were spread on the ground to sit or lie upon (*bhummatiharāṇa* Mhvs 14.51; 27.39). The general expression for 'bed' is *seyyā* or *sayana*. Even now-a-days one may see in a Sinhalese village a man sleeping on the veranda in front of the hut lying on a mat under a coverlet (*attharaṇa*). But bedsteads (*mañca-ka* 27.39; 73.64 &c.) were not unknown. They had four bedposts (*mañcapāda*) which were so high that a man could hide himself beneath the bed (24.43). Bedsteads were found specially in hospitals (54.31). In the alms-houses erected by *Parakkamabāhu* (73.27) there were cushions (*bimbohana*) and pillows (*upadhāna*), mats (*katā*), carpets or covers (*attharaṇa*) and bedsteads (*mañcaka*). Beds of rich and noble persons were distinguished by more precious material. Those of kings were soft (*muduka*), and cushions and costly coverlets (*mahaggh'-attharaṇa*) were spread upon them (25.102; 73.64). Those in *Parakkamabāhu's* palace were made of gold and ivory (73.64).

Tables seem to have been unknown, and chairs were rarely used. People generally sat on their heels when talking together, or crosslegged when taking their meal or performing some petty work. They do so still in these days. There is a name, it is true, for 'chair': *pīṭha*, occurring side by side with *mañca* (27.39). But *pīṭha* was always something like a throne, a ceremonial seat. *Pīṭhas* were presented to priests along with bedsteads (15.12; 27.39), and priests were honoured by offering them chairs to sit upon when they were entertained by a pious layman (14.54). It was custom in this case to cover the chairs with a white cloth (hence *dussapīṭha*).

The peculiar character of a *pīṭha* as a throne becomes manifest by the fact that sacred relics were placed on such a chair (31.26). King *Kassapa V*, 10 th cent., had a copy of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* which was written on tablets of gold

¹) For dress and ornament in ancient Ceylon, cf. *Mārtin VIKRAMASIMHA (M. WICKRAMASINGHE)*, *Purāṇa Sīṃhala stringē āṇduma*, 2nd ed., Galkissa 1948. (Ed.).

²) Cf. Mhvs 34.41—2: "And when the king (= *Bhātikābhaya*) had commanded that the Great *Cetiya*, from the *vedikā* at the foot to the parasol at the top, be plastered with (a paste of) sweet-smelling unguent four fingers thick and that flowers be carefully embedded therein by their stalks, he made the *thūpa* even as a globe of flowers."

deposited in the temple erected by himself on a 'relic-chair' (*dhātu-pīṭha* 52.51, 56). In 51.23 with *pīṭha* the pedestal is meant of the golden image of the Buddha which had been carried away by the Pāṇḍus. The image itself was certainly one representing the Master in sitting posture. In a similar connexion also the word *pallaṅka* could be used. On a costly *pallaṅka* embellished by all manner of jewels the two sacred relics of the Tooth and the Alms-bowl were placed when they were transported by king Parakkamabāhu II, 13th cent., from Jambuddoṇi to Pulatthinagara (89.41). For the same relics a *pallaṅka* of extraordinary splendour was put up in the temple by Parakkamabāhu IV, 14th cent. (90.70 sq.).

With *sivikā* a litter or palanquin is meant in which people of higher classes were carried by their domestics. In such a litter king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi when near his death was born to the Great Thūpa in order to find consolation in the sight of his most famous work (32.7). The covered vehicle (*paṭicchannayāna*) in which Bhuvanekabāhu I escaped to Subhācala-pura (Yāpahu) was such a litter, as we clearly see from the narrative 90.4 sq. (cf. below 97).

40. Among the smaller household articles first of all lamps (*dīpa*) must be mentioned. The wicks were made of strips of stuff and the oil with which the lamps were filled, was sometimes a fragrant one (73.76), as the *madhuka*-oil pressed from the seeds of the tree *Bassia latifolia*, or sesamum-oil (34.55—56), or camphor-oil (85.41; 89.43). The terrace of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's palace was lit with fragrant oil-lamps (25.101). The 'Brazen Palace' in Anurādhapura caught fire from a lamp and was destroyed during the reign of that ruler's successor (33.6).

Very often temples or streets were illuminated with lamps on festival occasions. The Sinhalese very much liked such illuminations in ancient times (34.77, cf. below 197) and like them even today (cf. below 197). I myself saw the temple of the Tooth relic over and over illuminated with festoons of red and white lamps. We were told that their whole number was eighty-four thousand, which is a sacred number to Buddhists. Be that as it may, the aspect was splendid. That was in the full-moon night of February 27th, 1926.

Lamps could be fastened to sticks and such portable lamps (*daṇḍa-dīpa*) were carried along in festive processions by people who took part in them, or they were set up at the side of the street through which the procession went (31.80; 74, 205; 89, 44; 90.71). Lampstands (*dīpādhāra* 73.66; 76.205, *dīpa-daṇḍa* 89.23) were used within the houses. Parakkamabāhu honoured his victorious generals by presenting them with lamp-stands of gold and silver and other precious things. A colossal lamp was, according to 92.17, offered by king Viravikkama, 16th cent., to the temple on the summit of the Sumanakūṭa (Adam's Peak). It had a circumference of about twenty-two feet and a height of about seven feet, and was filled with one hundred jars (*ghatā*) of oil.

In the cool season braziers (*aggi-kapalla*) were used to warm the limbs. They were also presented to Bhikkhus (60.70). Otherwise live-coals covered with ashes were kept in such a pan so that it was possible at any time to kindle a new fire. — Mirrors (*dappana*) of gold and silver are mentioned among the offerings given to a temple (89.21). The word *ādāsa* occurs only once in a very late passage (100.106, 18th c.), where Saraṇaṅkara with regard to his virtues is said to have been like unto a mirror for all who were intent on salvation.

Grindstones (*nisada*) must also be reckoned among the household articles, for in rural districts the women used at home to grind the curry-stuffs they wanted for the daily meal. To such a millstone the little Nandhimitta, later on one of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's heroes, was bound fast with a rope slung about the boy's waist in order to prevent him from creeping away (23.6 sq.). The mortar in which the rice was pounded, is called *udukkhala* (30.9).

Water-strainers (*parissāvana*) appear to have been used not only by priests but also by pious laymen in order to avoid the destruction of some living creature in drinking (36.92).

Wicker-baskets (*piṭaka*, *putaka*, *pacchi*) were in universal use. Workers used them for carrying sand, stones and the like (88.109), women for keeping flowers therein (15.53) or for fetching the daily portion of food (33.62). When travelling, people carried the victuals they wanted in a *puṭa* (36.93). Often the word *puṭa* has the meaning of 'bundle', as in *sātakāni puṭa-baddhāni* (29.27), clothes rolled in bundles.

Finally I may mention bells (*ghaṇṭā*). It is a well-known story, told in the ancient Mahāvamsa (21.15), that king Eḷāra had a bell hung at the head of his bed so that those who desired judgement might ring it at any time. Small bells, sometimes made of silver or gold, were fastened as decoration to projecting parts of a building (27.27) or to the border of a state-umbrella (27.88; cf. 30.66). The palace of Parakkamabāhu was adorned with a network of tiny golden bells suspended here and there and giving forth a sound like that of musical instruments (73.68).

41. The number of vessels manufactured and used in mediaeval Ceylon was considerable. They served different purposes and were of different shape. They were mostly of earthenware, but sometimes also made of metal. It is however impossible exactly to distinguish the various sorts and to describe their forms. I shall give a list of words occurring in the chronicle and venture to add to each of them a rendering which of course is sometimes arbitrary: *kalasa* pot, waterpot, *kumbha* jar, *ghaṭā* pitcher, *thāla* plate, *thāli* pan, *paṭiggāha* basin, *pāti* bowl, *bhājana* dish, *bhikkāra* vase, *saraka* tureen. We may yet mention the rinsing-tub (*ācāma-kumbhī*) with its ladle (*uḷunka*). Both were made of gold in the Lohapāsāda (Mhvs 27.40).

When the building of the Great Thūpa was undertaken in Anurādhapura the master-builder filled a bowl (*pāti* 30.12) with water, took water in his hand and let it fall on the surface of the water in the bowl. The bubble which rose up became the model for the Thūpa. Mango-fruit was put in a *bhājana* (22.4—5), and the same word is used in a figurative sense. A pious king is called a vessel filled with meritorious works, and a Grand Thera a vessel full of offerings and honours (44.70; 84.16). A vase (*bhikkāra*) was among the presents sent by king Asoka (11.28); a pitcher (*ghaṭā*) was a container for a great quantity of oil (92.17), and gold and silver pitchers were presents offered to a sacred relic (85.26). A dish (*saraka*) filled with food was given to a priest (32.55).

But in most passages such vessels are mentioned in connexion with festival processions: *kalasa*, *kumbha*, *ghaṭā*, *thāla*, *paṭiggāha*, *bhikkāra* (74.205; 76.112, 115; 85.26; 89.20, 44; 90.71). They were filled with flowers carried along in the procession or set up as decoration at the side of the street. When

the flowers were lotuses the vessel could be called *pokkharāṇī*, lotus pond (85.28). We must not assume that vessels of a special form are denoted by this word. If in such passages the decorative pots and vases are said to be of silver and gold as all the things used at the same occasion, this is, of course, a poetical embellishment (cf. 89.19—23).

III. Settlement, Villages and Towns

42. The Aryan colonisation of Ceylon had a purely agricultural character. The first settlements were a number of villages (*gāma*) founded by the leaders of the Aryan immigrants in the fifth century B. C. There are two different traditions in the chronicle concerning this event. According to Mhvs 7.39, 43—45 it was Vijaya who founded Tambapañṇinagara, whilst his companions built Anurādhagāma, Upatissagāma, Ujjenī, Uruvelā and Vijitanagara. But according to 9.9—11 the villages Rāmaḡoṇa, Anurādhagāma, Uruvelā, Vijitagāma, Dīghāyu(*gāma*) and Rohaṇa were founded by six Sakya princes, the brothers of Bhaddakaccānā who was the consort of the second king, Paṇḍuvāsudeva.

The historical kernel of these traditions may be the fact that the first stream of immigrants who, led by Vijaya, came from NW. India, was soon followed by another stream coming from NE. India. Three names of villages occur in both lists. It seems that the tradition about their foundation was dubious.

All these settlements had the character of villages, though the names of two, Tambapañṇi- and Vijita-nagara (7.39,45) end in *nagara* 'town'. It seems that they were called 'towns' because they were fortified. The necessity for fortification was felt, if a village was exposed to the assaults of the wild aboriginal inhabitants of the Island. That Vijitanagara indeed was fortified according to tradition, appears from 25.28. It had — the description is rather stereotyped — three trenches and was protected by a high wall furnished with iron-bound gates. Nevertheless the same Vijitanagara is called Vijitagāma in 9.10, and we are certainly justified in saying that at the beginning of the mediaeval period of Sinhalese history with the exception of Anurādhapura — regarding this see below in 47 — there existed in Ceylon hardly any settlement which could be called a town in a more modern sense of the word.

In the whole of the ancient Mahāvamsa, apart from Tambapañṇinagara and Vijitanagara, only six names of settlements are met with which end in *-nagara*, and among them two, Kalahanagara and Pajjotanagara are expressly designated as villages (10.42; 25.51)¹.

The Aryan immigrants entered Ceylon with the intention of finding a new home where they could earn their livelihood by agriculture. But they immediately encountered a serious difficulty. The grain cultivated in India was mainly

¹ These six names in the ancient Mhvs are: Ukkanagara (32.54), Kaṇḍanagara (21.6), Kalahanagara (10.42), Koṭanagara (25.13), Pajjotanagara (25.51), and Mahelanagara (25.48 sq.; cf. Mhvs *Ṭikā*, p. 480 Nivattagirinagara). Mahelanagara was fortified. It had a triple trench and was surrounded by an undergrowth of kadamba bushes, possessed but one gate and was hard to approach: Mhvs 25.48. (Ed.).

⁴ Geiger, Ceylon

rice, but in Ceylon rice can be produced without much cultivation in sufficient quantity only where the yearly rainfall is over 75 inches. This is the case in the wettest parts of the Island, in the hilly country and in the South-Western districts. But in the Northern Country where the Aryan colonists first got a footing (cf. above in 6), the rainfall is only between 50 and 75 inches in a year, and these districts are also subject to periodical drought, so that the wells become exhausted, and the necessary supply of drinkable water is lacking in the hottest months.

43. Thus the Aryan colonists were from the very outset compelled to construct storage tanks in order to accumulate the surplus rain-water that had fallen during the wet months, for watering the paddy fields in the dry season. We may assume that Pāṇḍus were their teachers and helpers in that task. This fact is indicated by the tradition itself. We learn from Mhvs 7.48 sq. that at the request of Vijaya, the Pāṇḍu king in Madhurā sent to Ceylon not only young women as wives for Vijaya and his companions, but also workmen (*pessiya-kāraka*) and many families of the various guilds, i. e. numerous artisans and craftsmen who were able to assist the Aryans in their undertakings. Probably he hoped to extend his dominion over the Island with the help of those Aryan adventurers as pioneers.

The first tanks in ancient times were probably erected by a group of families who were related to one another. They had cleared the forest and near the tank built the huts which served as a home for each family. Such was the origin of a primitive village community (*gāma*). But the fields attached to a village and watered from the same tank were not the common property of the families who had erected the tank, but were divided into shares each being cultivated by one family. This shape of a Sinhalese village remained the same in the mediaeval period.

In Mhvs 10.103 we come across the short passage that king Paṇḍukābhaya, about a century after the first colonisation, fixed the village-boundaries over the whole of the Island. This notice is important, for it seems to mean that at an early time a system of land tenure was established in Ceylon, which, in the course of centuries, developed into the complicated system obtaining during the mediaeval period up to the present time. It would be beyond the scope of my work to enter into the details of that system, for which H. W. CODRINGTON'S *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue*, Colombo 1938, may be consulted, but together with J. DE LANEROLLE'S comment and criticism, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceyl. Br.*, 1938. It will be sufficient for our purposes to indicate the general principles on which the whole system is based and which become apparent in historical facts and administrative regulations¹).

The fundamental idea was, according to my opinion, the principle that the king is the proprietor of the whole land. We shall see below that from this point of view the administration of the kingdom becomes intelligible. No new tank can be constructed nor a new village built without the permission of the magistrates who act as substitutes of the king. In this case the king cedes a

¹ Cf. now, Lakshman S. PERERA, *Proprietary and Tenurial Rights in Ancient Ceylon*, *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, II, 1959, p. 1 sq. and the *Bibliography on Land Tenure and Related Problems in Ceylon*, Department of Information, Colombo. (Ed.).



part of his property to the colonists, but the latter do not become proprietors but only tenants of the new colony, and are liable to pay a tax to the king or to render him some service. Nor even could timber be fetched from the forest or a Hena started in the jungle without official permission.

44. There can be no doubt that a mediaeval village in Ceylon did not differ in appearance from a modern jungle village situated in a district which is not much influenced by European civilisation. The attractive and really charming picture of such a peaceful village drawn by H. PARKER in the introduction to his 'Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon' would also perfectly suit a village of the mediaeval period. Many centuries have passed without altering the character of an Indian village and the life of its inhabitants. The fields watered from the tank were a pleasant oasis within the gloomy wilderness. The houses, or rather huts, of the villagers lay near the tank. They were thatched with straw or plaited coconut leaves, the walls made of clayed twigs. Each family had its own house and round it a small garden with a few fruit-bearing trees, coconut- and areca-palms, bananas and mangos. The villages were generally open, but sometimes, when they were infested by wild beasts, enclosed with a fence of briars. On his way to Gajabāhu's kingdom prince Parakkamabāhu came to such a village. His companions could not penetrate the enclosure, because it was full of terrible prickles from top to bottom, but the prince broke fearlessly through the fence and entered the village.

Villages in a favourable position could set up market-places (*nigama*) where neighbouring villagers could purchase from traders the articles necessary to them for their work and daily life. The people living in such larger villages were called *negamā*, but the word is also simply used as synonym with *jāna-padā*, country people, in contrast with the inhabitants of a town.

45. The number of artificial tanks and of rural settlements connected with them is immense in Ceylon, but the cultivation seems to have been more extensive in former times, or, at least, during a certain period of Sinhalese history. Thousands of ruined or abandoned tanks of smaller size were discovered in the wilderness and mapped by the Survey, often within wide tracts of forest and jungle, but the villages which once stood near these tanks have disappeared, and the fields which were watered from them are overgrown with jungle. There were always jungle villages in Ceylon, as there are even now-a-days. But such an extraordinary increase of their number requires a particular explanation. The reason which induced so many families to abandon their home and to settle in the wilderness were, no doubt, insecurity of life and property brought about by political disturbances. Periods of terrible disorder, amply described in the chronicle, were the dynastic struggles after the death in the year 1114 of King Vijayabāhu I (Mhvs 61.62—69) and yet more the invasion and tyrannical rule of Māgha, 1214—1235, who had come over from Kalinga (Mhvs 80.54 sq., 81.1 sq.). We hear that in those times many people were cruelly harassed and even often mutilated or killed by an undisciplined soldiery, their houses burnt, the cattle driven away as booty, the tanks breached, the weirs destroyed in the channels, and the fields and gardens devastated.

It is in connexion with these events that the word *vannī* for the first time occurs in the chronicle as designation for the jungle colonists.

46. The formation of the word *vannī* (or *vañña*) is not quite clear. There is no doubt, however, that it is connected with *vana* 'forest' and may aptly be rendered by jungle people or jungle colonists. Notices concerning the Vannīs are met with in seven passages of the chronicle: Mhvs 81.10—11; 83.10; 87.25—26; 87.52; 88.87—88; 89.51; 90.32—33. Cf. WILH. GEIGER, *Die Vannīs*, Sitzb. d. Bayr. Ak. d. W., 1941, II, part 4, p. 1 sq. All those passages belong to the time between 1232 and 1284. We learn from them that Vannīs had settled not only in Patitthāraṭṭha but were spread over the whole of Ceylon, Rohaṇa included. They called themselves *Vannī-rājāno*, Vannī-noblemen or *Sihalā V.-r.* This name shows that the jungle-colonists were people of good family (*kulīnā*, 61.62). In the course of the 12th century and during the misrule of Māgha they had organised themselves in the form of a new clan, laying claim to nobility, just as the clan of the Licchavis who ruled in Vesālī, is called *Licchavi-rajjuruwō* in Sinhalese books. Gradually the Vannīs became powerful, forming, as it were, a state within the state. After the defeat of Māgha and the restoration of the national sovereignty Parakkamabāhu II and his son and co-regent Vijayabāhu (IV) entered into negotiations with the Vannīs and tried to bring them back (*ā-nī*) into the kingdom. The purpose of these negotiations is obvious. Without a flourishing agriculture there was no solid basis for the economic welfare of the people. It was urgent, therefore, in the more productive districts to cultivate anew the fields laid waste in times of disturbance by destruction of the tanks and irrigation channels (61.64—65). For this work the help of skilful agriculturists was needed, and hardly better helpers could be found than those jungle colonists who had practised their work under the most difficult circumstances.

The negotiations were, on the whole, successful. Not all at once but in groups, most of the Vannīs returned into the districts formerly inhabited by them where they found productive ground enough for agricultural purposes. The abandoned jungle tanks, however, were gradually ruined and the small Vannī villages vanished. Those who did not accept the king's invitation were finally regarded as rebels, or enemies like the *Damiḷas* (90.32—33). In Sinhalese books even Parakkamabāhu VI, 1410—1468, is said to have conquered Vannī chiefs (*Rājaratnākaraya*, ed. P. N. TISERA, 1929, p. 42³¹; *Sulurājāvaliya*, publ. S. K. JAYAVARDHANA, 1914, p. 20³) and the Vannī districts (*vannipattuva*, *daha aṭa vanniya* = 18 Vannī districts) played a part during the wars in the time of Rājasiha I, 1581—1593, being a part of the independent Sinhalese kingdom at that time (*Rājāvaliya*, p. 65¹⁴, 66⁶). (Ed.). They do not reappear in later Sinhalese history.

Remnants of the Vannīs, a few hundred only, still live in poverty in some districts of Northern Ceylon which since the 12th century were always under Dravidian rule (H. PARKER, *The Taprobanian*, Febr. 1887, p. 15). Their Sinhalese name is *vanniyā*. The influence of the Sinhalese kings did not reach far beyond Anurādhapura to the North. Here negotiations with the Vanniyās were out of the question. Moreover when in the 14th century the *Damiḷas* founded the kingdom of Jaffna the Vanniyās were driven out of their settlements by the invaders, and those who wished to escape slavery were compelled to take refuge in the forest. Excluded from all connexion with civilization for centuries they degenerated into a half-wild forest tribe earning their

livelihood by hunting and collecting wild honey. They live in small hamlets consisting of most primitive huts. When hunting they generally make use of bows and arrows like the Vāddās killing even elephants by this means. In the forest they glide through the bushes like wild animals and never lose their way even in the dark. Although other people speak of them as Vāddās they emphatically deny that they are of Vāddā descent, but claim to be Sinhalese of high caste, maintaining their proud Aryan traditions up to the present.

47. Towns (*nagara, pura*) could come into existence where tanks of larger dimensions were constructed and an area of greater extent was made cultivable, so that proportionally more people could earn their livelihood. This was the case with Anurādhapura. It was founded near the site of the old Anurādhagāma in the fourth century by King Paṇḍukābhaya and became a royal residence. It was the centre of the young Aryan colony, and had a brisk traffic with the neighbouring villages. It also became the administrative centre of the colony, although the administration may have been rather primitive in early days.

According to the older Pāli literature and the Jātakas in Buddhist times the towns in India were 'usually square, with four gates, one in the middle of each wall facing the four quarters, and four main streets led from these gates to the centre of the city' (A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *Eastern Art* II 212—3).

The plan of the old towns in Ceylon is similar (cf. for the following passage A. M. HOCART, *Town Planning*, *Ceylon Journ. of Science*, sect. G, I 150 sq.). The area enclosed by the fortification was the city (*khandhāvāra, pura*). In the oldest 'royal residence' Anurādhapura (cf. above 6) the city stretching from South to North had an extent of two thirds of a mile, and of about half a mile from East to West. The fortification is still traceable. The city is called *catudvāra* 'having four gates' in Mhvs 34.79; 35.97. Two of the gates, those in the Northern and Southern wall, are recognisable even now-a-days. The Eastern gate was approached from the ancient road running from Mihintalē to Anurādhapura, which crossed the Malvatu-oya just near the middle of the Eastern wall by a stone bridge, the remnants of which are still visible. The fourth gate was in the Western wall.

The city of Pulatthinagara (Polonnaruva), the capital of the kingdom from the second half of the eleventh century, had the twice extent of the Anurādhapura city, but it is also called *catudvāra* in the thirteenth century (88.120). According to Mhvs 73.160 sq. fourteen gates had been erected in Pulatthinagara by Parakkamabāhu I. Each of them has its peculiar name: 1. King's gate (mentioned also in 74.199), 2. Lion gate, 3. Elephant gate, 4. Indra gate, 5. Hanumant gate, 6. Kuvera gate, 7. Caṇḍi gate, 8. Rakkhasa gate, 9. Serpent gate, 10. Water gate, 11. Garden gate, 12. Māyā gate, 13. Mahātitha gate, 14. Gandhabba gate. It is however hardly credible that these gates were in the city wall which had an extent of about three miles. The great number of gates would only embarrass the defence, since the gates always were the chief object of the hostile attack. Immediately before the enumeration of the fourteen gates the chronicler speaks of the suburbs of Pulatthinagara founded by Parakkamabāhu. I believe, therefore, that by the fourteen gates are meant monumental structures erected where the highroads leading to Pulatthinagara from the districts near by reached the outskirts of the town,

but not city gates. Thus the seeming discrepancy between Mhvs 73.160 sq. and 88.120 would be cleared away.

48. Within the city the 'royal enclosure' (*rājāṅgaṇa*) with the king's palace formed a separate quarter, the citadel. In the ruins of Anurādhapura the citadel is at present not so easily distinguishable as in Pulatthinagara. Here it is a clearly defined piece of ground in the Southern portion of the city, enclosed by a brick wall (cf. Mhvs 73.60). Within this wall lies the royal palace (see below in 117) with several other buildings of different character. The most important of them is the so-called Rājamāligāva, East of the palace, an oblong structure on a terrace of three tiers, perhaps a hall of audience or a council chamber. In Mhvs 73.71 sq. light buildings are enumerated which seem to have been erected in the royal enclosure near the palace. The Hemamandira was built for the performance of expiation ceremonies by the Brahmīns, the Dhāraṅghara for the recitation of magic incantations. In the Maṅḍalaman-dira Jātaka tales were recited, in the Pañcasattatimandira the king received the magic water and thread from the ascetics. A building of the greatest beauty was the Dhammāgāra, a sermon hall. In the Sarasattamaṅḍapa musical performances and dances were arranged. Finally a maṅḍapa is mentioned which bore the strange name Rājavesibhujāṅga, and an Ekattambhapāsāda which glittered like a candelabra on a golden foot.

The temple of the Tooth relic (*dāthādhātughara*) always stood within, or at least, near, the royal enclosure. In Anurādhapura the relic was kept in a temple which had been erected by Devānampiyatissa on royal ground in the centre of the city (37.92; 54.45). This was the first Tooth relic temple. Its remnants were excavated in the year 1933 in the Eastern portion of the city, S. of the ruins called Gedigē (cf. S. PARANAVITANA, Mem. Arch. Surv. Ceylon III 14 sq.). In Pulatthinagara the Tooth relic temples were built on the so-called Quadrangle outside but very near the Northern wall of the citadel.

The Quadrangle is an artificial terrace which contains the ruins of several buildings two of which were certainly temples of the Tooth relic, one erected by King Vijayabāhu I, the other by King Nissaṅkamalla. Whether a third building, the Thūpārāma, had the same character is doubtful. In inscriptions as well as in Sinhalese books the Quadrangle is called *Daḍadā mahwa*, i. e. courtyard or terrace of the Tooth relic (S. PARANAVITANA, Ceylon Journ. of Science, sect. G, II, 162 sq.)¹).

By the two chief streets (*vīthi* = Sk. *vīthi*, or *racchā* 'carriage road' = Sk. *rathyā*) running South-North and East-West the city was divided into four quarters (*passa* = Sk. *pārśva*). This was still the case in Pulatthinagara in the twelfth century (Mhvs 73.26). But the number of streets was much greater than four, though the allegation that they were many hundreds in which day by

¹) Mhvs 78.32 (Cūlav. II, p. 105). The footnote should run thus: 'H. C. P. BELL, A. M. HOCART have identified the ruins of the so-called Quadrangle with the Jetavana-vihāra built by Parakkamabāhu I. But S. PARANAVITANA, Ceylon Journ. of Science, sect. G, II, p. 161 sq., has shown that this was wrong. The Quadrangle lies within the fortified city, but monasteries were always built outside. In inscriptions the Quadrangle is called *Daḍadā mahwa*. The temples erected on it were therefore *dāthādhātu-gharas* or buildings connected with the worship of the Tooth relic. As to the Jetavana-vihāra we must assume that its remnants are the ruins lying outside and N. of the city-wall.'

day there was an incessant traffic of elephants, horses, and carriages (73.148—9) is exaggerated. One of the main streets, probably that which ran from South to North, was the 'King's street' (*rājavithi* 67.1). Certain streets were reserved for the bazaar. Here were the open shops (*āpaṇa*) where, according to 73.149, all wares were to be had.

At night the gates of the city were probably closed, and for security's sake watchmen (*rakkhika*, 65.3) went the round the streets. In Mhvs 10.80 sq. we find a passage that King Paṇḍukābhaya, 4th cent. B. C., handed over to his uncle Abhaya the government in Anurādhapura for the night-time so that he became guardian of the city (*nagara-guttika*). From that time onward there were guardians of the city. This is an odd tradition intended to explain the origin of the institution of night-watching in towns.

49. The buildings in the cities of Anurādhapura and Pulatthinagara were either private or public buildings. Of private buildings, no trace is left in either town with the exception of the royal palace in Pulatthinagara whose ruins are still an imposing sight. We must assume that the private dwelling-houses in the city were generally small and stood close together with narrow lanes between. Most of them were made of perishable material such as sundried clay-bricks and wood. Along the main-streets the houses may have been higher and built in a more substantial manner. That there were many thousands of dwellings (*ālaya*) of two, three or more storeys in Pulatthinagara is again an exaggeration (73.148).

There were different types of houses. It seems that, if they had more than one storey, they were called *pāsāda*. The word is mostly translated by 'palace', but certainly very few of the *Pāsādas* were what we would call palaces. The general words for 'house' are *geha*, *ghara*, *āgāra*. Particular types of houses, were *addhayoga* and *hammiya*. They are mentioned among the buildings with which the streets of Pulatthinagara are embellished (Mhvs 88.93, 118). They also occur side by side with *vihāra*, *pāsāda*, *guhā* in the Vinaya, Mahāvagga I 30.4; Cullavagga VI. 1.2 (I 58¹⁹, II 146^{ult.} ed. OLDENBERG) in the enumeration of the dwelling-places which are allowed to a Bhikkhu. But we are unable to describe the peculiar character of those two buildings. Perhaps *hammiya* means a house with a pavilion on its top as a room to live in in the hot weather, because the word is also used as a name for one of the outside chambers of a palace (A. K. COOMARASWAMY, Eastern Art III, 1931, p. 191).

50. The number of public buildings erected in the towns during the greatest period of mediaeval Ceylon was considerable. They are enumerated wherever a large city is depicted in the chronicle (Mhvs 74.8—9, 15—16; 88.92—93, 116—20). Many of such buildings are called *sālā* 'halls'. This word is very comprehensive and denotes structures of different kinds. A common characteristic of the 'halls' is that they were not used as the lodgings for a single family. A peculiar type was *catussālā* or *catussālāghara* 'house with four halls'. Such buildings are mentioned in Mhvs 15.47, 50; 35.88; 37.15 as parts of monasteries, the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagirivihāra in Anurādhapura. A *catussālā* with four entrances (*catummukha*) was erected by Parakkamabāhu I in the centre of the city of Pulatthinagara (73.23). I have tried to explain the building as a square court surrounded on all sides by halls open to the interior. The four entrances, we must assume, led from outside into the court. A

catussālaghara within the fortress of Parakkamapura (76.123) seems to have contained barracks for the soldiers.

The 'halls' erected by Buddhādāsa, 4th cent., on the high-road (*mahāpathe* 37.148) were apparently rest-houses for travellers and pilgrims. The same is meant by *āgantū-sālā* 'hall for new-comers'. Parakkamabāhu I had hundreds of such rest-houses built in the various provinces of the kingdom and a great number restored (79.20, 22, 63, 80). We may assume that rest-houses were also erected in the towns for those foreigners who could not get lodging with friends or relatives, for traders, mendicants and pilgrims who visited the holy shrines.

The *dhammasālā*, mentioned among the monastery buildings in Pulatthinagara (see below 183) were, as the name shows, halls where priests preached the doctrine to laymen. Such halls seem to have existed also in the towns.

51. For distributing alms to Bhikkhus and beggars Alms-halls (*dāna-sālā*) were erected in the city where the kings deposited the gifts they regularly bestowed on the Bhikkhu-community, and where pious laymen could do the same. In Anurādhapura King Mahinda IV erected such an alms-hall (54.30). Parakkamabāhu I had four alms-halls built in the four districts of Pulatthinagara and near them storehouses which contained necessities such as syrup, sugar, honey and the like, all for the use of those who came to the alms-hall (73.26, 30—31). The same king is said to have erected an alms-hall with four entrances (*catummukha*) at the spot, where his general Rakkha, carried off during the campaign in Rohaṇa by an attack of dysentery, had been burnt, to do honour to his memory (74.150).

There was such an alms-hall in Anurādhapura the building called Mahāpāli which is frequently mentioned in the chronicle. It is situated in the city in the immediate neighbourhood of the Tooth relic and was excavated in the year 1933 (S. PARANAVITANA, Mem. Arch. Surv. Ceylon III 24 sq.). That the excavated building actually was the Mahāpāli hall is confirmed by inscriptions. The hall was built as an 'eating-house' (*bhatta-sālā*) by King Devānampiyatissa (Mhvs 20.23), and King Upatissa, about the year 400 A.C., is said to have distributed there to the Bhikkhus food similar to that of the royal table (37.181). Later kings gave abundant and delicious meals to the community in the hall (38.41; 41.28; 45.1, 25; 48.34) or they themselves ate of the meal prepared in the Mahāpāli (37.203; 44.12) and symbolized thereby that kings and priests were of equal rank. Many kings enlarged, embellished or restored the hall up to the tenth century (37.211; 42.67; 44.65; 49.78; 51.132; 54.45). In Mahāgāma in Rohaṇa Aggabodhi, 7th cent., had an alms-hall erected and named Mahāpāli (45.42), apparently because it was made after the model of the building in Anurādhapura.

There lies in the Mahāpāli a large stone-trough which has the form of a canoe measuring more than 27 feet in length and 6 feet in breadth. This, or a similar trough, is no doubt meant by the *bhatta-nāvā* 'food-boat' which was set up in the Mahāpāli by King Aggabodhi II, 7th cent. (Mhvs 42.67). His predecessor Aggabodhi I had bestowed upon the hall a canoe made of copper or bronze (*loha-nāvā* 42.33), and it was this trough and similar canoes which were left by King Dāṭṭhopatissa (Daṭṭupatis) I to his Damiḷa soldiers as booty (44.134).

Stone canoes of the same kind were also found elsewhere in Anurādhapura and on the Mihintalē hill, and it is clear that 'they were used as receptacles for the boiled rice (*bhatta*) intended for feeding the monks. From the size and the number of these boats we can form an idea as to the vast quantity of rice, necessary for feeding the inmates of the monasteries'. 'Popularly, these troughs are known as (Sinh.) *kāṇḍa oru* 'gruel boats' (S. PARANAVITANA, I. I. p. 25 sq.).

52. To the high stage of culture in mediaeval Ceylon the great number of hospitals mentioned in the chronicle bears an honourable testimony. They were erected in various places, mostly of course in towns. The term for 'hospital', *vejjasālā*, lit. 'doctor-hall', first occurs, as far as I can see, in the fourth century A.C. For the good of the inhabitants of the Island King Buddhadāsa who himself was a clever physician, had hospitals set up in every village and placed physicians in them (Mhvs 37.145). For cripples who moved about with the help of a chair-like apparatus (*pūthasappin*) and for blind people Buddhadāsa had 'halls' built here and there (37.148) as refuges, and the same was done by King Udaya I, 8th cent. (49.19). King Dhātusena, 5th cent., erected such halls for lame and sick people (*paṅgu, rogātura* 38.42).

In the sixth century Silākāla (Salamēvan) is said to have increased the revenues of the hospitals (41.28). The setting up of a hospital in Pulatthinagara is ascribed to King Sena I, 9th cent., and of another on the Mihintalē hill to his successor Sena II (50.75; 51.73). By Sena Ilaṅga, the Senāpati of Kassapa IV, hospitals were built in Anurādhapura and Pulatthinagara for combating the *upasagga* disease (52.25). Kassapa V, 10th cent., also built a hospital in Anurādhapura and assigned it a village for maintenance (52.57). By the son of King Mahinda IV and by his Senāpati two hospitals were erected, one for the laity and the other outside the town for sick Bhikkhus (54.53); the King himself is said to have distributed medicaments and beds to the hospitals (54.31).

As a matter of course Parakkamabāhu I also built an hospital in Pulatthinagara (73.34—37). It was large enough for many hundreds of sick persons and the King assigned it slaves, male and female, as attendants, and provided for it, according to need, food and medicaments which were piled up in a store-house.

Women in labour could find accomodation in lying-in hospitals (*sūtiḡhara* 79.61). In the old Mahāvamsa 10.102 we meet with the term *sivikāsālā* for a lying-in shelter as early as the fourth century B.C. For sick people who could walk dispensaries (*bhesajjageha* 52.27) were erected where medicines were distributed to them, no doubt without payment; for it was considered to be a work of charity and merit.

53. The city was, as I said above, the fortified portion of the town. The fortification consisted of a wall (*pākāra*) and a moat (*parikhā*); there were four gates (*dvāra*) in the wall. Some words which recur wherever a fortification is described, require a few explanatory remarks (cf. A. K. COOMARASWAMY, Eastern Art. II, 209 sq.). These words are *gopura*, *attāla(ka)*, *kottīha(ka)*, *torana*, *paṭṭhaṇḍila*.

The word *gopura* is not a mere synonym of *dvāra*. The latter denotes the gate as entrance into the city, but *gopura* is a part of the fortification, the tower-like structure over the gate. When the general of King Sena II in the war with the Pāṇḍus had surrounded Madhurā he first blockaded the entrances

(*dvārāni*) and cut off all traffic, then set fire to the *gopur'-attāla-kotthake* (Mhvs 51.34). In this compound with *gopura* the gate-tower is meant; with *attāla(ka)* parts of the gate-structure projecting from the wall right and left of the actual gateway, manned in case of emergency by soldiers who could defend the entrance from both sides. *Kotthaka*, lit. 'store-room', is a sheltered room in the gate-tower, from which the defenders could throw stones or arrows and firebrands on the heads of the enemies who tried to break down the gates or had succeeded in doing so. Such shelters could also be constructed on the wall and served here a similar purpose as those of the gate-tower, when the aggressors tried to ascend the wall. There were eighteen *kotthakas* placed at intervals on the massive wall of Sirivaḍḍhana-Kandy (94.7).

The arch against which the gates closed from within is called *toraṇa* (36.103; 91.5). The word means 'arch' in general and may also denote a triumphal arch, which was erected in the street on festival occasions to be passed by the festival procession. With *patthandīla* not a part of the gate-structure, but of the wall is meant. The wall of Pulatthinagara was provided with a high *patthandīla* (60.3); I believe, therefore, that this was a parapet, by which the defenders were guarded against the arrows of the aggressors.

I propose in future to translate *gopura* by 'gate-tower', *attāla* by 'bastion', *kotthaka* by 'shelter', *torāṇa* by 'arch' and *patthandīla* by 'parapet'.

54. The fortification of Pulatthinagara is mentioned and described in several passages of the chronicle. King Vijayabāhu I, 1059—1114, is said in Mhvs 60.2—3 to have built there a high and strong wall which was well faced with stucco (*sudhākamma*) and defended round about with a deep and broad moat. The new fortification, constructed by Parakkamabāhu I (73.57 sq.) was even stronger than that built by former kings. The wall was high and provided with a coating of stucco, and it was surrounded by three more walls, apparently earth-walls, each in turn lower than the others. The fortress Parakkamapura, erected immediately on the coast opposite Rāmissara, was also enclosed by three walls, made of stone (*pāsāṇamaya*) and with three trenches, filled with water, flowing from ocean to ocean (76.121—3)¹.

It is noticeable that these descriptions agree with the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra (ed. SHAMASASTRY, p. 57) according to which three moats, each narrower than the other, must surround a castle. The dug out soil may have served for building the three walls mentioned in the Mahāvamśa. In a gloss on the Jātaka, ed. FAUSBÖLL, IV, 106²¹ also three successive moats are mentioned, surrounding a fortress, each within the other. They are called *udaka-*, *kaddama-*, and *sukkha-parikhā* 'water-moat', 'mud-moat', and 'dry moat' (A. K. COOMARASWAMY, I. I., p. 213). We cannot exclude the possibility that the descriptions in the Mahāvamśa are based more on the study of the literature than on the observation of the actuality. But we must point to the fact that the great triple entrenchment (*ti-mahāparikha*) also occurs in the old Mahāvamśa 25.48 with reference to a city called Mahelanagara.

55. Those parts of the town which were outside the city were of much larger extent than the city itself. In particular all the monasteries with their

¹ It is not possible to identify Parakkamapura as mentioned in 76.101 sq. with Pañḍuvasnuvara in the Kurunāgala district which according to PARANAVITANA was called by that name in mediaeval times. (Ed.).

temples and other buildings never lay in the city, and we may assume that also a great number of private houses or huts and shops was outside. In times of emergency their inhabitants could find a refuge within the fortification.

There were suburbs in Anurādhapura from the earliest times (Mhvs 10.90 sq.). They are called *dvāragāmā* because they were villages lying outside the city gates. Near the Western gate there was, besides some sanctuaries of deities belonging to the popular religion, the 'ground set apart for the Yonas' (*yona-sabhāga-vatthu*). The Yonas (as we shall see below 100) were the Arabian traders who visited the Island perhaps even before the Aryan immigration. According to this passage they were not allowed at that time to dwell in the city, but had to stay outside in a sort of ghetto. Another suburb was reserved to the Caṇḍālas, the out-caste people who had to perform the lowest functions in the town and were watchers of the cemetery (*susāna*, cf. above 28) which lay West of the city. They had, however, their own particular cemetery. North of this latter cemetery a line of huts was built for the huntsmen (*vyādha*), i. e. for the aborigines who had probably a position similar to that of the Caṇḍālas. North of the city pieces of ground were granted to adherents of heretical beliefs. Five hundred such families had their dwellings East of the street of the huntsmen. Among those heretics the Jainas (*nigaṇṭha*) are mentioned who would therefore have come to Ceylon even earlier than the Buddhists.

Round Pulatthinagara King Parakkamabāhu I founded three suburbs (the term is here *sākhā-nagara*, 73.152—3; 78.79—95). Their names were Rājavesībhujāṅga, Rājakulantaka (in ch. 78 called Sihapura), and Vijita. They were much less closely built than the city, and there also were monasteries in the suburbs.

56. Parks and gardens too were parts of a town. In Anurādhapura the Nandanavana, also valled Jotivana (Mhvs 15.202), and the Mahāmeghavana were South of the city. The names ending in *vana* 'forest' clearly point to their park-like character. They were originally forest-land, but by clearing the shrubs and creepers turned to purposes of recreation for the townsfolk. The name *Nandanuyyāna* 'Nandana garden' occurs in one passage only, and for the frequently mentioned Mahāmeghavana we meet with the form *Mahāmeghavanuyyāna* four times and three times with *Mahāmeghavanārāma*, but never with *Mahāmeghuyyāna*.

In the Mahāmeghavana the first Buddhist monastery in Ceylon was erected by King Devānampiyatissa (Mhvs 15.11 sq.). Mahinda and his companions accepted it as a present from the King in preference to the Nandanavana which was too near the city. In the Nandanavana (*uyyāne Jotināmake*, 37.33) in the fourth century A. C the Jetavana-vihāra was founded during the reign of Mahāsena.

In Pulatthinagara we do not hear of parks, but only of gardens. The names of twenty-nine gardens (*uyyānāni*), laid out by Parakkamabāhu I in different places, are enumerated in Mhvs 79.1—12. In two of those names only occurs the word *vana*: in Cittalatāvana and in Mahāmeghavanuyyāna, the latter garden apparently named after the park in Anurādhapura. Two of the twenty-nine gardens were in Pulatthinagara, the Nandanuyyāna and the Dipuyyāna. The former was a private garden (*gharuyyāna*, 73.95), probably laid out in the royal enclosure (*rājāṅgaṇa*), but opened to the public (cf. 73.101—2). The

description of this garden in the chronicle is, as so often, rather schematical. It was adorned with all the fruit- and flowering-trees and shrubs that grew in the Island, and filled with the cries of peacocks and the twitter of birds. It was furnished with pavilions and other buildings of this kind, with lakes whose decoration were red and blue lotus flowers, and with bathing ponds.

The Dīpuyyāna, 'Island-garden' is described in a similar manner (73.113 sq.). It lay on the so-called 'Promontory' that juts out into the Tōpā-vāva, West of the citadel, extending over a comparatively small area. But a series of magnificently constructed baths were excavated there in the year 1901 by H. C. P. BELL (cf. D. M. de Z. WICKREMASINGHE, Epigr. Zeyl. II 143). According to the Mahāvamsa the garden was so called, because the water divided there into two arms which enclosed the garden like an island.

Parakkamabāhu is also said to have laid out near the four alms-houses in the four districts gardens with trees that bore abundant blossom and fruit (73.28—29). As these gardens lay within the city, they were certainly very small, hardly more than squares with a few trees, if the passage is at all reliable.

57. What I said above concerning town-planning chiefly refers to Anurādhapura and Pulatthinagara. A different type was Sihagiri (Sigiri). Here the central portion was a strong fortress on the top of a rock which was very difficult of ascent, with a city enclosed by ramparts and moats on its Western side and a more open town on its Eastern side. The fortification of the Sigiri rock was the work of the parricide King Kassapa I, 5th cent., who wished to take refuge there from the vengeance of his adversaries (Mhvs 39.1 sq.). But it is possible that the town at the foot of the rock was of later date. It is astonishing that such an imposing site as Sihagiri is no longer mentioned in the chronicle after the beginning of the seventh century (44.32, 34, 60¹).

Be that as it may, apart from the two or three cities named above, there seems to have existed up to the eleventh or twelfth century hardly any settlement in Ceylon which could be called a town. At least, we have no certain knowledge. Such an ancient settlement as Kalyāṇī, near Colombo, which according to a legendary tradition was the birthplace of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's mother (22.12 sq.), is called a village (*gāma*) in the twelfth century (72.151), but a town (*nagara*) in the next century (85.64); in the fourteenth century it was a fortified place with walls and gate-towers, with temples, cloisters and gorgeous shops (91.5).

The name of Devanagara (Dondra) seems to point to a town-like character of the settlement, but we do not hear of it in the chronicle before the eleventh century (56.6). Many names of places are mentioned in the chronicle, as the landing-places Jambukola (11.23) and Mahātittha (48.81) in the North or Guttasālā, Uddhanadvāra, Mahāgāma and others in Rohaṇa, Badalatthali and others in Dakkhinadesa (cf. above 6—8), but we cannot say whether they were fortified or were more like villages. It is remarkable that even the names of important places as Kājaragāma, Mahāgāma, Vālukagāma end in *-gāma* 'village'.

¹) Prof. GEIGER was, of course, not familiar with the work done at Sigiriya by the Archaeological Survey after 1939. (Ed.).

Things change after the disorders in the thirteenth century, when Pulatthinagara (Polonnaruwa) had been given up as capital of the kingdom. New towns were founded now, and owing to the exigency, they were built after the model of Sihagiri with a fortified rock as nucleus (cf. A. M. HOCART, Ceyl. Journ. of Sc., G, I, p. 152 sq.). The first of these towns was Jambuddoṇi, now Dambadeniya, built by King Vijayabāhu III, 13th cent. (Mhvs 81.15). Near to it was the "splendid incomparable" Sirivaḍḍhanapura, the birthplace of Parakkamabāhu II (85.1), not to be confounded with Sirivaḍḍhana-Kandy. On the top of the rock remnants of old structures are still visible, but a plan of the city cannot be made, covered as it is now with gardens and fields. Jambuddoṇi was also residence of Parakkamabāhu II, before he rebuilt the former capital Pulatthinagara.

Next comes Subhagiri or Subhācala, now Yāpahuva near Māhō. The isolated rock, similar to that of Sigiri, had been fortified already at the beginning of the thirteenth century during the rule of Māgha (81.3). In the last quarter of this century Bhuvanekabāhu I built an extensive royal city there (90.35) whose ramparts and trenches can still be traced, and made it his capital¹).

Hatthigiripura or Hatthiselapura, the modern Kurunāgala, was made his capital by Bhuvanekabāhu II, 1291—1302 (90.59). Here too we can get a general idea of the lie of the royal citadel on the Western side of the Beetle rock and the Tortoise rock, both parts of the Kurunāgala rock.

In the fourteenth century Gaṅgāsiripura, now Gampola, was the royal city of Bhuvanekabāhu IV (90.106). The towns founded in the second half of the fourteenth century and in the following two centuries, Jayavaḍḍhana-Koṭṭē (91.7, 16; 93, 1), Sītāvaka (93.5) and Senkhaṇḍa-Sirivaḍḍhanapura (92.7; 94.6) do not seem to have been of the Sihagiri type.

IV. Sport and Amusement²)

58. Sport was indulged in on a large scale in mediaeval Ceylon, but of course chiefly by princes and sons of noble families. Chivalric exercises are called *sippa* 'art'. Archery (*dhanu-sippa*, Mhvs 57.43), riding on horseback or on elephants (*hatth'assa-sippa*, 69.22; cf. 24.1), and fencing (*tharu-sippa* 69.22) ranked foremost.

Archery (cf. Ind. Hist. Quart. XIV, 1938, p. 519—20) was highly developed and esteemed in India as well as in Ceylon. Kitti, afterwards king Vijayabāhu I,

¹) It was probably named after the *senāpati* Subha, who built the fortress. Bhuvanekabāhu, brother of Vijayabāhu IV, occupied the Sundarapabbata. See Mhvs 88.26, 79. Near Subhagiri Virabāhu, bhāgineyya of Parakkamabāhu II, and Vijayabāhu defeated the hordes of Candabhānu. Subhagiri was newly fortified (88.62—79). Bhuvanekabāhu escaped his pursuers to Subhagiri (90.11, 28). See also MALALASEKERA, Dict. of Pali Proper Names, s. v. (Ed.).

²) See also P. E. P. DERANIYAGALA, Some Sinhala Combative, Field and Aquatic Sports and Games, published by the National Museums of Ceylon, Dec. 1951; id., Some Medieval Representations of Sinhala Wrestlers and Gladiators, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. C. B., XXXIV, 90, p. 103—107 etc.; M. B. ARYAPALA, Society, p. 63 sq., 258 sq., 347 sq. (Ed.).

is praised for his skill in the use of the bow when only thirteen years old (57.43). In the ancient Mahāvamsa 23.86 archers are mentioned who hit their target guided only by sound (*sadda-vedhin*) and others who were able to split a hair (*vāla-vedhin*) and yet others who hit their target by a flash of lightning (*vijju-vedhin*). The last group is mentioned in the mediaeval period also: *akkhaṇa-vedhino issāsā* (72.245), and we may be allowed to assume that the other groups were not unknown at the same time.

In war prince Kassapa, the younger brother of king Sena I, 9th cent., rode on horseback (50.25, 28) whilst otherwise elephants were the animals used for riding by kings during the earlier mediaeval period. In modern times, 17th cent., king Rājasīha II was celebrated as a keen rider. An equestrian feat of his is narrated in 96.7 sq. Once upon a time, when he was still a youth, he went riding with a companion who was mounted on another horse. When they came to a marshy place, the prince's horse sank in, but the determined and courageous prince sprang up, swung himself on to the horse of his companion throwing off its rider, and rode away on his mount. At a dangerous ford of the Mahavāliganga he leapt on horseback from the rock on one side and gained the rock on the opposite bank.

Hunting was a sport to which kings and noblemen were devoted (5.154; 10.2; 14.1,4; 72.163), the weapons most used being bows and arrows and javelins (*satti*) and the sambhur (P. *gokanṇamiga*) the most usual quarry. A hunting adventure of Parakkamabāhu's is vividly described in 70.33 sq. The King with the Queen and his retinue were out hunting one day when they came on a big forest that seemed to be full of game. He made the Queen take up her position on one side and then had the forest surrounded by huntsmen with spears and nets who were ordered to make a great noise in order to drive out the game. All of a sudden a huge sambhur, the size of a young elephant broke out of a thicket and made straight for the Queen with all the fury of a storm. The people, terrified, fled on every side leaving the King and the Queen alone. When the King saw the terrifying beast coming up, he made towards it and struck it with his javelin. Wounded, the sambhur lowered his head to charge, but when it came near fell at his feet, shedding its antlers. When the people returned and beheld the miracle they were greatly astonished and praised the King's heroism, and placed the antlers suitably inscribed in the King's treasure-house.

59. The word *kilā* has a wider sense than *sippa*; it means 'play, amusement'. The Sinhalese were very clever in inventing various forms of pastimes. They liked sports in gardens and water (*uyyāna-jala-kilā* Mhvs 70.31). After his victory over Eḷāra and the occupation of Anurādhapura king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi went with great pomp to the Tissa-tank to hold festive water sports plays there thus observing the tradition of crowned kings (26.7). When prince Parakkamabāhu on the way to Pulatthinagara had crossed the boundary of Gajabāhu's kingdom, sojourning in the Janapada district, he spent several days with all kinds of pastimes (*neka-kilāvinodehi*, 66.111) such as were customary in the country.

Dancing and singing (*nacca-gītā*) were the greatest of pleasures and also part of princely education (64.4; 69.22). We must however keep in mind that in India dancing has a mimic character, the dancers being actors as well and representing mythical or legendary personages. Even queens were

praised for their skill in dancing and singing, as Rūpavatī the consort of Parakkamabāhu (73.141). There were dancing girls (*nāṭakī* 32.78) at court and professional singers or bards (*vandin* 74.222; *māgadha* 89.33—34) who had to glorify the king and his deeds. No feast could be celebrated at court without dancing and singing (cf. 25.99, 102; 29.24). Before Parakkamabāhu commenced his final war with Gajabāhu, he lived at leisure in his town passing the time with dance and song (70.31), and even amidst the war he was accompanied by skilful musicians (72.264 sq.) and, when tarrying somewhere for refreshment, listened to the singing of many women singers (72.94).

The Sinhalese were extremely fond of every kind of music (*turiyavādita*). Professional musicians, male and female, are called *gandhabba* and *gandhabbi* (69.24; 72.94). The corresponding Sanskrit word *gandharva* means, as is known, a heavenly musician. Itinerant musicians wandered from village to village, and it seems that there were many *Damīlas* among them (66.132—3). The musical instruments were five in number: *pañcaṅga-turiya* (73.68; 85.45; 89.33) or *pañca-turiyaṅga* (85.30). As the first two of them trumpet (*saṅkha*) and cymbal (*tāla*) are mentioned in 99.60; 100.33, 190. The other three may be lute (*viṇā*), flute (*venu*) and drum (74.216). The conches were not only used in battle, but also on festival occasions (*maṅgala-saṅkhā* 74.222). The lute is the instrument in the hand of the Gandharva Pañcasikha (30.75; 31.82). Parakkamabāhu was surrounded by many skilful musicians who made music on the lute and the flute (72.264).

Drumming was particularly liked and is still executed with great skill. On a fullmoon day one can hear people drumming all night long. More than sixty kinds of drums exist now in Ceylon, of large or small size, one-headed or double, narrow or wide in the middle, each bearing a particular name (Ind. Hist. Quart. XIV, 1938, p. 518). I might mention here the large round drum which is played by women and called *rabāna* in Sinhalese. Five or six women squat round it, one of them being the leader and she is accompanied by the others with admirable precision.

In the chronicle six different drums are mentioned: 1. *bheri* (74.221; Sk. id.); 2. *kāhala* (74.222; Sk. id.); 3. *duṇḍubhi* (85.113; Sk. id.); 4. *āḷambara* (conjectural in 69.20; Sk. *āḍambara*); 5. *mudiṅga* (with lute and flute 74.216; Sk. *mṛdaṅga*); 6. *maddalaka* (*bheri-maddalaka*, only in the latest portion of the chronicle 96.15; 99.6; Sk. *mardala*). It is however impossible to describe with the help of the chronicle alone the form and employment of each of these drums.

60. As to public amusements the *samājja* (Sk. *samāja*) must be mentioned first. This was, as is known (cf. E. HARDY, Album Kern, p. 61 sq.), probably a very old festival, celebrated on the summit of a hill and originally connected with the cult of Śiva. It is, however, only once mentioned in the oldest part, of the chronicle, Mhvs 34.79, and we do not know therefore whether it was still in vogue in mediaeval Ceylon. It was attended with dancing and singing (*sa-nacca-gīta*). At the beginning of the rainy season the Āsāḷhi-festival was celebrated, the month *āsāḷha* corresponding to June-July (99.53; cf. H. KERN, Manual of Buddhism, p. 100). Parakkamabāhu II instituted such a festival to be held in the town of Devanagara, now Dondra, in honour of the god Uppalavaṇṇa who had a splendid temple there (85.89). A spring festival

(*vasanta-kīlā*) is mentioned in 64.17; Kittisirimegha was enjoying it together with his nephew, the prince Parakkama, in the midst of his courtiers.

With public feasts, besides dance and music, yet other amusements were connected, such as puppet-plays with leather-dolls (66.133) and theatrical performances, for which stages (*raṅgabhūmi*) were erected (31.82). All the travelling artists, such as snake-charmers and the like were present and took the opportunity of making a little money (53.30; 66.131).

The chief amusement were, and are still in our days, feasts and festival processions in honour of the Buddha or of sacred relics or a holy temple and the like. In the later centuries of the mediæval period such festivities are described in detail. As these descriptions (cf. 72.313 sq.; 76.108 sq.; 89.13 sq.) are generally made after a fixed pattern, it will be sufficient to take one or two of them as examples from which we may get an idea of the arrangement and course of such a feast. (The first passage rendered is 74.198 sq.).

When after the conquest of Rohaṇa the Tooth relic and the Bowl relic were brought to Pulatthinagara, the road within the town from the King's gate onwards was beautifully decorated. Triumphal arches were erected, their pillars decked with different stuffs and the upper part with fluttering cloths, with bunches of flowers and other costly things. At the two sides of the street trees as bananas, areca- and coconut-palms were placed, rows of coloured banners and pennons, and jars, filled with charming nosegays, with lamps and incenses. King Parakkamabāhu himself went to meet the approaching relics. He had mounted his favourite elephant which was hung with coverings of gold and surrounded by many dignitaries who rode their steeds. Thus he betook himself to the sacred relics, revered them in worthy fashion, and while offering to them with his own hands sweet-smelling flowers he went on his way with both relics. Where the relics were to be sheltered people of the clan of the Lambakannas and of other noble families were posted with umbrellas, whisks and swords in their hands and splendidly attired dancing girls who were accompanied by people bearing lutes, flutes, drums and the like and by bands of female musicians to do honour to the relics with dance, song and music. Thousands of lamps were lighted, and the air was filled with the trumpeting of elephants, with the neighing of horses, with the clatter of chariot wheels, and the rattle of drums and the blaring of trumpets, and with the jubilant cries of the people.

In a similar manner also the festival celebrated in honour of Parakkamabāhu's coronation is described in 72.313 sq.: 'The loud noise of the divers kind of drums was terrible as the raging of the ocean when lashed by the storm wind at the destruction of the world. Elephants equipped with gilded armour made the royal road look as if it were traversed by lightning-flashing cloud mountains. The whole town in which the colours of the horses gave rise, as it were, to waves, was in agitation like the ocean. By the variegated umbrellas and wreaths and the rows of golden flags the heavens were hidden on all sides. Garments were shaken and fingers snapped. The inhabitants of the town sent forth the cry: Live, o King! live! Covered with arches of bananas and thickly studded with jars and wreaths the whole universe consisted of a mass of festivals. Songs of praise were heard hymned by many hundreds of singers, and the smoke of kindled aloe wood filled the firmament. Clad in many-coloured

garments, adorned with divers ornaments and bearing sundry weapons in their hands, practised warriors strutted around here and there with well-rounded limbs goodly to look at with their heroic forms, like rutting elephants. The many thousands of archers with their bows in their hands made it look as if the army of the gods trod the earth. Filled with hundreds of state chariots of gold, jewels, pearls and the like the town looked like the starry firmament.'

As to other public festivals instituted by kings in honour of some sanctuary to the great rejoicing of the people see below 197.

V. School Education, Literary Activity, Science

61. The art of reading and writing was common in Ceylon at the beginning of the mediaeval period. In the ancient Mahāvamsa letters (*lekha* 7.51, 57; 8.7; 22.15; 23.25, 33, 35; 33.40; cf. D. M. de Z. WICKREMASINGHE, Catal. of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the Brit. Mus., London, 1900, Introd. p. X) written to various persons under different circumstances are often mentioned. It appears, therefore, that this form of communication was common practice in the fifth century A. C., when the chronicle was composed by Mahānāma. We may also point to the fact that rock-inscriptions written in Brāhmī script were discovered in great numbers all over the Island, the most ancient of them dating from the second century B. C. They are found near tanks or caves and generally contain the name and title of the individual by whom the tank or cave was given to the priesthood. This fact would be unintelligible, if we could not assume that at least a considerable part of the people was able to read and to understand them.

In the Cūlavamsa we hear of a letter sent by prince Parakkamabāhu to Gokaṇṇa, an official of king Gajabāhu's who was in control of Kālavāpi (Kālāvāva). He wished to have him in his presence to find out his views and probably to win him over (66.36). Kittisirimegha learnt from a letter sent him by his watchmen that his son, returning from Pulatthinagara, had arrived at the frontier of Dakkhinadesa (67.55) and he himself sent an autographic letter (*sahatthalekha*) and gifts to his son to welcome him (67.58).

The word *panṇa* 'leaf' for 'letter' (66.37) seems to prove that the material on which the letters were written was made of the leaves of a palmyra palm, the olas which are still used in copying literary works. But important and ceremonial letters, sent from a monarch to a monarch, were also sometimes written on golden slips (76.21, 26).

Royal donations also used to be written on copper plates or might be also on slips of silver and gold. Such documents, called *sannasa* in Sinhalese, are preserved in Ceylon up to the present time. King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi allotted lands to the vihāra of the Thera Mahātissa recording it on a pandanus-leaf (*ketakapatta* 33.50). At that time he had been deprived of the royal power by the Damiḷas and did not possess gold or silver, but the donation was to become valid in future.

Finally I must point again to the numerous mediaeval inscriptions which, beginning with the eighth century, exist in all parts of the Island. If king Nissaṅkamalla in many inscriptions in bombastic terms boasts of the glorious actions performed by him, this is done on the supposition that his

subjects were able to read the phrases. And if the great Parakkamabāhu in the Galvihāra inscription enumerates the services rendered by him to the Order and proclaims the prescriptions for a blameless monkish life, we may assume that at any rate all the priests understood the whole text in its details. Royal inscriptions are recorded in the chronicle itself. In 54.28 king Mahinda (Mihindu) IV, 10th cent., is said to have engraved in stone the words 'Kings shall in future take no revenues for themselves out of the revenues of the Order' and to have set the stone up. And from 86.34 sq. we learn that king Parakkamabāhu II, had engraved on a lofty stone pillar what had been done by him for the sanctuary on the Adam's Peak and had this monument to his glory set up with rejoicing.

62. As to school education in Ceylon I refer to an interesting paper by W. A. de SILVA on 'the ancient system of teaching Sinhalese', printed in the Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceylon Br., No. 71, 1918, p. 82 sq. First the pupil learns the names of the letters, the alphabet, and then their writing. A sandboard is used for tracing the letters. Then some elementary books in regular succession must be read by the pupil and committed to memory. They are mostly composed in verses. With their help the pupil is provided with knowledge useful to him. From the so-called 'book of names' (Nampota) he learns the names of all the sacred and historically important places of Ceylon, from a poetical description of the school-house the terms for the part of which a building consists, from other books the names of Hindu gods who are protectors of wisdom, and the glory of the Buddha and the like.

The system described in the paper seems to have been that of the seventeenth century. But it is difficult to say whether it existed as a whole or partially in mediaeval times. There can be no doubt that the old ceremonies connected with the *upanayana*, the leading of a pupil to the teacher (cf. A. HILLEBRANDT, *Ritual-Litteratur*, *Encycl. of Indo-Aryan Research*, III.2, 1897, p. 50 sq.), were in vogue also in Buddhist Ceylon. But we do not learn much from the Mahāvamsa concerning the details of school education. It is only the general outlines which can be drawn with the help of the chronicle. They are, however, sufficient to give an insight into the principles of ancient education and into the spirit with which it was animated.

It is certain that public schools did not exist in mediaeval Ceylon. But people who wished to 'learn the letters' always found instruction in a monastery. Buddhist priests never did obtrude themselves upon the laymen, but were always willing to teach those who aspired to a better education. There were also itinerant schoolmasters in the villages who instructed the boys in the art of writing (Mhvs 66.138). Among the common people the demands of education hardly went beyond this art, but they all liked very much to hear tales not only of the life of the Buddha, but also from the old Indian literature, the epic poems, the Itihāsas and Purāṇas (66.143). The prince Parakkamabāhu was encouraged by such stories to perform deeds similar to the heroes of ancient days (64.41 sq.). A vivid interest in their old history and culture is common, as I frequently had the opportunity to observe, among all classes of the Sinhalese people. But the higher literary education was reserved to the priesthood, and the Buddhist monasteries were its home. Here Pāli and Sanskrit were studied by learned Bhikkhus, old books read and copied. /

Knowledge of the various languages and dialects spoken in Ceylon and South India was highly appreciated. The sons of distinguished families who were brought up by Parakkamabāhu in his own palace were also instructed in the use of foreign languages (*desabhāsantaresu*, 69.22). A Grand Thera from the Coḷa country who was made Royal Teacher at the court of Parakkamabāhu IV, 14th cent., is praised as a man intimate with philosophic works and well-versed in various tongues (*nānā-bhāsā-visārada*, 90.80). (The four languages to be studied in ancient Ceylon were Sanskrit, Pāli, Sinhalese and Tamil: *saku magada eḷu demala*, Girāsandeśa, 15th cent., ed. Muniḍāsa KUMĀRAṆA-TUNGA, v. 221; cf. Subhāṣita, 17th cent., v. 5. [Ed.])

63. Ancient books, especially those of the canonical Pāli literature, were always highly regarded by priests and laymen and considered to be precious things. King Kassapa I, 5th cent., caused holy texts to be copied (39.18), and so did King Moggallāna II, 6th cent., (41.62), and Sena II, 9th cent.; he and Kassapa V, 10th cent. even had certain sacred texts written on tablets of gold (51.79; 52.50 sq.). Vijayabāhu I had the whole Tipiṭaka copied and offered it to the Community (60.22). In later times Bhuvanckabāhu I, 13th cent. (90.37—38), Parakkamabāhu IV, 15th cent. (91.27), Viravikkama, 16th cent. (92.13) and Kittisirirājasīha, 18th cent. (99.33, 86) took care of the preservation of the holy books. Among the infamous actions committed by the soldiers of the usurper Māgha, 13th cent., the destruction of sacred books is mentioned with indignation (80.67). They tore them from their cord and strewed them hither and thither. King Vijayabāhu III was anxious to make up for the loss (81.41 sq.). Deeply grieved in his heart that so many sacred books had been destroyed by the alien foe, he called together laymen endowed with a good memory and with knowledge, pious, well instructed, free from indolence and skilled in quick and fair writing, and along with these many other writers of books, and made all these write down in careful fashion the eighty-four thousand divisions of the doctrine. The reward of the writers was worthy of a king. In the eighteenth century the Dutch were charged with having destroyed many of the sacred books (99.125).

64. There was great literary activity in Ceylon during the whole mediaeval period, and many works were written in the old Sinhalese language, called Eḷu, or in Pāli; most of the works of the post-canonical Pāli literature were composed in Ceylon. A few works were also written in Sanskrit and in Tamil¹).

I do not intend, of course, to include here a description of the whole literature of mediaeval Ceylon. As to the details it is sufficient, concerning the Pāli literature, to refer to G. P. MALALASEKERA, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, London 1928, and to B. C. LAW, *History of Pāli Literature*, vol. II, London 1933. Concerning the works written in Sinhalese language I may refer to D. M. de Z. WICKREMASINGHE, *Catal. of Sinhalese MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, London 1900, *Introd. p. IX sq.*, and to the sketch in the *Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language*, vol. I, part 1, Colombo 1935, *Introd. p. xxxii sq.*²). My task is only to describe

¹) For Sanskrit literature in Ceylon, see below, 68; for Tamil works composed in Ceylon, see K. Kanapathi PILLAI, *Ceylon's Contribution to Tamil Language and Literature*, UCR VI, p. 217 sq.; *ib.*, *Tamil Publications in Ceylon*, UCR XVI, p. 1 sq. (Ed.).

²) A new and most helpful attempt has been made to give a more complete account of the literature written in Sinhalese language, by C. E. GODAKUMBURA, *Sinhalese Litera-*

the general character of the mediaeval literature and its connexion with the Buddhism on the one hand and on the other with India and the Sanskrit literature.

The Sinhalese literature, as far as it can be described hitherto, generally has to a high degree an artificial and scholastic character. The works were not composed for the people as a whole, but for the educated classes, and their authors, chiefly priests, intended above all to show their scholarship and their knowledge of the rules of poetry. Literary activity was highly respected and patronised by the kings. Several monarchs were themselves praised as authors of poems or prose-works. To king Moggallāna (Mugalan) II, 6th cent., for instance, a poem in praise of the holy Buddhist religion is ascribed in Mhvs 41.60. Other names of royal poets or authors will be mentioned below. Sometimes, however, we might better assume in such cases that the works were merely composed at the instigation of the king, or that they were ascribed by the authors to their royal patron as a token of veneration and loyalty.

65. As to the beginnings of literary activity in Ceylon we must start from the fact that the text of the canonical Buddhist literature, the Tipiṭaka, which had been orally handed down up to that time, was written down in books during the reign of king Vattagāmaṇi in the last century B. C. The fact is reported in Dīpavaṃsa 20.20—21, verbally agreeing with Mahāvamsa 33.100—101, and this passage is so clear and simple that we are not allowed to put a sophisticated construction on it. It is true history, for we all know the important part which oral tradition of sacred texts always played in India, even when the art of writing had already become general practice. But together with the Tipiṭaka according to the same notice also its commentaries composed in Eḷu, the Old-Sinhalese language, and therefore called Sihalaṭṭhakathā, were written in books. These commentaries were probably based on sermons preached by Mahinda and his companions and successors on various portions of the Tipiṭaka and had also been orally handed down before in different monasteries. The great work of this codification of the holy Buddhist texts was brought about in the Ālokavihāra (Alu-vehera) near Mātālē by a synod of five hundred learned Theras and must have taken a number of years to complete¹).

It seems that in connexion with this work the need was felt of making the Buddha's word more accessible to the laity, for in Mhvs 37.175 we meet with the passage that in the fourth century A. C. under king Buddhādāsa the Thera Mahādhammakathin translated Suttas of the Tipiṭaka from the Pāli language into Sinhalese²).

ture, Colombo 1955. In addition to this, I mention W. A. de SILVA, Catalogue of the Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum, Vol. I, Colombo 1938 and James De ALWIS, The Sidath Sangarawa, Colombo 1852, Introduction. For the Pāli literature of Ceylon, see also Ā.P. BUDDHADATTA, Pāli sāhityaya, 2 vols., Ambalangoda 1956—1957. (Ed.).

¹) Cf. Nikāyasaṅgraha, Govt. Press ed., Colombo 1922, p. 9 sq.; Saddharmaratnākaraḥ, ed. Vāliṭṭiyē SORATA, Homagama 1930, p. 294 sq.; Pūjāvaliya, chapter XXXIV, ed. M. MEDHANKARA, Colombo 1932, p. 9. On the different accounts, H. BECHERT in La Nouvelle Clio, vol. VII—IX, 1957, p. 330 sq. (Ed.).

²) GEIGER's notes: "The Dīpavaṃsa shows a state of decline of Pāli studies in the first centuries A. D. It is possible that the translations into Sinhalese by Dhammakathin, are a reaction to this deplorable state of Pāli studies."

During the reign of Mahānāma in the fifth century A. C. Buddhaghosa came from India to Ceylon and studied in the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura the Sinhalese commentaries under the guidance of the Thera Saṅghapāla (Mhvs 37.215 sq.). He composed the Visuddhimagga (37.236) and translated some of the Eḷu commentaries into Pāli. The extensive post-canonical Pāli literature originates with his activity¹).

According to the chronicle (37.215 sq.) Buddhaghosa was born in Bihār. It has been pointed out, however, that this information is wrong and that he was a South Indian from the Āndhra country²). The Coḷa country was the home of two other most important Buddhist scholars who came to Ceylon during the same period, Buddhadatta and Dhammapāla.

Buddhaghosa's first successor was Buddhadatta. He was already in Ceylon before Buddhaghosa came to the island. His Abhidhammāvatāra shows great similarity with Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga and there is no doubt that they both had before them the same sources. The Jinālaṅkāra and the Madhuratthavilāsinī, a commentary on the Buddhavaṃsa, are also ascribed to him³). The tradition ascribes the Jātakatthakathā to Buddhaghosa, but it is very probable that this work was composed by another contemporary⁴). The greatest of Buddhaghosa's successors was Dhammapāla, author of a Commentary on the Khuddakanikāya. We do not mention here the Pāli works compiled during the centuries after these up to the Khemappakaraṇa or Nāmarūpasamāsa, an Abhidhamma treatise of the 10th century⁵). About this time the Tela-kaṭāhagāthā may have been composed. This is a very elaborate poem of ninety-eight stanzas written in a sanskritized Pāli⁶). In the time of Vijayabāhu I Anuruddha compiled his Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, the most important Abhidhamma compendium⁷).

One of the most important periods in Ceylon's literary history is that of Parakkamabāhu's reign⁸). Sāriputta and his disciples composed *ṭīkā*s (sub-

¹) The following remarks on the post-canonical Pāli literature on Buddhism are taken mainly from GEIGER's notes. On the life and work of Buddhaghosa see Bimala Churn LAW, The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, Calcutta 1923; MALALASEKERA, Pali Lit. of Ceylon, p. 79 ff.; E. W. ADIKARAM, Early history of Buddhism in Ceylon, p. 1 ff. The Visuddhimagga is an altered version of Upatissa's Vimuttimagga, see P. V. BAPAT, Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga, Poona 1937. (Ed.).

²) See A. P. BUDDHADATTA, Corrections to Geiger's Mahāvamsa etc., p. 142 sq. (Ed.).

³) See W. GEIGER, Pāli (English edition), 25 and 34, p. 33 and p. 42. Cf. also MALALASEKERA, Pali Lit. of Ceylon, p. 110 sq. Certainly the now extant Jinālaṅkāra is not a work of Buddhadatta. (Ed.).

⁴) I recall also an observation of Helmer SMITH concerning the Paramatthajotikā. (See also ADIKARAM, l. l., p. 15.) This commentary is the compilation of a contemporary, but not of Buddhaghosa. The Dhammapadatthakathā, however, is considered by GEIGER, Samyuttanikāya (ins Deutsche übertragen), I, p. 92 note 1 to have been written by Buddhaghosa (in opposition to his earlier view). (Ed.).

⁵) MALALASEKERA, l. l., p. 155 sq.

⁶) edited by GOONERATNE, JPTS 1884, p. 49 sq.

⁷) See MALALASEKERA, l. l., p. 167 sq.

⁸) Cf. O. H. De A. WIJESSEKERA, Pali and Sanskrit in the Polonnaruva Period, Ceylon Historical Journ. IV, p. 91 sq.; Sumana SAPARAMADU, The Sinhalese Language and Literature of the Polonnaruva Period, ib., p. 98 sq. (Ed.).

commentaries) on the classical commentaries (*aṭṭhakathā*) of the Tripiṭaka. Just as in Buddhaghosa's times the necessity was felt of compiling a definitive *Aṭṭhakathā*, the different interpretations of various points of teaching in the *Aṭṭhakathās* were now definitely decided in the classical *Ṭikās*. This activity begins with a council held under the patronage of Parakkamabāhu the Great with Mahākassapa as president. (About this council, see below, 202.) The *Saddhammasaṅgaha* (ed. JPTS 1890, p. 58 sq.) gives us information on this convocation. Sāriputta was the most eminent amongst the writers of this period.

In the 13th and 14th century, the Vanavāsīn or Araññavāsīn fraternity continued to flourish even during these difficult times. This *nikāya*, in close allegiance to the Mahāvihāra-nikāya, was brought to Ceylon from Kālīṅga and Coḷa during the reign of Aggabodhi II. In the 8th or 9th century Ānanda¹ or Vanarahana Tissa, author of the *Abhidhamma-mūlaṭikā*, was the head of the Vanavāsīn school. His pupil Culla-Dhammapāla compiled the *Saccasaṅkhepa* and the *Līnattha-vaṇṇanā*, an *Anuṭikā* on Ānanda's *Mūlaṭikā*. In the time of Vijayabāhu III, 13th century, Ānanda² was the head of the Vanavāsīn fraternity. His teacher was Medhaṅkara¹, one of Sāriputta's pupils, and author of a Sinhalese work on the Vinaya. One of Ānanda's² pupils was Coḷiya Dīpaṅkara, called Buddhappiya. His works included the *Rūpasiddhi*, a Pāli grammar, and the *Pajjamadhu*, a beautiful poem in a sanskritized style. Another pupil of Ānanda² was Vedeha, author of the *Rasavāhinī* and the *Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā*. In the same period was written the *Saddhammopāyana*, a very highly prized poem on the Buddhist doctrine.

The period of Parakkamabāhu II¹, the middle of the 13th century, was therefore a time of great literary activity in Ceylon. The Vanavāsīn school of monks was held in great favour, and under the leadership of Araññaka Medhaṅkara², a pupil of Ānanda², a synod was called together to reform the purity of the Order²).

Dhammakitti², who held the office of Saṅgharāja in the middle of the 14th century, composed a Pāli poem called the *Pāramīmahāsataka*, dealing with the *Pāramitās* of the Bodhisatta. His pupil and successor, Dhammakitti³, is the author of a very important work written in Sinhalese, the *Nikāyasaṅgraha*. It contains the history of Buddhism and gives much valuable information about events in the history of the Buddhist Church in Ceylon. Another work of Dhammakitti³ is the *Saddharmālaṅkāraya*, to be mentioned below, 67. From about the 11th century literary activity in the Pāli language in both Ceylon and Burma was closely connected, a connection which continues even today. (Ed.).

In Ceylon numerous Sinhalese translations and paraphrases of Pāli books were composed. A Sinhalese glossary of the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* is the *Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-gāṭapada*, according to the colophon made by king Kassapa V, 10th cent. The *Saddharmaratnāvaliya*, a work of Dhammasena, 13th cent., 'an extensive collection of Buddhist stories elucidating

¹) It was Parakkamabāhu II. according to GEIGER, not P. III (so MALALASEKERA, l. 1., p. 213). (Ed.).

²) See *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, p. 22.

the moral aphorisms of the Dhammapada' (WICKREMASINGHE, p. 11) is based upon the same Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā. A work of special interest is the Pansiya-panas-jātaka-pota, 'the book of the five hundred and fifty Jātakas', the Sinhalese translation of the Jātakatṭhakathā. Concerning it we learn from Mhvs 90.82 sq. that king Parakkamabāhu IV, 14th cent., 'rendered by degrees the five hundred and fifty Jātaka tales from the Pāli tongue into the Sihala speech. He recited them in the midst of the Grand Theras who were intimate with the three Piṭakas, and after correcting them, he had them written down and distributed throughout Lan̄kā. And these Jātakas he made over to a wise Thera Medhaṅkara by name, whom he had employed for the purpose, that they might be preserved in the succession of his disciples and thereby handed down still further'. Two different traditions are combined in this passage. By one the work is solely ascribed to the king himself, by the other to Medhaṅkara who made it at the instigation of the king, his royal patron.

Sinhalese poets liked to choose one of the Jātaka tales as subject of a poem. Thus the Sasa-dāvata and the Muvadev-dāvata, the oldest poems now extant, both composed in blank verse, were versifications of the Sasa- and Makhādeva-Jātaka (No. 316 and 9 in FAUSBÖLL's edition); the Kavsiḷu-miṇa which is ascribed to Parakkamabāhu II, 1236—1271, a versification of the Kusa-jātaka. The same Jātaka was later on the subject of Alagiyavanna Mohoṭṭāla's Kusajātakakāvya, the most celebrated work of this poet, completed in the year 1610. In the fifteenth century, when the Sinhalese literature reached its highest point Toṭagamuvē Śrī Rāhula Thera composed the Kavsekara (Kāvyaśekhara) 'Diadem of poetry', a version of the Sattubhastajātaka (No. 402).

The most popular of all the classical Sinhalese poems, however, is the Guttilakāvya (Guptilakāvya), based on the Guttilajātaka (No. 243), and written by an unknown author who is said to have been a pupil of Śrī Rāhula and from the village Vāttāva in the Kurunāgala district. (Ed.).

66. The Buddhists were always very fond of handing down tales of the life and deeds of the Buddha and his disciples or other Saints of the ancient church-history. They also liked to date later events from the year and day of the Master's death, the *mahāparinibbāna*. Thus they created the Indian chronology. In Ceylon there arose an extensive literature of historical or quasi-historical character and large collections of legendary tales.

The historical literature is represented in Ceylon chiefly by the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvāṃsa. Concerning them I refer to my book Dīpavaṃsa und Mahāvāṃsa und die geschichtliche Überlieferung in Ceylon, Leipzig 1905; trsl. by Ethel M. COOMARASWAMY under the title D. and M. and their Historical Development in C., Colombo 1908. The Dīpavaṃsa was compiled even before Buddhaghosa's time. It is a clumsy work, more a dry list of names and things than a chronicle, containing many repetitions and mnemonic verses for the reciter of the episode. The Mahāvāṃsa, composed near the end of the fifth century A. C., is the work of a true poet. It contains after a general introduction (ch. 1—6) the whole history of Ceylon from Vijaya to king Mahāsena, 334—362 A. C. (ch. 7— ch. 37, v. 50). It was afterwards continued by the Thera Dhammakitti¹, 13th cent., up to the end of the reign of Parakkamabāhu I, 1186 A. C.

(ch. 37.51—ch. 70), later on by an unknown author up to Parakkamabāhu IV, 14th cent. (ch. 80.1—90.104) and finally, probably by the Thera Tibbotuvāvē Sumaṅgala up to the year 1782 (ch. 90.105—ch. 100). The three continuations are often called Cūlavamsa 'the Little Chronicle', in contrast with the old Mahāvamsa 'the Great Chronicle'.

With the Mahāvamsa Ceylon is in possession of a chronicle which covers the history of the Island from the oldest half-legendary period to modern times, and which has not its equal in India, except perhaps the Rājatarāṅginī of Kashmir.

A commentary of the ancient Mahāvamsa, the Vamsatthappakāsinī, generally called Mahāvamsa-Ṭikā, ed. by G. P. MALALASEKERA (2 vols., London, Pāli Text Soc. 1935) contains many additions and supplements which clearly show the extraordinary abundance of legendary and historical traditions, existing in Ceylon. The Ṭikā was composed between the years 1000 and 1250 A. C.; MALALASEKERA however is inclined to assume an earlier date.

There is no doubt that the Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa are based on a more ancient literature written in Eḷu. Several works are quoted in the Ṭikā and their titles show that even a portion of the Sīhalatṭhakathā was a chronicle of such a kind which had also been made use of by Buddhaghosa in his introduction to his Samantapāsādikā, the commentary of the Vinaya-piṭaka. Moreover the author of the Mahāvamsa seems to have known other chronicles extant at his time in Ceylon and kept in several monasteries, as, for instance, a peculiar Rohaṇa chronicle (cf. Zeitschr. für Indologie und Iranistik VII, p. 259 sq.). A further source, used by Mahānāma, were the annals which were kept at court, and in which the meritorious works performed by the king were enumerated. They therefore bore the title *puññapothhaka* (Mhvs 32.25). We may safely assume that the long lists of tanks constructed by a king, of monasteries, temples, hospitals erected by him, of sacrificial festivals instituted by him, and of offerings bestowed on the Community which everywhere occur in the chronicle (cf. Mhvs 38.45 sq.; 60.48 sq.; 78.70 sq.; 79.62 sq.) are taken from those royal annals.

67. In other quasi-historical works some special portion of the church-history is treated in verse or prose, in Pāli language or Sinhalese. I first mention the Mahābodhivamsa. In the Pāli prose work which is still extant, from Samantapāsādikā, Mahāvamsa and Nidānakathā, the introduction of the Jātaka book, all the ancient legends up to the arrival in Anurādhapura of the Bodhi-tree are collected. The work was composed near the end of the tenth century by the Thera Dāṭhānāga from an older Eḷu-text. About the year 1300 the Pāli version was again translated into Sinhalese and enlarged by Vilgammūla Mahāthera, and this work was finally commented upon in the eighteenth century by the Saṅgharāja Saraṇaṅkara (Mhvs 97.57).

The Thūpavamsa which has similar contents as the Mahābodhivamsa, still exists in a Pāli and in a Sinhalese version. The former, probably composed by the Thera Vācissara (Mhvs 81.18) in the middle of the thirteenth century, is again the older compilation and was translated into Sinhalese and enlarged by the lay-scholar Parākrama Paṇḍita about twenty years later (W. GEIGER, Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa, Engl. ed., p. 82—85). But in Vācissara's work itself two older Thūpavamsas are quoted, one written in Pāli, the other in Eḷu.

In the thirteenth century Dhammakitti⁴—a contemporary of Dhammakitti¹, mentioned above, 66—composed a poem entitled *Dāṭhādhatuvamsa* 'Chronicle of the Tooth relic' which, as the author says in v. 10 was a translation of an older *Eḷu Daḷadāvamsaya*. This latter is probably meant by the *Dāṭhādhatuvamsa* mentioned in *Mhvs* 37.93 as the source of the chronicler's passages concerning the arrival in Ceylon of the sacred relic. From this poem and similar works the materials are derived for the modern Sinhalese work entitled *Daḷadāsīrita* (D. M. de Z. WICKREMASINGHE, Catal. of Sinh. MSS., No. 106). A description of the daily ceremonial performed in honour of the Tooth relic, the *Dāṭhādhatucāritta*, is ascribed in *Mhvs* 90.78 to king Parakkamabāhu IV, 14th cent. It was composed in Sinhalese language.

A *Kesadhātuvamsa*, 'Chronicle of the Hair relic' is mentioned in *Mhvs* 39.49, 56. It was probably written in *Eḷu*, but we do not know the author nor the date of the work. A Pāli *Kesadhātuvamsa* seems still to exist in Ceylon (W. A. de SILVA, Catalogue of Palm Leaf MSS., No. 1879—1881.).

To conclude I refer to some of the numerous works which are chiefly of an edifying character. From the *Rasavāhinī* (cf. S. PARANAVITANA *Epigr. Zeyl.* III, p. 182) we learn that an ancient book, the *Ariyavamsa*, probably tales on eminent Buddhist personalities, used to be recited yearly in some monasteries of the Island. The title of this book and the fact of its public recitation is already mentioned in the third century A. C. under king Vohārika Tissa (*Mhvs* 36.38; see *Manorathapūraṇī* I 386; II 249 etc. It is said that people walked a distance of five *yojanas* to hear a monk preach the *Ariyavamsa*). The work is perhaps connected with the *Sahassavatthaṭṭhakathā* 'Commentary of the thousand tales' which is quoted in the *Mahāvamsa-Tīkā* (e.g., p. 451, 452, 607)¹).

The *Rasavāhinī* itself is a collection of 103 tales relating to incidents which happened in India (40) and Ceylon (63). Cf. B. C. LAW, I. I., p. 625. It was composed in Pāli by *Vedeha Thera*, 13th cent. An amplified Sinhalese version of it is the *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* of Dhammakitti³, 14th cent.

Finally I mention the Sinhalese works *Amāvatura* 'Flood of Ambrosia' and *Pūjāvaliya* 'Worship-row'. The former is a standard work of the twelfth century written in an archaic Sinhalese and treats of conversions to the true religion effected by the Buddha himself. The *Pūjāvaliya* is a collection of mythical and legendary tales and was compiled in the thirteenth century by *Buddhaputta*, usually called *Mayūrapāda Thera*. Editions of both works were published in Ceylon.

68. Sinhalese literature is closely connected with, and dependent on, Sanskrit literature. The fact is evident in Dhammakitti's¹ chronicle itself. The author knew the Indian theory of the *rasas*, i.e. of the underlying moods of any poetical composition. Two of the ten *rasas* are mentioned in his work: the *hassa-rasa* (Sk. *hāsya*), the 'merriment arousing mood' (*Mhvs* 73.117),

¹ Walpola RAHULA, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo 1956, p. 270, identifies the *Ariyavamsa* with a *sutta* found in the *Uruvelavagga* of the *Catukkanipāta* in the *Ānguttaranikāya*. For an analysis of the *Sahassavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, see RAHULA, I. I., p. XXVII sq. It seems to be the source of *Vedeha's Rasavāhinī*. The *Sihalavattupakaraṇa* is another similar collection of stories, compiled probably before the time of *Buddhaghosa*. It has been published by A. P. BUDDHADATTA, Colombo 1959. (Ed.).

and the *vīra-rasa*, the 'heroic mood' (75.89). With regard to his shrewdness king Parakkamabāhu I is metaphorically called the first among those versed in the knowledge of moods (72.94; cf. 72.265)¹).

Dhammakitti¹ was well acquainted with the Sanskrit literature itself. He refers to the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa and mentions heroes like Dussanta (Sk. *Duṣyanta*), Duryodhana (Sk. *Duryodhana*), and the five Pāṇḍu sons (64.43—44). He also quotes a book *Yuddhaṇṇava*, 'Ocean of wars' (70.56) with which, probably, the part called *Yuddhajayārṇava* of the Agnipurāṇa is meant. Dhammakitti¹ knew Cāṇakka (Sk. *Cāṇakya*), the famous chancellor of Candragupta, who uprooted the Nanda dynasty. He also knew his surname Koṭalla (Sk. *Kauṭalya*, 64.3; 70.56), and had studied the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra ascribed to him. He even made use of it in the interesting passage 66.126 sq., where he in a stereotyped form describes the espionage conducted by prince Parakkamabāhu in Gajabāhu's kingdom (cf. Ind. Histor. Quarterly XIV, 1938, p. 323—4).

That the Indian rules of the *alamkāras*, the rhetorical ornaments, were well known in Ceylon, is manifest in the whole body of poetry which cannot be understood without the Indian prototypes. The *Kavsiṣumiṇa* for instance, mentioned above in 65, is a highly artificial poem with the peculiar character of a *kāvya*. Kālidāsa's Meghadūta has called forth a number of Sinhalese Sandeśas 'Messenger poems', a literature which chiefly flourished in the first half of the 15th century. The messenger is always a bird in these poems. The poem itself begins with a description of the messenger and of the place where he starts from. Then follows that of the way he has to fly, and when he has arrived at his goal this again is amply described and the bird delivers the message which is a homage rendered to the king or a prayer with which a god is implored to protect and bless the king. We know seven old Sandeśa-poems. According to H. GÜNTHER their chronological succession is as follows: 1. Ma-yūra-sandeśaya, 'Peacock-message, about 1389/90; author unknown. 2. Tisara-sandeśaya, Goose-message, beg. of the 15th cent., author unknown. 3. Haṃsa-sandeśaya, Goose-message, about 1420, author unknown. 4. Girā-sandeśaya, Parrot-message, shortly after 1420, author unknown. 5. Paravi-sandeśaya, Dove-message, about 1425, author: Toṭagamuvē Śrī-Rāhula. 6. Kovul-sandeśaya, Cuckoo-message, shortly before no. 7, author a scion of the Irugal clan. 7. Sālalihiṇi-sandeśaya, Maina-bird-message, 1449, author: Toṭagamuvē Śrī-Rāhula. (For these Sinhalese Sandeśa Poems, see now C. E. GODAKUMBURA, Sinhalese Literature, p. 183—208².) In Sinhalese books, as in the Pūjāvaliya, we come across the remarkable tradition that king Kumāradhātusena, 513—526, was an intimate friend of Kālidāsa and

¹ Already in the Mahābodhivaṃsa (cf. above, 67) the influence of Sanskrit cannot be overlooked. It may be mentioned that Saṅgharakkhita, who calls himself a pupil of Medhaṅkara¹ (cf. above, 65), based his Vuttodaya, the only Pāli work on prosody, on works dealing with Sanskrit prosody, mainly Piṅgala, Halāyudha etc. His Subodhālaṅkāra on the art of poetry, clearly shows a close connection with the terms of corresponding Sanskrit treatises. On Sanskrit works written in Ceylon, cf. Dehigaspē PAÑÑASĀRA, Sanskrit Literature extant among the Sinhalese, Colombo (1958). (Ed.).

² Cf. now also Puñcibaṇḍāra SANNAAGALA, Siṃhala sandeśa sāhityaya, Koḷaṃba 1955. (Ed.).

that he burnt himself on a pyre the day his friend died (Pujāvaliya, ch. XXXIV, ed. MEDHANKARA, p. 18). To this king, the Sanskrit mahākāvya Janakīharana is attributed by tradition (Pārakumbāsirita, v. 23). It was well known even in India. (Ed.).

It would, however, be unfair to blame Sinhalese literature for its lack of originality. We must try to look at it with Indian eyes and to judge it from the standpoint of the Indian mentality, for it is inappropriate to apply to it standards of European taste. Our literary ideal is a poet who goes his own way, different from that of other poets, discovering new subjects and inventing new forms of expression. The ideal of Indian authors is to preserve what the choice spirits of former times have produced and to develop and embellish it in accordance with rules precisely ascertained by theorists who are universally acknowledged as authorities. When viewed in this light, the Sinhalese poetry may be said to be a respectable offshoot of Indian literature.

69. With regard to scientific literature the grammatical studies must first be mentioned. They are a continuation of similar studies made in India on Sanskrit. On the Pāli language from the time after Buddhaghosa to the twelfth century Kaccāyana was the highest authority. But during the reign of Parakkambāhu I the Thera Moggallāna, whose name occurs in Mhvs 78.9, started a new school of Pāli grammar, and from this time onwards two schools of grammarians existed side by side in Ceylon. Both Kaccāyana and Moggallāna, were no doubt strongly influenced by Pāṇini, but Moggallāna's grammar is decidedly superior to that of Kaccāyana because it takes into account the historical relation of Pāli with Sanskrit which is ignored by Kaccāyana. For the numerous grammatical works published in both schools I refer to my Pāli Literature and Language, trsl. by Batakrishna Ghosh, 30, 45—49, p. 37, 49 sq. The most popular of them is the Bālāvatāra, and as a rule, every bhikkhu in Ceylon should know it by heart even today. See also R. O. FRANKE, Geschichte und Kritik der einheimischen Pāli-Gramm. u. Lexikogr., Straßburg 1902; Helmer SMITH, Critical Pāli Dict., Epilogomena to Vol. I, p. 54*—59*. (Ed.).

The classical Sinhalese Grammar is the Sidat-sañgarāva (Sk. *Siddhānta-saṃgraha*). (Cf. H. GÜNTHER, Zeitschr. D. Morgenl. Ges. 96, p. 84.) We learn from this work that grammatical works must have existed in great number in Ceylon even before the Sidat-sañgarāva, but they were all superseded by it, as no later Sinhalese grammar enjoyed the same authority. Strange enough, the author is not named, but its date is certainly the thirteenth century. G. P. MALALASEKERA believes that it was compiled by the Thera Vedeha, the author of the Rasavāhinī. (MALALASEKERA, Pali Lit. of Ceylon, p. 223, 234.)

Concerning the date and the author of the Sidatsañgarāva, see also GODAKUMBURA, Sinhalese Literature, p. 318f. He points to the fact that the author of the Sidatsañgarāva is indebted not only to Sanskrit grammarians, but especially to the ancient school of Tamil grammar. The Ruvan-mala, a Sinhalese metrical vocabulary by Parakkambāhu VI., is composed on the model of Amarasimha's Amarakoṣa, similarly Nallūrutun-mini's Nāmāvaliya. The Pāli Dictionary called Abhidhānappadīpikā, written in the reign of Parakkambāhu the Great is also based on the Amarakoṣa. (Ed.).

70. Medical science and medical art, as they developed in Ceylon, require a special and more detailed consideration¹). Physicians (Sinh. *vedā*) apparently never formed a separate caste, nor do we hear of the existence of medical schools where future physicians were instructed. It seems that the medical art was traditional, and people who wished to acquire regular instruction learned the medical art by assisting a skilful physician in his activity. A thorough knowledge of the medical handbooks (*vejja-sattha* = Sk. *vaidya-śāstra*) was indispensable (73.38). They are based on the Āyur-veda, medical science as it was divinely revealed originally. King Parakkamabāhu was himself versed in medical lore (*āyubbede nipuṇa* 73.42).

Such a handbook, called *Bhesajja-mañjūsā* 'Treasure-box of medicaments' is mentioned in 97.58. It was compiled in Ceylon in the thirteenth century by Pasmula Mahāsāmi and five centuries later Saraṇaṅkara composed a commentary of it. But already to king Buddhādāsa, 4th cent. A. C., a medical handbook, *Sārārthasaṅgraha*, composed in Sanskrit, is ascribed. It seems to have been a compendium of all existing handbooks (37.146), and the manuscript of a medical work, bearing the same title, is kept in the Colombo Museum Library (cf. Catal. of Pali, Sinhalese and Sanskrit MSS in the Colombo Museum Library, Colombo 1901, p. 29), but it does certainly not contain the text of the old work ascribed to Buddhādāsa.

There can be no doubt that medicine and sanitation in Ceylon were immensely furthered and finally established by Buddhādāsa. It is true that already Duṭṭhagāmaṇi claimed to have constantly bestowed on sick people food and remedies as ordered by the physicians (32.38). But as we have seen above in 52, Buddhādāsa was the first who systematically erected hospitals (*vejja-sālā*) in the villages and also shelters (*sālā*) for crippled and blind people (37.145, 147).

Marvellous cures of men and women, effected by the King, are reported in the chronicle (37.124 sq.). The reports have a legendary character and must not be taken as literal truth. But we may learn from them details concerning the medical methods and theories which were in vogue at that time. Even veterinary medicine was practised during Buddhādāsa's reign, and besides military surgeons the King appointed physicians for elephants and horses. An 'elephants' doctor' (*hathivejja*), it is true, is already mentioned at Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's time, about 100 B. C. (25.34). During an assault upon the fortress of Vijitanagara the royal elephant Kaṇḍula fell back, tormented with pains which were caused by the smoking pitch poured on his back by the defenders of the wall. The animal betook himself to a pool and dived there. But the elephants' physician washed the pitch away and put on balm, so that the elephant was as strong as before. We must not assume that the man was a physician of scientific education, but it is plausible that already in ancient times skilful people who had knowledge of the constitution and habits of the elephants and some experience in their treatment were attached to the royal stables and had to take care of the health of those costly animals.

71. The Sinhalese took over the medical science from India. According to the Indian theory diseases are caused by a disturbance of the three bodily

¹ Cf. also S. PARANAVITANA, *Medicine and Hygiene as practised in Ancient Ceylon*, Ceylon Histor. Journal, III No. 2, p. 123—135. (Ed.).

humours: wind (Sk. *vāta*), bile (*pitta*) and phlegm (*śleṣman*). In the Mahāvamsa the 'wind-disease' (*vātābādha*, *vātaroga*) is mentioned. (Cf. Sk. *vātavyādhi*, JOLLY, *Medicin*, *Encycl. of Indo-Aryan Research* III. 10, p. 118). It is a sort of rheumatism or cramp. A bhikkhu, gravely hampered by it in his spiritual exercises, was cured by Buddhadāsa (Mhvs 37.141), and king Vikkamabāhu I, 11th cent., was hindered by it from carrying on the war with the Damilas (56.5).

A leper (*kutthin*; cf. P. *kuṭṭha*, Sk. *kuṣṭha*; JOLLY, l. l., p. 96 sq.) is met with in 35.66, and during the reign of king Samghabodhi I, 4th cent. A. C., many people were killed by the 'red-eyed' demon (*Rattakki* 36.82 sq.). As the first symptom of the disease apparently was an inflammation of the eyes, we may assume that it was a malignant form of scarlatina.

A feverish disease was *pajjara-roga*. Cf. Sk. *prajvāra*, *jvara*; JOLLY, l. l., p. 70 sq. When Moggallāna III, 7th cent., was at war with rebels in Malaya his army suffered so much from the disease that it became impotent, was scattered and fled (44.58, 59). According to an ancient legend there was in prehistoric times such an epidemic fever in Ojadīpa (old name of Lanākādīpa) which was only stayed by the power of the Buddha Kakusandha (15.60 sq.).

With the word *upasagga* any kind of pestilence seems to be meant an accurate description of which is impossible. In the Indian medicine *upasarga* is used for complications of diseases. Kassapa IV, about 900, had hospitals erected in Anurādhapura and Pulatthinagara for combating the *upasagga* (52.25), and his successor Kassapa V was by the breaking out of such a pestilence in his army, compelled to give up the campaign against the Colas (52.77 sq.). Dysentery is *atisāra*, Sk. id., JOLLY, l. l., p. 74 sq. Of this disease Rakkha, one of Parakkamabāhu's ablest generals, died during the war in Rohaṇa (74.143).

Much stress is laid upon diagnosis. It is the clever physician who is able to distinguish between curable and incurable disease (73.16) and quick at ascertaining the various bodily conditions (73.38 sq.). To such physicians king Parakkamabāhu gave adequate maintenance and made them day and night practise the medical art in the best manner. He tested in every way their skill in healing, and if their medical treatment had been wrong, he provided them with the right method.

The therapy (*tikicchana* 73.39) depended, of course, on the character of the disease. Medicaments (*bhesajja* = ved. *bhaiṣajya*) could be obtained from plants. King Aggabodhi VII, 8th cent., is said to have studied the medicinal plants (*bhesajjam* 48.72) over the whole Island to find out whether they were wholesome for the sick or harmful. The surgeons who accompanied the troops sent to Rāmañña were provided with different kinds of remedies for the healing of infected wounds caused by poisoned arrows as well as with remedies (*osadha-jātiyo* 76.50) for curing the ill-effects of polluted water. Wounds, caused, for instance, by poisonous insects, could also be healed, or at least the pains produced by them abated, with honey and clarified butter (5.49 sq., 125 sq.).

Bleeding (*sirāvedha*, Sk. idem, JOLLY, l. l., p. 35) of a horse is mentioned in 37.127—8; the same method was, when indicated, certainly also applied to human beings. Vomitives (37.124—31) and purgatives were also made use of. A gynaecological case is noted in 37.140. A Caṇḍāla woman was seven times

mūlhagabbhinī (Sk. *mūḍha-garbha*, JOLLY, l. l., p. 64), i. e. the foetus was in an abnormal position, but seven times mother and child were saved by Buddhadāsa.

The knife (*sattha* 37.119 = Sk. *śastra*, JOLLY, l. l., p. 33 sq.) was the chief surgical instrument. Buddhadāsa constantly carried his knife along in a pocket (*vatti* 37.150) in his mantle, and whenever he met them, he freed the afflicted from their pains. Parakkamabāhu is said to have been himself a clever surgeon who showed younger surgeons the proper use of the instruments (*sattha-yuttiṇ* 73.45) by skilfully treating several people with his own hand.

The chronicle does not enable us to draw a full picture of the medical art in mediaeval Ceylon, but a collection of the scattered notices clearly shows how closely it is connected with the Indian medicine¹).

VI. Professional Life²)

1. Divisions of time, Measures and Weights, Coinage

72. Before we enter into details of professional life I have to make a few remarks on some notions and institutions which must be considered as its general basis, and I begin with:

Divisions of time. The Sinhalese year (*vassa*, *saṃvacchara*, *hāyana* = Sk. *varṣa*, *saṃvatsara*, *hāyana*) in the mediaeval period was the old Indian lunar year of twelve months (*māsa*). The names of the months were

1. Citta (Cittā, Sk. *citrā*, Sinh. *bak*; 1.46) = March/April
2. Vesākha (Sk. *vaiśākha*, Sinh. *vesak*; 1.12, 73; 3.28 c.) = April/May
3. Jeṭṭha (Sk. *jyēṣṭhā*, Sinh. *poson*; 13.14, 18 & c.) = May/June
4. Āsālha (Sk. *āṣāḍha*, Sinh. *āsaḷa*; 3.14; 16.2, 14 & c.) = June/July
5. [Sāvaṇa] (Sk. *śrāvaṇa*, Sinh. *nikini*) = July/August
6. [Poṭṭhapāda] (Sk. *prauṣṭhapada*, Sinh. *binara*) = August/September
7. Assayuḷa (Sk. *āsvayujā*, Sinh. *vap*; 18.7, 61; 20.33) = September/October
8. Kattika (Sk. *kārttika*, Sinh. *il*; 12.2; 17.1, 17 & c.) = October/November
9. Maggasira (Sk. *mārgaśira*, Sinh. *uṇḍuvap*; 11.40; 19.9) = November/December
10. Phussa (Sk. *puṣya*, Sinh. *durutu*; 1.19; 39, 37 & c.) = December/January
11. [Māgha] (Sk. *māgha*, Sinh. *navan*) = January/February
12. [Phagguṇa] (Sk. *phālguna*, Sinh. *mādin*) = February/March

The four names which are put in brackets [] do not occur, for some reason, in the Mahāvamsa.

The month was divided into two halves, the bright half (*sukkapakkha* = Sk. *śuklapakṣa*), i. e. the period of the waxing moon, and the dark half (*kālapakkha*, cf. Sk. *kṛṣṇapakṣa*), i. e. the period of the waning moon. At the end of each of the two periods a holiday, *uposatha*, was celebrated, on the fifteenth day (*pañcadasi*) of the bright half that of the full moon, and on the

¹) For medical art and physicians in the reign of Kittisirirājasīha, 18th cent., see Mhvs 99.173, 176 sq.; 100.143 sq.

²) Cf. M. B. ARIYAPALA, Society, p. 329 sq., C. W. NICHOLAS, Professions and Occupations in the Early Sinhalese Kingdom, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. C. B., N. S., V, p. 68 sq. (Ed.).

fourteenth day (*cātuddasī*) of the dark half that of the new moon. Besides there was an Uposatha day of minor solemnity on the eighth day of each of the two halves.

The day is now divided into 60 *pāya* of twenty-four minutes each, and we see from Sinhalese books that this division was in use at least in the second half of the mediaeval period. The night is divided into three 'watches' (P. *yāma*, Sinh. *yama*) of ten *pāya* = four hours each, and is therefore called *tiyāmaratti* (Mhvs 85.40). The Sinhalese names of the watches are 1) *perayama* 'first watch', 6 to 10 o'clock P. M., 2) *mādayama* (P. *majjhima-yāma*, Mhvs 25.105) 'middle watch', 10 P. M. to 2 A. M.) and 3) *aluyama* 'morning watch', 2 to 6 A. M. Cf. Saddharmaratnāvaliya, ed. JAYATILAKA, p. 153¹⁰⁻¹³.

In the chronicle the length of a king's reign is generally given in years. A few examples will suffice to make the system clear. 'After Vijayabāhu had for fifty-five years rolled the wheel of dominion (1059—1114), he ascended to the heavenly world', 60.91. 'In this fashion committing deeds of violence the ruler Māgha held sway in Laṅkā for twenty-one years' (1214—1235), 80.79. Or: 'Kumāradhātusena passed away in the ninth year' (513—521/2), 41.3.

Single events during the reign were also dated in a similar way. In the twelfth year of Silākāla's (Salamēvan's) reign (i.e. 535/6) a young merchant brought the heretic book, entitled *Dhammadhātu*, to Ceylon (41.37). In the tenth year of Mahinda's (Mihindu's) V reign (i.e. 990/1) the Keraḷa mercenaries revolted against the Ruler (55.4).

In the oldest part of the Mahāvamsa we come across many datings in which events in the life of the Buddha or in the legendary part of the history of Ceylon are exactly recorded in days and months. These dates appear to be based on an ancient tradition which was handed down from generation to generation with great tenacity. The day of the Buddha's enlightenment was the full-moon day of the month Vesākha (1.12). On the same day he entered into Nirvāṇa (3.2). On the full-moon day of Phussa in the ninth month of his Buddhahship he started on his first (legendary) visit to Ceylon (1.19), on his second visit on the Uposatha day of the dark half of Citta in the fifth year of his Buddhahship (1.46), and on the third visit on the full-moon day of Vesākha in the eighth year after enlightenment (1.72—73).

With full chronological details the history of the Bodhi-tree in Anurādhapura is narrated in the chronicle. On the second day of the bright half of Assayuja prince Ariṭṭha, ordered by king Devānampiyatissa to fetch a branch of the original sacred tree in Magadha, left Ceylon and arrived, by miracle, on the same day in Asoka's capital Kusumapura (Pāṭaliputra, 18.7—8). On the fifteenth Uposatha day in the same month the branch severed itself from the tree and was brought, two weeks later, on the fourteenth Uposatha day of the dark half of Assayuja to Kusumapura (18.61—62). Here it was set up at the foot of a Sāl-tree on the first day of the next month Kattika (18.64). The branch was shipped at Tāmalitti on the first day of the bright half of Maggasira (19.9) and arrived at Jambukola-Ceylon after a week (19.21—22) and in Anurādhapura on the fourteenth day of that month (19.39).

There are also several single chronological passages of the same character in the old Mahāvamsa: 1. Devānampiyatissa's first coronation took place in the month Maggasira on the day when the moon first shows itself (11.40), and his

second coronation was performed by the envoys of king Asoka on the full-moon day of Vesākha (11.42). These envoys had left Kusumapura on the first day of the bright half of the same month (11.37). — 2. The Thera Mahinda held the *pavāraṇā* ceremony on the full-moon day of Kattika after spending the rain-season (17.1), and he died on the eighth day of the bright half of Assayuja (20.33). — 3. One of the most auspicious days in the year was the full-moon day of Vesākha, the day of the *sambodhi*. On this day the work of the Great Thūpa in Anurādhapura was begun (29.1), and the foundation stone laid on the fourteenth day of the bright half of Āsālha (29.14). After the completion of the Thūpa the relics were enshrined on the fifteenth Uposatha-day of that month (31.109).

Such accurate dates are rare in the later parts of the chronicle. In 39.37 king Moggallāna I, 496—513, is said to have ordained a yearly almsgiving on the full-moon day of Phussa. On this day a magic ceremony was performed near the Gokaṇṇa sea (41.80—81) for Mahānāga who later on in the year 556 A. C. ascended the throne. In the Buddha year 2296 = 1752 A. C. on the fullmoon day of Āsālha king Kittisirirājasīha celebrated a great festival in honour of the restoration of the Buddhist church in Ceylon (100.91—92).

73. As to measures used in mediaeval Ceylon minute calculations will hardly be necessary for our purposes. By round figures the matter will be simplified. For details I refer to RHYS DAVIDS, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon, Numismata Orientalia*, London 1877.

For units of length we may start from *aṅgula* (or *°li*), 'breadth of a finger'; 12 *aṅgula* are a span (*vidatthi*, *Abhidhānappadīpikā* 195), and it is generally accepted that the span is approximately equal to 9 inches. Two spans are a cubit (*hattha* or *ratana*) = 18 inches (FLEET, *JRAS.* 1912, p. 463).

A bridge crossing the Kālanadī, now Kalu-ganga, near its mouth, was 86 cubits (*hattha*) long, that is about 130 feet (86.40). At the present time the distance between the two banks of the river near Kalutara is considerably greater. It is not impossible that the mouth of the Kalu-ganga in connexion with the alluvial deposit outside in the sea has been changed since the mediaeval period. Another bridge across the Sālapādapa-swamp had a length of 150 cubits or 225 feet (86.42). A third bridge thrown by a general of Parakkamabāhu over the Kalā-oya was 20 cubits or 30 feet broad (70.128).

In a fortified camp erected near Mihiraṇabibbila during Parakkamabāhu's campaign against Mānābharaṇa there was a trench dug between two stockades that had a breadth of 20 to 30 cubits (*ratana*) = 30 to 45 feet (72.235). The Damiḷa-thūpa which was built by Parakkamabāhu in Pulatthinagara is said to have had a circumference of 1300 cubits or 1950 feet (78.76). The largest Thūpa in Anurādhapura, the Abhayagiri, has a circumference of only 1100 feet (PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 306). The circumference of the oil-basin of the colossal lamp on the top of Adam's Peak, set up in the 16th century, was 15 cubits = 22 feet, its height 5 cubits = $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet (*vattapañcadase hatthe uccam ratanapañcake* 92.17).

Measures, mentioned in the older parts of the chronicle, are not always trustworthy. The golden vase in which the branch of the Bodhi-tree was kept by king Asoka, before it was sent to Ceylon, measured 9 cubits (*hattha*) or 13 to 14 feet around, and it was 5 cubits or 7 to 8 feet high and 8 *aṅgula* or approxi-

mately 6 inches thick (18.27). The length and breadth of the six stone-slabs with which the relic-chamber in the Mahāthūpa was enclosed, is said to have been 80 cubits (*ratana*), equal to 120 feet (30.58—59): These are fantastic figures, yet in the last century B. C. it is said moreover that the stones were brought from the country of the half-mythical Uttarakurus who lived in the North of India. The author of the *Ṭikā* rightly points to the incongruity of the extent of the slabs and their thickness (only 8 *āṅgula* = 6 inches), though we should prefer to search for the error not in the measure of the thickness, as he does, but rather in that of length and breadth. More probable is the passage in 1.39—41 that the Mahiyaṅga-thūpa was originally only 12 cubits or 18 feet high, but was enlarged in the time of Devānampiyatissa and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi to 30, respectively 80 cubits = 45 and 120 feet.

The measure *yatṭhi*, staff, is equal to 7 cubits or a little more than 10 feet; the *usabha* is equal to 20 *yatṭhi* or 200 feet (Abhp 196). A bridge near Kadali-gāma was 100 staves or 1000 feet long, another bridge across the Sālaggāma river, 40 staves or 400 feet (Mhvs 86.40, 41). In 78.63 *yatṭhi* is not itself a measure, but means a staff used in measuring the distance between the single boundary-stones of the Ālāhana-pariveṇa. The staff had a length of 5 cubits or 7½ feet.

Usabha, 'furlong', is met with in the Cūlavamsa, as far as I know, in one passage only. It is said in 85.4 that the stretch of road between Jambuddoṇi and Sirivaddhana was made level in the length of half a *yojana* and the breadth of an *usabha*. Where this word occurs in the old Mahāvamsa, it seems to be a smaller measure than 200 feet, or the figures are again merely fantastic. When Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's mother was pregnant, she felt a craving for a honeycomb of an *usabha*'s size to use it as a pillow for her head (22.42). Phussadeva shot an arrow 8 *usabha* or 1600 feet and 1 *usabha* through water. (23.88). In taking Vijitapura by storm Nandhimitta, one of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's warriors, broke down the wall with his arm; 18 cubits (27 feet) high and 8 *usabha* (1600 feet) long it crashed down (25.42—43).

More isolated is the use of the measures *tāla* 'palmyra palm', *dhanu* 'bow', *porisa* 'man's length', *bāṇapāta* 'bowshot'. A sacred relic placed on the back of an elephant rose up by a miracle and floated in the air at a height of 7 *tāla* (17.43). A *dhanu* or bow-length is equal to 8 feet (PARKER, Ancient Ceylon, p. 274). The Nāgamahāvihāra, after its restoration by king Ijanāga, had an extent of 100 *dhanu* (35.31). The trench at Mihiraṇabibbala, had a length of 100 *porisa*, that is, as a man's length is about 4 cubits (cf. FLEET, JRAS. 1912, p. 463), approximately 720 feet (72.235). Round the fortification of that place the big forest was felled over a tract 2 or 3 bowshots in extent (72.239).

74. The long-distance measure is *yojana*. A quarter of a *yojana* is a *gāvuta* (cf. PARKER, Ancient Ceylon, p. 255 sq.; FLEET, JRAS. 1906, p. 1011; 1907, p. 655; 1912, p. 462; H. W. CODRINGTON, Gāvuta Pillars, Ceylon Journ. of Science, sect. G., II, p. 129 sq., 132 sq.).

There were two *yojanas*, the common Indian and the Buddhist *yojana*. The latter is the half of the former. It is now universally accepted, I believe, that in the Mahāvamsa the longer *yojana* is meant, and that it is equal to 9 Eng. miles. The shorter *yojana* would, therefore, be 4½ miles, and the longer *gāvuta* 2½ miles, the shorter *gāvuta* a little more than 1 mile.

Sirivaḍḍhana, the new capital founded by king Parakkamabāhu II, 13th cent. and the older residence Jambuddoṇi were only half a *yojana* (= $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles) distant from each other (*addha-*, not *attha-* is the reading in all MSS. 85.4). In 28.13 sq. several places are mentioned where treasures were found when the building of the Mahāthūpa had been planned, and their distance from Anurādhapura is given, varying between 3 and 8 *yojana*. Two of these place-names can be topographically fixed with some probability. One is the landing-place Uruvelā which seems to have been near the mouth of the Kalā-oya. It is said to be 5 *yojana* = 45 miles away from the town. The statement is approximately accurate, the actual distance being 38 miles as the crow flies. The other place is the Ambatṭhakola-cave. Here silver was found and afterwards the Rajata-vihāra, now Ridi-vihāra 'Silver temple', erected. The distance from Anurādhapura is according to the chronicle 8 *yojana* or 72 miles; it is, as the crow flies, roughly 55 miles, so that, if the windings of the road are taken into account, the statement of the chronicle is not extravagant.

But we have to deal with a fanciful figure, when the hero Nimila is said to have travelled in a forenoon 9 *yojana* or more than 80 miles. The figure will become more reasonable, though hardly credible, if we assume that in this passage (23.26) the shorter *yojana* is meant.

Difficult to explain is the statement in 89.13—14, where Vijayabāhu, the son and co-regent of Parakkamabāhu II, 13th cent., is said to have had the highway from Jambuddoṇi to Pulatthinagara, 5 *yojana* wide made level, and along the road erected rest-houses, always at a distance of half a *yojana*. According to the context, 5 *yojana* or 45 miles would be the whole distance between the two towns, but it is actually 71 miles as the crow flies and 86 miles along the road (PARKER, l. l., p. 260). We should therefore expect 9 *yojana* rather than five. Do we perhaps in that statement come across a third kind of *yojana*, equal to two longer *yojana* or 18 miles? A distance of 9 miles from one rest-house to the next one would also better agree with the conventional custom than the shorter one of only $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

Measures of distance in *gāvuta* (Sk. *gavyūti*, Sinh. *gavuva*) are not infrequent in the Cūlavamsa. When prince Parakkamabāhu had clandestinely left Saṅkatthali, he covered in haste a distance of 5 *gāvuta* or 11 miles and came near Badalatthala where he met his retinue (65.4). Badalatthala is, as CODRINGTON (Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceyl. Br., Nr. 75, 1924, p. 66) assumes (with PARKER), the modern Batalagoḍa about 7 miles NE. of Kurunāgala (cf. also PARANAVITANA, Epigr. Zeyl. IV, p. 77). Parakkamabāhu whose aim was Pulatthinagara, certainly proceeded in a North-Easterly direction and Saṅkatthali must therefore have been situated a few miles SW. or S. of Kurunāgala.

In 76.197 Lanākāpura, Parakkamabāhu's general in the Pāṇḍu-campaign, is said to have approached Madhurā at a distance of 2 or 3 *gāvuta*. Pulatthinagara (Polonnaruva) had after its enlargement during the reign of the same king a length of 4 *gāvuta* and a breadth of 7 *gāvuta* (73. 157). King Viravikkama, 16th cent., when he was going on a pilgrimage to Mahiyaṅgaṇa is said to have travelled a distance of 7 *gāvuta* or a little more than 15 miles on foot for a day (92.15).

The *gāvuta* became, it seems, the standard measure of length in mediaeval Ceylon. This appears from the fact that king Nissaṅkamalla, end of 12th cent.,

had set up along the roads of his kingdom mile-stones with inscriptions at the distance of one *gāvuta* each. I refer to the most interesting paper of H. W. CODRINGTON, *Gāvuta Pillars* (I. I., cf. above). Eight pillars of that kind were discovered in the province of Uva along a tract which seems in part to be identical with the ancient highway running from Mahāgāma in Southern Rohaṇa through Guttasāla (now Buttala) to Mahiyaṅgaṇa on the bank of the Mahavāli-ganga.

75. Square measures and measures of capacity are closely connected with each other. The *ammaṇa* (Sk. *armaṇa*, Sinh. *amuṇa*) is a measure for dry grain, but at the same time a square measure for such a tract of ground as could be sown with an *ammaṇa* of corn. In modern Ceylon an *amuṇa* is equal to 2 or 2½ acres. King Dhātusena, 5th cent., instituted a regular almsgiving with the produce of a 10 *ammaṇa* field (Mhvs 38.77).

Four *ammaṇa* are a *karisa* (Sinh. *kiriya*, cf. Epigr. Zeyl. III, p. 198 A⁴, n. 3) = 8 or 10 acres. A field of 100 *karisa* — apparently a fantastic figure — is mentioned in the oldest part of the chronicle 10.29 sq. On a plain covering 16 *karisa* nuggets of gold were found at a distance of three *yojana* from Anurādhapura (28.13). King Vasabha, 2nd cent. A.C., is said to have bestowed on a monastery of the province of Rohaṇa 1008 *karisa* of land, and constructed a tank yielding water for 1000 *karisa* (35.83, 86). We must keep in mind that 1008 was a sacred number to Buddhists.

The word *khetta* 'field' (Sk. *kṣetra*, Sinh. *keta*) was also sometimes used, it seems, as a field measure. It perhaps meant as much land as could be tilled and sown in a day, corresponding to German 'tagwerk' (day's work). 1000 *khetta* and 200 *khetta* were granted to monasteries by the kings Mahānāga and Aggabodhi I, 6th cent. (41.99; 42.9), and the produce of ten *khetta* was given to the physicians as payment by King Buddhādāsa (37.147).

Other mediaeval measures of a similar character occur in inscriptions. Thus *hakada* (Sk. *śakata*, Sinh. *yāla*, PARANAVITANE, Epigr. Zeyl. III, p. 183) in the Tonigala inscr., 4th cent. The word originally means 'cart' or 'cart-load', in the thirteenth century equal to 20 *ammaṇa* or 40 to 50 acres (I. I., p. 189). In the same inscription the interesting term *pekada* is met with as a square measure. This is probably metathesis of **peḍaka* = Sk. *peṭaka* 'basket', modern *pālaya*, the quarter of of an *amuṇa* (PARANAVITANA, I. I., p. 184). In inscriptions of the 8th or 10th centuries *paya* (Sk. *pāda*) occurs (I. I. p. 189—191, 198), equal to the quarter of a *karisa* or to an *ammaṇa*.

Measures of capacity are *doṇa* (Sk. *droṇa*) and *nāli* (Sk. *nāli* 'tube'), the former used for measuring dry things, the latter for measuring liquid or soft things. The relics of the Buddha were 8 *doṇa*, one *doṇa* was enshrined in the Mahāthūpa of Anurādhapura (15.167; 31.18, 19; 74.3). A *nāli* of fragrant oil, equal to 3 pints, was a royal present, offered to a Thera (30.37), and a *nāli* of butter, molasses and sugar was given by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi to each preacher of the doctrine (32.45).

76. There is a similar connexion between weight and coinage as between measures of capacity and square measures. A weight is *bhāra* (42.32), according to the Sanskrit Dictionary of BÖHTLINGK and ROTH about 140 lbs. Aggabodhi I presented the Mahāthūpa with a golden umbrella weighing 24 *bhāras*. This would give a total weight of 53 to 54 cwt. The standard of coinage was

the *kahāpaṇa* (Sk. *kārṣāpaṇa*), a copper coin weighing 146.4 grains = 9.48 grams (E. J. RAPSON, *Indian Coins*, p. 2; T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 100). There is a highly interesting notice in *Mhvs* 77.102, according to which Parakkamabāhu I introduced into the country everywhere for trade *Kahāpaṇas* which were stamped (*anḱita*) with his name. It seems, therefore, that up to the twelfth century the punchmarks on the coins would be made by private individuals or by guilds, but since the reign of Parakkamabāhu the right of coining belonged to the government, but this conclusion remains, of course, doubtful.

The sum of 1,300,000 *Kahāpaṇas* was the value of the gold spent by king Udaya II in eleven years (51.135); 1000 *Kahāpaṇas* were spent by king Sena III, 10th cent., for the poor on each Uposatha day (53.29), and by the same king 500 or 1000 *Kahāpaṇas* were given away for restoring ruined houses and 40,000 *Kahāpaṇas* for a stone paving of the Abhayagiri-thūpa (53.32—33). Big and often fantastic sums spent for various purposes are mentioned in the ancient *Mahāvamsa*. By king Eḷāra 15,000 *Kahāpaṇas* were paid as penalty, because fifteen stones had been inadvertently broken off by him with his car from a Thūpa (21.26). Duṭṭhagāmaṇi gave 12,000 *Kahāpaṇas* to a masterbuilder as reward for his work (30.14), and when founding the Mahāthūpa he had placed on the building ground at each of the four entrances 1,600,000 (*soḷasa-satasahassāni*) *Kahāpaṇas* as salary for the workmen (30.18). A kingly reward was that with which Phussadeva, the great archer among Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's warriors, was honoured by his Lord. He had set Phussadeva's arrow in the ground with the feathered end uppermost and covered it over and over with *kahāpaṇa* coins (25.100).

The gold standard (*suvaṇṇa*) had the same weight as the copper *kahāpaṇa*. King Vijayabāhu III, 13th cent., is said to have made over to the people whom he had ordered to write down the 84,000 divisions of the holy texts the same sum of gold *Kahāpaṇas* (81.45). Aggabodhi (Agbō) V, 8th cent., had at the cost of 26,000 gold-coins (*suvaṇṇa*) restored whatever had fallen into decay on the Cetiya-pabbata (48.7). The term *hiraṇṇā* appears to be a synonym of *suvaṇṇa*. But we have to deal with a merely fictitious number, as in the corresponding passage quoted above, when we read in 27.21 that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi spent four times 800,000 *hiraṇṇā* on the workmen employed by him in the building of the Lohapāsāda.

Silver coins (*rajata*) were also in use. At an expense of 7000 silver coins (*rajatasahasseehi*) Bhuvanekabāhu V, 14th cent., had a casket fashioned to contain the Tooth Relic (91.12). In a similar connexion in the latest part of the chronicle (97.6, about 1700 A. C.) the term *rūpiya* is used.

Another measure for gold and silver was *nikkha* (Sk. *niṣka*), equal to five *suvaṇṇa* (Abhp 858), measuring therefore 732 grains or roughly 47 grams. Parakkamabāhu II had fashioned for the Tooth Relic several precious receptacles one over the other. One of them was made of 5000 *nikkha* gold and another of 25,000 *nikkha* silver (82.13) = 235 kilo and 1175 kilo respectively.

In connexion with the elephant trade in Rāmañña a coin *nikkhala* is met with in 76.18—19. Such is the reading in my edition of the *Cūlavamsa* and in the Colombo edition. H. W. CODRINGTON however, in *Ceylon Antiquary* III, p. 57, Epigr. Zeyl. III, p. 340, suggests that we have to read *tikkhala* which would be a palisation of *tikal*, the standard coin in Pegu and the neighbouring countries.

Frequently in the chronicle a sum of money is given with the figure only without a word denoting a coin. Costly articles of use to the value of 1000 were given by Parakkamabāhu II to prominent priests and an offering of 60,000 made by Viravikkama to (writers of) the Tipiṭaka (89.66; 92.13). Similar passages often occur in the ancient Mahāvamsa. Gifts to the value of 600,000 and 100,000 were bestowed on monks and nuns respectively by a king of the first century A. C. (34.87). Round numbers occurring in such notices are 1000 (6.24; 23.35; 35.72 &c), 10,000 (23.36, 39 &c), 60,000 (48.136), and 100,000 (10.24; 26.22 &c), never less. It is obvious that in these passages always the standard coin *kahāpaṇa* must be supplied.

2. Rural Life, Agriculture and Cattle-breeding

77. The predilection for rural life of the Sinhalese and the extraordinary value they attach to agriculture (*kasikamma*) are admirable. They are characteristic of their whole culture which was always closely and virtually connected with, and dependant upon, the soil, from which it had sprung. The agriculturists (*kassaka*) were the nobility of Ceylon (cf. above 23), and the Sinhalese were ever conscious of the fact, that agriculture is the basis of the economical welfare of the country. Even in time of war an interruption or decline of agricultural activity had to be avoided. By testing the military fitness of the people Parakkamabāhu segregated those who proved to be unfitted for fighting, and dismissed them: they were to till the fields and perform other work in peace without serving in the army (Mhvs 69.36—37). The whole produce of the fields is called *dhañña*. Whenever war threatened storage of corn (*dhañña-saṅgaha* 68.7) is the most urgent need.

The main crop produced in Ceylon was rice, either *sāli* or *vīhi*. The former (*sāli*) was cultivated in the hilly country where the yearly rainfall is sufficient to provide the quantity of water which is necessary for the irrigation of the fields. In such districts the hill-slopes are terraced, the terraces have low banks at their edges, and the water that comes down the hill is drawn from terrace to terrace until the rest reaches the bottom of the valley. King Viravikkama, 16th cent., is said to have cultivated a rice field (*sālikkhetta*) with his own hands and with the grain produced made an offering of alms (92.26). That was, of course, a work of particular merit. In the story by *sālikkhetta* such a terraced field is meant. In a similar manner a passage of the old Mahāvamsa 34.3 must be understood where we are told that king Mahācūḷī Mahātissa, last cent. B. C., laboured in disguise in the rice harvest (*sāli-lavana*) and with the wage he received gave food as alms to a venerable priest.

But we hear very little in the chronicle about this form of rice cultivation. The reason is obvious. The hilly districts were later occupied by colonists from the low-country, and the settlements there were smaller and had the character of private undertakings by single groups of families. They did not require nor obtain so much public support as agriculture in the low-country where irrigation works had to be constructed. The scene of historical events was always the lowland during the whole of the mediæval period.

For the same reason also the so-called Hena cultivation is never mentioned in the chronicle, though it was certainly usual in Ceylon from ancient

times. This is the method of cultivation. A bit of forest is cleared by felling the trees and burning the shrubs and sown with dry corn such as millet (*kaṅgu* 32.30) or beans (*māsa* 23.51) and the like, the ashes being used as manure. Such fields are called *hēna* in modern Sinhalese. A *hēna* plot is farmed for only two or three years and then abandoned and soon covered again with jungle. I find an allusion to this primitive form of cultivation in the story of the six brothers of Goṭhaimbara who went to the forest and cut down the trees in order to lay out a beanfield (*māsakkhetta* 23.51). Goṭhaimbara later on became one of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's heroes.

In gardens many kinds of fruit were planted such as pumpkins (*kumbhaṅḍaka*, Si. *puhul*, 35.6—7). Oil was produced from the sesamum-plant (*tila*, 29.12), and from the seeds of the *Bassia latifolia* (*madhuka* 34.56). Cotton (*kappāsa*, 86.46) and sugar cane (*ucchu*, 61.53) were also cultivated on suitable ground. Sugar cane was crushed in sugar mills, and raw sugar (*sakkharā*), lump sugar (*guḷa*), inspissated juice of the sugar cane (*macchaṇḍi*), and molasses (*phānita*) were often given as alms to the Bhikkhus (89.53; 34.62; 35.92).

78. Not only the Northern part of Ceylon but the South-Eastern Province also has an annual rainfall of less than 75 inches (cf. the diagram in E. K. COOK, *Geography of Ceylon*, p. 114). Therefore in all these districts artificial irrigation is necessary and the number of works connected with it was immense, increasing from century to century.

Two different systems of irrigation were adopted in Ceylon (PARKER, *Anc. Ceylon*, p. 347; cf. MENDIS, *Early Hist. of C.*³, p. 35, 61), depending on the local circumstances. According to one system an embankment was built across a valley with a seasonal stream and a heavy rainfall during the SW. or NE. Monsoon. Thus a reservoir was constructed in which the water that had come down in the wet months was stored up, and from which it could be drawn to the fields where it was wanted in the dry season.

According to the other system an excavated channel had to draw from a bigger river a part of its water to more distant fields or to a place suitable for the construction of a reservoir.

The building of tanks was much appreciated as a meritorious work, and since it was the foremost duty of pious kings to take care of the welfare of laity and priesthood (*lokasāsana*), they never failed to extend by such constructions the area of cultivable land. Many of these tanks are even today in good working order, or have been restored in modern times.

The first tank of Ceylon, mentioned in the old Mahāvamsa, was constructed by the Sakya prince Anurādha, apparently near Anurādhagāma (Mhvs 9.11). A natural pond near the same place was deepened and abundantly filled with water by Paṇḍukābhaya (10.83), the fourth king of the Island. It got the name *Jaya-vāpi* "Victory-tank" and is probably identical with the *Tissa-vāpi*¹ which was constructed or rather improved and finished by Devānampiyatissa (20.20; Rājaratnākaraya, p. 9). It is the modern *Tisā-vāva*, the construction of which is also ascribed in a later work (*Rājāvaliya*, ed. by B. GUNASEKARA, p. 17³) to Paṇḍukābhaya. The *Abhaya-vāpi*, possibly now *Basāvaka-kulam*, was also a work of Paṇḍukābhaya (10.88; cf. *Pūjāvaliya*, ed. by Bentara SADDHĀTISSA, p. 709²¹; Rājaratnākaraya, p. 5¹). But when the capital of the kingdom was thus provided with the necessary supply of water, we hear little of tanks erected

by kings during the following centuries. Their construction seems to have been during this time a private rather than a public undertaking. It is remarkable that in the enumeration of the meritorious works performed by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, 32.26 sq., no tank constructed by him is mentioned. To his successor Saddhātissa, it is true, such works are ascribed in the Sinhalese literature (Pūjāvāliya, I. I., p. 723³⁷ = ch. XXXIV, ed. MEDHANKARA, p. 9, Rājāvāliya, p. 31³⁴; Rājaratnākaraya, p. 12⁶).

Greater activity in this direction begins in the first century A. C. (34.32—33; 35.47, 120) not only in Northern Ceylon, but also in Rohaṇa, where the Tissavāpi² from which the whole cultural oasis of Mahāgāma is watered, was made by king Paṇāga, 95—101 A. C. (35.32). Vasabha, 2nd cent., is said to have constructed twelve tanks and excavated twelve channels (35.94 sq.). Two tanks are ascribed to Bhātikātissa, 203—227 (36.3, 4), and two to Jeṭṭhatissa I, 323—333 (36.130—131). His successor Mahāsena, the last king of the older dynasty, erected sixteen tanks, among them the large Maṇihira, now Minnēri-vāva, W. of Polonnaruva (37.47—49). (This king has been deified in the popular belief and the temple of this god, Minnēriyadevālaya, is still to be seen near the Minnēriya-tank. [Ed.])

This activity in assisting agriculture continued in the mediaeval period. Upatissa I, about 400 A. C., constructed several tanks (37.185—86); among them was, according to Sinhalese sources (Pūjāv, p. 729² resp. 17; Rājāv, p. 38²⁹), the Tōpā-vāva of Polonnaruva. Dhātusena, 5th cent., built the Kāla-vāpi, now Kalā-vāva, by damming up the Goṇa river (38.42—43). It is situated about 35 miles S. of Anurādhapura and covers nearly seven square miles. Its importance appears from the fact that it was often the scene of battles in the internal wars of the Sinhalese (44.104—5; 61.16; 83.31). To Aggabodhi I, 568—601, the Kurunda-vāpi and the Mahinda-taṭa are ascribed (42.15, 29), and to his successor Aggabodhi II three other tanks (42.67), and in Sinhalese books even more. Irrigation works were also constructed by Kassapa II (44.147), Sena II (51.72, 73) and chiefly by Vijayabāhu I. (60.48 sq.). Among the tanks built by the lastnamed king there was the Paṇḍa-vāpi, about 20 miles E. of Chilaw. It got its water by damming up the Kalumunu-oya, a tributary from the left side of the Dāduru-oya, and with all its later enlargements it covered no less than 1050 acres (PARKER, *Anc. Ceylon*, p. 355).

But the height of activity seems to have been reached during the reign of Parakkamabāhu I. When he was yet ruler of Dakkhinadesa he constructed or restored a great number of reservoirs (68.43 sq.), so that 'not even a little water that comes from the rain might flow into the ocean without being made useful to man' (68.11). In the river basin of the Jajjara-nadī, now Dāduru-oya, he laid out a well-planned system of irrigation works (68.23—38), evidently culminating in the Mahāgallaka tank, probably the modern Māgallē-vāva near Nikavāraṭṭiya, half-way between Kurunāgala and Puttalam. He had also enlarged the Paṇḍa-vāpi and gave it, owing to the immense quantity of water it contained, the name Parakkama-samudda (68.39—40).

When Parakkamabāhu had become ruler of the whole Island, he extended his activity over the other provinces. In 79.23—59, 66—69 the chronicle contains an ample enumeration of all the tanks and canals built or restored by the king (cf. MENDIS, I. I., p. 94—95). One of his most important works was

another Parakkama-samudda or (79.28) Parakkama-sāgara, apparently a new name of the Tōpā-vāva which was enlarged by him by including the Dum-butulu-vāva, and supplied with water from the Amban-ganga by means of the Ākāsagarigā canal, now Angamādilla-āḷa, which he further extended as far as the Minnēri-vāva.

79. The usual structure of the irrigation works laid out in Ceylon is amply and with thorough knowledge of the subject described in H. PARKER's Ancient Ceylon, p. 347 sq. With the help of this description and of the single passages met with in the chronicle we may gain a fairly good idea of the grandeur of those constructions.

The embankment built across a valley in order to dam up the stream coming down the valley and thus to create a reservoir (*vāpi*, *taṭa*, *talāka*) is called *bandhana* (Mhvs 42.34) 'bund' or *pāli* (68.39) 'dam' or *setu* (68.17, 23, 26, 28) 'bridge', because it was possible to cross on its crest the valley and the river. One says *nadiṃ bandhati* or *bandhāpeti* (38.41, 42) 'he dams up or orders to dam up a river' and *vāpiṃ karoti*, *kāreti*, *kārāpeti* (10.88; 36.3; 42.29 &c) or *vāpiṃ gaṇhāti* (38.42) or *vāpiṃ bandheti* (51.73; 79.69) 'he makes or constructs a tank'.

The line of the embankment depends on local circumstances; from its two ends sometimes a long arm was carried in an up-stream direction, thus forming an obtuse angle with the central part (PARKER, l. l., p. 364). The length and height of such an embankment was often very considerable; that of the Tissa-vāpi¹ in Anurādhapura, for instance, was more than 2 miles in length and about 25 feet in height, that of the Kāla-vāpi 3½ miles in length and 36 to 58 feet in height. Both the inside and the outside slope of the dam were usually very sharp, generally 2 or 3 feet horizontal to 1 foot vertical. The width of the crest was often 8 or 10 feet or even more.

The embankments were liable to bursting either by an extraordinary flood or through the negligence of the people who had to control them. In the turbulent times which followed the death of Vijayabāhu I, 1114, many tanks were destroyed by an unruly soldiery (61.64). Parakkamabāhu is said to have repaired the breaches of 1395 embankments (*chinnatṭhānāni bandhesi sutthiram* 79.39). Tanks restored by him in this way are enumerated in 79.31 sq. There were among them the Mañihira- and the Kāla-vāpi and many other old reservoirs (*purāṇavāpiyo*). In the thirteenth century Vijayabāhu IV also repaired many dilapidated dams and ruined tanks (88.111 sq.).

The outlets or sluices by which the out-flow of the water was regulated were called *paṇāḷi* (79.27). They were made of stone (*silāmaya*) while the embankment was earth-work, sometimes strengthened on the inner side with boulders. Parakkamabāhu had stone sluices built (*kāresi silāmayapaṇāḷiyo* 79.30) at three hundred tanks, and on thirteen tanks such sluices as had been damaged repaired (79.68).

An outlet consisted of three parts (PARKER, l. l., p. 377): 1. a rectangular open well or pit from a spot near the crest of the dam down to a certain depth, 2. an inlet culvert through which the water passed from the tank into the well, and 3. a discharging culvert from the well to the foot of the outer slope of the embankment. At a tank the detailed description of which is given by PARKER the inlet culvert was rectangular, 2 feet wide and 2 feet 6 inches high at the

inlet and 6 inches wider and a foot higher at its junction with the well. The discharging culvert is always considerably longer, but mostly of the same form and dimensions as the inlet culvert. Well and culverts were built throughout of large stones well dressed on the faces and fitted together very carefully.

The well is called *bisō-kotuva* in Sinhalese. In this compound *bisō* means 'influx', corresponding to a Pāli **abhissava* or **abhissota* from *abhi(s)avati* (W. STEDE, Pali Dict., s. v.), and *kotuva* is = P. *koṭṭhaka* 'enclosed room, store-room, reservoir'. The compound may therefore be translated with 'indraft enclosure'. The word *koṭṭha(ka)* also occurs in *koṭṭhabaddha* (68.16, 31), name of an embankment or cause-way in the Dāduru-oya, and in *koṭṭhakabaddha-nijjhara* (79.28) 'having a weir furnished with a reservoir', attribute of Parakkama-sāgara. To the *bisōkotuva* an apparatus was fitted by the raising or dropping of which the culvert could wholly or partially be closed or opened and thus the outflow of the water regulated or completely shut off. This apparatus, the lock or valve of the sluice is called *āvaraṇa* in the chronicle. Since it was made of wood, we understand that it totally disappeared in the tanks of Ceylon, but Parakkamabāhu is said to have repaired 160 locks (*āvaraṇe* 79.69) which were damaged.

Many tanks had two outlets, a high-level and a low-level sluice, and always one or two flood-escapes in order to secure the embankment from damage by a flood of extraordinary height. The term for flood-escape is *vāri(sam)pāta* 'waterfall'. Mahinda II strengthened the flood-escape of the Kāla-vāpi (48.148), Parakkamabāhu widened that of the Mahāgallaka tank (68.35) and constructed a high *vāripāta* at the Paṇḍa-vāpi (68.40) after he had enlarged its reservoir.

More difficult to explain are the words *udaka-magga* 79.54, *toya-niddhamana* 51.72, *jala-niggama* 68.40. They all mean 'water-canal, gully', and seem to be used for every kind of artificial water-course or canal.

80. From the sluice (*paṇāḷi*) the water was drawn into a channel (*mātikā*, cf. 79.42) from which it was spread over the fields. This is the simplest form of a village irrigation-work. Often the original river-bed could be used as a channel, and if the water-supply was abundant, in a lower part of the valley the stream was intercepted once more with an embankment and a secondary reservoir laid out.

But the Sinhalese engineers — called *nettikā* in 60.14 — were especially clever at designing channels and often created a complicated system of irrigation over a large area of land. First we have to point to what above in 78 has been called the second group of water-works. In this case for the purpose of drawing off from a big river a part of its water into an excavated channel below the spot where the channel was to branch from the river a weir (*nijjhara* = Sk. *nirjhara*) was built in the river. Thus Parakkamabāhu at the place of union of two affluents the Jajjara-nadī, the Saṅkhavaḍḍhamāna, now Hakvaṭunuoya, and the Kumbhīlavāna, now Kimbulvana-oya, had constructed a weir (*nijjhara*) and laid down a channel (*mātikā*) to carry water to the Mahāgallaka tank (68.32—34). In the Jajjara-nadī itself he built a weir, called Jajjara-nijjhara (79.67). The name probably refers to the weir built in the middle course of that river near the place Dorādattika according to 68.37 (here for 'weir' the word *jalasampāta* is used). The Giant's tank in the Northern

Province, about 5 miles SE. of Mannār is filled with water through a channel branching off from the Kadamba river, now Malvatu-oya (MENDIS³, I. I., p. 63). By the channel called Ākāsa-gangā (79.25), now Angamādilla-āla, water from the Amban-ganga is conducted to the Tōpā-vāva.

But tanks were also connected with each other by excavated channels so that the water-supply could be regulated according to the circumstances¹). One of the most important channels was the Jayagaṅgā, 'the Victor's river', now Yoda-āla, by which water is conveyed from the Kāla-vāpi to the Tissavāpi in Anurādhapura. It is 45 miles in length and 40 feet wide and provides water for a district of 180 square miles. Its construction shows great engineering skill, as the gradient for the first 17 miles is only 6 inches for a mile (MENDIS³, I. I., p. 62—63). A branch of the Yoda-āla conveys water also to the Naccāduva-vāva and further to the Nuvara-vāva in Anurādhapura which were constructed by damming up the Malvatu-oya. Thus the two river systems of the Kalā-and Malvatu-oya are connected by the channel.

We do not know by whom the Jaya-gaṅgā was constructed, but in 79.58 we are told that the channel was ruined at the time of Parakkamabāhu and restored by that king.

There are many names of weirs and channels in the chronicle, but only few of them can be identified. The weir built in the Kimbulvana-oya had the name Sūkara-nijjhara (68.33, 35, 38). Other names occur in 79.66—67. Names of channels are met with already in the old Mahāvamsa; the most interesting among them is the Ālisāra (35.84), now Ālahāra, through which water is diverted from the Ambanganga to the Mañihira-vāpi. In the Cūlavamsa Ālisāra is the name of the district through which the channel is conducted (60.14; 70.106).

Many of the channels built by Parakkamabāhu (79.39 sq.) were named after Indian rivers. Thus Hemavatī and Bhāgīrathī, names of the Ganges river; Nammadā = Sk. Narmadā, the river Nerbudda; Yamunā, the Jamna river; Vettavatī = Sk. Vetravatī, an affluent of the Jamna; Nerañjarā, well known in the history of the Buddha's life, a small river in Magadha = Sk. Nairañjanā. The use of such names, as many other facts, shows the close connexion of the Sinhalese culture with Northern India and its traditions.

81. We have already said (cf. 10, 44) that fruit trees, like coconut palms, mangos, bread-fruit trees, bananas were regularly planted in private gardens as well as in public parks outside of the towns. But also the laying out of plantations was not unknown. The term for 'plantation' is *ārāma*, that for 'garden' *uyyāna*. A coconut plantation (*nālikerārāma* 42.15) with an extent of 3 Yojanas or 27 miles (or 13½ miles, if the shorter Yojana is meant) was laid out in the sixth century by king Aggabodhi I, and one with 5000 palm trees by Parakkamabāhu IV in the fourteenth century (90.93). But a strict distinction cannot always be made between *ārāma* and *uyyāna*. In Dakkhinadesa Parakkamabāhu laid out here and there charming *ārāmas*, full of creepers and trees which bore fruits and which bore blossoms, and which offered many delights (68.57—58). But the same king is later on said to have laid out many

¹) Cf. also R. L. BROHLER, The Inter-Relation of Groups of Ancient Reservoirs and Channels in Ceylon, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. C. B., XXXIV, 90, p. 64—85 (Ed.).

uyyānas in his kingdom (cf. 56). Apparently both those *ārāmas* and these *uyyānas* had the character of orchards as well as of pleasure gardens. The laying out of *pupphārāmas* and *phalārāmas*, of flower gardens and fruit gardens, was considered to be as meritorious a work as the construction of tanks in the 7th century (44.147).

82. Cattle-breeding does by no means play the same rôle in Ceylon as agriculture. Nevertheless the cattle-breeders (*gopa* Mhvs 10.17; *gopaka* 9.22; 19.2; *gopālaka* 10.13) belong in the modern caste system as an inferior subdivision of the first caste of Vellālayās. Their name is now *gopallā* or perhaps better *pattī*. Sheep-breeding and goat-breeding was restricted or perhaps unknown. We do not hear of it in the chronicle. Poultry was also rare, though chicken-flesh was sometimes eaten (38.98; cf. above 34).

The breeding was confined to a rather poor sort of cattle (*go*) and to buffaloes (*mahisa*). The chief task was to supply the agriculturists with the animals they wanted as helpers in their work. The cows (*dhenu*; cf. *vacchako sahadhenuko* the calf with the mother cow 21.17) afforded the milk so necessary for preparing the rice dishes which were generally eaten. The oxen were used as draught animals (*goṇā rathe yuttā* oxen yoked to a cart 35.42), the buffaloes had to trample down the soil of the rice-fields to make them ready for sowing. For this purpose a dozen or more of these stout animals, each bound abreast the other, are driven over the swampy surface of the fields. Buffaloes had also to tread the corn on the threshing floor at harvest-time.

It sometimes happens that wild buffaloes mix with the cattle grazing in the jungle and even accompany them into the village. But tame buffaloes may lapse into a wild state and become dangerous beasts, chiefly when they are rutting. In 67.2 such a buffalo is described which has broken loose, running with rolling bloodshot eyes along the streets and killing every one it meets.

Domestic animals were horses and elephants. Horses (*assa*, *vājin*, *turaṅga*) were evidently rare in Ceylon, and it is uncertain whether they were ever bred in the Island. As we shall see below, they were generally imported from NW. India. Riding on horseback was one of the exercises practised by princes and noblemen. Kings were owners of a state-horse. That of Eḷāra was taken away by Veḷusamana (22.52 sq.) who is also said to have broken-in a horse that would let no man mount him (23.71 sq.). The car of state of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was drawn by four white horses (31.38).

The most precious domestic animal was the elephant (*hatthin*, *gaja*). Elephants were either imported (cf. below), or caught in the Island itself. The method of capture was the same now as in ancient times, as we may infer from an allusion to the fact that wild elephants, when the herd had been surrounded and enclosed in the corral, were chained with the aid of tame elephants (*gaja-bandhana-mataṅgaja*, 72.105).

When captured in the forest the elephants were tamed by special trainers (*hatthācariya*), but they never bred in captivity. It is matter of course that elephants were the property of rich people only, chiefly of the kings. They were kept in stables, called *hatthisālā* (14.62; 15.1), chained to a post (*ālhaka*, 35.24), and attended to by the elephant-keeper (*hatthi-gopaka*, 88.34). When in rut male elephants were very dangerous (66.150).

With horses elephants went in festival processions (72.314, 315; 74.221; 85.113; 89.22). White elephants were considered to be sacred animals (62.21). After a successful war horses and elephants were the most valuable spoils (51.43, 112—13; 70.127, 265; 88.74). Elephants, cows, buffaloes, horses were bestowed by kings as gifts on temples or monasteries together with villages, fields and slaves (90.76; 92.29). From 29.4 we see that elephants were also used for heavy work. When Duṭṭhagāmaṇi began the building of the Great Thūpa in Anurādhapura he ordered round stones as the first course of the foundation and then had the stones stamped down by great elephants whose feet were bound with leather.

Among the domestic animals finally the dog (*sunakha*; *soṇī* 'bitch') should not be omitted. He is a symbol of fidelity, for he follows his master wherever he goes (36.44). But the many ownerless pariah dogs who roamed half-starved in all villages everywhere, were certainly a real molestation even in the mediaeval period. Pious kings have sometimes provided these pitiable creatures with food (54.32; 60.74) as also crows and other animals. Hunters were, of course, accompanied by dogs (28.9, 41; cf. below, 94).

3. Art and Handicraft¹⁾

83. In the modern caste system the 'artificers' (*navandannā*, cf. above 26) are the first of the 'occupational castes'. It comprises all those people who exercise a profession of a more art-like character. At the end of the mediaeval period the group of the artificers may have been the intermediate link between the two classes of the population, the *kulinā* and the *hinā*. Certainly the artificers were not ranked among the *pessiyā*. The present 'caste' of artificers has a great number of subdivisions, but in the mediaeval period the numerous groups connected with architecture and sculpture, and the painters (*cittakāra*) seem to have stood in the first line. I begin with the workmen of the building trade. Their collective name is *vaddhaki* 'masons', Sk. *vardhaki*, but within this group there are several sub-groups: the carpenters (*dāruvaddhaki*), the brick-layers (*iṭṭhaka-v°*), the workers in stucco (*cunṇa-v°*), and the workers in stone (*silā-v°*). They seem to have been organized as a caste-like body of artisans with a *nagara-vaddhaki* (34.20) at the head.

These craftsmen of course worked under the direction of trained architects who were by no means all native Sinhalese. Many of them came over to Ceylon from India and it is evident that Sinhalese art was strongly influenced by Indian art. For an example I may point to the monuments of the Isurumuni-vehera, S. of Anurādhapura. A. H. LONGHURST, the present Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon has shown in the Annual Reports of the Arch. Surv. of C. for 1936 (1937), p. 16 sq., in full concordance with A. K. COOMARASWAMY, that they must have been created in imitation of the Pallava monument „Gaṅgā Memorial“ at Mahāmallapuram. But it would be beyond the scope of the present book to enter into a discussion and criticism of facts pertaining to the general history of Indian art. This must be left to a

¹⁾ Cf. Ananda K. COOMARASWAMY, *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, 2nd ed., New York 1956; S. PARANAVITANA, *Art and Architecture of Ceylon, Polonnaruva Period*, 1954. (Ed.).

separate work and to special connoisseurs of the subject. My humble task is only to collect the observations of the chroniclers concerning the architectural monuments they always had before their eyes and to insert the observations which may be made in this way into the general picture of the mediaeval Sinhalese culture. Perhaps we shall be able to add from this source here and there a few details which may be of some use to those who look at the subject from a higher and more comprehensive point of view.

84. As the present state of the ruins shows, timber (*dāru*) was to a great extent the building material (*dabba* Mhvs 37.25, 29), used chiefly in ancient times. The superstructures of temples and palaces were generally wooden and have, therefore, disappeared. The substructions, pillars, stairs, rails &c. were made of cut-stone (*silā*) and are better preserved. The term for the cutting of stones is *kotteti*; *silā-kottaka* is the stone-cutter. Besides smaller Thūpas (see below) walls were made of stone (*silāmaya pākāra*, 97.47), and often bridges (*silā-setu*, 98.86), sometimes also pavilions (*silā-maṇḍapa*, 36.102).

The common material for stone-building was the gneiss which is the constituent rock of the mountains in Ceylon, and the ancient Sinhalese had great skill in chipping off large stone-slabs from it. A peculiar sort were the 'fat-coloured stones' (*medavanna-pāsāna*) mentioned in the ancient Mahāvamsa (30.57; 31.121). They did however not exist in Ceylon, but were imported from India. Of such stones the relic-chamber of the Great Thūpa was made. One feels tempted to alter the word into *meghavanna-pāsāna* 'cloud-coloured stones', as is read, to be sure, in some manuscripts. But in 30.58 the stones are qualified with the attributive *ravi-bhāsura* 'bright as the sun'; they must, therefore, have had a shining yellow colour, not the dark colour of a cloud. What sort of stone is meant by *kiñcakkha* (or *kiñcikkha*, only 34.69) cannot be said with any certainty.

To prepare mortar and stucco (*sudhā*), sand (*pamsu*) and lime (*cunna*) were necessary. It was advisable, it seems, not to mix too much sand with the lime in order to get durable mortar (cf. 30.6—9). Lime or stucco are enumerated as building material side by side with stones and bricks (25.29; 100.284). With stucco the outsides of Thūpas, temples, palaces and similar edifices were coated (29.8; 32.1; 33.5; 34.46; 91.29, 30), also the walls of a fortification (25.29) and the banks of dams (68.27).

Bricks (*itthakā*, *itthikā*) were the most frequently used building material. The clay (*mattikā*) for manufacturing them was 'laterite', the product of the decomposition of the gneiss rock (cf. COOK, l. l., p. 78) with which a large part of the low-country is covered. The laterite can be cut with a spade and hardens rapidly on exposure to the air. A brick could be called a 'lump of clay' and v. v. a lump of clay a 'brick'. A peculiar sort of clay, called 'butter-clay' (*navanīta-mattikā*) and imported from India, was used, according to the tradition, in the foundation of the Mahāthūpa (29.6).

The bricks varied in size in the different centuries, and this fact has been made use of by H. PARKER (Ancient Ceylon, p. 209 sq.) with great sagacity for dating several monuments. There is, on the whole, a generally diminishing scale in the dimensions of the bricks from the earliest period down to the thirteenth century (l. l., p. 215).

The word *giñjakā* which occurs in 88.97 means a tile used for roofing. The same means *chadanitthikā* (88.98; cf. *itthikā-chadana* 'tiled roof', 92.10). The

fire-houses in the Jetavana-vihāra in Pulatthinagara, and the Pāsādas, were roofed with bricks (*iṭṭhikacchādita* 78.43), but smaller houses for private use were often thatched with reed or palm-leaves, especially those in rural districts.

85. The most impressive monuments among the ruins of Ceylon are the Dāgobas. This is their designation in Sinhalese. The word *dāgoba* (*dāgāba*, *dāgaba*) is derived from P. *dhātu-gabbha* 'relic chamber', because some sacred relic was kept in each Dāgoba. In Pāli the Dāgobas are called *thūpa* (Sk. *stūpa*, our 'tope') or *cetiya* (Sk. *caitya*), 'tumulus'. In Mhvs 30.57 and 34.49 *dhātu-gabbha* is still used in its original meaning, relic chamber, as part only of the whole monument, and from the latter passage we may infer that the relic-chamber of the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura was accessible to the priests. Later on, in 60, 56; 68.28 and 79.14, *dhātugabbha* is already synonymous with *thūpa* and *cetiya*.

Generally Dāgobas have the shape of a half-globe rising from a perpendicular base-structure. According to the story in 30.10 sq. the model of the Mahāthūpa was a water-bubble. Sometimes, but less frequently, the Dāgobas were bell-shaped.

It is not necessary, I think, to search for any symbolical explanation of the form of the Dāgobas. Their prototype was simply the tumulus, and this meaning of the word *cetiya* still occurs in the chronicle. On the spots where the Thera Mahinda and the Therī Saṅghamittā were cremated *cetiya*s were erected by King Uttiya (24.44, 53), and on the spot where Eḷāra was killed in single combat with Duṭṭhagāmaṇi a *cetiya* by the victor (25.73).

Dāgobas of larger size were made of bricks (28.5 sq.; 30.15 sq.), and when they fell into decay a new mantling (*kañcuka*) was made about them (35.85, 121). This has been done in our day with the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura. Small Dāgobas were sometimes built of stone (*silā-thūpaka*, 33.24; *thūpa silāmaya*, 35.118). In this case the mantling, if necessary, was also made of stone (*silā-kañcuka*).

The building of a large Dāgoba was of course a work of the highest importance. As regards the Mahāthūpa it is described in the chronicle 29.2 sq. with great minuteness, and J. G. SMITHER (Architectural Remains, Anurādhapura, p. 23) says that, though allowance must be made for Oriental exaggeration, there can be little doubt that the particulars of the description are for the most part true. The laying of the foundation stone of a new Dāgoba was always a solemn and festival act (29.15, 46—63).

About the base of the Dāgoba three concentric galleries run round it in stages. On the Mahāthūpa they have a height of five to six feet and a breadth of seven feet. Steps lead from stage to stage East and West, North and South. On these galleries or terraces, now called *pāsāda*, the people who visited the sacred building used to walk round it and placed flowers as offering. Hence they are named *pupphādhāna* 'ledge for laying down flowers' (30.51, 56). By this word may specially be meant the altars which were erected for that purpose on the four sides of the galleries. King Lañjatissa is said in 33.22 to have built three stone *pupphādhānas* for the Mahāthūpa.

The whole dome of a Dāgoba is coated with a stucco plaster, which is pure white and has a sheen similar to that of marble (cf. SMITHER, l. l., p. 27). King Bhātikābhaya, 3rd cent. A. D. made such a plaster (*sudhākamma*), consisting

of a preparation of the lime of a hundred waggon-loads of pearl-oysters carefully kneaded with oil, for the Mahāthūpa (34.46).

On the top of the Dāgoba rises the so-called 'tee', a cubical structure (*caturassacaya*, 31.124). It is generally or, at least, often ornamented on its four sides with sculptured balustrades and was therefore itself called *vedī* or *vedikā*. Cf. SMITHER, I. I., plate XLVII. There were two such structures, one above the other, on the Great Thūpa and were distinguished as the lower and upper balustrade (*pāda-vedī*, *muddha-vedī*, 32.5; 34.39; 35.2). In the centre of the balustrade the figures of sun and moon are depicted, and king Saṅghatissa, 4th cent., is said to have put on the Mahāthūpa four great gems in the middle of the four suns (36.66).

The crowning of the Dāgoba, erected on the tee, is the 'parasol' (*chatta*), the symbol of the universal power of the Buddha. It has, as a rule, the conventional form of a pointed cone. It was golden (38.74) or gilt (36.24, 65) and ended in a spire (*thūpikā*, *siṅga*, 76.105; 80.20; 87.66). Dhātusena (Dāsenkāliya), 5th cent., had the parasols of the three great Thūpas in Anurādhapura repaired, as they were broken (38.54), and Dāthopatiṣṣa (Daḷupatis) I, 7th cent., is said to have smashed the parasol of a Thūpa which was studded with costly precious stones (44.133).

It is difficult to say what the *vajira-cumbata* is which was put upon the spire of the Mahāthūpa (36.66). It was applied to the three great Dāgobas in Anurādhapura by king Dhātusena (38.74) and later on in the sixth century by Mahānāga (41.95). It seems that it was a protection against lightning-discharge.

Large Dāgobas stand on the paved platform of a square terrace. In the Mahāthūpa (cf. SMITHER, I. I., p. 40—41) — and in the same manner in other large Dāgobas — it is surrounded on its four sides by a brick retaining-wall ornamented on its outer face with the figures of elephants, head and forefeet, projecting nearly three feet from the wall. The elephants seem to bear on their backs the weight of the platform with the gigantic dome of the Dāgoba. Their whole number is 344. The name of the wall is *hatthipākāra* (33.5; 38.10 39.30).

Surrounding the elephant wall there is a wide space sprinkled with sand, probably intended for processional purposes. This is the so-called 'sand-court' or 'sand-court bordering' (*vālikaṅgaṇa-mariyāda*, 33.31; *vālikā-mariyāda*, 34.70; probably also more generally *cetiyaṅgaṇa*, 37.60). Broad stairs lead up from this elephant-path to the terrace in the middle of the four sides, and a monumental approach leads into the elephant-path from outside in the East. It was probably such an approach where a gateway (*torāṇa*) was erected by king Mittasena (Mitsen), 5th cent., for the three great Dāgobas in Anurādhapura (38.10).

Some times Dāgobas of smaller dimensions were protected by a roof resting on pillars so that the Dāgoba is visible from outside. Such a building is called *thūpaghara* or *thūpageha* 'Thūpa-house' (Mhvs 35.87, 90, 91; 36.9, 106) or also *cetiya-ghara*, *-geha*. I myself saw such 'roofed Dāgobas' in several Vihāras, as, for instance, in the Gaḍalādepiya-Vihāra, near Kandy. Cf. below 180¹).

¹) S. PARANAVITANA has since published a monograph, *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, Mem. Arch. Survey of Ceylon, Vol. V, Colombo 1946, Cf. also A. H. LONGHURST, *The Story of the Stūpa*, Colombo 1936. (Ed.).

86. Like the Dāgobas, other temple buildings belonging to a vihāra as well as palaces were erected on terraces (P. *thala* = Sk. *sthala*, *sthalī*). Steps (*sopāna*, Mhvs 78.41) led up to the platform. At the foot of the stairs often a richly sculptured semi-circular stone-slab was laid, the so-called 'moonstone'. A moonstone is meant in 31.61 where the Nāga King extols the magnificence of his temple with the words: all the jewels in the whole island of Laṅkā are not of so great worth as the stone-slab (*pāṭikā*) at the foot of the steps.

Such a moonstone, 7 feet 11 inches in diameter, found in Anurādhapura is described by SMITHER, l. l., p. 38 (cf. plate): 'The subjects represented (on the surface of the stone) — which are all in sunk relief — are arranged in concentric rows around the half of a large lotus-flower, and are as follows: first a row of the *haṃsa*, or sacred goose, sixteen in number, proceeding from one lotus pond on the left, so another on the right hand — the ponds being indicated by growing lotus-plants —; then an undulating scroll throwing off leaves and flowers; and above the scroll a procession of nine animals, consisting of three elephants, two bulls, two lions and two horses; the line commencing and ending with an elephant. A short length of foliage-ornament at either end of the semicircle forms a stop to the compartments containing these subjects; and the edge of the stone is a row of leaves enclosing all.'

Stairways lead up to the terraces with balustrades on either side. In the earlier period of Ceylonese architecture the balustrades are rectilinear, but later on they become curvilinear. A typical form of the later period is this: from the mouth of a monster at the top of the stairs a huge tongue goes down to an upright stone-slab placed at the foot of the steps right and left of the moonstone. On the front of the stone-slabs a dwarf is sculptured, the so-called *dvarpāl*, doorkeeper.

The terraces themselves were also often bordered with a balustrade or rail (*vedī*, *vedikā*). The three storied pavilion near the palace of Parakkamabāhu was surrounded with lines of fair balustrades (*manuñña-vedikā-panti-parikhittā*, 73.88) and the Tivaṅka-temple in Pulatthinagara shimmered with many balustrades (*bhāsuraṃ . . . bahūhi vedikāhi*, 78.40) The peculiar form of the Buddhist rails in Sāñchī as well as in Anurādhapura clearly shows that the prototype was a wooden structure.

Balustrades, either painted or sculptured, were also frequently used as ornament covering lateral faces of a greater building, as for instance those below the windows of a palace or those of the 'tee' of a Dāgoba (cf. 85).

The profile of terraces changes in process of time from simple to highly developed forms (HOCART, Mem. Arch. Survey Ceylon I, 1924, p. 60; Ceyl. Journ. of Sc., section G., I, p. 5) and the differences often allow us approximately to date the monuments. In its most primitive form the profile consists of a plinth which sometimes may be absent, upright stone-slabs as frieze, and a coping stone. Terraces of this kind were built up to the sixth or seventh century. Afterwards until about the tenth century a cyma is inserted below the coping stone and an inverted one above the plinth. Finally a torus is added, first nearer the plinth, and afterwards in the middle between plinth and coping stone, dividing the frieze in two halves. The frieze is then often richly sculptured; the subjects represented are mostly elephants and other animals.

87. Entering into the discussion of some particulars of Ceylonese architecture I have constantly to refer to A. K. COOMARASWAMY's monograph on Indian palaces in 'Eastern Art' III, p. 181 sq.

1. The front of a house was generally a veranda (*ālinda*), a small terrace a few feet above the ground. It is the same with modern houses in Ceylon, and a good deal of the daily life of a Sinhalese goes on on such a veranda. One may see him sleeping there, or making his toilet, or performing his handicraft. In the Lohapāsāda in Anurādhapura there was an 'interior veranda' (*kucchi-ālinda*) and an 'interior court' (*kucchi-ājira*, Mhvs 35.3). It is difficult to say what is meant by these words. In Pāsādas there were verandas or open balconies in the upper floors also, for the apartments on each of them were set back so as to provide an outside deck or balcony (COOMARASWAMY, p. 195). Such a balcony is called *tala*. On the *pāsādatala* the kings used to rest, to take their repast, and to amuse themselves (25.98 sq.; 28.3). Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was resting on the *pāsādatala*, when the Arahants, flying through the air, came from Piyaṅgudīpa to comfort the king (25.105).

2. The door (*dvāra*) of a palace was generally a monumental structure, called then 'gate-house' (*dvāra-kotṭhaka*, 27.41) like the gate of a fortification. Among the ruins in Pulatthinagara there were in the 13th century many houses the doors of which had fallen in, because the hinges (*dvāra-bandhana* 88.99) were destroyed.

3. The larger houses, called *pāsāda*, of rich people had more than one storey (*bhūmi*, *bhūma*). Palaces of seven storeys are mentioned in 33.6, 36.124. The upper storeys were supported by stone-pillars (*thambha*, *thūna*), the joists (*tulāyatṭhi*) were apparently made of wood. In the palace of Parakkamabāhu there were many hundreds of pillars. The beautiful 'threshold pillars' (*elakattambha*, 60.11) of a temple built by King Vijayabāhu, 11th cent., were probably columns which stood at the entrance. In the circular temple, erected for the Tooth relic by Parakkamabāhu, there were pillars, balustrades and walls (78.41). No doubt the whole of the superstructure and the walls (*bhitti*) between the pillars consisted of perishable material as wood or sun-dried bricks, for they are now entirely lost to sight in the ruins of Anurādhapura or Polonnaruva. A platform with a number of regularly arranged monolithic pillars; that is the appearance of a ruined building there. In the royal palace at Polonnaruva a series of broad stone-steps are still to be seen which led up to the upper storeys. These however have vanished.

4. As to the penetralia of a Pāsāda the chambers (*gabbha*) were chiefly used as sleeping rooms. They were small, generally just large enough to contain the bed of one individual. Such rooms were found in great number in Polonnaruva, in the royal palace as well as in the Baddhasīmāpāsāda and other monastic buildings. In the day-time open balconies (*tala*) were resorted to or the rooms called *kūtāgāra*, 'top-house', probably self-contained and separately roofed pavilions (COOM.) on any storey, mostly, I believe, on the highest one. Such pavilions existed in the Ālāhaṇa-pariveṇa (78.49), in the Baddhasīmāpāsāda (78.55), and in the Jetavanārāma (78.38). Those in Parakkamabāhu's palace (73.62) are compared with the snow-covered summit of the Kailāsa mountain. Similar rooms are meant by *sikapāñjara*, 'lion cage'. The name seems to point to a chamber with a latticed window or with a window con-

sisting of an open-worked thin stone-slab, as they were so wonderfully manufactured in India. The general word for 'window' is *gavakkha*, 'bull's eye' = Sk. *gavākṣa*. The word *pañjara-geha*, 'cage house', in 78.55, is probably synonym of *sīha-pañjara*. There were such rooms in the Ālāhaṇa-pariveṇa. Finally I mention as a sort of chamber the 'dovecotes' (*vitāṅka* 88.97), found destroyed (*natṭha*) in the ruined houses of Polonnaruva, before the town was restored by King Parakkamabāhu II.

5. The word *kavāta* does not mean a window, but probably the smaller door of a single chamber in opposition to the main door of the house (*dvāra*). King Ṭanāga, 1st cent. A.C., had been imprisoned in his palace by the mutinous Lambakanna, but his state-elephant, breaking to pieces the post to which he was chained, pressed forward into the palace, caused the gate to fall down (*dvāraṃ pāṭiya*), and when he had broken open the *kavāta* of the room where the King sat, he made him mount upon his back and brought him to Mahātittā (35.18—25). *Jāla-kavāta* is a trellis-door. The temple of the Tivaṅka image was adorned with such doors (78.40).

6. The roof of a building is *chadana* or *vaḷabhī*. Larger houses or temples were roofed with tiles. The wooden structure, on which the tiles were laid is *gopānasī*, appropriately rendered by 'rafters' by COOMARASWAMY, p. 185. People who are bent by old age are called *gopānasī-vaṅka* (*vaṅka* = Sk. *vakra*, crooked) in 37.141. This clearly points to the gable form \wedge of a roof. The ridge of the roof is *kūta*. In Pulatthipura there were in the thirteenth century many houses, the roofs (*vaḷabhī*) of which had decayed and the tiles were broken. In other houses by the breakage of the damaged *gopānasī* the bricks had fallen down (*galita*, 88.97—98).

88. Still a few additional remarks concerning two peculiar sorts of buildings. In the most ancient part of the chronicle (Mhvs 9.3) a 'one-pillar-house' (*ekathūnika geha*) is mentioned. It had been erected by King Abhaya, the third ruler of Ceylon (about 400 B.C.), for his daughter Cittā in order to prevent her from having intercourse with a male. For the Brāhmaṇas had foretold that if she would bear a son, he would kill the nine brothers of her father to gain sovereign power. We must assume that in this case the 'house' was one small room only, and the pillar hewn from a tree of unusual size or made of stone. Parakkamabāhu too had erected an *ekatthambha-pāsāda* near his palace (73.92), but we do not know what its appointments were. It is noticeable that a building of such a kind has been discovered in Hanoi, Tonkin. Cf. COOMARASWAMY, l. l., p. 185 sq. with pl. C II, fig. 36.

Finally a short note on the buildings called *maṇḍapa*. They are said, in 27.30—31, to consist of pillars and balustrades. By the pillars a roof was supported, but between them there was no solid wall but only an open rail. For the temples of the so-called double platform type (cf. also 196) two rectangular terraces were constructed. On the platform of the first terrace a Maṇḍapa, an open pavilion, was built, where during a festival the tomtom-beaters had their place and the pious laymen who visited the temple assembled before they were admitted into the main sanctuary. This was erected on the second terrace which on its four sides was surrounded by a trench, and contained the Buddha image. A bridge crossing the trench formed the junction of the two platforms. Wherever we hear in the chronicle of a Maṇḍapa in

connexion with a temple (*vihāra*, 36.102) or with an image-house (38.61), we may assume that such a double platform construction is meant. The Maṇḍapa erected over the sacred foot-print on the Adam's peak was screened with curtains and crowned with a parasol; it was fastened to the rock with iron chains (100.226). King Moggallāna (Mugalan) I, about 500 A.C., dedicated a miniature Maṇḍapa, studded with jewels to the Tooth relic which was kept in a costly casket (39.53), and for the same purpose Parakkamabāhu had a Maṇḍapa of gold made (74.212). The same king erected a superb three-storied Maṇḍapa, called *rājavesībhrujaṅga*, near his palace; it was surrounded with fair railings (73.87 sq.). Often temporary Maṇḍapas were set up for the performing of any festival ceremony.

89. Indian architects were very fond of decorating all blank faces of buildings and rooms therein, even of objects such as thrones or beds and the like. In the oldest part of the Mahāvamsa the chronicler cannot do enough in describing the splendour of palaces like the Lohapāsāda or of sacred rooms such as the relic chamber in the Mahāthūpa and he enters into such details that the exaggeration becomes manifest. They are filled with all precious and costly things which can be imagined, made of gold, silver, pearls and jewels. It would be inappropriate to reproduce all the productions of a pious but extravagant poetical fantasy, but we may learn from those descriptions the motifs used in the ornamentation either painted or in low stucco-relief.

Plant-motifs must be mentioned first. The palace of Parakkamabāhu was decorated with networks of tendril-climbers (*latākamma*) or flowers (*mālākamma* 73.62). The same is meant by the term *puppha-latā*, used for ornaments in the relic chamber (30.65). More geometrical ornaments were the zigzag-lines representing lightnings (*vijjullatā* 30.96). Next come figures, of gods and deities in various postures and with their particular attributes which make them recognizable to the beholders (30.89, 91). Figures of animals such as lions, tigers, geese are said to have been depicted in a pavilion of the Lohapāsāda (27.30), and those of the sun were placed, as we have mentioned above, on the four sides of a tree (36.66), and certainly also on other places (cf. 27.33; 30.68).

Other ornaments had a more symbolic character, as e.g. the figure of the 'wheel of doctrine' (*dharmacakka* 30.92; 36.103), and the figures of the eight auspicious objects (27.37; 30.65): lion, bull, elephant, water-pitcher, fan, standard, conch-shell, and lamp (WIEŚIŃHA, Mhvs trsl., I, 105, n. 4). I also refer to the so-called 'five-finger ornament' (*pañcaṅgulika* 32.4) and to the *dhāturāji* with which king Dhātusena, 5th cent., is said to have adorned the temples (38.69).

Large faces of walls are covered with fresco-paintings. Objects were chiefly scenes from the Jātaka tales (30.88; 97.39 sq.) or from the life of the Buddha (30.78 sq.). Such paintings are to be seen in Buddhist Vihāras, as e.g. in the Kālani-vihāra where on the wall of one of the buildings the successive scenes of the Vessantarajātaka are depicted. In modern times also representations of the sixteen places which are most sacred to pious Buddhists are mentioned (cf. below 200), besides pictures of gods, of the twenty-four Buddhas, of the five great councils and other subjects (100.250, 261). In the Jetavana-vihāra in Pulatthinagara there were rows of pictures of deities, lions, geese and the like (78.40). The temple of the Tooth relic erected by Parakkamabāhu IV,

14th cent., was painted with variegated pictures (*vicitta-cittakamma* 90.66) and a Pāsāda which was built by the same king, was shining with various paintings (*nānā-cittakamma-bhāsura* 90.90). From 78.88 we may conclude that even the statues were painted over, for it is said there that the images (*paṭimā*) in the three image-houses of the Veḷuvana-vihāra were gleaming with colours (*cittakamma-samujjala* 78.88). In some instances, e.g. 78.52—53, we cannot say with certainty whether the decorations which are described were paintings or stucco-work¹).

90. As the subject of the plastic art the person of the Buddha stands first. Many kings are said to have dedicated statues of the Master to any temple or monastery (Mhvs 35.89 sq.; 85.10 &c.) or to have restored images which had been damaged (53.49; 85.66 &c). Much has already been written about the Buddha statues and the development of their style in the different countries in the course of more than two thousand years (cf. A. K. COOMARASWAMY, I. I.; A. GRÜNWEDEL, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, p. 135 sq.; L. ADAM, *Buddhastatuen* &c). I have but to add what our chroniclers tell us about the matter.

There were, as is known, three main types of Buddha statues in standing (*thita*), sitting (*nisinna*) and recumbent (*nipanna*) postures: the Buddha who is blessing the world, the Buddha who just has attained the highest enlightenment or is meditating, and the Buddha who is entering into Nirvāṇa. Statues in sitting and recumbent posture were in the Uttarārāma (Mhvs 78.75), and recumbent images in the seven temples built by Parakkamabāhu in Rohaṇa (79.78), in the Kalyāṇi-vihāra (85.66), in Devanagara, now Dondra (90.94), and in the Majjhapalli-vihāra (100.234 sq.). There was a standing image (*paṭimā thitā*) in the Ālāhana-pariveṇa in Pulatthinagara (78.54). Well known is the gigantic statue of the Master in the Avkana-vihāra which is carved out of the rock itself and is thirty-six feet high.

A peculiar form of the standing Buddha were the *tivaṅka* images²). The word means, 'having three bends (of the body)', as PARANAVITANA, *Ceylon Journ. of Sc.*, G, II, p. 170 sq. has shown. The word *vaṅka* corresponds to Sk. *vaṅka* or *vakra*. Such an image was ordered by Parakkamabāhu for the Jetavana monastery (78.39), and another stood in a temple at Kalyāṇi and was restored in the thirteenth century by Parakkamabāhu II. (85.66).

¹) It may be scarcely necessary to mention the frescoes of Sīgiri. They are, however, not mentioned in the Mhvs. Cf. M. D. RAGHAVAN, *The Sīgiriya Frescoes*, *Spolia Zeylanica*, Vol. 25, part 2, p. 65—73; PARANAVITANA *JRAS* C. B. n. s. I, 1950, p. 129—162 (and E. WALDSCHMIDT, *ZDMG* 1955, *Wissensch. Nachr.* p. *60* sq.). For other remains of old paintings cf. e.g. *C. J. Sc.* G II, p. 157ff.; D. B. DEANAPALA, *The Story of Sinhalese Painting*, *Maharagama*; cf. also A. COOMARASWAMY *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, 2nd ed., New York 1956, p. 164 sq. (Ed.).

²) Mhvs 78.39 (Cūlavś trsl. II, p. 105). There the footnote should run thus: 'The term *tivaṅka* means 'having three bends' (*ti* = Sk. *tri* + *vaṅka* = Sk. *vaṅka*, *vakra*) and is still used by Sinhalese craftsmen for a peculiar pose of the Buddha statues, standing upright Cf. S. PARANAVITANA, *Ceylon Journ. of Science*, sect. G, II, p. 170. Two statues of this kind were in the Kālani temples according to Sāḷalhiṇisandeśa v. 69 (*tivaṅka nam depiḷima* . . .). The temple of one of these images was restored by Parakkamabāhu II. (Mhvs 85.66).'

Buddha statues of life-size in all three postures were still erected in the eighteenth century by king Vijayarājasīha in various temples (98.66). Such images, made in ancient times, have been preserved in the Island up to present time. The *mudrās*, the symbolic gestures of the hands and fingers, are nowhere mentioned or alluded to in the Mahāvamsa.

The statues were mostly made of stone (38.61; 42.1823; 85.77 &c), but golden or gilt images are also mentioned. For the Ratanapāsāda Mahinda II, 8th cent., had made of pure gold (*jambonada-suvannassa*) an image of the Master at the cost of sixty thousand (*Kahāpaṇas*) (48.137). Other golden statues of the Buddha were dedicated to the Jetavana-vihāra by Aggabodhi IX, (49.77), and by Sena I (50.66) in the ninth century. Such costly images were stolen by the *Damīlas* when they invaded Ceylon (50.34; 55.20). An image, dedicated by Sena II to the Lohapāsāda, is described as *suvanna-ghana-koṭṭima* (51.69). This seems to point to a gold mosaic work. Statues made of bricks, lime and clay, i. e. of stucco round a brick-kernel, are mentioned but in the latest part of the chronicle (100.245), bronze statues, *loha-rūpāni*, in the oldest part (36.31; 37.31).

In the Buddha images the bodily marks ascribed to the Master were made visible and certain attributes added which are characteristic of his incomparable authority. In the eyes precious jewels were inlaid (37.123; 38.62; 50.34; 73.78), probably sapphires of dark blue colour. To represent the tuft of hair between the brows (*unnaloma* 38.63) a pearl or gem was set in above the nose; it is therefore called *mahagghīya* 'sumptuous' (45.61). The protuberance of the skull (*kesāvatamsa* 38.63) by which the supreme intelligence of the Master is to be symbolized, was also made of dark blue gems (*maññhi ghananīlehi*). A bundle of rays or flames (*raṃsi-cūḷāmāni*) was sparkling above the head and distinguished the images of the Master from those of his disciples (38.62). A bandolier of gold (*hema-vaddha* 38.63; *-paṭṭa* 45.61) was laid over the left shoulder, representing the string on which the Buddha used to wear the alms-bowl. The images were also crowned with a 'diadem of jewels which sparkled with the rays of precious stones' (53.49; cf. 38.64; 52.65), and behind them there was a golden halo (*pādaḷāla* 38.64; 52.65) glittering with gems. It would seem that the images were invested by the priests with costly garments as if they were alive. King Dhātusena presented robes of various colours (*nānārāg'ambara* 38.64) to the Buddha image of the Abhayagiri-vihāra, and Kassapa V, 10th cent., is said to have made for the image of the Maricavattī-vihāra, besides diadem and halo, a parasol and a robe (*civara* 52.65).

91. Some of the Buddha images had their particular name, and it is interesting to trace their history with the help of the chronicle. The most famous of them was the Stone-Buddha (*Silāsambuddha*). By tradition its making is ascribed already to Devānampiyatissa, 3rd cent. B.C., who dedicated it to the Thūpārāma. By Jetṭhatissa (Deṭutis), 4th cent. A.C., it was taken away from this temple and set up in the Pācīnatissapabbata-vihāra (36.128 sq.). His successor Mahāsena brought it to the Abhayagiri-vihāra where it found its final location (37.14). Dhātusena, 5th cent., erected a shrine for it and adorned it with the usual ornaments (38.61 sq.). Silāmeghavaṇṇa, 7th cent., honoured it with an offering (44.68). When in the ninth century the Pāṇḍus had conquered Anurādhapura, they robbed the two jewels which had been set in the image

as eyes (50.34). Its ruined temple was restored by Sena II (51.77), and one of the ladies in the harem of king Udaya IV, 10th cent., honoured the image with a halo (53.50).

The 'Golden image' erected by Mahinda II in the Ratanapāsāda (48.136; cf. above) was honoured with a sacrificial festival by king Aggabodhi VIII, 9th cent. (49.44). It was robbed by the Pāṇḍus together with the eye-jewels of the Stone-Buddha (50.34). When king Sena II beheld the empty pedestal, he grew angry and resolved to make war upon the Pāṇḍus (51.22 sq.), and when the campaign had come to a successful conclusion he furnished the pedestal with the recaptured image once again (51.49).

A third image which had a peculiar name was the Kholakkhiya-Buddha, mentioned only in 49.14, and a fourth the Abhiseka-Buddha. Dhātusena dedicated to the latter image the usual ornaments (38.67), Kassapa I erected a temple for it (39.6) and Moggallāna I honoured it with a festival (39.40) — all in the fifth century. In 38.65—66 during the reign of Dhātusena an image named Upasumbha is mentioned, and another, named 'Blackstone-Master' (*Kālasela-Satthā*) which appears to have been different from the Stone-Buddha, mentioned above.

Is it merely accidental that we do not hear any longer of these images after the Coḷa invasion of the eleventh century, after which quite a new era began for Ceylon?

92. Images of Bodhisattas are first mentioned in the fifth century (38.65). Such statues were set up in the Maṇimekhala-vihāra by king Sena II (51.77). The only Bodhisatta known in the ancient Buddhism is Metteyya. Dhātusena is said to have the complete equipment of a king prepared for (the image of) Metteyya (38.68). Metteyya-statues were erected by Parakkamabāhu in Rohaṇa (79.75), and in modern times by Kittisirirājasiha (100.248 sq.). An image, fifteen cubits high, is mentioned in the seventh century (45.62). The deva Nātha is now identified in Ceylon with the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (cf. below 159). But images of Nātha do not occur before the thirteenth century. Parakkamabāhu II is said to have instituted a splendid festival for the miracle-working highest deities Nātha and Metteyya (87.3). A temple of Nātha and an image are mentioned in the eighteenth century (97.46; 100.248).

Statues of the disciples of the Buddha are now-a-days found everywhere in the temples of Ceylon side by side with those of the Master. Images of Ānanda are mentioned in 51.80 and 100.248. King Moggallāna I, had made statues of the two eminent disciples Sāriputta and Moggallāna (39.53), and Dhātusena one of Mahinda, the first preacher of the Buddhist doctrine in the Island (38.58). A life size gold image of him was ordered by Sirimeghavāṇṇa, end of 4th cent, and carried along in festival procession from the Mihintalē hill through all the places sanctified by his presence to the royal palace near which it was kept in a shrine together with statues of his companions (37.67—87).

Images of Viṣṇu are frequently seen now in Buddhist temples. It is the deva Uppalavāṇṇa (cf. 159) who has been identified with the Hindu god. An image of Sumanadeva, the local deity of Adam's Peak, was made by Parakkamabāhu II (86.19). Portrait-statues of dead or living persons are mentioned in 39.52, 88.57, and 100.249. The more than life-size statue near the Potgulvehera,

South of Polonnaruva, represents according to tradition the king Parakkamabāhu the Great. It has a book in the hands, but the appearance is nevertheless that of a king¹).

Plastic figures of animals, horses (39.52), lions (modern 100.252) and elephants were known to the chronicler. An elephant made of stucco was set up in the fifth century near the temple of the Tooth relic (38.9). Every visitor to Anurādhapura will have admired the charming figures of elephants, heads and foreparts, which project from the outer edges of the large terrace on which the Mahāthūpa stands. These figures clearly show the keen and spirited observation of the Sinhalese artisans and artists. I may finally point to the figures in flat relief on the so-called Moonstones mentioned above in 86. They represent elephants, horses, bulls and lions and geese, the same gift of observation is exhibited by them, as in works of plastic art. The conventional figures of the lion alone show that this animal was never seen by the sculptor, but known to him merely by tradition.

93. Next the builder's men, sculptors and painters, the workers in metal must be noted. Since no separate caste of these exists in the modern system we must assume that they are now reckoned among the 'artificers'. In the mediaeval period they were no doubt split into several subdivisions. The first of them were the goldsmiths (*soṇṇakāra*), the second the coppersmiths (*loha-kāra*), the third the blacksmiths (*kammāra*). The three groups are mentioned in Mhvs 68.25, in the rather strange passage that prince Parakkamabāhu when erecting a dam in one of his irrigation works called together these three classes of smiths, because there was a lack of stone-cutters in the district. In an enumeration of craftsmen in 88.105 the terms *ayakāra*, *kammāra*, *kalāda* seem to denote the three groups of coppersmiths, blacksmiths and goldsmiths.

We do not learn much from the chronicle about the workmanship of coppersmiths and goldsmiths. But we know that the Sinhalese, chiefly of course the women, were very fond of wearing ornaments. Those of rich people were made of gold and silver, and such ornaments, still kept as heirlooms in old families, are often of exquisite beauty and give evidence of the admirable skill of the Sinhalese goldsmiths who were the representatives of an ancient artistic tradition.

The blacksmiths, working with sledge-hammers (*kūṭa* 29.3; 88.107), tongs (*saṃdāsa*), anvils (*adhikaraṇi*) and bellows (*gaggari* 88.107) manufactured weapons such as swords and blades for lances and arrows, but also the tools used by agriculturists and craftsmen, such as knives (*vāsi*, *sattha*), hammers (*muṭṭhi*), axes or hatchets (*pharasu*), chisels (*koṭisa*), shovels or spades (*kuddāla*), and saws (*kakaca* 88.108—109).

A highly developed art was ivory-carving (*dantasippa*). Wonderful examples, cups, combs, boxes, are still found in Ceylon (cf. F. M. TRAUTZ, Ceylon, plates No. 109—111). But we do not know whether the ivory-carvers had ever

¹) See S. PARANAVITANA, The Statue at the Potgul Vehera in Polonnaruva, Ceylon Journ. of Science, G, II p. 229 sq.; ib., The Statue near Potgul Vehera, Artibus Asiae XV p. 209 sq.; Siri GUNASINGHE, The statue at Potgul-Vehera, Ceylon Journ. of Historical and Social Studies I, p. 180 sq. (Ed.).

formed a separate caste or group. In the fourth century king Jetṭhatissa (Deṭutis) was celebrated for his experience in that art. He carried out several difficult works and taught many people the practice of his art. Among his works a chair of state — it seems that its back was made of carved ivory — and a charming figure representing a Bodhisatta are mentioned in 37.100—103.

Perhaps the turners (*cundakāra*) have also now merged into the group of artificers, since no particular caste of turners exists in the modern system.

94. All the other groups mentioned in the chronicle must be included in the five or ten *pessiya-vaggā*, and belong to the *hinā*, the low-class people. The fishermen, called *bālisikā*, Mhvs 22.62, if they catch fish with bait, and *kevattā*, 28.37, if they catch them with nets, and the hunters (*ludda*, *luddaka*) are now included in caste No. 2. When practising their profession the hunters were accompanied by a dog (*sunakha*) and seem generally to have chased small game such as hares and iguanas (28.9; 41.73). As we have seen in 59 they, armed with spears and nets, were also employed as beaters in the hunting parties of noblemen. But wherever the word *vyādha* is used in the chronicle, professional Sinhalese hunters are never meant, but Vāddās, i. e. aboriginal tribesmen.

The caste of the potters (*kulāla*, *kumbhakāra*, 88.105; 19.3) exactly corresponds to the present caste No. 6. The potters were no doubt numerous and reputable, probably nearest to the artificers. In a Sinhalese household there are, and always were, many earthen vessels of different size and form (cf. above, 41). The potter's lathe was certainly well known in Ceylon from ancient times.

The weavers (*pesakāraka* 41.96) may correspond to the present caste No. 8, the Hāliyās, who however have now given up their original profession. The workers in bamboo (*vilivakāraka* 88.105, explained in Saṃyutta-Co I. 93⁸⁰ with *veṇakula*) do not seem to form a particular group in the modern system; the porters (*bhārika* 88.106) are perhaps the modern Paduvās, No. 13). The barbers (*kappaka*, *nahūpaka*), corresponding to No. 7, appear to have been more in fighting trim than our barbers generally are, for with court-officials, hunters and chamberlains they were among the king's hunting-train (70.44), and prince Parakkamabāhu is said to have given arms to young barbers and chamberlains, so that they formed a kind of bodyguard (69.26).

Other castes, as for instance tailors or toddy-drawers, are not mentioned in the Mahāvamsa. We chiefly regret that the chroniclers never speak of the washermen who certainly played a particular rôle in the domestic life of the Sinhalese.

Craftsmen of the same profession often lived together in one village (cf. R. FICK, l. l., p. 280 sq.). A village of weavers (*pesakāra-gāma*) is mentioned Mhvs 41.96, villages of potters and masons Mhvs Ṭikā, ed. MALALASEKERA, p. 483⁹, 606²³. A village, inhabited by potters, is passed even now-a-days a few miles E. of Colombo on the road to Hanvālla-Avissāvēlla, and one can see here in every house the produce of those craftsmen. Such villages with the fields appertaining to them were sometimes the payment assigned to the craftsmen for the service they had constantly to render to a monastic or other community of higher class. The payment could however also be made in money or in food, clothes and ornaments (cf. 27.22—23; 30.14, 18—19).

4. Traffic and Trade.

95. In spite of the wilderness with which the greater part of the Island was covered, it would be erroneous to assume that there was no traffic in Ceylon in the mediaeval times. On the contrary the Island was traversed by high-roads (*mahāpatha*, *mahāmagga*) in all directions. Some of them are now out of use and overgrown with forest or jungle, others seem to be the ancient substructions of modern roads. In Gajabāhu's kingdom roads and by-paths (*maggānumaggā*) were spied out by prince Parakkamabāhu (Mhvs 67.20). In the hilly country of Malaya there were only footpaths (*ekapadika-magga* 70.4) at that time.

Two great high-roads led from Mahāgāma in Rohaṇa to Pulatthinagara, one of them in a Northerly direction through Buttala and Bibilē to Mahiyaṅgaṇa (now Alut-nuvara) on the Mahavāliganga and along the right bank of this river to the ford of Sahassatittha (Dāstoṭa), S. of Pulatthinagara. On this road King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi marched with his army, when he began his campaign against the Damiḷa usurper Eḷāra (25.6 sq.). The importance of this road still at the end of the twelfth century is made manifest by the fact that Nissankamalla set up mile-stones with inscriptions along the road (cf. 74 sub finem). The other high-road was farther to the East and nearer to the coast. This seems to be the 'high-road of the sea-coast' (*vela-mahāpatha*) mentioned in 58.41. In order to attack the Coḷas who had occupied Pulatthinagara, king Vijayabāhu I sent two generals to the road, while at the same time other troops advanced from Dakkhinadesa to Anurādhapura. Traces of this sea-coast road are still recognizable. It was, partly at least, constructed on a dam, called 'Black-stone dam' (*kaḷu-gal-būmma*) by the people. I myself heard from the lips of the Raṭṭe-mahatmayā at Bibilē that it can be traced in a Southerly direction far through the wilderness, running many miles alongside an elephants' path. In a Northerly direction the road crossed the wilderness of Bintānnē and ended on the Mahavāliganga probably at the ford of Kacchakatittha, now Mahagantōṭa, E. of Pulatthinagara. King Sena I, 9th cent., had guarded both high-roads leading to Rohaṇa by occupying a position at the confluence of the rivers Mahavāliganga and Ambanganga between the two fords of Sahassatittha and Kacchakatittha (50.37).

Of great importance was the high-road running along the West coast from the mouth of the Kāla-nadī (now Kaluganga) which was spanned by a bridge in the thirteenth century (86.40) through Bhīmatittha (Bentōṭa) and Gimhatittha (Gintōṭa) and across the Gālu-river (Galle) up to Devanagara (Dondra), and probably from here along the Southern coast to the second capital of Rohaṇa, Mahānāgahula (now Ambalantōṭa) near the mouth of the Valavēganga. On this road the general Rakkha, Chief of the chamberlains, advanced against Rohaṇa, crossing the frontier at Gimhatittha (75.19 sq.). At the same time another general Rakkha advanced to Mahānāgahula from North-West. He started from the district Doṇivagga (now Deṇavakka) near Ratnapura and apparently pursued a high-road which corresponds to the road now leading from Madampē through primeval forest to Ambalantōṭa (75.69 sq.).

There was also a high-road running from Pulatthinagara to Anurādhapura and farther on to the seaport of Mahātīttha on the Western coast. The Mahā-

titha Gate in Pulatthinagara seems to have received its name from the fact that here the high-road began (73.163).

The high-road from Jambuddoṇi (now Dambadeniya) in Dakkhinadesa to Pulatthinagara was made level in the thirteenth century by Parakkamabāhu's II co-regent Vijayabāhu (89.13). Evidently the prince did not construct it, but simply mended an older road. This may have been the road used by Parakkamabāhu when he was on the way to Gajabāhu's kingdom, and from it, on a place which we do not know, the road to Anurādhapura must have branched off.

96. Many rivers and brooks were crossed on these roads by stone-bridges (*silā-setu* 98.86). I refer to the bridges mentioned above in 73. Remnants of such bridges near Anurādhapura show the earlier existence of roads in this district. I myself visited such a bridge in the jungle NE. of the town. It consisted of mighty stone pillars set up in the river-bed of the Malvatu-oya with cross beams of stone and huge stone-slabs as covering. Bridges of minor roads may, of course, have been made of wood. The bridge, for strategical reasons thrown across the Kalā-oya by a general of Parakkamabāhu, was also a timber-bridge (*dārūhi kārīta* 70.127).

At regular intervals rest-houses (*sālāyo*) were erected along the high-roads, as e. g. on the road Jambuddoṇi-Pulatthinagara (89.15; cf. above 95). The distance between them was generally one Yojana. Vijayabāhu I, 11th cent., is said to have built rest-houses on the roads which led from West and East to the Samantakūṭa (Adam's Peak) in order to make the visit easier for pilgrims (60.65), and for the same reason Parakkamabāhu II who himself visited the sacred mountain, built rest-houses along the road, laid down frequent stepping stones, had the wilderness cleared and bridges, thirty to thirty-six cubits long, thrown across four rivers (86.21 sq.). A similar work is in modern times ascribed to King Viravikkama (92.18). We see from such reports that many rulers of Ceylon did their utmost in facilitating the traffic in their country, and we may without hesitation say that many more high-roads existed in the island than those mentioned in the chronicle.

97. The traffic on the high-roads of mediaeval Ceylon and in the streets of its towns did not differ much from the traffic as it was in the last century, before rikshaws and later on motor-cars and the like were introduced. Three sorts of vehicles were to be seen at that time. Heavy goods were transported in clumsy two-wheeled carts which were protected from sunshine and rain by a thatch of plaited palm-leaves and drawn by slowly-proceeding bullocks. For private transport lighter vehicles, called 'hackeries' by the English, were used. Draught animals were the small quick zebu-oxen. Rich people drove in carriages, drawn by horses, or in litters.

The vehicles, used in mediaeval Ceylon, were 1) *sakaṭa*, 2) *yāna* or *vāhana* (*yogga*), 3) *ratha*.

The *sakaṭa* 'cart' corresponds to the modern bullock-cart and it had probably just the same form as now-a-days. The word *sakaṭa* itself is preserved (through *hakaṭa*, **hayaṭa*, *yahaṭa*, *yahaṭa*) in modern Sinhalese *yāla* 'cart-load' (cf. above 75). The *sakaṭa* was used by merchants for the transport of commercial goods (Mhvs 28.22), but the word also means like modern *yāla*, 'cart-load' (of sand 30.6, of pearl-shells 34.46 and similar things).

More doubtful are the terms *yāna* and *vāhana*. They have the general meaning 'vehicle', and it is not always easy to say what particular kind of vehicle is meant in different passages; *vāhana* moreover also denotes an animal used for draught or riding. It seems to be sure, however, that often a palanquin or litter is meant with *yāna* and *vāhana*. In 70.85 *yāna* is a general's vehicle which perhaps may have been a carriage. But it is evident from 72.100 that, in the field, officers were carried in litters. When in a battle the generals of Parakkamabāhu saw that the soldiers fell back they ordered their 'bearers' (*vāhakā*) to turn. Prince Parakkamabāhu, while sojourning in Pulatthinagara, got into his vehicle (*āruyha vāhanam*) and drove (*yāti*) through the streets of the town surrounded by his companions (67.1 sq.). When they met a terrible buffalo which had broken loose, the 'bearers' (*vāhakā*) and the other people fled in haste. But the prince, left alone, courageously faced the buffalo and called to it with loud resounding voice so that it ran away in terror. Obviously the prince was carried in a litter.

Bhuvanekabāhu I, end of 13th cent., in order to escape the death threatening him from his adversaries fled from Jambuddoṇi in a covered litter (*paṭicchanna-yāna* 90.5), but he was pursued by some brutal people who pitilessly pierced the litter with their spears so fiercely that everything was in tatters. The king, however, sprang to the ground from the litter and succeeded in getting away on foot.

A compound *sa-yogga-bala-vāhana* is frequently used as adjunct of a king or commander of an army (15.189; 25.1, 57; 70.23, 69). According to the *Mhvs-Tīkā* (ed. MALALASEKERA, p. 361²⁸) *yogga* means all sorts of vehicles (*ratha-sakaṭādi*), *bala* troops (*senā*) and *vāhana* draught animals (*hatthi-assadi*), so that we have to render the compound 'with chariots, soldiers and draught animals'. In the last two passages I took *yogga* as 'adequate' (Sk.) (*yogya*) and translated it 'with correspondingly strong (or fitting) army and train'. But I doubt, whether this is correct. In 95.12 *yogga* is used to denote the vehicle of a queen. It therefore seems to be advisable to take *yogga* as a synonym of *yāna*.

Yānas and *vāhanas*, probably chariot and draught animals, with umbrellas and weapons also belonged to the booty carried away by the victor after a successful campaign (58.21; 70.122). With jewels, pearls and the like the *vāhanas* are reckoned among the valuables regarded as specially prized (61.6). Yet in the eighteenth century king Kittisirirājasīha assigned his two brothers *yāna-vāhanam* to show the world that he respected them as equal to himself (99.84).

No doubt the nobleman, carried in a palanquin and surrounded by his servants, one of whom held the umbrella over the head of his lord, was a familiar feature in the picture of the mediaeval street-traffic. It has entirely disappeared in modern times.

Elephants may sometimes have moved along the streets, but people on horseback were seldom, if ever seen.

Draught animals were generally oxen (cf. 82). Carriages, drawn by horses were apparently rare. These are the *rathā*, the vehicles which were chiefly used for the conveyance of persons. But evidently they were always something solemn and pompous. In ancient times kings drove in carriages drawn by horses (cf. 82), and in the thirteenth century the two most sacred relics,

the Tooth and Bowl, were brought on a high chariot (*mahāratha*) in festival procession from Dambadeniya to Polonnaruva (89.16).

98. The internal mercantile traffic in Ceylon was insignificant. We only hear of merchants who fetched ginger (*singivera*) and similar spices from Malaya (Mhvs 28.21) and in the Pūjāvaliya (ed. by B. SADDHĀTISSA, p. 709³⁰) a story is told of brothers who went into the wilds, gathered honey, and got a livelihood by trading therein. The traffic of the Island was of course from the very first beginning of the Aryan colonisation a maritime traffic. From the third century B. C. there seems to have been lively intercourse between Tāmalittī, Sk. Tāmraliptī at the mouth of the river Ganges to the harbour of Jambukola in Northern Ceylon (11.23; 19.4, 17, 21—23). From Tāmalittī the princess Bhaddakacānā may have started for Ceylon where she landed at Goṇagāmaka (8. 24). We do not exactly know where Jambukola was situated. The name does not occur but in the oldest part of the chronicle. Where Jambukola is mentioned in the Cūlavamsa, not the Northern seaport is meant, but the village N. of Mātālē with a monastery and famous cave-temples (60.60; 70.72; 72.136; 80.23). Is Jambukola when it denotes the seaport, perhaps an old name for Jaffna? In this case we should understand that we do not hear of it in the later parts of the chronicle, for the Jaffna peninsula was occupied by the Damiḷas at an early date and ceased from that time to be part of the Sinhalese kingdom. Goṇagāmaka is probably a name for the harbour Uruvelā-paṭṭana (28.36), so called because it lay near the mouth of the Gona-nadī, now Kalā-oya.

The traffic with Southern India was concentrated in Mahātittā, now Mantoṭa near Mannār, no doubt the most frequented harbour (*paṭṭana*) in Ceylon during the mediaeval period. All the Paṇḍu and Coḷa armies by whom Ceylon was invaded, went here on shore from Bhalluka's invasion about the year 100 B. C. (25.75) up to that of Candrabhānu in the thirteenth century A. C. (88.63 sq.). On the other hand Sinhalese armies when they started for a campaign against the Dravidian kingdoms rallied at Mahātittā (51.28; 52.72; 60.34).

On the South-Western coast Bhīmatittā, now Bentoṭa, and Vālukagāma, now Vāligama, are mentioned as seaports in the 12th and 13th centuries (86.40; 75.45, cf. 83.17). On the East coast Pallavavaṅka was the harbour, from where Parakkamabāhu sent his ships against Rāmañña (76.46). Is this perhaps a name for Batticaloa? The harbour of Trincomalee is not mentioned in the chronicle before the eighteenth century¹).

99. Merchandise from overseas (*samuddapāre bhaṇḍāni* 23.24) was brought by ship to Ceylon even in pre-Christian times. In the mediaeval period various stuffs, sandal-wood, camphor and the like were imported from Rāmañña, Southern Burma (58.9sq.). From the same country elephants were brought to Ceylon, though plenty of them roamed wild in the forests. The fact that in the twelfth century the king of Rāmañña tried to monopolize the elephant-trade and enormously raised the prices, was one of the reasons by which Parakkamabāhu's war with Rāmañña was provoked (76.17—34).

¹) Cf. now, B. J. PERERA, The Foreign Trade and Commerce of Ancient Ceylon. Ceylon Historical Journal I, p. 109 sq. For Jambukola, see P. E. PIERIS, Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceyl. Br., No. 70, p. 11 sq. and C. RASANAYAGAM, ib., p. 35 (Ed.).

Of peculiar interest is the import of horses. Horse-dealers who came to Ceylon appear to have been people of some influence. Two Damiḷas, sons of such a horse-dealer (*assa-nāvika*), ruled as usurpers in the Island in the second century B. C. (21.10), and at the beginning of the eleventh century A. C. the Coḷa King was informed by a horse-dealer (*assa-vāṇija*) of the disturbed conditions in Laṅkā during the reign of Mahinda V, so that he sent off an army with the purpose of taking possession of the Island (55.13).

The horses were imported from North-Western India, where the province of Sindh was famous for its particularly good breed of horses. The horses by which the car of state of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (31.38) was drawn, were Sindhu horses, and the intractable horse that was broken by Veḷusumana (23.71 sq.) was also a Sindhu horse.

100. In the modern system there is no caste of merchants at all. The reason is that nearly the whole trade of Ceylon is in the hands of foreigners, the so called Moors, and the Afghans (E. COOK, l. l., p. 269 sq.). The Sinhalese are agriculturists, but no traders. The Moors are Moslems of Arab descent, petty traders who come from India and stay for limited purposes in Ceylon. They ply various occupations, but a quarter of them are merchants. They numbered over 33,000 in the year 1921. Much greater, nearly 252,000, is the number of those Moors or Moormen who have definitely settled in Ceylon. They are the descendants of Arab traders of previous generations. Though now a third of them have become landowners or agricultural workers, a part of the rest still find their livelihood as shopkeepers. The Afghans, numbering only a few thousands, are chiefly moneylenders and generally feared by the poorer people who in times of need became their victims¹).

In mediaeval Ceylon things were the same or nearly the same as they are now. The merchants (*vāṇija*) are not often mentioned in the chronicle, and there is no indication that they ever formed a caste of Indian type, though they were an influential corporation with a *nagara-vāṇija* as headman. The horse-dealers, mentioned above, were certainly not Sinhalese, but foreigners. Casteless itinerant traders may have sold cheap articles in the villages, and perhaps a limited commercial intercourse may have existed with Rāmañña-Pegu (Mhvs 58.8; 76.10), but in general we can say that the wholesale trade and the overseas trade were in the hands of Arab merchants. In the Indian ocean from the last pre-Christian centuries Arabs were the maritime traders, and their ships no doubt also came to Ceylon very soon after its colonisation. Legends seem to point to the fact that even before that time traders tried to enter into a mercantile connexion with the inhabitants of the Island. In Anurādhapura there was in the fourth century B. C. a suburb near the Western gate called 'ground set apart for the Yonas' (*yonasabhāga-vatthu*, Mhvs 10.90, cf. above 55). It is very probable that here *yona* is a name for the Arab traders who used to visit Ceylon and to stay there for a longer or shorter time (E. R. AYRTON, Ceylon Notes and Queries I, 1913, p. VIII). It is true that in the fourth century B. C. the word *yona* was certainly applied to the Greeks only, but from the second century A. C. it was used to denote all the foreigners

¹) Cf. P. RAMANATHAN, The Ethnology of the "Moors" of Ceylon, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. C. B. X, No. 36, p. 234 sq. (Ed.).

who came from the West, and also the Arabs. The Mahāvamsa was not composed before the end of the fifth century, and we may safely assume that its author called that ancient ghetto for foreign traders by a name which was in general use at his time.

When at the beginning of the fifth century the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien visited Ceylon, he was greatly struck by the town of Anurādhapura, and specially he notices the houses of the Sabaeans, i. e. Arabic merchants which were beautifully adorned (AYRTON, l. l., p. X). We see therefore that already at that early period pre-runners of the Moormen had become rich people in Ceylon and had found a permanent domicile there.

In the twelfth century we hear of merchants residing in the town of Vālukagāma, now Vāligama. When Parakkamabāhu's general Rakkha on the march to Rohaṇa approached the town, he promised security to all who would make voluntary surrender. The merchants of Vālukagāma surrendered willingly, because life and money were dear to them (75.44 sq.). Apparently they were a colony of foreign traders who did not take the slightest interest in the war of the King with the rebels of Rohaṇa, but only feared for their business.

101. A prominent part of the mercantile society in Ceylon were the Setṭhins, but we do not get a clear notion of their social position. Probably they were, like the Setṭhins in the Jātakas (cf. R. FICK, l. l., p. 257 sq.), the great bankers and stood in close proximity to the royal court. Of three brothers who rebelled against king Vijayabāhu I one was a *setṭhinātha*, a chief of the Setṭhins. Since the other two were court-officials of the highest rank, the three were evidently Sinhalese noblemen (59.16). In 69.13 *Setṭhināyaka* is the name of a Lambakaṇṇa. It was probably his title.

The Setṭhins seem to have been connected with the guilds (Sk. *śreṇi*, P. *seṇi*). Perhaps they were the foremost guild. It is said in the Harivaṃśa *śreṣṭhipūrvās tu śreṇayah* 'the guilds have at their head the Śreṣṭhins' (BÖHLINGK and ROTH, Sk-Wörterbuch). Guilds are also mentioned in the Jātakas, but it is difficult to draw from the text inferences concerning their constitution or organisation and their relation to the castes. In the older Mahāvamsa 7.57 the number of the guilds is stated to be eighteen. The same number is given in Jāt. VI 427¹¹ and in Mahāvastu (ed. E. SENART) III, 114⁴. In the Cūlavamsa guilds are never mentioned, so that we cannot say with certainty that they existed in mediaeval Ceylon.

Part Three: King and Government

I. Right of Kingship and Inauguration of the King

Cf. for the present chapter J. M. SENERATNE, *Royalty in Ancient Ceylon*, *Journal Roy. As. Soc., Ceyl. Br.* XXVI, Nr. 71, 1918, p. 109 sq.¹⁾

102. The form of government in Ceylon was, as mostly in India, absolute. The king was the culminating point of the pyramid which represents the state and the centre of political life. Besides the word *rājan* all the names and titles for the king exist in Ceylon which we meet with in the Sanskrit literature. Some of them are somewhat bombastic and grandiose for the ruler of a comparatively small island like Ceylon. He may not only be given the title "Great King" (*mahārājan*) or "Ruler of the Kings" (*rājādhīrājan*), but also "Lord of the earth" (*mahīpati*), even if he has never conquered any kingdom outside Laṅkā. Frequently the king is styled "God" (*deva*) as in Sanskrit. The title approximately corresponds to our "Majesty".

The half-legendary founder of the Royal clan in Ceylon was Paṇḍuvāsudeva, the successor of Vijaya and second king of Ceylon (Mhvs 8.6 sq.). He came from Kalinga and was the youngest son of King Sumitta in Sihapura.

The line of kings descending from Paṇḍuvāsudeva reigned, twice interrupted by *Damīla* invasions, up to *Yasalākatissa*, 112—120. Then, after the rule of the usurper *Subha*, and later on with *Saṅghatissa*, beginning of the 4th c. A. C., scions of the *Lambakaṇṇa*-clan wore the crown. Their reign ended about the year 430 A. C. After a *Pāṇḍu* rule of thirty years *Dhātusena* of the *Moriya* clan (cf. 38.13—15) came to the throne. The whole period from 460 to 676 A. C. was extremely disturbed by internal feuds, *Lambakaṇṇas*, *Moriyas* and scions of the old Royal clan ruling in turn.

With *Mānavamma* who was of the Royal clan (Mhvs 47.1, 2) the Royal clan again took possession of the throne and maintained it for three and a half centuries. But when in 1017 king *Mahinda V* had been conquered and dethroned by the *Coḷa* ruler *Rājendra I*, Ceylon was made a province of the *Coḷa* empire. The reaction issued from *Rohaṇa*, and it was *Kitti*, a scion of the Royal clan, afterwards called *Vijayabāhu (I)*, who reunited the whole kingdom under his dominion about the year 1059. From this time onwards kings of his lineage or *Kāliṅga* princes ruled in Ceylon during the second half of the mediaeval period.

103. Although a particular *rājavamsa*, "Royal Clan", existed in Ceylon, it would hardly be appropriate to call all the other kings usurpers who did not

¹⁾ Cf. also, M. B. ARIYAPALA, *Society*, p. 43 sq.; Ralph PRERIS, *Sinhalese Social Organization*, p. 9 sq., for this and the following chapters. (Ed.).

belong to it. In the mediaeval period of Indian history on principle each Kṣatriya could ascend the throne. Their clans bore the surname "King", as for instance the *Licchavi-rajjuvo* of Vesālī or the *Vanni-rājānō* in Ceylon. Actually it was the rule that a family remained in the possession of the royal dignity until it became extinct for want of descendants qualified to inherit, or was deprived of it by external events. In the latter case generally a scion of any Khattiya clan who had turned out to be of extraordinary intelligence and energy could acquire the crown, as the Moriya Dhātusena after the Pāṇḍu invasion. Sometimes, no doubt, serious conflicts were caused by the rivalry of the different clans of noblemen.

I have to add in this connexion a few words on the titles Mahāvamsa and Cūlavamsa of the two parts of the chronicle. Sometimes they are translated, chiefly in Ceylon itself, with 'Superior Dynasty' and 'Lower Dynasty'. This would perhaps be justified, if the Mahāvamsa would contain the history of the kings belonging to the Royal clan and the Cūlavamsa that of the rulers belonging to other clans. However that is not the case. The last king in the Mahāvamsa is the Moriya Mahāsena and the first one of the Cūlavamsa his son Sirimeghavamma. There is no dynastic gap between the two portions of the chronicle. We must render their titles with 'Great Chronicle' and 'Little Chronicle'. The word *vamsa* frequently occurs in names of books, as in *dīpavamsa* 'the Chronicle of the Island', *thūpavamsa* 'the Chronicle of the Thūpas', *bodhivamsa* 'the Chronicle of the Bodhi tree' &c. We cannot say with certainty why Mahānāma, the author of the older part, concluded with the reign of Mahāsena (about 360 A.C.), but I might suggest that his poem is based on an older chronicle which reached up to that time. It is given the name 'Great Chronicle' because the grand ancient era is described therein when heroes like Devānampiyatissa and chiefly Duṭṭhagāmaṇi ruled in the Island. In comparison with it the later period of Sinhalese history is of minor importance. Hence the title of Cūlavamsa. Moreover the original name of the first part of the chronicle was according to the Ṭikā (ed. MALALASEKERA, p. 34, 12¹⁷, 687⁵) *padyapadoruvamsa* which cannot be otherwise translated than as 'Versified Great Chronicle' and does certainly not allude to a dynasty.

104. The kings of the Royal clan belong to the *sūryavamsa*, the Solar dynasty. Thereby they are closely connected with the Sakya clan, the family of the Buddha which also was a branch of that line (cf. Mhvs 2.1 sq.). They call Mahāsammata and Okkāka their ancestors. This is in agreement with the tradition handed down in Viṣṇupurāṇa and Rāmāyaṇa (LASSEN, Ind. Altertumskunde I, Beil. 1, p. IV sq.), according to which the first two names in the list of kings of the Solar dynasty are Manu Vaivasvata and Ikṣvāku (= Okkāka). The name of Mahāsammata does not occur except in Buddhist books. His identity with Manu Vaivasvata, however, is doubtless. For the Buddhists Manu Vaivasvata was Mahāsammata's surname, and in later Sinhalese sannasas (H. C. P. BELL, Report on the Kegalla District, pp. 93, 94—96) we meet with a combination of the two names: Mahāsammata called Vaivasvata Manu.

In an inscription King Sirisaṅgbō (according to WICKREMASINGHE = Kasapa IV, 896—913) is said to be 'a descendant of the Okkāka dynasty, the pinnacle of the Kṣatriya clans' (*kāt kula kot Okā vas parapuren baṭ*, Epigr.

Zeyl. II 41 = P. *khattiya-kula-kunta-Okkāka-vamsato paramparāya bhaiṭṭho*. King Mahinda IV, 956—72, is called 'the pinnacle of the Sākā (= Sakya) clan, who is descended from the Okā (= Okkāka) dynasty, who has come down in the succession of the Great king Sudovun (= Suddhodana, father of the Buddha) and is descended from the lineage of the Great king Paḍuvasdev Abhā (= Paḍuvāsudeva Abhaya)' (Epigr. Zeyl. III 227—8). Vijayabāhu I, 1059—1114 (formerly named Kitti), boasts of his descent 'from the Okā dynasty (being branch) of the Solar race' (Epigr. Zeyl II 212) and Parakkamabāhu I in the Galvihāra inscription (Epigr. Zeyl. II 268, 274) calls himself 'a scion of the lineage of Mahāsammata, born of the Solar race'.

The Kālīṅga princes who obtained the kingship of Ceylon were also scions of Okkāka and members of the Solar dynasty. Nissaṅkamalla, 1187—96, and Sāhasamalla, 1200—02, emphasize that fact in inscriptions (Epigr. Zeyl. II 109, 115, 171, 174—5). Sumitta, the father of the founder of the Royal clan, Paḍuvāsudeva, was ruler in Sihapura, the capital of the Kālīṅga country.

The Lambakaṇṇas (= Sinh. Lāmāṇi) were apparently nothing but a side-branch of the Royal clan. In an inscription which now is in Kataragama (Epigr. Zeyl. III 219—25) the prince Lāmāṇi Mihind (according to PARANAVITANA = Mahinda IV, 956—72) is called 'the incomparable ornament of the Sāhā race (Sāhā for Sākā = Sakya), descended from the lineage of King Paḍu Abhā (= Paḍuvāsudeva)' and 'from the Solar race' with Mahāsammata and Okkāka as ancestors. Finally the Moriyas, probably a branch of the Indian Maurya dynasty (with King Aśoka) were also of the Solar race. Thus both, Lambakaṇṇas and Moriyas had certainly a right to kingship in Ceylon, hardly less than the Royal clan.

The Moon dynasty (*candravaṃsa*, *somavaṃsa*) branch of which the royal family of the Pāṇḍus was, is equal in rank with the Solar dynasty. Therefore intermarriage between the two frequently took place, Mānābharaṇa¹, the father of Parakkamabāhu I was the son of Vijayabāhu's I sister Mittā¹. His father, Mittā's husband was a Pāṇḍu prince (Mhvs 59.41). Mānābharaṇa, therefore, rightly calls himself a scion of the Moon dynasty (*visuddhe somavaṃsamhi abhiḷātā mayam*, 62.5), and on the paternal side Parakkamabāhu was of the same lineage. When he pretends to belong to the Solar race (see above), the paternal system is crossed, as sometimes occurs in Ceylon, by a maternal system.

Not equal to the Solar and Moon dynasties was believed to be the *ariya-vaṃsa* of Northern India. In Southern India the Rājputs are called *Āriya*. Sirivallabha wishes the daughter Mittā² of his brother Mānābharaṇa¹ who had died to marry with his own son Mānābharaṇa². But Mittā's² mother, Mānābharaṇa's¹ widow Ratanāvali refuses her consent, because the wooer Mānābharaṇa² is of *ariya-vaṃsa*, and, therefore of unequal birth (63.15). This refers as PARANAVITANA has seen, to the fact that the wooer's mother Sugalā was descended from Jagatīpāla, her great-grandfather, who had come from Ayodhyā and probably was a Rājput. In spite of Ratanāvali's opposition the marriage of Mittā² with Mānābharaṇa² was consummated (Ceylon Journ. of Science, G II, p. 235 sq.).

105. It was believed that peculiar marks (*lakṣhaṇāni*) were visible on the body of a prince who was to become a great and mighty monarch. Kitti who afterwards conquered the Coḷas and ruled Ceylon 1059—1114 under the name

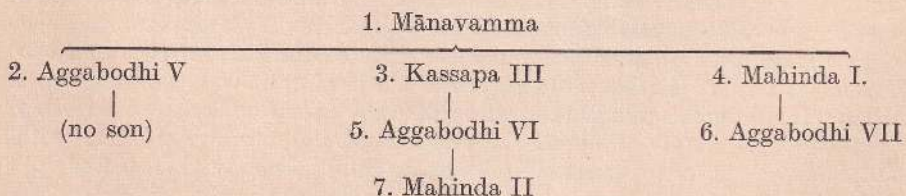
8 Geiger, Ceylon

of Vijayabāhu I was, as a distinguished soothsayer stated immediately after his birth, *dhaññalakkhanasampanna* 'possessed of bodily marks of future good fortune' (Mhvs 57.49). The same is said of his son Vikkamabāhu who became king in the year 1116 after the short reign of his uncle Jayabāhu I (59.32). Nay, the mother of a future prominent king was furnished with such *lakkhaṇāni*. We are told (59.34 sq.) that one day Vijayabāhu who was versed in signs (*lakkhaṇāññu*) gazed on each of his daughters born of Queen Tilokasundarī, but he perceived on none of them except on Ratanāvalī the sign of the birth of a son himself furnished with auspicious marks. And he kissed her and predicted: 'this thy body shall be the place for the birth of a son who will surpass all former and future monarchs in glorious qualities'. Ratanāvalī's son was Parakkamabāhu I, and the days of his conception and his birth were distinguished by many extraordinary signs and marvellous events. The house priest and the Brāhmaṇas after carefully observing all the marks on the hands and feet of the new-born boy announced to the King and the Queen that apart from the island of Lankā he would be able to unite under one umbrella and to rule even the whole of Jambudvīpa (62.12 sq., 37 sq.). The umbrella (P. *chatta*, Sinh. *sata*) is the symbol of sovereignty, and the kings of Ceylon when dating one of their inscriptions generally reckon it from the year in which they 'have raised the umbrella'. Cf. *tumā sat lāṅgu soḷosvana havuruduyehi* 'in the sixteenth year after he raised (*lāṅgu* = P. *lāṅghita*) the royal umbrella'. (Ed. MÜLLER, Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon, nos. 121 A.³⁻⁴; Epigr. Zeyl. I, p. 91 A.³⁻⁴, 10th cent.).

106. Succession within the royal family was regulated by law. For the sake of comparison with the rules of succession valid in India I refer to R. FICK, Soc. Organisation in NE. India, trl. by Sh. Maitra, p. 123 sq. In Ceylon the succession was in the paternal line with the peculiar rule that first the whole generation must have died out, before the next generation came to the throne. When a king who had brothers died, not his sons, but the younger brothers succeeded him one by one according to age. Only when the last of them had died, the eldest son of the eldest brother of the preceding generation ascended the throne¹⁾.

This law of succession was valid already in the earliest period of Sinhalese history. We learn it from the story of King Abhaya's daughter told above in 88. The legitimate heirs to the throne after the king's death were considered to be his nine brothers, the uncles of princess Cittā.

A genealogical table describing the sequence of Mānavamma's sons and grandsons in the 8th cent. illustrates this custom:—



¹⁾ M. B. ARIYAPALA, Succession to the Throne in Ancient Ceylon, Univ. of Ceylon Review, XII, No. 4, p. 195—216 tries to show that the royal succession was normally

There are frequent instances of such a sequence. Sena II (851—885 A.C.) had three younger brothers. The eldest of them Mahinda died before him. Sena's successor is, therefore, (1) the next brother Udaya II and then (2) Kassapa IV. After Kassapa's death the next generation takes its turn. First succeed the sons of Sena according to their age: (3) Kassapa V, (4) Dappula III, (5) Dappula IV, and after them the sons of Mahinda: (6) Udaya III, (7) Sena III, and (probably), (8) Udaya IV. Sena's youngest brothers Udaya II and Kassapa IV seem to have left no legitimate heirs, or their offspring have become extinct in the meantime. Thus after Udaya IV's death the sons of Kassapa V, (9) Sena IV and (10) Mahinda IV, came to the throne. It must be added that with regard to Kassapa V and Sena IV it is expressly stated in the Mhvs 52.37, 54.1 that they became kings in regular succession (*kamāgata*), that is according to the existing law.

It seems that sometimes, if there were neither a brother nor a son as successors, the son of a sister, the *bhāgineyya*, could become king, on condition probably that his mother's husband was of equal birth. Thus after Aggabodhi I, since he had only a daughter and his younger brother Dāṭhāpabhuti had died before (42.37), his sister's son Aggabodhi (II), who at the same time was his son-in-law, ascended the throne in the year 601 A.C. Dāṭhāsiva, as king called Dāṭhopatissa I, was succeeded after the short interregnum of Kassapa II and Dappula I in the year 650 by the son of his sister, Hatthadāṭha, as king Dāṭhopatissa II (44.88, 128; 44.154; 45.22).

Deviations sometimes occur from the regular sequence or were at least attempted. After the death of Udaya I (Dappula II) in 797 A.C., three brothers reigned, one after the other in regular succession: Mahinda III, Aggabodhi VIII, Dappula II. Now Mahinda's likenamed son was by right heir to the throne, but Dappula wished to reserve the royal dignity to his own son (Mhvs 49.84). This was a breach of the law. The young Mahinda betook himself, full of resentment, to India. He was afterwards killed by agents of King Sena I, the second son of Dappula (50.4).

When Vijayabāhu I had died in 1114 his younger brother Jayabāhu became king. This accession was undisputed; but Jayabāhu was merely a puppet-king in the hands of the three sons Mānābharāṇa, Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha of Vijayabāhu's sister Mittā who had married a Paṇḍu prince. After the death of Jayabāhu, in 1116, Mānābharāṇa claimed to be the heir to the throne. As the Mahāvamsa 61.4 adds, thereby the path of former custom was quitted, for Vijayabāhu had a son Vikkamabāhu on whose side was the prior right of succession before the *bhāgineyya*. Vikkamabāhu indeed ascended the throne as rightful successor of Jayabāhu and maintained it in the war with Mānābharāṇa and his two brothers.

107. The entrance of a new sovereign upon his rights and duties was solemnized by a ceremony which used to be performed with greatest pomp. This was the *abhiseka*, the consecration or inauguration of the king, also called *molimaṅgala* 'feast of coronation'. The word *abhiseka* means 'sprinkling', and

hereditary and by primogeniture in ancient Ceylon. This, however, can scarcely be correct. It may be necessary, perhaps, to modify GEIGER's theory of succession, but by no means, to give it up. (Ed.).

this term will be made clear presently by the description of the ceremony. The things needful for the ceremony are the royal ornaments, the diadem, the umbrella and the throne (*alaṅkāra-kirīṭāni chattasīhāsanaṇi ca*, Mhvs 56.3). A Pāsāda, probably a hall, is said (ibid. 59.2) to have been erected for the purpose.

In times of war and disturbance the *abhiseka* was performed when the government of the new king appeared to be firmly established. In connexion with this rule sometimes a second consecration took place after a great political success. Parakkamabāhu I was consecrated at the instance of the dignitaries the first time when he ascended the throne after king Gajabāhu (71.28) though at that time his succession was opposed by his cousin Mānābharaṇa. A second *abhiseka* was held in the most splendid form after Mānābharaṇa's death (72.311 sq.). Parakkamabāhu II (1236—1271 A. C.) was also consecrated twice. The first was when he succeeded his father (82.2.). The second *abhiseka* took place when the king had already abdicated, and a ceremony in his honour was arranged by his son Vijayabāhu IV after the reconstruction of the capital Pulatthinagara or Polonnaruva (89.10). It is however remarkable that the coronation of Vijayabāhu I, 1059—1114, was held in Anurādhapura (59.8) after he had conquered the Coḷas, though he took up his residence in Pulatthinagara (59.10). At that time Anurādhapura was still considered as the sacred ancient capital of the kingdom.

Mahinda I, 724—27, as an exception never underwent the *abhiseka* ceremony (48.26 sq., 31). He therefore did not accept the title king, but remained *ādipāda* (Sinh. *āpā*) 'prince' during his reign.

In the Mahāvamsa-Ṭīkā (ed. G. P. MALALASEKERA I, 305—6) there is an interesting passage which contains a detailed description of the *abhiseka* ceremony. Cf. C. M. FERNANDO, Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceylon Br., XIV, No. 47, 1896, p. 125 sq., J. M. SENAVERATNE, ibid. XXVI, No. 71, 1918, p. 115 sq. Since the work was certainly composed before the middle of the 13th century (cf. GEIGER, Dipavamsa und Mahāvamsa, p. 37), its author could have a knowledge of the *abhiseka*, as it was performed in the mediaeval era, and of the traditions connected with it. The ceremony took place, we are told, in a hall constructed of *udumbara* wood (*ficus glomerata*). The Khattiya who was to be consecrated was sitting on a throne made of the same kind of wood. First a maiden of the nobility (*khattiyakaññā*) took with both hands a marine shell which was filled with water from the Ganges river and the spiral of which wound to the right, poured water on the king's head and said: 'Oh Majesty, all the clans of the nobility make thee for their own protection and security by this consecration a consecrated king; rule thou with justice and peace persisting in the law, be thou one who has a compassionate heart towards those of the noble clans, who are filled with sorrows about their sons and the like, and one who has a kind and peaceful and friendly heart, and be thou guarded by their protection, defence and ward.' Then the domestic chaplain (*purohita*) of the royal court, attired in his richest apparel, poured water on the king's head from a silver shell with the same words only substituting 'brāhmaṇa clans' for noble clans—finally the foreman of the guilds (*setthi*) in his official garb performed the same ceremony for the householder clans (*gahapati-gaṇā*), using a golden shell (*ratana-saṅkhā*).

According to the *Ṭikā* in the address of the three persons a curse is implied: 'If thou wilt rule in the manner as we said, well,—but if thou dost not do so, thy head will split into seven pieces.'

C. M. FERNANDO rightly says (l. l.) that in this ceremony the king 'was regarded less in the light of a ruling despot than in that of the chief representative and leader of the people. Himself a Khattiya, he was the leader of that noble race. To him was committed the care of the priestly Brahmins, and to him was entrusted the welfare of the rest of his subjects'. It is remarkable that the whole ceremony had by no means a purely Buddhist character, but was rather, as other ceremonies performed at court, a Brahmanical rite. According to the *Ṭikā* it was introduced in the second half of the third century B. C. in the time of King Devānampiyatissa (cf. Mhvs 11.28 sq.). The Sinhalese kings were consecrated even before that time, but the ceremony was simple and unpretentious. The ancient kings 'only reigned with a new sceptre' (*kevalam navayatthiyā rajjam kāresum*), and Devānampiyatissa himself was first consecrated in this manner, but his second consecration took place according to the more solemn rite.

We do not know, of course, whether in those ancient times the ceremony was exactly the same as it is described in the *Ṭikā*. It may have been developed in the course of centuries until it assumed the form it had in the mediaeval period.

108. The new king often, or perhaps regularly, adopted a new name when he was inaugurated. The same was the custom among the Pallava rulers. Cf. C. M. NAKSHI, Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas, Madras 1938, p. 39—40. In Ceylon king Dāṭhāsiva (7th cent.) called himself Dāṭhopatissa (Mhvs 44.128). Hatthadāṭha assumed the same name (45.22). Kittī's name after the accession to the throne is Vijayabāhu (58.1). It is said (54.10) that King Mahinda IV, 956—72, had two sons. Their names were (54.57—58) Sena and Udaya. Sena V, Mahinda's successor, made his brother Udaya *yuarāja*. But in 55.1 Sena's brother and successor is called Mahinda. I believe that this was the name adopted by Udaya when he ascended the throne. Mahinda V's son was Kassapa (55.23). When he came to the throne, the Siḥalas gave him the name of Vikkamabāhu (56.1). Even in ancient times Goṭhābhaya, 4th cent. A. C., assumed the name Meghavaṇṇābhaya (36.98). The surname Sirisaṅghabodhi was for the first time assumed by Aggabodhi III, 7th cent., (44.83), no doubt in honour of the pious king of the Lambakaṇṇa clan bearing this name who lived in the 4th cent. A. C. As Aggabodhi's predecessor was Silāmeghavaṇṇa, in the sequel these two epithets were used alternatively so that when a king bears the surname Sirisaṅghabodhi, his successor calls himself Silāmeghavaṇṇa and vice versa (WICKREMASINGHE, Epigr. Zeyl., II, p. 9). In inscriptions the kings often mention only their surname so that the dating becomes sometimes difficult, as so many Sirisaṅghabodhis and Silāmeghavaṇṇas exist in the list of the Sinhalese kings.

II. The Royal Family and the Royal Court

109. The kings of Ceylon like all the Indian rulers had their harem (cf. below 121), but only the daughter of a nobleman of equal rank could become queen and mother of a son who was capable of inheriting the royal dignity. The title

of the king's consort was *mahesī* (Sk. *mahiṣī*, Sinh. *mēhesiya*), and she was addressed as *devī*. In the *abhiseka* ceremony the queen acted an important rôle, nay it seems that from ancient times the existence of a *Mahesī* is presupposed in the ceremony. Already Vijaya is said to have declined the *abhiseka* without a *khattiyakaññā* as *Mahesī* (Mhvs 7.47). But it was the king himself who, probably after his own consecration, consecrated the Queen. The phrase is always like this: *Seno Saṅghaṃ mahesitte (mahesibhāve) abhisecayī (abhisiñci, thapesi* 51.6; 59.25, etc.). There were, as a rule, in the mediaeval period two *Mahesīs* (cf. A. M. HOCART, Ceylon Journ. of Science, sect. G, I. 205, II. 34). This seems to have been an ancient custom. Anulādevī and Somadevī were the Queens of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (1st cent. B. C., 33.45—46). The two Queens of Vijayabāhu I, 1059—1114, were Līlāvati¹ and Tilokasundarī (59.25, 29), those of Parakkamabāhu I—Rūpavati and Līlāvati². The former was the daughter of his paternal uncle Kittisirimegha (73.136 sq.)¹, the latter of his other uncle Sirivallabha (80.31). Nissaṅkamalla mentions in one of his inscriptions as his *aggamahesī* the Kālīṅga princess Subhadrā, in the Galpota two *Aggamahesīs* Subhadrā and Kalyāṇā of the Gaṅgavaṃsa. (Ed. MÜLLER, Anc. Inscr. of Ceylon, nos. 145, 148, B 2—3; Epigr. Zeyl. II, 106 B².) Rulers of Rohaṇa who never became kings of Laṅkā also seem to have had two queens. Those of the younger Mānābharaṇa² were Mittā and Pabhāvati, the sisters of Parakkamabāhu I. They are however not called *mahesī*, but simply *devī* and *dutiya devī* (64.19, 24); the title *mahesī* apparently depends on the solemn consecration.

From the title *aggamahesī* ('highest *mahesī*') we may infer that there was a difference of rank between the two Queens, and this will indeed have been the case in ancient times. But we have seen that already at the time of Nissaṅkamalla both queens bore the title *aggamahesī*, and Candavati, Parakkamabāhu I's widow, calls herself in an inscription (Epigr. Zeyl. II. 241²¹) *dutiyaṃ aggaṭaṃ gatā*, who has attained to the position of the second *agga (mahesī)*. Concerning Narindasiha and Vijayarājasiha, 18th cent., the chronicle tells us that they brought royal princesses from Madhurā and made them highest *Mahesīs (katvā aggamahesīyo, 97.24, 98.4)*.

110. It is a matter of course that for the king's marriage political considerations were never neglected and often became decisive. According to the tradition in Mhvs 7.48 sqq., the first king of Ceylon fetched the daughter of the Paṇḍu king from Madhurā to consecrate her as his queen. The Paṇḍya kingdom is nearly co-extensive with the present districts of Madurā and Tinnevely in Southernmost India (V. A. SMITH, Early History of India, p. 335), separated from Ceylon by the Gulf of Mannār. Political relations between the Sinhalese and the Paṇḍus are, therefore, easily understood. The Paṇḍus were often the adversaries of the Sinhalese, invading the island and pillaging towns and villages (50.12 sq., 51.27 sq., 9th cent.) or they were assisted by the Sinhalese in wars against the Coḷas (52.70 sq., 10th cent., 76.76 sq., 12th cent.). But we hear little of intermarriage between the two dynasties in the mediaeval era. Vijayabāhu I first gave his sister Mittā¹ away in marriage to a Paṇḍu prince. He seems to have resided in Ceylon; the three sons of the wedded couple lived

¹) Mhvs 73.136 (Cūlav. trsl. II, p. 17). There the footnote should run: 'The consort Rūpavati of the King (cf. v. 142) was the daughter of Kittisirimegha.'

in Rohaṇa. The union of the Sinhalese royal family with the Paṇḍu line becomes more frequent in modern times. Rājasīha II, 1635—87, is said to have fetched kings' daughters from Madhurā to Ceylon (96.40) probably as wives for his dignitaries. Vimaladhammasuriya II (1687—1707) made a Paṇḍu princess his consort (97.2), and the same has been recorded of both his successors Narindasīha and Vijayarājasīha.

The relations with the royal family of Kāliṅga are of greater importance. Vijaya's grandmother was a Kāliṅga princess, and the capital of Kāliṅga, Sīhapura, was founded by his father Sīhabāhu (6.1 sq.). Ratanāvali, who herself is called a Kāliṅgī, says 'After the prince, named Vijaya, had slain all the Yakkhas and made this island of Laṅkā habitable for men, since then one has allied the family of Vijaya with ours by union with scions of the Kāliṅga line already in former times' (63.12—13). And her cousin Sirivallabha says: Princes of the Kāliṅga dynasty have many times and oft attained to dominion in this island of Laṅkā (63.7). Mahinda IV, 956—972, had as Mahesī a Kāliṅga princess named Kittī and founded thus the royal house of the Sihalas. Two sons were born of her, Sena and Udaya. Both became kings after him (54.9—10, 50, 57; 55.1). Vijayabāhu I's consort Tilokasundarī and Vikkamabāhu II's consort Sundarī were Kāliṅgīs; Gajabāhu is called (63.8) an offspring of the Kāliṅga line. Nissāṅkamalla and Māgha, 1211—1235, were Kāliṅgas (80.58).

Often a new king marries the widow of his predecessor. Such marriages too have generally political reasons. The new king wishes to prevent the forming of an opposition at court. Already Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's first Mahesī Anulā had been the wife of his brother Khallāṭanāga (33.36). In mediaeval times Mahinda II, 772—792, married the Queen of his predecessor Aggabodhi VII. She was an outrageous woman, and he made her his consort merely to keep her under his control, or as the Mahāvamsa (48.113) says, because she could neither be set free nor slain (*pariccattuṃ ca māretuṃ na sakkā' yam*). Mahinda V, 981—1017, also made the widow of his elder brother and predecessor Sena V his Mahesī and when she died, he married her daughter not long after (Mhvs 55.8—9). The story of Mahānāma (beginning of the 5th cent.) is somewhat different. The consort of his elder brother Upatissa had murdered her husband out of amorous passion for the younger brother Mahānāma and became his Queen when he ascended the throne (37.209 sq.).

III. Royal princes (*rājaputtā*), particularly the heir to the throne were carefully educated. The education included training in sports and practice of arms as well as mental development. We are told (Mhvs 64.2 sq.) that the young Prince Parakkamabāhu was instructed not only in the art of driving the elephant and in the lore of manipulation of the bow, the sword and other weapons, but also in dance and song. Moreover he studied the sacred books of the Buddhist faith, and the works on politics (*nīti*) as that of Koṭalla (i.e. Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra). Grammar (*saddattha*), poetry (*kāveyya*), knowledge of the vocabularies (*nighaṇḍu*) and of the ritual (*ketubha*) were also objects of his education. This system is in conformity with the ideal of princely education in India. We do not know, however, whether or not it was applied in full measure to Parakkamabāhu. But the compiler of the chronicle who was well-versed in Indian literature wished to adorn his favourite hero with all the virtues of a prominent king.

The title of the royal princes was *Ādipāda*, that is, one who has the first post, who marches in front. It is remarkable that the title is not met with in the old Mahāvamsa nor in the most modern portions of the chronicle after chapter 79. It is confined to the part compiled by Dhammakitti and it therefore belongs to the mediaeval period exclusively. The word first occurs in the 6th cent. Silākāla (Mhvs 41.33–35) bestowed the rank of *ādipāda* on his eldest son Moggallāna and handed over to him the Eastern Province (*puratthimadesa*). It seems that at this time *ādipāda* was the same as heir to the throne. But already under Udaya I, 792–97, probably even earlier, all the royal princes were called *ādipāda* (49.3) and the title frequently is joined to the name, like *Udayo ādipādo Kittagabodhīti ādipādo* ('Prince Udaya' 'Prince Kittagabodhi', etc.) (50.8, 51.94). Kitti, afterwards King Vijayabāhu I, in his fifteenth year girt on his sword and demanded the title of *ādipāda* (57.61), thereby laying claim to the succession.

Now to make a distinction, the heir presumptive to the throne among the royal princes is styled Mahādipāda. The first prince who is called so in the chronicle is Ratanadāṭha (44.136), the sister's son of Dāṭhopatissa who belonged to a collateral line. He is probably identical with Hatthadāṭha who afterwards became king (45.21) and publicly took the name Dāṭhopatissa II, (650–58 A. C.). Later on Mahinda, the next younger brother of King Sena I (831–51) is styled *mahādipāda* (50.10), and after his suicide in war (50.21–23), and after the death of the next brother Kassapa (50.46), the title passes to the youngest brother Udaya (50.44). But he too died from illness, and as neither the king nor Mahinda had a son, Sena, the son of Kassapa, was Mahādipāda and ascended the throne (50.49, 51.1), after his uncle's decease, as Sena II.

The titles *ādipāda* or *mahādipāda* drop with the *abhiseka*. Vijayabāhu is called *mahādipāda* but king in the next verse (Mhvs 58.7, 8). We have to assume that between the events narrated in v. 7 (first conquest of the Coḷas) and those told from v. 8 onwards (message to Rāmañña) the *abhiseka* had taken place. This was his first coronation; the feast described in 59.8 was apparently his second *abhiseka* after the definitive conquest of the Coḷas.

112. As heir to the throne the Mahādipāda is also called Yuvarāja, the young king. Both the titles alternate. Mahinda, the brother of King Sena I, is named *yuvarāja* in Mhvs 50.6 and *mahādipāda* in 50.10. From the second half of the 6th cent. onwards, the Southern Province (*dakkhiṇadesa*) was the Yuvarāja's province and residence. King Silākāla (524–537 A. C.) handed over the Eastern Province (*puratthimadesa*) to the Yuvarāja; Aggabodhi I (568–601 A. C.) was the first who conferred the Southern Province on his brother, the Ādipāda Dāṭhāpabhuti who was his presumptive successor (41.33; 42.8). Dāṭhāpabhuti's death is related in 42.37. As the king had no other brother, nor a legitimate son, he now conferred the dignity of Mahādipāda and Yuvarāja, no doubt along with the Southern Province, on his nephew Aggabodhi who afterwards became his successor. Dakkhīṇadesa was the Yuvarāja's domain for many centuries (cf. Mhvs 50.44, 49; 51.19, etc.). Parakkamabāhu himself lived there before ascending the throne in Pulatthinagara. After the death of his uncle Kittisirimegha he assumed the title *mahādipāda*, laying claim thereby to the right of succession to the royal dignity at that time held by Gajabāhu (67.91). As badge the Mahādipāda wore a frontlet of special form or colour.

We must, however, note the fact that a prince did not become Mahādipāda or Yuvarāja simply by right, but he was invested with the dignity by the king in a solemn manner. The expressions in the chronicles are 'the king gave the Ādipāda so and so the post of Mahādipāda or Yuvarāja, made him M. or Y., and the like' (*mahādipādattam dātvā* or *yuvarājatte thapesi, akā yuvarājam*, etc.).

113. Another princely title is Uparāja 'sub-king' 'coregent'; the dignity of an *uparāja* is *oparajja*, *uparajja*. The title has an interesting history. The word is much older than *yuvarāja*. It frequently occurs in the canonical Pāli literature, and also in the most ancient portion of the Mahāvamsa. Generally the eldest son of a king is *uparāja* (Aṅguttara Nikāya III, 154¹⁹), the Uparāja is the heir to the throne. Vijaya is said to be the eldest son and Uparāja of king Sihabāhu (Mhvs 6.38); Paṇḍuvāsudeva, the second king of Ceylon makes his eldest son Abhaya Uparāja (9.12, 14). An instance of the peculiar law of succession in Ceylon is met with at the time of Devānampiyatissa, (3rd cent. B.C.). His Uparāja is his next younger brother Mahānāga (14.56) who afterwards sought refuge in Rohaṇa from the ambushes of the Queen who coveted the kingship for her own son. The Queen did not carry her point. Devānampiyatissa was succeeded by his brothers.

1. We pass on now to mediaeval times in Ceylon. The word *uparāja* first occurs here in the 6th century (41.70, 93). The Moriya king Mahānāga (556-559) made his cousin (*mātulaputta*, son of the mother's brother) Aggabodhi Uparāja. He was however not the heir-apparent, but the sister's son became his successor (42.4) who bore like the cousin the name Aggabodhi. King Aggabodhi I himself, who (after an interregnum?) ascended the throne in the year 568, conferred the dignity of Uparāja on his mother's brother, that of Yuvarāja on his younger brother (42.6). We clearly see that in the oldest mediaeval period when the office of *yuvarāja* came into being there was a difference between his position and that of the *uparāja*. The Yuvarāja was the heir to the throne, the office of Uparāja is a position of trust. He was the king's first counsellor.

2. But soon, at least as early as the 7th century, a new custom was established in a period of great political troubles. The dignity of Uparāja is now regularly conferred on the Yuvarāja or Mahādipāda. Thus the ancient custom is adapted to the Sinhalese law of succession. The heir-apparent, not the eldest son exclusively, becomes Uparāja. The investiture is a solemn act; the king himself consecrates the Uparāja as he consecrates the queen. The phraseology is now *oparajje 'bhiseccayi* and the like (44.84; 48.42, 69; 51.7, 12), whilst in the former period the chronicler had used the expression 'to make Uparāja or to place in the Uparāja's position' (41.93; 42.6). King Aggabodhi III (626-641) consecrates his younger brother as Uparāja (44.84); he is afterwards (44.123) called Yuvarāja. We hear in 46.40 that after Aggabodhi IV's death (674 A.C.) an usurper seized the person of the Uparāja Dāṭhāsiva and had him thrown into prison. Apparently the Uparāja was the legitimate heir to the throne: the Yuvarāja. Aggabodhi VII (766-772) consecrates as Uparāja his son Mahinda (48.69), but in v. 75 he is called Yuvarāja. In a similar manner in the 9th cent. the nephew of Sena I is given the title *mahādipāda* (50.49; 51.1) and *uparāja* (50.58, 59), and Sena II's brother Mahinda the title *yuvaraja* (51.13, 15, 53) and *uparāja* (51.7, 94).

3. The result of the evolution is that the titles *yuvarāja* and *uparāja* became now nearly synonymous, and in the 10th cent. they simply alternate like surnames *Silāmeghavanna* and *Sirisamghabodhi*. We have the following uninterrupted sequence:

<i>yuvarāja</i>	Dappula	III	makes	Dappula	IV	<i>uparāja</i>	(53.1).
<i>uparāja</i>	Dappula	IV	„	Udaya	III	<i>yuvarāja</i>	(53.4).
<i>yuvarāja</i>	Udaya	III	„	Sena	III	<i>uparāja</i>	(53.13).
<i>uparāja</i>	Sena	III	„	Udaya	IV	<i>yuvarāja</i>	(53.28).
<i>yuvarāja</i>	Udaya	IV	„	Sena	IV	<i>uparāja</i>	(53.39).
<i>uparāja</i>	Sena	IV	„	Mahinda	IV	<i>yuvarāja</i>	(54.1).
(<i>yuvarāja</i>)	Mahinda	IV	„	Sena	V	(<i>uparāja</i>)	
<i>uparāja</i>	Sena	V	„	Udaya	...	<i>yuvarāja</i>	(54.58).

Now the sequence is interrupted. Udaya becomes king and assumes the name Mahinda (V). But he is conquered by the Coḷas and sent as prisoner to India. His son Kassapa who would have been Uparāja reigned twelve years under the title of Vikkamabāhu I. But after his premature death (1041 A. C.) new troubles began and a series of irregular successions and usurpations was followed up to Vijayabāhu I who ascended the throne in the year 1059 A. C.

4. In later times only traces exist of the former use of the title *uparāja*. Vijayabāhu I was Yuvarāja (Mhvs 58.1); he appointed as Uparāja his next younger brother Vīrabāhu and after his death the second brother Jayabāhu (59.11; 60.86–88). But Jayabāhu is called (61.3) *yuvarāja*, and Mānābharāṇa pretends to the position of *uparāja* (61.4) and is called *mahādīpāda*. After Jayabāhu's decease the kingdom becomes disunited. The Northern portion of Ceylon is ruled by Vijayabāhu's son Vikkamabāhu and subsequently by his grandson Gajabāhu. Dakkhinadesa and Rohaṇa are in possession of Vijayabāhu's nephews, the three brothers Mānābharāṇa, Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha. They too call themselves kings. The terms *yuvarāja*, *uparāja*, *mahādīpāda* go into disuse. Prince Parakkamabāhu is styled *kumāra* and afterwards 'king' when he has won the sovereignty in Dakkhinadesa and later on in the whole of Ceylon. Strangely enough in the 18th cent. the brothers of King Kittisirājasīha are both called *uparāja* (99.85, 124). The title had apparently declined in value.

114. The last title we have to discuss is Malayarāja. Malaya was the name of the mountainous country in the centre of the island between Rājaratṭha and the provinces depending thereon in the North and Dakkhinadesa and Rohaṇa in the South. We might assume, therefore, that the Malayarāja was the governor of this province. It seems, however, that this was not always the case. King Silākāla conferred the title of Malayarāja on his second son Dāthāpabhuṭi, but gave him the province of Dakkhinadesa (Mhvs 41.35). Aggabodhi I, 568–601 made his sister's son Malayarāja (42.6), and Kassapa V, 913–923 his son Siddhattha, born of his consort Rājīnī who however was not his Mahesī. Siddhattha seems to have actually reigned over the province (52.68). At the time of Aggabodhi IV (658–674) a Malayarāja Bodhitissa is mentioned (46.29, 30), but we do not know how he was related to the king's family.

It is indeed doubtful whether or not the title was confined to royal princes. A change may perhaps have taken place in process of time. Moggallāna III,

who with the help of a treacherous general dethroned king Saṃghatissa in the year 611, conferred the dignity of Malayarāja on his accomplice (44.43). But Moggallāna was a usurper and his action perhaps unlawful. However at the time of King Sena III (937-945 A. C.) the Malayarāja Aggabodhi is called *amacca*, minister, not prince (53.36). Parakkamabāhu's Malayarāja was the Commander of the Daṃiḷa mercenaries in the district Rattakara of Dakkhina-desa (69.6), and the Malayarāyara is also mentioned as a general in the war with Gajabāhu (70.62, 155).

115. I have to add a few words about the princely titles occurring in the mediaeval Sinhalese inscriptions. It is strange that the title *uparāja* is never met with. The king is generally called *maharaj*, °*rad*; to *ādipāda*, prince, corresponds *āpā*, to *mahādipāda* (or *mahāpāda*), prince royal, *mahapā* or *māpā*. Instead of *mahādipāda* frequently *āpā mahayā* is used. Dappula IV and Mahinda IV (10th cent.) had this title before they ascended the throne (Epigr. Zeyl. I. 25^s, 91a², 221³). The word *mahayā* is hardly the same as *mahādipāda* (Epigr. Zeyl. III.82), though in an inscription of Mahinda IV *ayipaya mahapaya* is used for *āpā mahayā* (Epigr. Zeyl. I. 234⁴) and in Epigr. Zeyl. II. 114 C¹⁹ *āpā mahapā*. As *āpā* shows the *p* is preserved in the joint of the compound, and *mahayā* seems to be the nominal form of the adj. *maha* and to mean the great man (cf. WICKREMASINGHE, Epigr. Zeyl. I. 26, n. 4). Udā, i. e., Udaya III (II) is (Epigr. Zeyl. I. 186²) the son of Mihind *mahayā*, because Mahinda was legitimate heir-apparent of Sena II (851-885 A. C.) but died before the king. Udaya himself is also called *mahayā*, because he was heir to the throne, before he became king after Dappula IV (V) but his son Kitagbō is merely titled *āpā*. Cf. 111.

The title *yuvārāja* (*yuva-rad*) is identical with *mahayā*. Udaya III is *āpā yuvarad* immediately after his birth. The phrase used in the Puliyankulam inscription (Epigr. Zeyl. I. 186²) *dunū saṇāhi me āpā yuvarad bisev tanū pāmānā* 'having attained to the position of a prince heir-apparent in the moment of his birth' corresponds to the phrase (Epigr. Zeyl. I. 91 A²) in the Mihintale tablets where Mahinda IV is called *āpā mahayā*. The expression *yuvaraj* occurs also in the same connexion in an inscription of King Kassapa V (Epigr. Zeyl. I. 46⁴).

The title *malayarāja* does not occur in the inscriptions.

116. Princesses bear the title of *rājini*. This implies a lower rank than the title *devī* which is due to the consort of a king. Mittā, the sister of Vijayabāhu and consort of Paṇḍurāja, is called *rājini* (Mhvs 59.41, 62.1), but her granddaughter Mittā, the daughter of Mānābharāṇa and later on consort of her cousin who was also named Mānābharāṇa, is styled *devī* (64.19), for her father and his brothers claimed the royal dignity. The younger Mānābharāṇa, Mittā's husband, is always styled king. It is remarkable that Udaya I conferred the title *rājini* on his daughters (49.3). From this time onwards the difference of the titles *rājini* and *devī* seems to have been established. King Sena I, 831-851 A. C., assigned the rank of *rājini* to Saṅghā, the daughter of Kittagga-bodhi, the ruler of Rohaṇa, acknowledging her thereby as royal princess (50.58). Mahinda IV made his son *ādipāda* and his daughter *rājini*: thus the Ruler founded the royal house of the Sihalas (54.11). The princess Yasodharā, the daughter of Vijayabāhu I, was made *rājini* by her father (60.83-84). It is of

interest to learn that the princesses did not receive the title by birth but at a solemn ceremony performed by the king.

117. The king's residence was the royal palace (*rājageha*, *rājamandira*, *rañño ghara*, *antepura*). With the surrounding court-yard (*rājāṅgaṇa*) it was a citadel within the city. In the old capital Anurādhapura (called *mūla-rājadhāni*) the royal palace was comparatively small. The remainder may perhaps be the building now called Gedīgē. Much larger was the palace built by king Parak-kamabāhu I in Pulatthinagara. Its ruins are even now imposing. They render a better description of the palace possible than the stereotyped verses of the Mahāvamsa 73.61 sq.

The main and central part of the palace is a building of about 23 yards in length from North to South and 15 yards in breadth. It is divided into two equal parts by a broad passage running through it from East to West. The walls of this central building are made of brick and very strong, nearly 10 feet thick, so that the interior space has not more than 8 yards in breadth. It is obvious that these walls had to support a superstructure, most probably the upper storeys.

The main door of the palace was on the Eastern side. Through a vestibule one entered a large hall of about 38 yards in length from North to South and of 14 yards in breadth. Its roof was supported by three rows of altogether 36 pillars. We may suppose that in this splendid room the court-festivals took place. The king in great state, sitting on his throne and surrounded by his attendants, showed here his sacred person to his subjects and received their homage.

Behind the hall is the central building and having passed through it one entered a smaller hall on its Western side with one row of 8 pillars only, and quitted the palace through a gateway similar to the Eastern entrance, but much smaller.

The whole building is encircled on four sides by a great number of small rooms. They seem to have served as bed-rooms for the numerous servants and officers at the royal court who spent their daily life in the halls of the palace or in open air. There are also in the middle part of the building remains of stone stairs leading to an upper storey. Here were, I think, the private chambers of the royal family and also open floors or terraces where the king and the queen and their attendants could enjoy the sun on chilly days and the shade in the hot season. But the upper storeys of the palace in Pulatthinagara have entirely disappeared, probably owing to the fact that they were of slighter construction and partly made of wood. Doubtless the royal bedroom (*siri-sayana-gabbha*) which is described in Mhvs 73.65 sq. was in this part of the building.

118. The Royal treasure (*rājasādhana*, *rājabhāṇḍa*) is frequently mentioned in the chronicle. The royal dignity is closely connected with its possession. It contained the insignia or ornaments (*rājābharāṇa*, *rājabhūsaṇa*) which the king was wont to wear on festival occasions. Whenever the kingdom was in danger, the ruler did his utmost to secure the regalia. When Kassapa, the heroic son of Upatissa II (522-24 A.C.) realized the uselessness of resistance against the mighty usurper Silākāla, he took his father and with his life and the royal treasure tried to escape to the hill-country of Malaya. But he was

surrounded on the way by his foes and committed suicide (Mhvs 41.10 sq.). It was considered as a great disaster that the Coḷas, when they seized King Mahinda V in the year 1017 A. C. also took possession of the royal insignia (*sabbaṃ ābharaṇaṃ*, 55.16) and sent them to Southern India.

A new Sinhalese king was always anxious to seize first of all the regalia without which his dignity would have been imperfect. When in the year 496 A. C. Moggallāna after the suicide in battle of his brother Kassapa I had occupied the kingdom he took the whole of the royal treasure (*sabbaṃ sādhanāṃ ādāya*, 39.28) and entered the capital to ascend the throne. After the death of Aggabodhi IV (674) in Pulatthinagara the royal subjects secured the regalia (*rājabhāṇḍam*, 46.38) and brought them to Anurādhapura. When Aggabodhi VII died in the year 772 the heir apparent Mahinda II came from Mahātittha and having crushed the rebels he had the intriguing Queen put into fetters and seized the royal power together with the royal treasure (*rajjam ganhi sasādhanam*, 48.89).

The usurper Mitta who had killed the legitimate king Vijayabāhu IV about the year 1273 forced his way into the city of Jambuddoṇi, entered the royal palace, seated himself on the throne and showed himself to the whole army, his person adorned with royal ornaments (*rājabhūsaṇabhūsitam*, 90.13). After the Tooth relic and the Bowl relic were retaken in Rohaṇa by the generals of Parakkama-bāhu and carried to Pulatthinagara with great solemnity, the king himself arrayed in all his ornaments (*sabbābharaṇabhūsito*, 74.224), mounted on his favourite elephant and surrounded by many dignitaries, went forth to do reverence to the sacred relics.

Such was the appearance of the Sinhalese kings on festive occasions.

119. The Royal insignia were 64 in number (Mhvs 82.50), but though they were often mentioned in literature, a list of them is not readily available (E. W. PERERA, Ceylon Notes and Queries, III, 1914, p. xxxvi). Some of them are enumerated in the Sinhalese Thūpavaṃsa (ed. V. DHAMMATANA, Colombo 1901 ff., p. 147) and in the Pūjāvāliya (ed. B. SADDHĀTISSA, Panadura 1930, p. 149), but the terms are hardly reconcilable with those occurring in the Pāli chronicle. There the following regalia are mentioned:—

(a) The throne (*āsana*, *sihāsana*, *pallaṅka*). The expression 'lion-seat', is frequently used, for the lion is the symbol of royal power (25.98; 90.13, 23). Sometimes the king's seat was erected on the stone figure of a crouching lion. A specimen of such a figure with an inscription of king Nissaṅkamalla is preserved in the Colombo Museum.

(b) When sitting on the throne the king wore a crown on his head which was adorned with gold and precious stones. The most superb of the stones was the crest-jewel (*cūlāmaṇi*). In the Mahāvāṃsa three terms occur for the crown: *makūṭa*, *kirīṭa*, *moli*. I translate these words tentatively by crown, diadem, tiara. In the Thūpavaṃsa five kinds of crown (Sinh. *otunna*) are distinguished: *siddha*-, *mini*-, *siṃha*-, *vyāghra*-, and *ruvan*-, crown, i. e., the celestial crown, the jewel-, lion-, tiger crown, and the golden crown (E. W. PERERA, l. c., p. xxxvii sq.). It is, however, impossible to trace such a distinction in the Pāli chronicle, nor do we know whether the three words used here are merely synonymous or denote different kinds of crown. King Kassapa II having defeated the usurper Dāṭhopatissa (641 A. C.) united the island again

under one dominion, but it is expressly said that he did not wear the crown (*makutaṃ tu na dhārayi* 44.145), for the royal insignia were in Dāṭhopatissa's possession (44.126-8). Among the treasures captured by the Coḷas in the year 1017 A.C., there was also the royal crown (*makuta*, 55.16). In a similar connection the diadem is mentioned (*kirita*, 56.10) which is also classed among the sixty-four royal ornaments in 82.50. In the description of Parakkamabāhu's first coronation the term *moli*, the tiara, is used (71.28), and when after Mānābharana's death, his second coronation took place he entered the capital in a solemn procession, sitting on the back of his state-elephant and wearing on his head the tiara (*sirasā dhārayaṃ moliṃ*, 72.326), which sparkled with the brilliance of its jewels.

(c) The particular symbol of the royal dignity was the white umbrella (*seta-chatta*). The phrase to raise the (white) umbrella' means the same as to 'ascend the throne' (Mhvs 55.1) and the phrase 'to unite Laṅkā under one umbrella', the same as 'to govern the whole Island' (64.33; 69.4). In the inscriptions the date is generally given by the words "in such and such a year after the elevation of the umbrella". In festive assemblies the umbrella was held over the king's head by an official of high rank whose title was *chattagāhaka* (59.16). Even in battles the king riding on his elephant was made recognizable by the white umbrella, as in modern times the position of the commander-in-chief by his standard. By a mishap king Saṅghatissa lost his umbrella in the battle against the rebel Moggallāna (afterwards M. III, 611-7). It fell to the ground, because it knocked against the branch of a tree. The hostile soldiers took it and handed it over to their commander. Moggallāna raised it standing on the summit of a hill. Thereupon the troops of Saṅghatissa abandoned their ruler and surrounded Moggallāna thinking he was now their king (44.18 sq.). The umbrella as a symbol of royalty was known to the whole of India from ancient times. A *chatta* was according to the tradition among the presents sent by king Asoka to Devānampiyatissa (11.28). The latter himself dedicated a white umbrella to the eight shoots of the sacred Bodhi-tree to honour them like kings, and he bestowed the royal consecration (*abhiseka*) upon them (19.59).

(d) The *cāmara* was a costly fly-flapper, the chowry or the bushy tail of the Tibetan Yak, *Bos grunniens*. It was often set in a costly decorated handle in which form it was one of the insignia of ancient Asiatic royalty. The chowry is therefore mentioned side by side with the umbrella (76.113; 99.47, 55; 100.193). Its handle is made of gold and silver (85.26; 89.19). The term *vālavijani*, literally 'fan made of hair', seems to be synonymous with *cāmara*. When the Hair relic had been brought to Ceylon, king Moggallāna I, 496-513, constructed a casket for it which he placed under a pillar-supported canopy, and he dedicated a *vālavijani* to it, in order to make its royal dignity manifest (39.53). Besides the *cāmara* and the *chatta* a jewel-fan (*maṇi-tālavaṇṭa*), i. e., a fan decorated with jewels is mentioned among the royal insignia in a purely mythical passage (31.78).

(e) Ornaments worn by the king on solemn occasions also occur among the regalia, such as bracelets (*kaṭaka*, Mhvs 82.50, *vajiravalaya*, 55.17), etc. The most precious ornament was apparently a chain of one string of pearls (*ekāvali*). It is noticeable that the same is mentioned in the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra II, 11.29 (transl. by SHAMASASTRY, p. 87) in an enumeration of royal

treasures. When Aggabodhi III was defeated by Dāṭhopatissa about the year 626 A.C. and forced to flee to Jambudvīpa, he left everything behind and took with him only the *ekāvali* by which to make himself known. (44.127).

(f) A royal weapon was the unbreakable dagger (*acchijja-cchurikā*) mentioned in 55.17 immediately after the *vajiravalaya*. It was no doubt the dagger with which Kassapa I committed suicide by cutting his throat (39.27). This was also done by Jeṭṭhatissa III (44.112) who was wont to keep the dagger in his betel-bag. In the description of a similar scene the word *asiputtaka* is used instead of *churikā* (41.24).

(g) Together with the unbreakable dagger in 55.17 also *chinnapattikādhātu* is mentioned as belonging to the royal treasure. The word requires a few remarks. WIJESINHA in his translation of the Mahāvamsa (II, p. 90) renders it as "sacred forehead band" and adds the note: "The term is of doubtful meaning, but it evidently refers to the fillet worn round the forehead." But this is impossible. The final word *dhātu* clearly points to some sacred relic and the first word of the compound *chinna* is incompatible with the idea of a fillet, for it means "cut off." Perhaps even the suffix in *pattikā* should not be neglected: *pattikā* is a small piece of cloth. I believe, therefore, that *chinnapattikādhātu* was a relic consisting of a torn piece of stuff from the Buddha's robe which was probably kept in a small costly case and worn by the king as a talisman.¹⁾

120. In Ceylon as in the whole of India the king's vehicle was the elephant. The best elephant in the royal stables was the state-elephant (*maṅgala-hatthi* or *-dvīpo*). It was mounted by the ruler not only during festive processions (see above) but also in war (Mhvs 41.11, 47 sq.; 51.37). When Kassapa I and Jeṭṭhatissa III committed suicide in battle, they were riding on their elephants. A most heroic scene from ancient times is the single combat between Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Eḷāra near the South gate of Anurādhapura, as it is described in Mhvs 25.69 sq. Both kings had mounted their elephants; that of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was called Kaṇḍala, that of his adversary Mahāpabbata. Eḷāra hurled his dart first, but Gāmaṇi avoided it. He made his own elephant pierce his enemy's elephant with his tusks and hurled at the same time his dart at Eḷāra and Eḷāra fell with his elephant. The state-elephant was no doubt always a tusker of extra-ordinary size. As tuskers are very rare in Ceylon such animals were imported either from Burma or from India. Cf. above 99.

There were also horses in the royal stables (70.265), and a state-horse (*maṅgalavājin*, *assa maṅgala*) is mentioned in the oldest part of the chronicle (22.52, 34.86). Prince Kassapa, the brother of king Sena I, was on horseback in a battle against the Damiḷas, and the swiftness of the noble steed was so great that the one horse looked as if it were a line of many steeds (50.26-28). The royal elephants were under the care of the elephant-keepers (*hatthipaka*) and the horses under that of the riding-masters (*turaṅgasādin*, 88.34).

121. In mediaeval Ceylon, as everywhere in India the harem was an essential part of the royal court. There are several terms for harem in the Mahāvamsa: *antepuritthiyo*, i. e., palace women (14.46), *orodha* and *orodhajanā* (60.85),

¹⁾ A full list of the 64 ornaments, reconstructed from Sinhalese works (Saddharmalaṅkāraya, Pūjāvaliya, Ummaggajātakaya, Daṁbadeṇi-asna) is given by M. B. ARIPALANA, Society in Mediaeval Ceylon, p. 71 ff. (Ed.).

ithhāgāra or in the plural *ithhāgārā* (70.266; 72.302; 59.33). The last term may be compared with German *frauenzimmer*. The women of the harem were not only the king's retinue but also his concubines. It is expressly stated in 59.33 that none of king Vijayabāhu I's *ithhāgārā* 'conceived a fruit of the womb' by the monarch. Only on wives of equal birth, the Queens, did he beget children. Sons born of the *ithhāgārā* had no right of succession.

The women of the royal seraglio were in constant attendance upon the king and they did their utmost to please him and to grow in his favour. Those of Vijayabāhu emulated his attendants in 'amassing many merits in many ways' (60.85). Without *orodha* the splendour of the royal court was defective. When Mānābharaṇa had overcome king Gajabāhu and taken possession of Pulatthinagara he fetched from Rohaṇa the sacred relics, tooth and bowl, his mother Sugalā and the whole of the harem (*sakalaṃ ithhāgāraṃ*—70.266), for he wished to show the people that he was now the legitimate ruler.

Chiefly on festive occasions the palace women were in the king's retinue. Some years ago I was present in Djokjakarta, Isle of Java, at the celebration of one of the three anniversaries (*garābek*) in the Sultan's palace. When the Sultan entered the festival hall, he was followed by officials who carried the insignia, the umbrella, the fan made of peacock's feathers, the lance, etc., and immediately behind them came the women of the seraglio who, during the whole solemnity, were squatting on the side of and behind the Sultan's throne. A group of women had strong yellow paint on their necks and shoulders. Witnessing this ceremony I could form an idea of a mediaeval Indian court-feast.

The Jāvaka king Candabhānu was accompanied by his harem even in war, for in the booty got by Vijayabāhu and Virabāhu after his defeat the loveliest women of his court (*orodhavarā*—Mhvs 88.74) are mentioned besides the elephants and horses, many weapons and the entire treasure.

122. In the court-life the conservatism and tolerance of the Indian mind and the tenacity of the Brahmanical tradition become manifest in the relation of the king with the clergy. The kings of the Sinhalese race were all Buddhists. Buddhism was also the prevailing religion among the people of Ceylon. Brahmanism however had by no means lost the whole of its power and influence.

Some of the Sinhalese kings are especially praised as supporters of the Samaṇas or Buddhist priests as well as of the Brāhmaṇas. Thus we have in the 8th century King Kassapa III (Mhvs 48.23), in the 9th century Sena I (50.5) and Sena II (51.65 sq.), in the 12th century Mānābharaṇa (*dānaṃ ulāraṃ samaṇa-brāhmaṇānaṃ padāpayi*, 62.64) and in 67.94 we hear that Parakkamabāhu when he had taken the reins of government after his uncle's death sent an abundant gift of money to the Samaṇas and the Brāhmaṇas. The same King, after his campaign in South India, gave orders for an almsgiving to the Brāhmaṇas (77.105).

The most remarkable fact is the strict observance at court of the Brahmanical rites as they were observed by Indian kings. We know (cf. above, 107) that the Sinhalese kings employed a distinguished Brāhmaṇa as their *purohita* (house-priest or domestic chaplain) and that he was the representative of the Brahmanical caste at the coronation ceremony. This office is already mentioned in the old Mahāvamsa 10.79, 34,24. The Brahman (*dīja*, Skt. *dvija*) who

was one of the four envoys sent by Devānampiyatissa to the court of king Asoka (11.20) was no doubt the house-priest. Coming to mediaeval times, we are told (62.21 sq., 28-9) that the dreams seen by Virabāhu (Mānābharaṇa) and his consort were expounded by the Purohita and the soothsayers who foretold that within a short time there would take place the birth of a son bearing on him the marks of future grandeur. The soothsayers (*nemittā*) were most probably Brāhmaṇas like the Purohita. After the birth of the son the King charged them with the determination of the boy's bodily marks. After carefully observing all the marks on his hands and feet, they joyfully announced to the father that the boy would become a great monarch, though there was an unfavourable constellation for the father himself. I may here refer to the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra, I.9, where it is expressly said that the Purohita of an Indian king must be skilful in reading portents.

However not only the *abhiseka* but also many other Brahmanical rites were observed by the Sinhalese kings. Virabāhu (Mānābharaṇa) is said to have performed various sacrifices which were held to be salutary by the house-priests and other Brāhmaṇas versed in the Veda (62.33). For his new-born son (Parakkamabāhu) he had all the birth-rites and other ceremonies performed according to the rules laid down in the Veda (*vede vutta-vidhānena jātakam-mādikaṃ vidhiṃ*, (62.45). In Indian ritual-literature four ceremonies are enumerated, which belong to the birth-rites: *āyuṣya*, giving of life, *medhājanana*, giving of intelligence, *stanapratidhāna*, giving of the breast, and *nāmakaraṇa*, giving of the name (HILLEBRANDT, Ritualliteratur, p. 45).

Sirivallabha had the ceremony of the first dressing of the hair (*sikhāmaha*, 63.5) performed on his young nephew Parakkamabāhu who at that time was living with his family. This ceremony corresponds to the *cūdākarāṇa* rite of the Ḡhya-sūtras (HILLEBRANDT, l. c., p. 49). Later on, when the same prince was residing at Kittisirimegha's court in Dakkhinadesa, this King ordered his Senāpati to prepare for the prince the ceremony of investiture with the sacred thread (*upanayana*, 64.13), and the ceremony was carried out in the most splendid manner by Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Veda. We may assume that the observance by the Sinhalese rulers of Brahmanical rites was not confined to the ceremonies mentioned occasionally in the chronicle, but extended to other rites also, perhaps to all that are prescribed in the Ḡhya-sūtras.

123. Bhikkhus were, of course, also in prominent positions at court, but the relations of the king with Buddhism and Buddhist priests had a somewhat different character from those with Hinduism and Brahmans. The latter were ceremonial and official, the former more personal and intimate. Bhikkhus were the advisers of the king in spiritual affairs. Aggabodhi I, 6th cent., is said to have kept piously to the instruction of a Bhikkhu named Dāṭhāsiva (Mhv 42.22). In a very curious passage (57.38 sq.) we are informed that the sovereigns of Laṅkā in protecting world and church used to act according to the advice of a Bhikkhu who held the position of a premier counsellor (*mūlatihāna*) and whose appointment had to be confirmed by a divine oracle consulted during a night he had to spend in a small sanctuary (*devapalli*).

The education of the princes, as we see from the manifold subjects they had to learn, was at least in part entrusted to Bhikkhus. The spiritual teacher of Parakkamabāhu II in his youth was Saṅgharakkhita, head of the church in

the thirteenth century (81.76-77), and, members of the royal family sometimes themselves entered the Order. See below in 172.

Bhikkhus were also advisers on political problems. Vijayabāhu I, 12th cent., granted the position of an Uparāja after Virabāhu's death to Jayabāhu in conformity with the counsel of the Bhikkhus (60.87). After Vijayabāhu's demise his younger sister met the ministers in order to deliberate as to how the succession to the throne could be secured to her own family. To this meeting the Buddhist priests of the district were also invited (61.1). Parakkamabāhu II, 13th cent., summoned the priests and asked them which of his sons might be worthy of the throne. The priests designated his eldest son Vijayabāhu as the most worthy of them all and the King made over the burden of government into his hands (87.39 sq.). Already in the last century B. C. after the death of Saddhātissa the counsellors summoned together the whole brotherhood in the Thūpārāma and with their consent consecrated the prince Thūlathana as king (33.17-18).

Often the Bhikkhus acted as mediators when any conflict had arisen within the royal family or at court. Even in ancient times we are told that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's brother Tissa when conquered in battle, went to Mahāgāma with the thera Godhagatta who succeeded in reconciling the King with his brother (24.49 sq.). The Theras Tissa and Mahātissa reconciled King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi with his highest dignitaries who had deserted him (33.73-77). In the ninth century reconciliation of King Sena II with the sub-king Mahinda, and of king Kassapa IV with prince Mahinda was brought about through the mediation of priests (51.13-14; 52.9). When in the war with his great rival Parakkamabāhu King Gajabāhu was in a desperate position he requested the Community to help him, and the Bhikkhus sought out Parakkamabāhu and obtained his mercy for the king (70.311 sq.).

It is certainly not a mere chance that in connexion with such political events Brāhmaṇas are never mentioned, but always Bhikkhus.

Sometimes also conflicts arose between the royal house and the Bhikkhus. A very serious instance, occurring during the reign of king Udaya III, 10th cent., will be described below in 140. For Rājasīha's I conversion to Hinduism, see below in 164. According to the chronicler such conflicts generally ended with the submission of the king.

124. Among the worldly court-officials we have first to mention the 'Sword-bearer' (*asiggāhaka* or *khaggagāhaka*) and the 'Umbrella-bearer' (*chattagāhaka*). They were of the highest rank and often closely related to the king. We must assume that in solemn court-assemblies they stood near the king's throne holding the symbols of kingship, the sword and umbrella. There can hardly be any doubt that in political consultations they were among the advisers of the king.

King Moggallāna I, 496-513, appointed Silākāla, a Lambakanna, sword-bearer and gave him his sister to wife (Mhvs 39.54). He was a man of great influence even after Moggallāna's death (cf. 41.7) and became himself king about the year 524 A. C. Aggabodhi II's, 601-611, sword-bearer was a kinsman of the Queen (42.42). His name was Saṅghatissa, and he too ascended the throne after the King's decease (44.1), but was dethroned by Moggallāna, the Senāpati of Aggabodhi.

The umbrella-bearer of Mahānāma, 5th c., was his son-in-law, the husband of his daughter Saṅghā. He became king, after Saṅghā had killed Soththisena who, as the son of a Damiḷa woman, was not capable of inheriting the crown, and reigned one year (38.1 sq.). According to Sinhalese sources (Pūjāvaliya, ch. XXXIV, ed. MEDHANKARA, p. 17 and Rājaratnākaraya ed. TISERA, p. 25) he was a Lambakanna with the name Tissa. By Moggallāna III, 611-17, the son of his Senāpati was entrusted with the office of the sword-bearer (44.43). Prince Parakkamabāhu's sword-bearer and umbrella-bearer are mentioned together (66.29) as standing on his side in a battle.

We also meet with the titles *chattagāhakanātha* (59.16) and *chattagāhakanāyaka* (72.68). But I believe that these forms are merely periphrastic 'the official who is the umbrella-bearer' and ought not to be translated with 'head of the umbrella-bearers', for it seems that there was always only one umbrella-bearer at court as well as one sword-bearer.

There was a host of chamberlains (*kañcukin*) in the royal household. At their head was a chief-chamberlain (*kañcukināyaka* 72.58). The chamberlains were officials of lower rank standing on the same level with barbers and cooks (63.53; 69.26; 70.44). The chamberlains were appointed by Parakkamabāhu's generals to guard Queen Sugalā's treasures seized by them in their victorious campaigns in Rohaṇa (75.176). The 'door-keeper' (*dovārika* or *dvāranāyaka*) must also be reckoned among the chamberlains. As other posts of honour that of the door-keeper seems to have been heritable in a noble family. The door-keeper Subha who cunningly usurped the throne in the second century A. C. was the son of the door-keeper Datta (35.51). King Moggallāna I, 5th cent., appointed the charioteer who had comforted his ill-fated father Dhātusena with a handful of roasted corn to the office of a *dvāranāyaka* (39.39).

The meaning of the title *pādamūlaka* (66.66) to which Sinh. *pāmul* corresponds is doubtful. According to H. W. CODRINGTON (Epigr. Zeyl. III, p. 231) the office held by the *pāmul* may have been analogous to that of Keeper of the Privy Purse.

125. The corpses of deceased kings were always disposed of by burning. Among people of the lower classes interment seems to have been the rule as still in modern times. In the Hatthavanagalla temple King Parakkamabāhu II (1236-71) erected a superb monument (*cetiya*) on the spot where the body of his royal father had been laid on the pyre (Mhvs 85.76).

The funeral ceremony was performed by the successor. When Mānābharāṇa was deceased, his two brothers performed the funeral rites for him (*kāresum antimaṇ vidhiṇ*, 63.1), and the elder of them Kittisirimegha became his successor in the province of Dakkhinadesa. After Kittisirimegha's death his nephew Parakkamabāhu who lived at his court carried out the fire-burial (*aggikiccaṇ*, 67.89) of his uncle in a manner worthy of himself and was from that day ruler of the province.

Even such princes as had forcibly occupied the throne used to perform the obsequies of the king, if they had caused his death. When in the year 496 A. C. Kassapa in the battle against his brother Moggallāna saw that his soldiers were yielding, he cut his own throat. Moggallāna, glad at his brother's death—because he had by his suicide spared him the necessity of meting out justice himself for Kassapa's parricide—carried out the ceremonies of burning the King's

corpse in the usual manner (*katvāḷāhaṇakiccam*, 39,28). After that he entered the capital.

We see from this example that the burning of the predecessor's corpse was not only an act of piety, but also a symbolic act. The new sovereign wished to make it manifest to the people that he was the legitimate successor of the deceased king and had ascended the throne in his own right. We now understand how after Vijayabāhu's death in the year 1114 his son and heir-presumptive Vikkamabāhu, then absent from the capital and residing in Rohaṇa, regretted that he had no chance of paying his father the last honours (*antima-sakkāraṃ vidhātum*, 61.8). By this act he could have asserted his right of succession. He hastened to Pulatthinagara and on the way met his three cousins who wished to secure the throne to their own family. He defeated his rivals and took possession of the capital and of the royal power which he maintained up to his death.

An account contained in the chronicle 50.21 sq. is of peculiar interest. During the reign of King Sena I, 831-51, a Paṇḍu king invaded Ceylon. The Yuvarāja Mahinda was sent by Sena to drive him back, but being defeated committed suicide. The soldiers cut off his head and showed it to the Paṇḍu king. When he saw it, he had Mahinda's corpse burnt and gave orders for observance at the pyre of all the ceremonies prescribed by the Paṇḍus for the cremation of their kings. Evidently he wished to show the Sihalas by his action that he was now himself the Yuvarāja and heir-apparent of the Sinhalese kingdom.

III. Royal Duties

1. Internal and Foreign politics

126. A pious king had to care for the welfare of the laity (*loka* 'world') and the clergy (*sāsana* 'doctrine'). Both laity and clergy make headway under royal patronage (cf. above 107 sub finem). The queens and higher officials often participated in the meritorious actions performed by their consort and lord (Mhvs 49.23 sq.; 50.79 sq.).

In order to be able to fulfil his duty in the most perfect manner the king must never disregard old custom and tradition. King Kassapa III, 8th cent., was well qualified for the royal burden, for taking it over according to ancient custom (48.20), and Sena I, 9th cent., is praised for having adhered to the conduct of former kings in accordance with tradition (50.2; cf. 44.85; 53.27; 59.8). But the king must also know the precepts of political wisdom (*nīti*, *naya*). If he masters them, he is worthy to be called of a clever statesman (*nayaññu* 48.80; 58.1) and will reign according to the rules of statecraft (*yathānayaṃ*, 48.96) without transgressing the precepts laid down for monarchs (*rājanītiṃ avokamma*, 90.56). We have noticed above in III that the study of the works of *nīti* literature was included in the princely education. In the second part of the *Cūlavamsa*, ch. 80 &c, Manu is recognized as highest authority. Vijayabāhu II, 12th cent., was an eminent ruler who did not depart from any precept of the political teaching of Manu (*manunīti*, 80.9), and Parakkamabāhu II, 13th cent., is praised as being well-versed in the ordinances of Manu (84.2).

The greatest virtue of a king was considered to be charitableness. Very often rulers are praised for having supported all their subjects who suffered want or were helpless owing to old age or sickness or to any disaster (37.76; 41, 66; 44.67; 49.35; 51.85; 60.78). We know (v. above 51, 52) that they erected hospitals and dispensaries and halls for distributing alms to all who were in need. Poor people of the higher classes who were ashamed to beg, were secretly supported by king Mahinda II, 8th cent., and there were none in the Island who were not supported by him according to their deserts (48.146). Mahinda IV, 10th cent., did not only distribute medicine and beds in all the hospitals, but had also given food regularly to criminals in prison (54.31).

Pious kings even took care of animals. In order to provide food for them, they gave to the cattle "young corn full of milky juice", and rice to the crows and other birds (48.147; 49.36; cf. 50.3). Mahinda IV had rice and cakes distributed to apes, the wild boar, the gazelle and to dogs (54.32; cf. 60.74). Parakkamabāhu I is said in every month on the four Uposatha days to have "commanded safety of life to all creatures without exception living on dry land and in the water" (74.20-21).

Ten virtues (*dasa rājadhammā*, 37.107; 52.43; cf. R. FICK, Soc. Org., p. 100) are essential for a good ruler. They are not enumerated in the chronicle. It is supposed that they are well known to everybody. But they are specified in a Jātaka verse: giving of alms (*dāna*), leading a moral life (*sīla*), liberality (*pariccāga*), fair dealing (*ajjava*), gentleness (*maddava*), self-discipline (*tapo*), freedom from wrath (*akkodha*), mercy (*avihimsā*), patience (*khanti*), peaceableness (*avirodhanā*). Jātaka, ed. FAUSBÖLL, III 274. The ten meritorious works (*dasa puññakriyā*, 37.180) are a similar list of royal virtues, or they are identical with *dasa rājadhammā*.

A model king in the chronicle's eyes was Kassapa V whose character and virtues are described in the passage 52.38-41: 'He was pious as one who has reached the path of salvation (read with BUDDHADATTA *āgātamaggo va*, instead of *ca*), wise as one who possesses supernatural powers, eloquent as the teacher of the gods (Bṛhaspati), generous as the dispenser of treasures (Kubera), deeply learned, a preacher of the true doctrine, practised in all the arts, adroit in proving what is right and what is not right, versed in statecraft, immovable as the pillar of a gate, standing firmly in the teaching of the Leader on the path of deliverance, not to be shaken by the storms of other opinions, keeping himself free from all evil such as guile, hypocrisy, pride, a mine of virtues as the ocean is one of jewels.'

127. As a king is always menaced with ambuscades of foes and rebels (*corā, dāmarikā*), he must try to gain the goodwill of his subjects by liberality (*dāna*), friendly speech (*peyyavajja*) beneficence (*atthacariyā*) and sociability (*samānattatā*). These are the four heart-winning qualities (*cattāri saṅgahavatthūni*, Mhvs 37.108; 52.43; 92.8) by which good rulers are distinguished.

Upon his officials the king used to confer distinctions in order to acquire ready and obedient followers or to show them his gratitude if they had successfully executed the royal orders. In the chronicle we come across several terms, which are manifestly nothing but honorary titles, bestowed on the bearers by the king for public services. The system became more and more complex reaching a climax about the time of Parakkamabāhu the Great. On

of these titles is *kesadhātu* or *kesadhātu-nāyaka*. It may have originated in the members of the order entrusted with the care of the Hair relic (*kesa-dhātu*). Later on this became a mere formality. Parakkamabāhu conferred the title on his general Rakkha (*kesadhātu-padam datvā*, 70.19) when he had subjugated some districts of the Malaya province, and to another of his generals (*adā kesadhātu-nāyakattam*, 70.279) before he made war on his most powerful rival, Mānābharāṇa. The title of a *kesadhātu(-nāyaka)* first occurs in the 11th century (57.68). In the reign of Parakkamabāhu several officers or generals are mentioned who bore it (70.23, 66, 283; 72.2, 5, 7, 107; 76.253, 255, 269, 324). Later it seems to have fallen into disuse.

It is sometimes impossible to say with certainty whether such a term is a mere title or the designation of an official post with peculiar duties. But this much seems to be very probable that all the compounds with *-giri*, *-galla* as second part and with *laṅkā-*, as first part are honorary titles only. I refer to *nagaragalla* and *nagaragiri*. The former title was bestowed by Parakkamabāhu on his general Saṅkhadhātu (*nagaralla-padam datvā*, 70.280). As *nagaragiris* are mentioned Mahinda, Nātha, Kittī (70.89, 146, 199, 318; 72.107; 76.60); the *nagaragiri* Gokaṇṇa was in the service of king Gajabāhu (66.35, 62; 70.68). Similar titles are *lokagalla* (72.222; 75.138), *nīlagiri* (70.137, 140, 142), *ṅitagiri* (72.25), *māragiri* (72.11, 164, 174) and *laṅkāgiri* (72.27; 72.124-5; 76.250). Other compounds with *laṅkā-* are *laṅkādhināyaka* or *laṅkādhinātha* (70.24, 98, 123, 174, 205, 220) and *laṅkāpura* (72.39; 75.70; 76.250) in addition to *laṅkāgiri*. The title *laṅkādhikārin* was conferred on Kittī (*adā...laṅkādhikāritam*, 70.278) who up to that time was a *saṅkhakanāyaka*.

A translation of these terms would hardly be appropriate. Generally the title is immediately joined to the personal name of its bearer, as for instance, Mahinda-nagaragiri or Rakkha-laṅkāpuro. If the person is mentioned before in the narration and therefore known to the reader, often the title alone is used. Frequently the phrases like "the Laṅkāpura who is known as Kaḍakkuda" (*Kaḍakkuda-iti-ssuto laṅkāpuro*) or "the Kesadhātu named Tamba" (*Tambavahayo kesadhātu*) are met with in the chronicle.

128. One of the principal duties of the king was diplomatic intercourse with other states. He received the messengers sent to his court by foreign kings and he himself sent messengers to other courts. When in the 12th century the island of Ceylon was divided into three or four provinces and each of the provinces had its own ruler, there was a polite diplomatic intercourse between the courts, as long as the rulers were living in peace. Mānābharāṇa sent messengers to Pulatthinagara to bring king Vikkamabāhu the news of the birth of his son, Parakkamabāhu (Mhvs 62.54). Later on Parakkamabāhu himself announced in the same manner the death of his uncle Kittisirimegha to king Gajabāhu in Pulatthinagara and to his cousin, the younger Mānābharāṇa, who was ruler in Rohaṇa (67.95).

Of greater importance were the diplomatic relations with Rāmañña and with the Dravidian kingdoms in Southern India.

Rāmañña was the name of the province of Pegu in Southern Burma. Its inhabitants were, like those of Ceylon, Buddhists of the Theravāda school. Between the two countries there had never been dissension up to the 12th century, and their monarchs were wont to send each other many costly gifts

and in this way to maintain a friendly intercourse (76.10 sq.). Vijayabāhu I (1059–1114 A. C.) sent envoys with various presents to the king of Rāmañña and received in return valuable gifts from him (58.8 sq.). When in Ceylon the number of the Bhikkhus had decreased so much that it became impossible to fill the chapter in order to perform the Vinaya ceremonies, the same king fetched from Rāmañña Bhikkhus who were thoroughly versed in the Buddhist precepts and able to restore the Order which had declined in Laṅkā (60.4 sq.). It is well known that for the same purpose in the 18th century an embassy was sent to Siam by king Kittisirirājasīha. A chapter of Bhikkhus arrived in Ceylon and established the Siamese sect (Sir D. B. JAYATILAKA, *Saraṇāṅkara*, the last Saṅgharāja of Ceylon, p. 14 sq.). The two Burmese sects (Amarapura- and Rāmañña-nikāya) in the Island are of a somewhat later origin.

The friendship between the two countries was severely disturbed in the twelfth century. The war made by Parakkamabāhu on the Rāmañña king was, according to the chronicle, successful for the Sinhalese. The former friendly relations were restored by King Vijayabāhu II, 1186–87. The King himself composed a letter in the Māgadha language—i. e. in Pāli, the lingua franca among the Buddhists—which he sent to the ruler of Rāmañña and concluded a treaty with him as Vijayabāhu I had done before (80.6–7).

129. Greater troubles grew out of relations with the Dravidian kingdoms in South India. Those with the Paṇḍus were generally of a more friendly character than those with the Coḷas. According to a half-legendary tradition the leader of the first Aryan immigrants, Vijaya, married a daughter of the Paṇḍu king in Madhurā and his companions married women of the same race (Mhvs 7.48 sq.). In the mediaeval period Mittā, the sister of Vijayabāhu I was given in marriage to a Paṇḍu prince, while the suit of the Coḷa king was rejected, because the Coḷa was not considered to be of equal birth. Later intermarriages between the royal families of the two countries are mentioned above (s. above 15). On the other hand already in the 9th century the chronicle (50.12 sq.) gives an account of the incursion into the island of a Paṇḍu army by which palaces and temples were plundered and destroyed and many treasures carried away to India. The war was brought to an end by a treaty concluded with the Sihala ruler by the envoys of the Paṇḍu king.

Sometimes when the Paṇḍus were in conflict with the Coḷas they sent messengers to the Sinhalese king or took refuge with him and requested his assistance, as happened in the reign of Kassapa V (913–23 A. C.) and Dappula IV (Mhvs 52.70 sq.; 53.5 sq.). In the 12th century the Paṇḍu king Parākrama entreated the help of King Parakkamabāhu against Kulaśekhara. As it was always in keeping with the policy of the Sinhalese kings to support the Paṇḍus in such conflicts Parakkamabāhu sent an army into Southern India. The campaign is amply described in the Mahāvamsa (76.86 sq.; 77.1–105), but the disaster which overtook the expedition after the initial success is concealed by the chronicler. (Cf. CODRINGTON, *Short History of Ceylon*, p. 62). At the end of the 13th century a Paṇḍu army invaded Ceylon during a famine, took the stronghold Subhagiri and carried the Tooth relic, which was kept there, away to India. The sacred relic was brought back to Ceylon by king Parakkamabāhu III (90.43 sq.; 51 sq.).

But the most dangerous enemies of the Sinhalese were the Coḷas. The history of Ceylon in ancient and mediaeval times is filled with accounts of bloody struggles between the Siḥalas and the Coḷas, who invaded the island and devastated it. Already in the 2nd century B. C. Eḷāra came from the Coḷa country and occupied Anurādhapura. (21.13). Similar events frequently occurred in later times. Often the Northern provinces of the Island were occupied by the Damiḷas whilst the Siḥala kingdom was confined to Rohaṇa. Such was the state of affairs in the 10th and 11th centuries in the reigns of king Udaya IV (Mhvs 53.42 sq.), of king Sena V (54.64 sq.) and of king Mahinda V (55.13 sq.). The last was even taken prisoner by the Coḷas and brought to India. About 1070 A. C. Vijayabāhu I succeeded in restoring the Sinhalese kingdom (58.59). After the Coḷas had transferred the capital to Pulatthinagara (55.22), the Sinhalese kings retained this city as their capital after the restoration of their kingdom (cf. 59.10). But it may have been fear of the Coḷa invasions which made the kings change their capital later on to such places as Jambuddoṇi and Hatthiselapura. The chronicle tells us that the Kaṇṇāṭa and the Coḷa kings sent envoys with rich presents to King Vijayabāhu's court. It is difficult to understand what the purpose of that embassy was and how it ended. But the messengers sent in return by the Sinhalese king to the court of the Coḷa king were ill-treated and mutilated. Vijayabāhu declared war, but was prevented from carrying out his plan by the mutiny of the Velakkāra mercenaries in Pulatthinagara (60.24 sq.).

Three other Coḷa invasions between 1186 and 1200 are not recorded in the chronicle (cf. S. PARANAVITANA, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. C. B. XXXI, No. 82, p. 384 sq.) and, on the other hand, Nissaṅkamalla in his inscriptions boasts of successful campaigns against South India (cf. Cūlavam̃sa trsl. II, p. 128 note 6). There is, certainly, much exaggeration in these inscriptional records, but the existence of an inscription of this king in Rāmeśvaram shows that the Sinhalese crossed over to India during these wars. (Cf. PARANAVITANA, l. l., p. 386 and Ceyl. Journ. of Sc. G II, p. 105). (Ed.).

In the 13th century the Paṇḍus and Coḷas again had the opportunity of meddling in Sinhalese affairs (80.43 sq.). But later relations had a different character. Buddhism was apparently flourishing in the Coḷa country, and Bhikkhus betook themselves there from Ceylon or were summoned by Sinhalese rulers to return therefrom to the Island (81.20 sq.; 84.9-10; 89.67).

2. Civil Service, Administration of the Kingdom

130. The first of the *satta rajjaṅgāni*, the 'seven elements of sovereignty'. alluded to in Mhvs 88.3 (cf. Cūlav. trsl., II, p. 183, p. 1) were 1. the Ruler (*sāmi*, Sk. *svāmin*) and 2. the Minister (*amacca*, Sk. *amātya*), i. e. the king and his staff of officers. On principle the whole administration of the kingdom lay in the hands of the ruler, and he was responsible for the welfare of the country and its inhabitants. The officers were only his assistants in carrying out his duties.

The number of state-officials mentioned in the Mahāvam̃sa is really bewildering (cf. also for the Jātakas, R. FICK, l. l., p. 139 sq.).

Above all the two words *saciva* and *amacca* require some remarks. The term *saciva*, to begin with, can hardly be explained in a satisfactory way. It means

nearly the same as *amacca*, if we are told in some passages that the king took counsel with his *sacivā* (52.71; 54.67) and with his *amaccā* in others (70.77, 80). Both words denote the king's councillors, and a similar general meaning must be assumed when the chronicler says that the king employed in the administration *sacivā* who were loyally devoted to him (*daḷhabhattino*, 67.90), or that he ordered the *sacivā* to perform such and such a work (68.7, 18). But in other passages the term must be understood in a more restricted sense. *Gokaṇṇa-sacivo* seems to have been the usual title of Gajabāhu's general mentioned above (63.34; 70.71, 83). Of the two officers who expelled the Coḷas from Rohaṇa to one, Kittī, the title *saciva* is given, to the other, Buddha, the title *amacca* (55.26). Afterwards (55.30), however, both are called *sacivā*. It will be advisable, for the present, to take the term as a synonym of *amacca* and to ascribe to it a general meaning such as 'dignitary'.

As to *amacca* this much seems certain, that it denotes a rank, the supreme rank within the body of state-officials. Generally the term is rendered by 'minister' but this translation does by no means fit in with all or most passages where the word occurs in the chronicle. There were, of course, 'ministers' in the Sinhalese kingdom, the chiefs of a special department, as we shall see below. But officers of the army are also styled *amaccā*, no doubt, the highest among them, commanders of a considerable body of men. Gajabāhu himself ranks the General Gokaṇṇa among his *amaccā* (70.79), fortified places are put under the command of *amaccā* (70.135), and the whole body of generals in Parakkamabāhu's army are comprehended in the words *mahāmaccā* (72.96, 129) or *mahāmattā* (72.70, 181). The commander-in-chief, General Mañju, is stated to have taken counsel in the field with his staff, and we encounter here an interesting distinction of rank. The staff consisted of *amaccā* and *padhānā*, that is, of the 'commanders' and higher officers or 'staff-officers' (74.169, 176, 179), and I should propose to translate both terms in this way if stress is laid upon their military character. Otherwise, if it does not denote a minister, *amacca* may be rendered as 'dignitary'.

Great importance among the elements of sovereignty is attached, of course, to the treasure (*kosa*, Sk. *kośa*). The title of the treasurers who had to book the king's receipts and expenditure was *bhaṇḍāgārādīkārīn* 'inspector of the store-house' (cf. *bhaṇḍāgarika* in the Jātaka book, R. FICK, I. I., p. 155). There were several treasurers in the royal service, attached to the different departments of the financial administration. When Parakkamabāhu entered upon the government in Dakkhinadesa, with the help of the treasurers of his predecessor he examined the state of the finances (69.27), for he knew that a favourable financial situation was the necessary condition of his further plans.

The scribes (*lekhakā*) were subordinate officials in the treasury department. By ordering his scribes to ingratiate themselves with the various groups of the king's scribes Prince Parakkamabāhu could spy out in Pulatthinagara Gajabāhu's financial situation (66.154—55). The *koṣṭhāgārādīkārīn* in the Kauṭāliya and as subordinate officials the *lekhakāḥ* correspond to the Sinhalese officials mentioned above (Kauṭ. II.15.1, II.9.16; SHAMASASTRY'S transl., pp. 112, 79). The *mahālekha* 'grand scribe' (52.33; 72.1, 161 &c.) was either the chief of the scribes, or perhaps had to elaborate the royal edicts and letters. We see from the

Kauṭaliya (II.10; SHAMASASTRY'S tr., p. 80 sq.) that this function was considered to be of the greatest importance. Several titles end in *pothakin*. Since this word is obviously connected with *pothaka*, Sk. *pustaka*, 'book', we may suppose that they denote members of the account office in the financial department. It is obvious that the function of the *bhaṇḍārapoṭhakin* (72.196) must have been associated with that of the *Bhaṇḍāgārādhikārin*. Other officials of the same department were the *ādiṭṭhapoṭhakin* (72.27, 160, 182, 207) or *mūlapoṭhakin* (75.139—40) and the *ḷivītapoṭhakin* (70.174, 318; 72.161). We are however unable to define the peculiar sphere of action for each of these different *pothakins*. The *saṅkhanāyaka* (70.278; 72.31,41; 75.75) seems also to have been an accountant, approximately corresponding to the *saṅkhyāyaka* of the Kauṭaliya (II.1 &c.). Strangely enough, where all these titles occur in the chronicle, their bearers are engaged in military operations.

The same is the case with *kammanātha* (72.58) or *kammanāyaka* (72.206). The particular functions of this official are not quite clear. BUDDHADATTA THERA has suggested that he was a superintendent of public works.

131. The highest state-officials were the ministers, the *amaccā* in the narrower and more modern sense of the word, officials who were entrusted with the conduct of any great department of public administration. Such ministers were the two officials created by Parakkamabāhu in connexion with his reform work in Dakkhinadesa, the Minister of finance and the Minister of war. They are explicitly called *amaccā*, nay even *mūlāmaccā*, probably 'ministers of the highest rank' (Mhvs 69.29, 34).

We cannot say with certainty that a State-council existed as permanent institution in Ceylon. But we are frequently told that the kings before they entered upon an important enterprise used to take counsel (v. *mantay*) with the dignitaries, the *amaccā* or *sacivā*. King Gajabāhu, for instance, did so when he heard of the first defeats sustained by his generals, and saw that a dangerous war was impending (Mhvs 70.77, 80). Parakkamabāhu did the same before he undertook the campaign against Rāmañña (76.38). In such cases, I think, we are justified in speaking of a State-council summoned by the ruler. The members of such a meeting were the king's counsellors (*mantino*, Sk. *mantrin*, 66.113; 89.27). We do not know which dignitaries were always present at the State-council. It is even doubtful whether their number was limited at all, so that the meeting could be compared with what we now call a cabinet. Probably the 'ministers' and the princes who stood nearest to the throne were always present, and besides them the king used to summon in each case those officers who had to deal with the affair in question and were in his confidence. If war or peace were in question, the votes of the Senāpati and the Minister of war were no doubt decisive.

After the death of Vijayabāhu I, 1114 A. C., his sister Mittā, her three sons, the highest dignitaries (*mahāmaccā*) and also prominent priests (*yatayo*) met together and decided to consecrate Jayabāhu, Vijayabāhu's brother, as king. This was in accordance with the law of succession, but the 'State-council' itself was hardly complete and certainly not loyal, as the deceased king's son Vikkamabāhu was not present, though he was now the hereditary prince (61.1—3). The appointment of Mānābharāṇa, Mittā's eldest son, to the dignity of *uparāja* (61.4), was therefore decidedly illegal (cf. above 113).

The resolutions taken by the king in the meetings with his councillors were, if it seemed necessary or advisable, publicly made known to the representatives of the people, and in this way to the whole kingdom, in a solemn act. A building which was erected in Pulatthinagara by Nissankamalla at the end of the 12th century served this purpose. Its ruins are at present known under the name, 'Council Chamber'. I would prefer some such name as 'Assembly Hall'. On the pillars of the building the places of the delegates are indicated by inscriptions (H. C. P. BELL, Arch. Survey of Ceylon, 1904, pp. 8—9; H. W. CODRINGTON, The Council Chamber Inscriptions, Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceylon Br. No. 77, 1924, p. 304). The king's throne occupied the centre of the Southern side of the hall, facing North. On his right side was the seat of the Heir-Apparent (*yuvarāja*) who alone was seated in the assembly. Next came the Royal Princes (*ādīpādā*), then the Senāpati and finally superior officers (*padhānā*) as representatives of the military profession. On the king's left side first stood the Chiefs of the cantons (*maṇḍalikā*) and then came a group who were, according to CODRINGTON, what we call the Headmen of the districts or their delegates, and in the lowest place the representatives of the merchants and the working classes.

Near the Council Chamber there are the ruins of a similar building, the so-called Audience-Hall. Here the stone figure of a lion has been found on which the king's seat was erected (cf. 119a). In an inscription on this figure the same groups of officials are enumerated as on the pillars of the Council Chamber (E. MÜLLER, Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon, no. 146, pp. 65, 93, 127).

No place is reserved in the Council Hall for the councillors (*amaccā*) of the king. Apparently they stood gathered round the throne. This is the reason why I should avoid the name given to the building. No counsel, I think, was sought in the hall, but, when important affairs concerning the whole people were in question, the representatives were summoned to hear an address of the king or the report of one of the ministers.

132. In the first centuries of the mediaeval period Ceylon was divided into four provinces according to the four quarters North and South, East and West (cf. 6). From about 900 A. C. the Island was tripartite into Rājaraṭṭha (N.), Dakkhinadesa (SW.) and Rohana (SE.). Apart from these three provinces the central highland of Malaya (cf. 4) has to be mentioned. It was the last to be civilized and the boundaries between it and the adjacent provinces were uncertain and fluid as late as the twelfth century. The reigning king may have formally laid claim to the supremacy over it, but the actual power was in the hands of local chiefs. This becomes evident from the description of Parakkamabāhu's campaigns in Dumbara and the adjoining Malaya districts E. and NE. of the present town of Kandy. He had resolved to occupy Malaya, no doubt, in order to prevent an attack from the rear and to have a sure base for the intended attack on Rājaraṭṭha itself. It is quite certain that he never considered those districts to be part of Rājaraṭṭha. When he had taken possession of them he returned to his residence and spent some time there in rest and sport. Warlike preparations were certainly not neglected during that time. But it is explicitly stated in the chronicle that only after this interval he commanded his generals to take possession of Rājaraṭṭha also (*gahetum Rājaraṭṭha pi yojayi dandanāyake*, 70.55). The actual frontier of the royal province was

further to the North between Ambavana-*raṭṭha* in the valley of the Ambanganga and the district of Janapada. This appears clearly from the description of Prince Parakkamabāhu's road on his visit to Pulatthinagara. It is said in the chronicle that he crossed the frontier of his uncle's province (Dakkhiṇadesa) at that place and reached the realm of King Gajabāhu (*piturañño raṭṭhasimam samullaṅghiy' upāgami Gajabāhussa rajjamhi thānaṃ Janapadaṅghayaṃ*, 66.110).

In order to make administration practicable the provinces (*desa*) were divided into 'cantons' (*maṇḍala*) and 'districts' (*raṭṭha*). From 69.15—16 we may infer that in Dakkhiṇadesa there were in the twelfth century twelve cantons and eighty-four districts. Therefore a canton seems to have consisted of seven districts. A headman was appointed to each of these units, a *maṇḍalika* to each canton, and to each district a *raṭṭhiya*. The division carried through in Ceylon exactly corresponds to that into *rāṣṭras* and *viśayas* of the Pallava kingdom in Southern India (cf. MINAKSHI, l. 1., p. 37). The term for 'province' was apparently *desa*. In the thirteenth century the kingdom seems to have been divided into eighteen provinces. Cf. *aṭṭhārasadesa-nivāsino* 'the inhabitants of the eighteen provinces' (86.11) which means the same as 'the inhabitants of Ceylon'.

The terms *raṭṭha* and *maṇḍala* are not always used in their exact technical meaning 'district' and 'canton' in the chronicle. The link between *raṭṭha* 'kingdom' and *raṭṭha* 'district' is the meaning 'open, rural country'. This meaning in contrast with the fortified town is also that of Sk. *rāṣṭra* in Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra. Cf. J. J. MEYER, *Das Altind. Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben*, p. 24, n. 1. In Pāli *janapada* would be a synonym of *raṭṭha* (*rāṣṭra*) in this sense. The whole of Rohaṇa is called *maṇḍala* (57.2), though not less than six names of Rohaṇa cantons occur in the chronicle: *Dīghavāpi*-, *Guttahāla*-, *Giri*-, *Uruvelā*-, and *Mālavatthu-maṇḍala*. In 57.57 Malaya is called *maṇḍala*, but in inscriptions a distinction is made between *Rohaṇa janapada* and *Malaya maṇḍala* (Sinh. *Ruhunu danavū* and *Mala maṇḍulu*, Epigr. Zeyl. I, p. 204 A⁴⁻⁵; II, p. 12⁴⁻⁴).

It is difficult to say at what time and how far the administrative organisation of the kingdom was carried through in Ceylon. The headmen of districts and cantons (*raṭṭhiyā*, *maṇḍalikā*) are already mentioned in the seventh and eighth centuries (Mhvs 46.31; 48.83—84). We must however bear in mind that the chronicler lived at the end of the twelfth century, and he may often have seen the past in the light of his own time so that the possibility of an anachronism is not excluded here and there.

From the chronicle we might assume that in the twelfth century the organisation of Dakkhiṇadesa under the rule of Parakkamabāhu was more developed than that of Rājaraṭṭha. The fact itself would not be improbable. We know that at least since the seventh century Dakkhiṇadesa was the domain of the Yuvarāja, and that the heir-apparent of a kingdom is often in a kind of opposition to the reigning monarch and more accessible than he to modern ideas and methods. Thus the civilisation of Dakkhiṇadesa may have surpassed that of the other provinces, and several instances are, no doubt, in favour of such an opinion. But on the other hand we ought not overlook the onesidedness of the chronicler. Parakkamabāhu is for him the favourite hero and the ideal

of a great monarch with whom no other king can be compared. He attributes to him all virtues of a sovereign, not only those of a successful warrior and conquerer, but also of a wise administrator of the kingdom.

Be that as it may, the passage in Mhvs 69.27 sq. where Parakkamabāhu's reforms in Dakkhinadesa are described, is of great interest and offers a good picture of the state of administration such as it was in Ceylon during the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century.

Having examined the financial situation as it had been under his predecessor, and having seen that the public revenue was insufficient for realising his plans, Parakkamabāhu separated the finance (*attha*) and the army (*bala*) administration from each other and made them over to two officials who occupied the highest rank. He created in this way two chief Ministries, a Ministry of War, and a Ministry for financial administration.

It is noticeable that this arrangement exactly corresponds to the differentiation in the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra of *daṇḍa* 'army' and *kośa* 'treasury' (B. BRELOER, Staatsverwaltung im alten Indien I, p. 407). 'It is by means of the treasury and the army that the king can hold under his control both his and his enemy's party' (Kauṭ. I. 4.1; transl. SHAMASASTRY, p. 9).

In order to facilitate the work of the Home Department Parakkamabāhu divided the province into two halves. Whilst the two chief ministers seem to have been appointed personally by the Ruler, the superintendents of the two halves came to their position in regular advancement (*kamāgatā*). They must have the necessary expert knowledge and therefore work their way up through the various grades of service.

Finally the Ruler created what we may call royal domains. He separated from the districts all land of extraordinary value where pearls or precious stones were found and appointed a special official who was entrusted with its administration. This official had apparently the same position as the *ākarādhyakṣa* of the Kauṭaliya (II. 11.30); his department was named *antaraṅga-dhura*, because he had to deal with the subterranean (or submarine) elements or treasures. There can be no doubt that the whole produce of the mines was royal revenue; the work in the mines was probably done by slaves. Such valuable land (*sāratthāna*) existed, as the chronicle tells us, in the pearl districts on the sea coast, in the district Ratanākara which corresponds to the modern Ratnapura, 'city of jewels', and in the mountainous province Malaya (69.31—35).

133. What we learn from the Mahāvamsa about the administrative divisions of the country is different for the different provinces.

As to Dakkhinadesa some of its eighty-four districts (cf. 132) are mentioned by name in Mhvs 70.53 sq. in the account of Parakkamabāhu's war with Gajabāhu. They were enumerated above in 7. The list may be confirmed and supplemented by other passages of the chronicle (cf. Mhvs 69.5 sq.). All those names refer to districts lying along the Northern and North-Eastern frontier of the province. It is remarkable that on the other side of the frontier, in Rājaraṭṭha, no district is named except Janapada, the frontier-district in the direction towards Pulatthinagara. But even Janapada is called *ratthā* in two passages only (44.56; 70.95), in all the other passages simply *thāna* 'locality', or the name is quoted without qualification. Are we allowed, however,

from this fact to infer the absence or deficiency of an administrative organisation of the Northern province in the twelfth century?

In Malaya some districts and one canton, Dhanumaṇḍala (70.17), are mentioned in the description of Parakkamabāhu's campaign against this hilly country. It is however doubtful, if *raṭṭha* and *maṇḍala* here are to be understood as words for administrative circuits or for local units governed by local chiefs who did not acknowledge the supremacy either of Rājaraṭṭha (cf. 70.7) or of Dakkhinadesa. In two of the names there met with, the word *vagga* (Skt. *varga*) is used approximately in the sense of *raṭṭha*, Majjhimavagga and Kosavagga. The same word also occurs in a few other topographical names as Mereliya- and Donivagga (39.45; 75.69 sq.). To the latter the modern Denavaka appears to correspond, the name of the environs of Pelmadulla, East of Ratnapura.

It is however not certain that the administration of Rohaṇa was based on the same division of the country. It is true, as we shall see in 138, that in the chronicle chiefs of cantons or districts are mentioned in Rohaṇa, but though in that province of Parakkamabāhu, no 'district' (*raṭṭha*) is mentioned among them. In a few cases the term *maṇḍala* 'canton' is used here, but most frequently the colourless general word *thāna*. The name *Dvādasasahassaka-raṭṭha* 'the r. of the twelve thousand (? fields or settlements)' (61.22) is no exception to what I said above, for in this name the word *raṭṭha* has not its technical meaning 'district', but is rather a synonym of *desa* 'province'. The whole of South-Western Rohaṇa is meant by it in contrast to its Eastern half, called *Aṭṭhasahassaka-desā* (sic!) 'Province of the eight thousand (settlements)' in 61.24. Nor is *Navayojanaraṭṭha* 'the District of nine miles' (72.60, 61; 75.72) an exception, since this district is situated in the extreme South-Western corner and was only temporarily part of Rohaṇa, but at other times of Dakkhinadesa. It was probably first colonized by inhabitants of this province like the adjacent district of Pañcayojanaraṭṭha, now Pasdun Kōraḷē (cf. 8).

134. The smallest unit and the germcell of the administration was the village community (*gāma*). The idea and the institution were brought to Ceylon by the first Aryan immigrants from their home in NW. India. They came as agriculturists, and the Sinhalese were chiefly agricultural even to the present day. They were always closely bound to the soil. Their whole life was regulated and determined by cultivation, and what they wanted was above all peace and order. They were conservative, and old institutions could endure unaltered through many centuries. The village community had its own privileges and always a good deal of self-administration, enjoying much independence of the central government, even, as we shall see below (in 139), in jurisdiction. The kings very seldom interfered in village affairs, except perhaps when the royal officials annually visited the village to collect the taxes due to the king.

The internal affairs of the village community were looked after by the village-headman (*gāma-nūyaka*, Mhvs 68.53), whose position was probably hereditary in a family of the original settlers. No doubt, the village-headman was a man of great authority and influence within his community. In Sinhalese folk-tales the Gamarāla and his wife, the Mahagē, play an important role.

As in principle the soil of the whole country was considered to be the king's property, all the villagers were in the position of tenants and had to pay a

tax (*kara, bali*) in return for the right to the usufruct of their fields and for the protection they received from the ruler.

As with the extension of the cultivated area the taxes increased, the great activity of the kings in constructing tanks and other works of similar kind is easy to understand. In Dakkhinadesa Parakkamabāhu encouraged agriculture so much that the new fields which were laid out yielded a tax which was greater than the old taxes produced in the country. At the same time he brought it to pass that the inhabitants of the country never more knew fear of famine (68.54—55). He realised that the welfare of the people and that of the crown went hand in hand. His chief aim was the improvement of the finances so that he might be able by war to establish a universal dominion over Laṅkā. But he desired that this should be encompassed without oppressing the people.

135. The taxes were raised by royal officials who visited each village (Mhvs 87.50) probably on annual circuit, and consisted in a share of the produce (*uppādabhāga* 55.3). But the chronicle does not inform us regarding the percentage of the lord's share. It may have been different at different times. Nor do we know from what time and under what circumstances the payment in kind of the taxes could be replaced by payment in cash. Probably the taxes were collected beforehand by the village-headman and delivered to the royal official when he arrived.

Oppression of the country people no doubt occurred frequently. At the beginning of the twelfth century, when Ceylon was divided into three or even four kingdoms under different lords, the rulers squeezed the whole people in their insatiable greed as sugarcane in a sugar mill, by levying excessive taxes (61.53). This was the beginning of the kingdom's dissolution owing to extortionate taxation. The people dwelling in remote places refused to pay the dues formerly levied on them and lived independently, each in his own district (61.70—71).

Sometimes the kings themselves relieved the distress of their subjects by remitting the dues (36.26). In the so-called Galpota inscription at Polonnaruva king Nissāṅkamalla, and of the 12th century, boasts of having remitted taxes for five years. He also enacted a law that in collecting revenue from lands and fields the taxes should not exceed a certain amount fixed by the law, and that no tax at all should be collected from hēna cultivation which is carried on in very difficult conditions (Epigr. Zeyl. II, p. 116—117). Vijayabāhu, afterwards king Vijayabāhu IV, as Mahādipāda is said to have paid the taxes for villages which were in distress from his own purse (87.50).

136. The taxes paid by the villagers were the income of the king which enabled him to defray not only his personal expenses and those of the court, but also the costs of the government. With their help he paid the regular salaries to the officials of the civil and military service, or he showed his gratitude for extraordinary pieces of meritorious work. He could also reward prominent persons, both laymen and priests, in order to secure their attachment to the crown. And he did so by ceding the revenues of one or more villages to the person in question as salary or present. Such villages granted to a single person were called 'individual villages' (*puggalika-gāma*, Mhvs 84.4), and the person to whom it was granted 'village-user' (*gāma-bhojaka* 64.35).

A more general expression was 'maintenance village' (*bhoga-gāma* 44.97—101). Those villages the revenues of which were reserved to the king were called *gāmā rājabhoggā* (74.49).

It seems that often the new usufructuaries of a village abused their position by extorting excessive taxes from the villagers. The *gāmabhojakā* were the picture of greed (61.73). Nissaṅkamalla's law, mentioned above, by which a maximum amount of taxes was fixed, appears to have been directed against such extortioners.

The grant of a village could be for life or also hereditary. In the latter case the village was a 'family village', *paveṇikagāma*, the word *paveṇi* meaning in this connexion 'lineage, succession', and I think that *kula-santaka gāma* 'village possessed by a family' (86.54) has the same meaning. In 84.1 we meet with the expression *kulappaveṇikāyattagāma*.

King Vijayabāhu I, 1059—1114, gave many authors of poems appropriate gifts of money together with hereditary villages (*saddhīm paveṇigāmehi*, 60.75), and King Parakkamabāhu II rewarded the services of his minister Devappaṭṭirāja by granting him villages he had founded, as family property (*kula-santaka*, 86.54). When in the eleventh century Kitti and Buddha, two generals of prince Kassapa, the former dwelling in the village Makkhakudrūsa, the latter in Māragalla, had expelled the Colas from Rohana, the prince allowed them to utter a wish. We must suppose, I believe, that from the two villages, as they are explicitly mentioned in the chronicle, they took the revenues as their regular salary, and we will understand that Buddha chose as his wish a *paveṇigāma* so that his privilege became hereditary in his family¹). Kitti wished that his village should be exempted from the duty it was liable to pay to the Community so that in future the revenues would accrue to him without diminution (55.26 sq.).

137. Villages could also be granted to an institution or a group of individuals. King Udaya I, end of the 8th century, provided each of the two hospitals he had built with a maintenance village (Mhvs 49.19) so that they could be kept up with the help of its revenues. King Kassapa V is said to have assigned villages to a hospital in Anurādhapura (52.57). In the ancient Mahāvamsa 23.4 a 'labour-village', *kammantagāma*, is mentioned. We may suppose that the usufruct of this village and its fields was the payment of labourers who had to do some prescribed handiwork for the king.

Most frequently the grant of villages to a monastery and its inmates or to a temple is reported in the chronicle. The large extent of temple property became a special feature of the mediaeval period in Ceylon. Parakkamabāhu I is said to have granted numerous villages to priests living in a fraternity (*garavāsinaṃ*, 74.48). In 84.3 villages are mentioned which belonged to the Buddha and the Doctrine (*buddhadhammāyattagāmā*), requisite-villages

¹) Mhvs 55.31 (Cūlavams transl. I, p. 189) must be translated: '(General) Buddha asked as wish for the heritable possession of his village' (instead of: for the village in which his family dwelt), and a footnote should be added: '*Paveṇigāmaṃ so varam yācīttha*. With *paveṇigāma* a village is meant which is heritable of one family and which seems to be exempted from taxes. In our case it was the village Māragalla, v. 26. The word is formed like *paveṇirāja* 'heritable kingdom' in Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā I, p. 169⁸. Cf. also Mhvs 60.75.'

(*paccayagāmā*) which had to provide a certain monastery with the four necessities (seats, garments, food and medicines), and villages belonging to a priestly fraternity (*garasantaka-gāmakā*). Kassapa I, 5th century, granted villages to the Issarasamaṇa-vihāra for its support (39.10). Mahānāga, 6th century, granted a village to the Jetavana-vihāra (41.97), Aggabodhi I villages to the ascetics of the Thera school, to the Unnavalli-vihāra and to the Lohapāsāda (42.17—21), Aggabodhi II, 7th century, to the Thūpārāma (42.61), Jetthatissa III to the Abhayagiri- and Jetavana-vihāras (44.95, 96) &c &c. It would be easy to multiply these instances, but I have confined myself to the first centuries of the mediaeval period.

Villages which were granted to the Bhikkhu community enjoyed considerable immunities, as we learn from inscriptions which concern the subject (cf. D. M. de Z. WICKREMASINGHE, *Epigr. Zeyl.* I, p. 48, 53; II, p. 47—49, 55—56, 61—63 &c). Vagrants and foreigners, but also persons of higher rank, even members of the royal family could be excluded from them, nor were royal officers allowed to take away from them, as in case of emergency, from other villages, coolies or carts, oxen and buffaloes or to cut down trees or shrubs (H. W. CODRINGTON, *Short History of Ceylon*, p. 43). Further privileges as to jurisdiction will be discussed below in 139.

It also seems that a grant of villages, tanks or fields bestowed on the Community could not be resumed by the king as was the case with donations of that kind, given to laymen. It was an illegal act and is stigmatized as such an act in Mhvs 61.54, when King Vikkamabāhu II, 12th century, took the maintenance villages which belonged to the Community and gave them to his attendants. It is the result of all these regulations that now the Buddhist church is the greatest landed proprietor in the Island.

138. As the *gāmanāyaka* was in charge of a village community, thus the *raṭṭhiya* was the headman of a district and the *maṇḍalika* (or *maṇḍala-nātha*, *m^o-nāyaka*) the chief of a canton. The term *raṭṭhiya* corresponds to Sk. *rāṣṭriya* which is used from ancient times in India for chiefs who were in charge of provinces (H. CH. RAY, *Dynastic history of Northern India* I, p. 550). We do not hear much in the chronicle about the official functions of the Raṭṭhiyas and Maṇḍalikas, but apparently the former had the superintendence over the village-headmen, and the latter over the Raṭṭhiyas, chiefly in connexion with the levying of taxes. After the death of king Aggabodhi VII, 8th century, the chiefs of the cantons and the headmen of the districts in the Northern Province refused to pay tribute to the new king Mahinda II (Mhvs 48.83). During the reign of Aggabodhi IV, 7th century, the chiefs of the cantons, in full agreement with the pious King erected temples and monastic schools in many places in the Island (46.31). When prince Mahinda, who was sent by King Udaya II, 885—96, with an army against the rebels in Rohaṇa, had arrived in Guttasālā, all the villagers, the Maṇḍalikas and the Raṭṭhiyas came to meet him and paid him homage (51.109). Mahinda IV, 10th century, was loyally supported by the chiefs of the cantons (*maṇḍala-nāyakā*, 54.8).

But sometimes the Raṭṭhiyas and Maṇḍalikas opposed the king and even became rebels. They revolted against Mahinda II (see above) and in the ninth century against Udaya II (51.122—3), and soon after, when prince Mahinda had executed in Rohaṇa some obstinate chiefs of cantons, the people rose in rebellion and the prince was forced to flee to Anurādhapura (52.8).

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From the twelfth century the word *raṭṭhiya* is supplanted in the chronicle by *sāmantā*. The *sāmantā* are mentioned side by side with the *maṇḍalikā* (70.242, 246), as formerly the *raṭṭhiyā*. We shall see below that their chief duty at that time was a military one.

139. As to the administration of justice the information we can gather from the Mahāvamsa is not very copious. The reason may be that for a good deal of jurisdiction, concerning minor offences, the village community and its headman were competent, so that the general public was not much affected by these legal affairs. In an inscription of the tenth century (Epigr. Zeyl. I, p. 53) it is explicitly prescribed that the royal officials when visiting a village every two years on their regular circuit, may demand the surrender of the perpetrators of the five great crimes, but not of other offenders.

Yet more extensive seems to have been the jurisdiction within the temple villages. Strict regulations existed here, as we learn from inscriptions, for the control of crime. Cf. H. W. CODRINGTON, Short Hist. of Ceylon, p. 43—44: The headmen and the householders had to give security. In the case of murder, committed within the limits of the village, the headmen and householders were bound to enquire, record evidence, and have the murderer killed. In one of housebreaking they had to restore the stolen goods to the owner and have the thief hanged. We see, therefore, that even capital punishment could be within the competence of headmen. In other cases criminals were driven out and arrested outside the village limits; thus they were delivered to the ordinary courts of justice. In cases of violence not involving loss of life the offender was fined a certain sum of money. In all cases, if the criminals were not detected, the village on failure to have them punished was liable to pay a considerable fine. It is noticeable that even those who had slaughtered buffaloes, oxen, and goats should be punished with death, and if cattle were stolen, the offender was branded under the armpit. Cf. Epigr. Zeyl. I, p. 246 sq. Already in the old Mahāvamsa it is reported that Elāra who was one of the most just rulers in the chronicler's eyes, caused his own son to be beheaded because he had killed unintentionally a young calf. (21.16 sq.).

In the chronicle we hear very little about judges or courts of justice or about legal proceedings. King Aggabodhi VII, 8th century is said to have rooted out unjust judges (*kū'atṭakārake*, Mhvs 48.71). The title *dharmagehanāyaka* which occurs in 59.16 side by side with *chattagāhakanātha* (cf. 124) and *setthinātha* (cf. 101) and must therefore denote an official of high rank, has been tentatively translated by me (Cūlav's transl., l. l.) as 'President of the Court of Justice'.

The jurisdiction was to a large extent based on customary law. There is in the chronicle (49.20) the interesting passage that king Udaya I—this is probably the correct name of the ruler hitherto called Dappula II—caused judgments which were just to be entered in books and kept in the royal palace in order to avoid future violations of justice. Such a collection of judicial decisions, acknowledged in olden times as correct and just, could serve as sure guides for future judges. In the thirteenth century Āyasmanta, the Senāpati of queen Kalyānavatī and actual ruler of the kingdom, is said to have compiled a text-book which had law as its subject (*dharmādhikaraṇam satham*, 80.41). This was certainly a code of laws.

A list of penalties occurs in Mhvs 83. 4 sq. The mildest one is a pecuniary fine (*daṇḍa*). Next come imprisonment in jails (*kārāgāra*) and banishment (*ratthā pabbājana*). The most severe penalty was beheading (*sisaccheda*). Bodily mutilation as cutting off the hands or the nose and toes was also not infrequent. Thus at the end of the first century A. C. King Ṭanāga punished the members of Lambakanna clan who had opposed his progress (35.43). From 54.31 we can conclude that sometimes the prisoners did not even receive food regularly.

Frequently the punishment was too severe and even cruel. We may infer from 87.48 that thieves who had committed theft in the royal palace could be punished with loss of limbs (*aṅgahāni*). But in the thirteenth century the prince Vijayabāhu is said to have pardoned such criminals so that their lives were spared. Already in the third century A. C. king Tissa made a law by which bodily injury, that is capital punishment and mutilation, probably also torture, was set aside (*voḥāraṃ hiṃsāmuttaṃ*, 36.28). Owing to his clemency he received the name Vohārikatissa. But this clemency was not permanent. In the seventh century undisciplined Bhikkhus who had murdered the pious priest Bodhi and annulled the regulative act carried out by him, were punished by king Silāmeghavaṇṇa by cutting off their hands; others were banished (44.76 sq.) Capital punishment seems to have been in use during the whole of the mediaeval period, and even afterwards. In the 17th century Robert KNOX (*An Historical Relation*, p. 63) relates that the king (Rājasiha II) did not always order that offenders sentenced to death should be killed outright, but should first be tortured. KNOX writes even of executions where a mother was made to eat of her own child's flesh.

It was the custom, it seems, to offer a last meal to a person sentenced to death by the judges immediately before the execution. In a story published by H. PARKER, *Village-Folk-Tales of Ceylon* II 26, III 421, a prince says to the executioners who are to kill him: "If you kill any person, having given him the things he thinks of to eat and drink—is it not so?—you kill him."¹⁾

140. Kings often used to grant amnesties after a lucky event or when they ascended the throne. Sirimeghavaṇṇa, 5th century, is said to have freed the people who were in prison in connexion with a festival instituted in honour of the Grand Thera Mahinda (Mhvs 37.71). Mānābharana, after the birth of his son, later Parakkamabāhu the Great, set many people free, who lay bound in fetters in prison (62.42). King Vijayabāhu II, Parakkamabāhu's nephew and successor, when he had received consecration as king, released from their misery those whom his uncle had thrown into prison and tortured with stripes or with fetters (80.2—3). In the thirteenth century King Parakkamabāhu II granted a general amnesty by reducing all penalties inflicted on criminals (83.4 sq.). People who were to be beheaded were punished only by imprisonment and set free again. For such people as deserved prison he ordained some lighter punishment. On people who should have been banished from the country he laid only a fine, and those who had deserved a fine he dismissed with a rebuke.

¹⁾ For the administration of justice, cf. also David KARUṆĀRATNA, *Purātana Lamkāvē nīti kramaya*, Lihini pot 97, Kōlaṃba 1955; for the Kandyan period cf. Ralph PEREIS, *Sinhalese Social Organization*, p. 143 sq. (Ed.).

Of great interest is the right of sanctuary claimed by the Buddhist monasteries in accordance with an old custom. By taking refuge in such an asylum a culprit could escape a too hasty and perhaps unjust punishment. Already in ancient times prince Tissa, after being defeated in battle by his brother Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, took sanctuary in the monastery of Okkampīṭiya (24.39; cf. above, 8, note 1).

Violation of that privilege could lead to serious conflicts, as the story told in 53. 13 sq. shows. The events took place in the tenth century. Officials of the court who appear to have committed an offence fled to the 'Grove of penitents' (*tapovana*). But king Udaya III, with the two princes Sena and Udaya and some officials, broke into the monastery and killed the culprits. Being indignant at this deed, the penitents left the King's land and betook themselves to Rohaṇa. Thereupon the people in Anurādhapura and the soldiery became rebellious, for they sided with the priesthood. They threatened the King and killed some of the guilty officials. The two princes escaped and fled to Rohaṇa. Here they threw themselves to the ground at the feet of the penitents, and having conciliated them by self-abasement they returned with them to Anurādhapura. In the mean time the Bhikkhus of the three fraternities there had pacified the people and the troops, and the King advanced with them towards the penitents. He obtained their pardon, took them with him, brought them back to their grove and betook himself to the royal palace. Thus the conflict ended in a way which showed the power of the priesthood as being greater than that of the king.

141. High treason (*rājāparādha*, Mhvs 35.10), that is, opposition to the ruling king, was a crime which was punished in the most cruel manner. People who had committed it were called rebels (*corā*, *dāmarikā*). In the first century A. C. by the order of the king sixty Bhikkhus who were convicted of that crime were flung down a rocky precipice (35.11). The special sentences on rebels were impalement, hanging or burning alive. At the performance of his father's funeral rites King Jetṭhatissa I caused the dignitaries who had been hostile to the deceased ruler because of his attachment to a heretical priest, to be slain and their bodies impaled on stakes round the pyre of his father (36. 118—22). Because of this deed he came by the surname 'the Cruel' (*kakkhala*).

These two examples belong to ancient times. In the mediaeval period three brothers, dignitaries of the highest rank, had become hostile to King Vijayabāhu I. They escaped to South India and returned to Ceylon about the year 1078 with an army in order to subvert the kingdom. But the king captured his foes in bitter fight and had them impaled (59.21). By the order of the same king the leaders of the rebellious Velakkāra mercenaries, who had slain their two generals, were burnt alive, chained to stakes around the pyre on which the remains of the murdered generals were laid (60.35—43).

In the time of Parakkamabāhu the treatment of the Rohaṇa people was terribly cruel, if we can rely on the report of the chronicler. And the Rohaṇa people were by no means rebels in the true sense of the word, but rather loyal adherents of their former dynasty represented at that time by the aged queen Sugalā. The Damiḷādhikārin Rakkha after having conquered Dvādasasahassaka had many hundreds of his enemies who were taken alive, impaled in villages and market towns, and also round about the village of Mahānāga-

hula he had numbers of the foes impaled or hanged on the gallows and burnt to ashes (75.160—63). Likewise General Mañju had many stakes set up in the Rohana country on which he impaled hundreds of the enemy, and he had numbers hanged on gallows and burnt (75.190—92). Thus he displayed the terrible majesty of King Parrakkambabāhu.

3. Military Service, Army and War

142. The last of the 'seven elements of sovereignty' is *bala*, the army. It is the strongest weapon in the king's hand for protecting his subjects and preserving his own authority. It is therefore easy to understand that the Senāpati the 'Commander of the Army' held a prominent position in the state. The position of the Senāpati in Ceylon exactly corresponds to that of the Senāpati in India according to the Kauṭaliya (II.33; p. 140⁸). There he is the highest commander of the whole army and ranks with the heir-apparent and the Purohita (V.3, p. 247⁵, SHAMASASTRY'S transl., p. 307; O. STEIN, Megasthenes und Kauṭilya, p. 158 sq.).

In ancient times Ariṭṭha was the sister's son (*bhāgineyya*) and the Senāpati of King Devānampiyatissa (11.25); so also was Vasabha of King Yasalālakatissa (35.59). In the 5th century King Dhātusena also appointed his sister's son Senāpati (38.81). I do not however think that the conclusion is warranted that this position was reserved for the *bhāgineyya*. He could indeed become Senāpati if he had the necessary qualifications and if he possessed the confidence of the monarch, but the king was not bound in his choice by conditions of relationship' (Cūlavamsa, transl., I, p. xxvii). Of course, the king will have first looked for the right man within the royal family. King Mahinda II, 772—92, entrusted his own brave son Mahinda with the dignity of a Senāpati, he himself having been the Senāpati of his father Aggabodhi VI (48.78). Sena Ilaṅga, the Senāpati of King Kassapa IV, 896—913, is also said to have been of royal lineage (*rājavamsaja*, 52.16). But our chronicle mentions a whole series of Senāpatis by name without saying whether and how they were related to the king. Migāra was the Senāpati of Kassapa I (39.6), Uttara, that of Moggallāna I (39.58), Vajira of Dappula II (49.80), Bhadda of Sena I (50.82), Kuṭṭhaka of Sena II (51.88), Rakkahaka Ilaṅga of Dappula II (53.11), Sena of Mahinda IV and Sena V (54.13, 58). Udaya, the later Senāpati of Sena V was *amacca* (54.60) and Viduragga, the Senāpati of Udaya IV, 10th century, was a *nāyaka* (53.46), before the rank of Senāpati was conferred upon them. They both came, therefore, from the body of officers. The Senāpati of Kittisirimegha was Saṅkha (64.22) who had to prepare the *upanayana* ceremony for young Parakkambāhu, but he was afterwards killed by the prince (65.13 sq.). A great tumult arose at this deed. Saṅkha's successor in the dignity was Deva (67.82). The same name is that of Parakkambāhu's Senāpati; he was perhaps also the same person. Deva plays an important part in Parakkambāhu's wars with Gajabāhu and the minor Mānābharapa, but he appears to have come to a luckless end (72.138 sq.).

No Senāpati is mentioned during the interval from the death of Parakkambāhu I in the year 1186 to the reign of Vijayabāhu IV, 1271—73. Even Vira-bāhu, the son of Parakkambāhu II's sister is not called *senāpati*, though he

was the chief leader of the Sinhalese army in the war with the Jāvakas (83.41). Vijayabāhu IV's Senāpati was Mitta (90.2, 12), who himself usurped the crown after the death of his lord. But he was killed by Ṭhakuraka, chief of the Rājput mercenaries, and the heir-apparent ascended the throne as Bhuvanckabāhu I in the year 1273 (90.25).

The two titles *Sakkasenāpati* (or *Sakkasenāni*) and *Andhasenāpati* are difficult to explain. In the former, the first part of the compound *Sakka*, seems to be the name *Śakra*, commonly used in the Pāli literature for the god Indra. The post of *Sakkasenāpati* was granted by king Kassapa V, 10th century, to his own son (52.52 sq.), who afterwards died during a campaign in South India. The dignity was then conferred upon the son of the deceased *Sakkasenāpati* (52.79). Both, son and grandson of king Kassapa, are mentioned in Sinhalese inscriptions with the title *Sak-maha-āmāti* = Pāli *Sakkamahāmacca* (WICK-REMASINGHE, Epigr. Zeyl. I, pp. 183, 190 n. 7); the former is also called *Sak-senevi* in another lithic record (l.l. II, p. 42 sq.). Here *senevi* clearly points to the office, and *maha-āmāti* (Pāli *mahāmacca*) to the rank.

As to *andhasenāpati* BUDDHADATTA Thera refers me to the fact that Andhra is the name of a tribe in Southern India. He thinks that the *Andhasenāpati* was a commander of Andhra mercenaries, but I believe that the expression *senāpati* is not proper for such an officer; he would rather have been called *nāyaka*. The title occurs only once in the Mahāvamsa (41.87). King Kittisirimegha, 6th century, gave the rank of an *Andhasenāpati* (*andhasenāpativohayam thānantaram*) to Mahānāga who afterwards became his successor.

143. Titles of officers in the army are not numerous in the chapters describing the Sinhalese history before the twelfth century. The *Senāpati*, of course, is often mentioned, and some general expressions denoting a commander of troops are met with, as *balanāyaka* or *senādhināyaka*. But a bewildering mass of such titles occurs in the era of Parakkamabāhu I, and it is difficult and sometimes impossible to determine them accurately.

I begin with the two titles *adhikārin* and *adhinātha* (or *adhināyaka*). Here we are able to state that the rank of the former was higher than that of the latter. It is told in Mhvs 70.278 that Parakkamabāhu after the subjection of Gajabāhu bestowed various distinctions upon his officers. To the *Adhinātha* Māyāgeha he gave the rank of an *Adhikārin* (*adhikāripadam*). This was no doubt an advancement, and another officer, Rakkha, was distinguished by the King at the same time in the same manner, for in ch. 70 up to v. 174 he is titled *laṅkādhinātha*, *laṅkādhināyaka*, *laṅkānātha*, but from 70.283 up to 72.84—85 (where his death is narrated) *laṅkādhikārin* or in short *adhikārin*. Kitti was also made *laṅkādhikārin* according to 70.278. Before that time he was *laṅkādhinātha* (70.205 sq.), but after it he is always denoted with his new title or simply with *adhikārin* (70.300, 316; 72.21, 122 sq., 74.90 sq.).

The title *adhikārin* denoted apparently the highest military post. We can perhaps render it with 'Commander', and *adhinātha* and its synonyms with 'General'. It seems, however, that both words may be replaced by the longer titles 'Commander of Laṅkā' and 'General of Laṅkā' which remind us of the French military title 'Maréchal de France'.

We cannot say whether in the title *camūnātha*, literally 'army-general' a special rank is implied. It is often given to an officer named Rakkha, who

must be distinguished from the other Rakkha mentioned above. Perhaps the chronicler wished to make this distinction by the particular denomination. Rakkha is called *camūnātha* in chapter 74.41, 50, 55, 66 and *camūpati* in 74.143 where his death is reported. The title alternates with the synonyms *dhajininātha* (74.145) and *senānātha* (74.153), but the same Rakkha is also called *senādhināyaka* (74.72) and even *camūnāthādhikārin*, probably because he was the supreme commander at that time and in that part of Rohaṇa which was the seat of war for his army (cf. 74.80).

What I said concerning *camūnātha* may also be applied to the titles *daṇḍanāyaka*, *daṇḍādhināyaka*, *daṇḍanātha*, *daṇḍādhinātha*. They are given to a third Rakkha (70.5, 15, 19) in order to distinguish him from other officers bearing the same name. The two brothers Kitti and Saṅkhadhātu are commonly called *daṇḍanāyaka-bhātaro* (70.279 sq.; 72.36, 162, &c.). We are inclined to assume that *daṇḍādhinātha* (*ādhināyaka*) implies a higher rank than *daṇḍanātha* (*nāyaka*) and that both are of lower rank than the *adhikārin*. But frequently those titles are used generally and without distinction to denote officers in the army. Thus, for instance, all the commanders in both armies, that of Parakkamabāhu and also of his enemies are covered by them in 70.55, 64, 68, &c. The word *sāmanta*, which will be discussed later on, has also frequently that general meaning (61.63; 70.67; 74.127 sq.). I quote the verse 74.136:

tadā Rakkhacamūnātho Kittināmadhikāri ca ||
tato Bhūtādihikāri ca sāmanta cāpare bahū ||
... and all the other officers.

Finally I must remark that frequently titles which point to an office of the civil service are given to officers in the army.

I have noticed above that all the Potthakins mentioned in the chronicle were officers in the field. Moreover the umbrella-bearer (*chattagāhakanāyaka*) Komba of king Gajabāhu was entrusted in war with the defence of the Western-most province of Rājaraṭṭha (70.60). The chief of the chamberlains (*kañcukināyaka*) Rakkha commanded an army in the Rohaṇa campaign (75.20). The Grand scribe (*mahālekha*) Mahinda (72.1) was one of Parakkamabāhu's generals. We may infer, therefore, that civil and military service were not so strictly distinguished as in a modern state, and that even court-officials and officials of the civil service had, in times of war, their special rank and position in the army.

144. Mercenaries and militia were the two constituent parts of the Sinhalese army in the mediaeval period (cf. W. GEIGER, *Indian Hist. Quarterly*, xiv, 1938, p. 511 sq.; H. W. CODRINGTON, *Short Hist. of Ceyl.*, pp. 69—70; G. C. MENDIS, *Early Hist. of Ceylon*³, pp. 79—82). Terms for 'soldier' are *yodha*, *bhaṭa*, and if their bravery is to be emphasized by the poet: *sūra* 'hero'. A peculiar term for 'mercenary' is *āyudhiya* (Mhvs 61.69) or *āyudha-jīvin* (66.67), i. e. one who is living by bearing arms or by military service.

The mercenaries got payment from the king. They were Sihalas or more frequently people who crossed over to Ceylon from South India: *Damiḷas*, *Keraḷas* and *Kaṇṇāṭas* (*desantaranivāsino yodhā* soldiers domiciled in a foreign country, 69.18). In the old Mahāvamsa neither *Keraḷas* nor *Kaṇṇāṭas* are

named at all¹). For the first time at the end of the 3rd cent. A. C. *Damiḷas* occur as soldiers in the service of a Sinhalese ruler (36.49). *Abhayanāga*, the younger brother of *Vohārikatissa* was forced to flee to the Indian mainland for a crime he had committed at court. He returned afterwards to Ceylon at the head of a *Damiḷa* army, defeated and killed his brother and ascended the throne.

In the 7th century King *Aggabodhi III* was supported in his war with *Jeṭṭhatissa* by *Damiḷa* troops he had hired in India, and *Jeṭṭhatissa's* dignitary *Dāthāsiva* also had *Damiḷa* soldiers in his service when he himself took the crown from *Aggabodhi* (44.105, 125). It seems that at that time the mercenary system was already established or at least not unknown in Ceylon. The kings could not dispense with it though it sometimes caused serious troubles.

We are told in 55.1 sq. that King *Mahinda V*, 981—1017, was unable to satisfy his troops by giving them their pay. Therefore a mutiny broke out, and when the king had taken refuge in *Rohaṇa* in the remaining parts of the country the brutal soldiery of *Sihalas*, *Keraḷas* and *Kannāṭas* carried on the government as they pleased. On hearing this the *Coḷa* king sent an army to Ceylon and made it a province of the *Coḷa* empire. The *Keraḷa* mercenaries were a public disaster during the reign of the usurper *Māgha*, 1214—35. They oppressed and harassed the people in a terrible manner, plundered their houses and took away their possessions, and *Māgha* himself, whose power depended on this soldiery, delivered up to the *Keraḷas* whatever else belonged to the *Sihalas* (80.61—77).

Later on the *Velakkāra* mercenaries played an important rôle in the king's army. They were, no doubt, a warlike tribe or clan or a military community of *Dravidian* origin and may be compared with similar communities within the *Coḷa* army as the *Maravaras* (76.130, 246) or the *Kallaras*, the *Golihālas* and the *Kuntavaras* (76.246, 259) who are mentioned in the description of King *Parakkamabāhu's* campaign against the *Coḷa* king *Kulaśekhara*.

We learn from South Indian inscriptions that the *Velakkāras* for the first time came to Ceylon with king *Rājendra I* by whom the conquest of Ceylon mentioned above was completed in the first half of the 11th century (*WICKREMASINGHE*, *Epigr. Zeyl.*, II. 247). Since that time they had great influence in the Island serving as mercenaries to the king. But they appear to have been a rather disturbing element within the army. Already about the year 1089 we hear that they rebelled against king *Vijayabāhu I*. The revolt was put down and the leaders were punished with bloody cruelty (60.35—44). Half a century later they, suborned by *Kittisirimegha* and *Sirivallabha*, deserted king *Gajabāhu*, and, supported by their defection, the two brothers attacked *Rājaraṭṭha*. But the King defended his dominion successfully. We may assume that in this case also severe punishment was meted out to the mutinous mercenaries (63.24 sq.)

Even during the reign of *Parakkamabāhu* we hear of a *Velakkāra* revolt. When the king began his campaign against *Rohaṇa* the *Velakkāras* banded

¹) The *Keraḷas* are people from Kerala, the *Kannāṭas* are Canarese. Cf. *Edm. PEIRIS*, An Interesting Ethnical Group from Mannar, *Ceylon Historical Journal*, III, p. 13 sq. (Ed.).

themselves together with the Siĥala and Keraĥa mercenaries and revolted in order to profit by this opportunity and to take possession of Rājaratĥha. However the mutiny was suppressed by the King, the leaders were killed and the landed property formerly granted to the mercenaries as payment was withdrawn from them (74.44 sq.).

There is in Polonnaruva a fine slab erected by the Velakkāras with a Tamil inscription which, as I believe, must be dated immediately before the revolt that took place at the beginning of King Gajabāhu's reign in the year 1137. The Velakkāras at that time, as the self-confident and proud tone of the inscription shows, were at the summit of their wealth and power, having regained their former influence after the first rebellion against Vijayabāhu in the year 1089. In the inscription they declare their agreement to protect the temple of the Tooth relic, though they were themselves adherents of a Śaiva sect. But on undertaking the control of that sacred shrine they were so bold as to call it the property of the Velakkāras and regarded it as their own charitable institution under their entire support. So they assigned to it lands, guards, etc., for its maintenance (WICKREMASINGHE, *Epigr. Zeyl.*, II, p. 247).

In the later chapters of the Mahāvamsa we do not hear any more of the Velakkāras, but in the 13th century Āriyas, i. e. Rājputs were serving as mercenaries of the Sinhalese king side by side with Siĥalas. Their leader bore the interesting name Ṭhakuraka which corresponds to the modern family name Tagore (YULE and BURNELL, *Hobson-Jobson* s. v. *Thakoor*). He is said to have killed the usurper Mitta with his own hand, and after this resolute deed the mercenaries banded themselves together and restored the legitimate King Bhuvanekabāhu to the throne. (90.12 sq.).

145. The militia is called 'the army dwelling in the (open) country', *ratĥhavāsikā senā*, Mhvs 70.82; 75.102. It was levied from the rural population. From the twelfth century and perhaps even earlier, the levying of the militia was the duty of the district headmen and canton chiefs (*sāmanta-maṇḍalikā*, cf. above 138). Parakkamabāhu, preparing for the war with Gajabāhu, ordered them to put troops and war material in readiness (69.5), and he set up in his province twelve canton chiefs and allotted to each of them two thousand men (69.15). We may call this troop a regiment. Since a canton consisted of seven districts, each district had to provide a company of about 300 men. One might expect that in war the canton chiefs were the commanders of a regiment and the district headmen as their inferiors those of a company. It is, however, noticeable that in the descriptions of war the canton chiefs are never or seldom mentioned, whilst on the other hand the word *sāmanta* is frequently used to denote officers of lower rank or for officers in general (72.82; 74.161, 174; 75.76, 87, 183). In 66.142 we meet the sequence *padhānāmacca-sāmanta-bhaṭā*: high officers, officers of lower rank and soldiers.

The Sinhalese, as cultivators appear never to have been a warlike people. The militia was, therefore, of no great military value. J. CORDINER, in his description of Ceylon, as it was shortly after its occupation by the Englishmen, says: 'An attempt was made some years ago to train a body of them (i. e. of the Sinhalese) as soldiers, but, after great perseverance, it completely failed of success. A life of military discipline proved, in the highest degree, irksome and uncongenial to their habits. They deserted in great numbers, and examples

intended to terrify only stimulated those who remained to abandon the service' (Ceylon, I, pp. 92—3). In mediaeval times the Sinhalese were hardly better soldiers. We often read in the chronicle that Sinhalese soldiers run away on all sides as soon as they see themselves exposed to an unexpected danger (Mhvs 66.89—90, 104; 67.48). Such passages are met with chiefly in that part of the chronicle the favourite hero of which is Parakkamabāhu, and it may sometimes have been the unsophisticated chronicler's intention to exalt the king's heroism in comparison with his suite. But we also hear that a general of king Gajabāhu owing to an inauspicious dream fell from his bed and ran away into the forest where he wandered about the whole night through, until at daybreak he reached his village. His men too, when they heard of the general's flight, left their weapons behind and followed their leader in bewilderment (66.47 sq.). So much seems to be certain that such scenes were by no means strange or unusual, much less contemptible in the chronicler's eyes.

General Gokanna's army which was made ready by him in all haste for warding off Parakkamabāhu's general Māyāgeha consisted of the troops sent to him by king Gajabāhu, of his own former army and of the army dwelling in the country, that is, of regular troops and militia. Apparently the militia was the last hope (70.82 sq.). The minor Mānābharāṇa is said to have armed the able-bodied inhabitants of his two provinces, the two portions of Rohaṇa Aṭṭhasahasaka and Dvādasasahasaka (*balam raṭṭhadvaṇanivāsinaṃ* 70.187; cf. 70.260) in order to be ready for war, if Parakkamabāhu should succeed in conquering Pulatthinagara and then menace Rohaṇa. In the ensuing war two generals of Parakkamabāhu, Deva and Kitti, who had penetrated too far into the province of Rohaṇa, were encircled by the hostile army together with the militia-men (*sakalārātivāhinī sa-raṭṭhavāsikā* 72.127). In the later war when general Rakkha attacked the Rohaṇa troops in the flank near Sīmātālatthalī his unexpected appearance caused surprise and terror among the rebels and they called upon the militia for assistance in this dangerous situation (75. 102).

As militia men the Vyādhas had a special position in Parakkamabāhu's army (69.20; cf. below). The word is, no doubt, the Pāli equivalent of the modern word *vāddā*. It is obvious that these people who were intimately acquainted with the jungles, could be of considerable use to a commander of troops as scouts or guides. In a similar connection the word *kirāta* occurs in 72.208. It is said here that the Kirātas were skilled in wandering by night in the wilderness of forest and mountain and slew many people by night and day. In Sanskrit and Pali *kirāta* denotes a wild jungle-man of dwarfish stature. Can it be that the Mhvs 72.208 preserves the memory of the Nittavo, a race of pygmies formerly living in some districts of S. E. Ceylon? Traditions concerning such a race are related by F. LEWIS in Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceyl. Br. XXIII, no. 67, 1914, p. 288 sq.

Thieves practised in house-breaking (*saṃdhi-bhedassa kusalā corā*, 70.168) were employed in war by Parakkamabāhu. They were sent by him in the middle of the night to a fortified camp erected by the enemy to undermine it with sharp 'antelope horns' and so to take it. I do not believe, however, that professional thieves are meant here by *corā*, but this word was the name, or perhaps nickname, of a troop of pioneers who had experience in works such as

were performed by burglars. The 'antelope horn' (*miga-siṅga*) they used was probably an ironinstrument comparable to a miner's pick. Coras were also engaged in the siege and capture of Pulatthinagara (70.285).

146. The traditional name in India for a complete army is the 'four-membered army' (*senā caturāṅginī* in the ancient Mahāvamsa, 18.29 &c., and in its mediaeval portion, 70.217 &c.), because it is composed of elephants, horses, chariots, and foot soldiers. In the 13th century the four constituent parts of the army of Parakkamabāhu II were the *viramahāyodhā*, the great warriors, i. e. the foot soldiers, *hatthipakā*, the elephant drivers; *turaṅgasādī*, the horsemen; and *rathino*, the charioteers' (88.34). This however seems to be but a poetical paraphrase of the traditional name which in fact hardly suits the mediaeval Sinhalese army; for I believe that CODRINGTON (l. l., p. 69) is right, when he says: 'In the twelfth century there is no indication of the existence of organised units of elephants, chariots, or cavalry in Ceylon; indeed the thickly wooded nature of the country, in which the operations took place, renders it very doubtful whether they could have been used to any extent.'

It is true that in the earlier centuries of the mediaeval period elephants were used as animals for riding in battle by kings or their substitutes (41.23, 47 sq.; 50.21 sq.). But otherwise elephants are never mentioned in the description of a battle. In 70.228 sq. we hear that king Gajabāhu's generals when preparing the final resistance placed in readiness well-armoured elephants, but this is hardly more than a poetical phrase, for in the following chapters we do not learn anything about their employment. Parakkamabāhu is said (69.22—3) to have brought up many sons of distinguished families in his own palace in the hope that the number of people skilled in the art of riding elephants and horses should increase. This passage, however, concerns only sport, and bodily training in general, not military exercise especially. The Ramanas in contrast with the Sinhalese used elephants in war. When, therefore, Parakkamabāhu prepared the Rāmañña campaign, he provided his soldiers with a special sort of arrow for the defence of those animals (76.48).

As to horses, in one case only it is related that a royal prince, Kassapa, the younger brother of King Sena I, was on horseback, in battle (50.26—28) but we may infer from the narration itself that this was something extraordinary. In the Coḷa army cavalry was numerous and the report in the Mahāvamsa on Parakkamabāhu's war with Kulaśekhara clearly shows how much the Sinhalese were impressed by this fact. The capture of many horses in the various battles is repeatedly exalted by the chronicler (76.100, 298, 331).

The bulk of the mediaeval Sinhalese army consisted of foot soldiers with the baggage train (*bala-vāhana*). Even the officers (*sāmantā*) were never on horseback. Their conveyance was a palanquin, on the march as well as in battle, as we may infer from 72.100 (Cūlavamsa, transl. I, p. 328, n. 2; H. W. CODRINGTON, l. l., p. 75). We must, therefore, also translate the word *yāna*, generally meaning a vehicle, in this connection with palanquin (cf. 97); not with chariot (70.85, 122). The emblem of the officers was an umbrella probably of different colour (66.49; 70.122), as the white umbrella was that of the king.

Trumpets and drums are frequently mentioned in the chronicle. It is shown by the word *saṅkha* (85.113; 89.46; Sk. *saṅkha*) that what we call trumpets were conches. They are often called victorious or auspicious shells

(*jayaśaṅkhā* 65.27; 88.75; *maṅgalaśaṅkhā* 74.222). From 72.119 *pañca-mahāsadda-śaṅkha-nāda* (filled) with the din of the five loud clanging conches, we may perhaps infer that so many forms or kinds of conches were in use.

The words for 'drum', as we have seen above (59), are more numerous. But we do not know which of the different kinds are used in battle. This is certain concerning the drum called *bheri*, for we meet the expressions *raṇa-bheri* 'battle drum' and *jaya-bheri* 'victory drum' (70.227; 88—75). The drum *kāhala* is also mentioned in connexion with war (75.104).

Flags (*dhaja* 85.114) were also in use in the Sinhalese army. King Gajabāhu boasts that all his enemies took to flight because they could not behold his victorious flag (*jayaddhajaṃ* 70.225; cf. 88.75). According to a later passage (99.44, 18th century) we may assume that the militia contingents of the different districts were distinguished by different flags, probably by flags of different colours.

147. In the Mahāvamsa five kinds of weapons (*pañcāyudha* or °āv° Mhvs 41.48; *dasaddhāyudha* 70.229) are distinguished, but they are never enumerated. CLOUGH, Sinh. Dict., s. v., says they were sword, spear, bow, battle-axe, and shield. This is hardly correct, for the shield cannot be called *āyudha* which always denotes an offensive weapon, nor do I know whether the battle-axe was ever in use among the Sinhalese. I think that *pañcāyudha* was simply a traditional name similar to *caturaṅginī senā*, and used by the chronicler without considering the realities.

The first and foremost weapons were bow (*cāpa*, *dhanu*) and arrows (*sara*, *bāṇa*, *usu*, *salla*). The archer is called *dhanuggaha* (70.116; 72.244; Sk. *dhanur-graha*), *dhanuddhara* (83.45; Sk. *dhanurdhara*) or *issāsa* (72.245; Sk. *iṣvāsa*), the archery *dhanusiṣṣa*.

It is a phrase often met with in the chronicle that the archers rain an uninterrupted shower of arrows on the enemy (*saravassa* 66.27; 70.114; 72.134, 246, 250; *saravutṭhi* 74.96; *bāṇavutṭhi* 74.117). In the army, raised by Parakkamabāhu there was a troop of excellent archers, called 'moon-light archers' (*candāloka-dhanuddharā*, 69.19) because they were trained in night-fighting. Whether poisoned arrows were ever used by the Sinhalese is extremely doubtful. It is true that poisoned arrows are mentioned in the chronicle but only among the Ramanas and the Jāvakas. Parakkamabāhu had provided his soldiers whom he sent to Rāmañña, with medicine, preserved in cow horns for the healing of septic wounds caused by poisoned arrows (*visa-pīta-salla* 76.49). And the Jāvakas who had invaded Ceylon in the 13th century are said to have harrassed the people with their poisoned arrows (*visadiddhehi bāṇehi* 83.38) likened to terrible snakes; they even shot such arrows swiftly one after another from a machine (83.44). It appears from the tone of these reports that here the chronicler is describing a strange foreign practice which was unknown of to the Sinhalese which seemed to them diabolic.

A special kind of arrow is called *gokaṇṇaka*, probably after their form. The word corresponds to Sk. *gokarṇa* which occurs in the Mahābhārata in the same meaning. Such sharp-pointed (*tikkhagga*) arrows were used for defence against elephants (76.48).

For the sword we come across the names *asi*, *khagga* (Sk. *asi*, *khadga*) and less frequently *tharu* (69.22; Sk. *tsaru*), but it does not seem that different

forms of the sword are denoted by those words. They are merely synonymous. The sword was used in hand-to-hand fighting, and sparks flew from their clashing of swords in combat (72.84). Training in the handling of the sword as well as in that of the bow was part of the education of princes and sons of noble families (64.4; 69.22). The Sīhalas, after having vanquished the Jāvakas, got as booty their elephants and horses, their swords and many other weapons together with their trumpets, drums, and flags (88.74). The sword was the chief weapon in the hand of the king (66.24, 31, 108), and two royal swords are distinguished in 72, 102 sq., one being called the Jambudīpa blade and the other the Sīhala blade. The latter appears to have been the more terrible weapon. The dagger (*churikā* 39.27; *asiputtaka* 41.24; *nikkaraṇi* 44.112) is mentioned as royal weapon. It was also the weapon of the Keraḷa mercenaries (55.6) and among the different regiments of Parakkamabāhu's army there was also that of the dagger bearers (*churikaggāhakā* 69.24).

The heavy lance (*kunta*) is often mentioned in the chronicle. In ancient Ceylon a lance with a relic was the emblem and standard of King Dutṭhagāmaṇi (25.1, 26.9 sq.). In the 17th century bows, swords, lances, &c. (*dhanukhagga-kuntādini* 96.14; cf. 99.49) were the weapons of the foot soldiers. The spears given by Parakkamabāhu to the Vyādhas (69.20) were probably javelins. The word *sattikā* used in this passage is Sk. *śakti* + suff. *ka*. Another word for a dart or some other light missile is *tomara*. Parakkamabāhu's warriors who had taken up a position in the stronghold of Āligāma killed many enemies with arrows, darts and javelins (*usu-tomara-sattihi* 70.116) which they flung from the turrets of the gate. The meaning of *sattiha* is doubtful. The pursuers of king Bhuvanekabāhu are said to have pierced the king's litter *tikkha-satthehi* so that everything was in tatters. The king sprang to the ground from his litter and fled on foot (90.7—8). My translation was, 'with their pointed spears' (Cūlavamsa, trsl. II, 1.1.), but, 'with their sharp swords' (cf. *śāstra*) would perhaps be better. We have seen above that light missiles were shot by the Jāvakas from a machine (*yanta*). Such a machine from which stones were hurled, apparently something like a catapult, was also in use among the Sinhalese (72.251).

An ancient and primitive weapon was the club (*muggara*). It is however remarkable that even Parakkamabāhu enrolled in the army raised by him several thousand soldiers, tall men and strong, who were armed with clubs (*muggarike yodhe* 69.17). This most ancient weapon was, therefore, not yet out of use in the 12th century.

Among defensive arms (*kavacāni* 69.7, 38, or *vamma* 76.47, as opposed to *āyudhāni*) the shield (*phalaka*) must be mentioned. It was probably made of wood but it is doubtful whether it was always used and by all soldiers. When Parakkamabāhu was attacked in the wilderness by a dreadful bear he forced the beast down with the edge of his shield and killed it with his sword (67.42). In 74.73 it is said that two generals of Parakkamabāhu provided for their troops 'arrow protectives consisting of buffalo-skin' (*mahisacammamaye bāṇavāraṇe*). It seems that leathern doublets are meant by this expression; but their use was apparently exceptional.

148. When war is imminent it is necessary first of all to provide the food supply for both the army in the field and the population at home. Therefore

Parakkamabāhu, before he began the campaign against Rājarat̥ṭha, took care in every possible way to enlarge the cultivable area of his province so that he might be able to store a large quantity of grain (Mhvs 68.7—53). His financial reform served the same purpose (69.27 sq.). We need not add that supplies of armour and weapons of every kind and many other things formed parts of the war material (*yuddhopakaraṇa* 69.5, 14). For the war in Rāmañña the king had supplied for his army not only the iron arrows against elephants and medicine for the healing of poisoned wounds, but also armour and weapons in abundance, and provisions for a whole year such as rice and the like, as well as all kinds of remedies for cleansing infected water in the many swampy stretches of the country; also iron pincers (*ayo-samḍāsaka*) for extracting arrow-heads which are difficult to dislodge when they have pierced deeply and the shaft has broken. The army was also accompanied by skilful physicians and serving women (*thiyo paricārikā*) who were to attend sick and wounded soldiers (76.47 sq.).

The soldiers themselves were trained for the military profession during peace time by manœuvres. Parakkamabāhu in order to test the fitness of his men arranged fights on the street, sifted out the most skilled people and dismissed those unfit for fighting (69.37—8). Sham-fights (*yodhakilā*) in which the soldiers could show their skill in handling the weapons were also arranged (89.26, 31).

Before the beginning of the war against Rājarat̥ṭha Parakkamabāhu is said to have worked out the plan of campaign with ingenuity in a way suited to the locality and the time. He did so by a careful study of literary works useful in making war, such as the 'text-book of Koṭalla', i. e. the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra, and the Yuddhaṇṇava (cf. above 68). The plan was written down and handed out to the officers with the strict order not to swerve by a hair's breadth from the king's instruction (70.56—8).

It is however impossible to carry through a war successfully without an accurate knowledge of the military power of the hostile king and of the political and financial situation of his country. Such a knowledge must be acquired by espionage. Prince Parakkamabāhu is said to have done so (66.126sq.) during his sojourn at king Gaḷabāhu's court in Pulatthinagara. We must not accept this report as historical in its details, for the chronicler followed here, the text of the Kauṭaliya.

The prince is said to have employed clever and astute men and sent them abroad in various disguises in order to become acquainted with the people in the outlying districts, whilst he himself confined his observations and inquiries to the town and its inhabitants. In the enumeration of these spies in the Mahāvamsa the ascetic (*tāpasa* 66.135) corresponds to the *tāpasa* in the Kauṭaliya, the poisoner (*rasakriyābhiñña* 66.138) to the *rasada*, the sorcerer and fortune-teller (*bhūtavijjāvidū* 66.138, *sāmuddikādikānekalakkhanaññu* 66.132) to the *sāmedhika* (cf. *aṅgavidyā*), and the itinerant trader selling glass bangles and similar trifles to the *vaidehaka* (Kaut., I. 11 and 12). In order also to find out among the king's dignitaries those whom he could win over, and to apply the right method for doing so he tried to distinguish between those who were ambitious (*abhimānino*), those who nursed a grudge (*samkuddhā*), those who were afraid (*bhūtā*), and those who were avaricious (*tuddhā* 66.142). These four

groups exactly correspond, even in wording, to the *mānivarga*, *kuddhavarga*, *bhītavarga* and *lubdhavarga* in the Kauṭaliya, I. 14.

There are spies of several other kinds mentioned in the Mahāvamsa as well as in the Arthaśāstra. But so much seems to be certain, that the Kauṭaliya and perhaps also other works of the Indian *nīti* literature were eagerly studied in mediaeval Ceylon, and what they taught was probably also applied by the kings as far as it was possible or advisable. It is however very improbable that Parakkamabāhu personally practised espionage at Gajabāhu's court, as it is described in the chronicle; for such an activity was too risky and could hardly be kept secret.

149. As to war itself four 'means of success' (*upāyā*) are mentioned in the chronicle 58.3. The same distinction occurs in the Indian śāstras. In the Kauṭaliya the four stratagems are enumerated (II. 10; SHAMASAstry, ed.² p. 74^b; trsl., 84): *bheda* division of the enemy; *daṇḍa* open war, offensive; *sāma* friendly negotiations, *dānāni* gifts or bribes. The character of the war itself was mainly dependent on that of the country. In mediaeval times Ceylon was, for the greatest part, thickly covered with forest, and frequently the assistance of scouts (*carā* 66.99; 75.64) was necessary to mark out for the army a road leading through the jungle. They were probably recruited from the local militia, perhaps also from forest tribes (see above in 145). Often the war was hardly more than a guerilla (*corayuddha* 75.135). In this respect the description of the beginning of the second Rohaṇa campaign is very interesting (75.1—18).

In the first campaign the sacred relics of the *dāthādāhātu* and the *pattadhātu* had been captured by Parakkamabāhu's generals (74.138). That was certainly an important moral success. But in order to achieve the main object of the whole undertaking, the subjection of the province, the king was forced to begin a new campaign. He first intended to invade Rohaṇa from the North-East through the districts of Dīghavāpi and Guttasālā. The resistance offered by the Rohaṇa people was apparently weak, but when it seemed to have been suppressed at one place, it quickly broke out anew in another. In spite of the victories reported by his generals the king gave up his plan and decided to attack the province from its North-West frontier. After the first defeats in this final phase of the terrible war, the Rohaṇa people themselves proclaimed the guerilla. They said: 'Save the wilderness, there is for us no other protection. In every way our land is furnished with mountain wildernesses and the like. Therefore at all inaccessible places let us throw up many entrenchments, make all the well-known high ways impassable, lay down many robbers' paths (*coramagge*), and when our land has been made impassable let us gather ourselves together and open battle' (75.31—33).

An ambushade is described in 66.72 sq. Prince Parakkamabāhu on his way to Pulatthinagara was pursued by his uncle's officers and their troops who had been sent to bring him back. When he heard at Buddhagāma that they were approaching, he left space in front for the advancing army and placed his bravest men in ambush on both sides of the road. Then when the whole of the hostile force had advanced to the centre he suddenly fell upon them and had numbers of soldiers cut down. In a similar manner when Gajabāhu's troops approached the stronghold of Mihiraṇabibbila, the warriors of Parakka-

mabāhu made it seem that they were giving way, and thus enticed the enemy into an ambush of soldiers who had been hidden in the forest and suddenly made a dash on them (72.246 sq.).

The tactics of outflanking the enemy were also known. We can hardly understand the undertakings of the Damiḷādhikārin Rakkha against Mahānāgahula in the final stage of the Rohaṇa campaign, if we do not assume such a method of warfare (75.83 sq.). The basis of Rakkha's operation was Doṇivagga, that is the district round Pelmadulla, S. E. of Ratnapura, from here he first tried to advance directly to Mahānāgahula along the road which at present runs through primeval forest from Madampē to Ambalantota. But he realized that a break through along this highway was impossible and we hear in v. 98 that he marched with a strong force to Sūkarāli-Bheripāsāṇa. That is a place near the modern Deniyāya, south of the Rakvāna mountain range. Obviously Rakkha had crossed this range on the Bulutoṭa pass and thus made an outflanking manoeuvre. The enemies were surprised and alarmed, for they had not expected an attack from this side because the road leading from Doṇivagga to Navayojana, i. e. the Bulutoṭa pass, was very difficult (75.72) to negotiate and they had not sufficiently secured their left flank. Rakkha won the ensuing battle and was able to advance to the hostile capital.

The descriptions in the chronicle of a battle are of no great interest. They are always made according to a certain poetical model. The simile is generally a thunder-storm. The soldiers pour forth a rain of arrows, or the arrows are the cloud by which the heavens are darkened. The battle-cry of the warriors is compared to the thunder, the sparks flying from the clash of swords are like the lightnings (72.84; 75.63, 110—11, 131—32 &c.). In a very artificial and fictitious passage (76.160—61) the battle-field is compared to the ocean in a heavy storm. Often a general is said to be a lion that has broken into a herd of elephants or gazelles (72.2—3, 69).

A specially heroic feature in battles of ancient times was the single combat between the leaders of the two armies. That of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Eḷāra near the Southern gate of Anurādhapura (25.67 sq.) is a classical example. In the mediaeval period such a combat is mentioned between Dāṭhāpabhuti and his brother Moggallāna, 6th century (41.49). In later times we do not hear any more of such heroic deeds. King Vijayabāhu I, 1059—1116, is said, it is true, to have challenged the Cola king (60.30 sq.), but this was either a theatrical pose or a poetical exaggeration. The single combat never took place. In his adventurous youth Prince Parakkamabāhu sometimes is reported to have personally taken part in fighting (66.103—4; 67.48), if this is not simply an embellishment of the narration made by the chronicler who wished to exalt the bravery of his favourite hero. After he had become king, Parakkamabāhu in all his wars generally remains behind the army at headquarters or in the capital sending therefrom his commands to the generals in the field. Once when he was present in the most critical phase of a battle against Mānābharana he called for his sword (72.102). However he made no use of it, but looked significantly at the faces of his generals who had given way, but turned now again towards the enemy and flung themselves into the midst of the hostile army.

The victory (*jaya*; opp. *parājaya*, *parābhava*) was celebrated by a festive entrance into the capital of the victorious army. When the dignitaries of

Parakkamabāhu had finished the Rohaṇa campaign and occupied the whole province they marched at the head of their troops to Pulatthinagara. Accompanied by the dwellers in the city who played music, shouted with joy, and waving cloths, let their cries of victory resound, they drew near the palace and rendered homage to the monarch (75.200 sq.).

After a successful war the heads of the enemy officers who had been killed in battle together with their umbrellas and palanquins, the weapons captured during the campaign, and the captives caught alive were sent to the king (70.122), and the victorious generals were honoured by titles and ornaments (*ābharaṇāni* 72.320) corresponding to our medals.

Naval battles are mentioned at the beginning of Parakkamabāhu's war with Gajabāhu and were fought by the king's generals, in the middle of the sea 'near a place called Muttākara'. This name and the fact that pearls were captured as booty seem to prove that the Gulf of Mannār was the centre of this naval war (70.63 sq., 91 sq.). Some of the Sinhalese kings also sent ships across the sea to South India to wage war with the Paṇḍus and Coḷas. So did Sena II in the 9th century, Kassapa V and Udaya IV in the 10th century, and Parakkamabāhu I in the 12th century (51.22 sq., 52.70 sq., 53.46 sq., 76.86 sq.). The latter is even said to have made an expedition against Rāmañña (76.44 sq.). In none of these cases do we hear that a naval battle was fought by the enemies in order to repel the aggressors. When Parakkamabāhu sent many hundred ships, which sailed a day and a night 'on the back of the ocean', to South India the Damiḷas restricted themselves to defending the coast and to preventing the Sinhalese army from landing (76.89 sq.). As the ships had to lie in deep water the Sinhalese commander made the troops get into hundreds of boats of small size. In order to protect them from the rain of arrows that came flying from the Damiḷas who were standing on the coast, he had shields made of leather set up in front of the soldiers. So he landed on the coast and after putting the Damiḷas to flight he occupied a strong position near the harbour.

150. Fortified camps or temporary fortresses played a great part in the wars in mediaeval Ceylon. The same was the case in India from ancient times. In the Kauṭaliya the 1st ch. of the 10th book, on war, contains the rules concerning the laying out of a fortified camp (*skandhāvāra-niveśa*, SHAMASASTRY, ed.², p. 363; trsl., p. 437). In the Mahāvamsa the word for such a fortress is *khandhāvāra*, exactly corresponding to the expression used in the Kauṭaliya. It is met with already in the oldest part of the chronicle (Mhvs 10.46; 25.20; 37.19), and in the fifth century A. C. king Dhātusena waging war against the Damiḷas who at that time had ravaged Ceylon, is said to have laid out such camps in the Island, twenty-one in number (*khandhāvāre niveśetvā* 38.36). But the expression *khandhāvāra* occurs rather seldom in later chapters (70.138, 161, 167); it is replaced by *dugga* (cf. 55.28; 58.42). This word corresponds to *durga* in the Kauṭaliya (e. g. *durga-niveśa* II.4 s. f.; ed.² p. 57⁶) which however here as well as in the Mahābhārata appears to denote a permanent rather than a temporary structure (cf. Kauṭ., II.2; ed.², p. 57 *durgavidhāna*).

Fortified camps were constructed wherever the army had reached an opportune position in order to serve as entrenchments against sudden attacks and as the basis for further operations. In the history of Parakkamabāhu's campaigns against Rājaraṭṭha and Rohaṇa many *duggas* are enumerated, and the

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names of the places where they were constructed sometimes enables us to state the vicissitudes in war which so often are veiled in the chronicler's report.

As an example I shall include the description of the military operation of Senāpati Deva who commanded the troops in the district Giribā, south of Kalāvāva. He first raised an encampment on the bank of the Kālavāpi river. Then he threw a bridge across this river, marched off and built a new encampment near Aṅgamu and took up a position there. The leader of the hostile army did the same at a place called Senāgāma. After it had been captured by Deva the enemy built four encampments more, apparently in order to stop the advance of Deva, but they were all successively taken away by Parakkamabāhu's general (70.123—136). The word for 'encampment' is always *dugga*; one only which was erected by Gajabāhu's officers near Terigāma is called (v. 138) *khandhāvāra*.

When after the death of Mānābharāṇa the Rohaṇa people wished to save their independence and were expecting the invasion of Parakkamabāhu's army, they built fortified positions at each difficult spot up to the frontier of the province, had trenches dug everywhere, placed barricades there and made the roads inaccessible with felled trees. Then they took up their place in one of those camps (74.31—35). But the general Rakkha having broken through three different fortifications advanced up to a big forest where the Rohaṇa people had laid out one behind the other seven fortified camps (74.55—66). Here Rakkha's advance came to a standstill, and the seven strongholds were conquered only when his army had been reinforced by the troops of the general Bhūta (74.75—6). In this passage the term *dugga* is used for all those camps and fortifications.

Such a temporary fortress which was erected by Parakkamabāhu's officers near Mihiraṇabibbila is described (72.232—53) in detail. They had stakes made like spear-points and driven into the ground. Outside these they had stakes of greater size driven in and had them interwoven with branches. Between the two rows of stakes they had a trench dug with pitfalls, and similar trenches at other places also. Then they had the big forest felled round the camp over a tract two or three bow-shots in extent. The footpath leading through the wilderness was made impracticable by sharp thorns which were covered with sand and withered leaves. In the middle of the fortification (*dugga-majjhamhi*, v. 244) a structure of four storeys was erected, from which when the enemy approached the archers rained a hail of arrows and stones, and burning sharp-pointed bamboo rods were hurled from engines.

The defence and siege of such temporary strongholds are described often enough in the chronicle, but generally in a conventional form. When Gajabāhu's troops attacked the stronghold of Āḷigāma, the archers standing on the gate-bastions, slew numbers of the foe with various missiles. Other warriors took up their position at the gates to fight with the enemies who tried to break them up. The combat ended with a sally of the defenders who suddenly burst forth and cut down the foe (70.112 sq.).

151. Permanent strongholds were the fortified cities of Anurādhapura and Pulatthinagara (cf. 54), and in the second half of the mediaeval period the fortresses built after the model of Sihagiri (cf. 57). They required a longer siege, as we see from the description of Parakkamabāhu's attack on Pulat-

thinagara in Mhvs 72.205 sq. As traffic in all the approaches of the town had been stopped by the King's troops the people in Pulatthinagara, like birds shut up in a cage, for long dared not even by day leave their houses and go outside of the gate when they wanted supplies of water and wood. In the shops here and there on the outskirts of the town the various businesses were completely given up. The whole town trembled with excitement.

In the war with the Paṇḍus the troops of King Parakkamabāhu boast of having the stronghold Semponmāri captured within half a day. After they had broken through two outer-walls and four gate-towers, they penetrated into the interior of the fortress and slew the Damiḷas there, many thousands in number (76.241 sq.).

When captured by storm the towns were plundered and destroyed in the most reckless manner.

Part Four:
Religion and Church.

I. Popular Religion¹⁾.

152. The essential elements of a primitive religion are animism and witchcraft. The world is vivified by an immense number of spirits, generally of an evil and adverse character, more rarely benevolent, and in witchcraft all the magic rites and ceremonies are comprehended which are practised by men in order to ward off the mischievous influence of the evil spirits, the demons, or to secure for themselves the propitiousness of the benevolent spirits. The conceptions and rites of the primitive period are never entirely annulled when the religion has developed to a higher and purer stage. Some of them are adopted into it in a more or less altered and often hardly recognizable form, or they continue to exist among the lower classes of the uneducated.

The religious development in Ceylon is a remarkable example of such a mixture. Although here Buddhism was ever prevalent and Hinduism existed side by side with it, the primitive forms of animism and what is connected with it, became by no means extinct. A glance into the ancient phases of Sinhalese history will make this evolution intelligible. The Aryan adventurers who first settled in the Island, brought to Ceylon from their home in NW. India a popular form of Hinduism, as it was represented in ancient times by the Atharvaveda in contrast with the more aristocratic Rigveda. In their new home they may have adopted ideas and rites from the yet more primitive religion of the aboriginal tribes and perhaps also from the Dravidians in S. India. Then Brāhmaṇas, coming from Kalinga and Bengāl, imported Viṣṇuism and Śivaism, and in the third century B.C. Buddhism was preached in the Island and soon became predominant, since it was embraced by the ruling monarch as the official religion of the state. But though Buddhist doctrine opens the way to salvation to all people without differentiation of caste, the priests do not like to interfere with the individual conceptions of the laymen. Gods and demons are realities in the Buddhist cosmology. They are beings who stand in conformity with their *kamma* on a certain stage within the *saṃsāra*, the transmigration. But each being must pass his last existence before the final emancipation as a member of the Order.

¹⁾ Cf. Dandris De SILVA GOONERATNE, On Demonology and Witchcraft in Ceylon, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. C. B., No. 13, p. 1 sq.; W. A. de SILVA, Ceremonial Songs of the Sinhalese Guardian Spirits, ib. XXVIII, No. 73, p. 14 sq.; W. A. de SILVA, Sinhalese Magic and Spells, ib. XXX, No. 79, p. 193 sq.; H. PARKER, Ancient Ceylon, p. 133 sq.; P. WIRZ, Exorcism and the Art of Healing in Ceylon, Leiden 1954; J. E. SĒDARAMAN, Lankāvā yakṣa yugaya, Lihini pot 90, Koḷaṃba; S. PIYASENA, Yakṣayā, 1953; M. B. ARIYAPALA, Society in Mediaeval Ceylon, p. 193 sq.; C. G. SELIGMANN, The Veddas, Cambridge 1911, p. 180 sq. (Ed.).

Thus we shall understand that animism with its concomitants could continue to exist among the lower classes of the Sinhalese people up to the present time, though it was perhaps to a certain degree modified by the influence of Buddhism. The same people who in the distresses of daily life, chiefly when illness befell them, invoke the help of the demon-priest, the *Kapurāla*, may listen with devoutness to the sermon of a Bhikkhu or visit on holidays a Buddhist temple to pray there. For in their eyes the Buddha is hardly anything else than one of the tutelary deities, but one who is of unlimited power and benevolence.

Such is the position now in modern Ceylon, and it was on the whole, no doubt, the same also in the mediaeval period. What I wish to describe in the present chapter as the popular religion of the Sinhalese people at that time is a collection of all we encounter in the chronicle of demonology and magic art, though, as we have seen above, a strict separation from the official religion is not always possible. It will however be observed that the passages to be quoted below are mostly taken from the oldest part of the *Mahāvamsa*. This seems to prove that its author, *Mahānāma*, stood nearer to the popular religion or was more acquainted with it, than *Dhammakitti* and the other chronicler of the *Cūlavamsa*.

153. Demonology plays a prominent part in Indian mentality. Whenever the Aryans during their progress on Indian soil met with uncivilized hill- and forest-tribes they were inclined to attribute to them superhuman and demoniac qualities. The reason was the fear aroused by them by their alien, often frightful appearance, by their recondite life in the inaccessible wilderness and by their sudden and insidious attacks, the victims of which were not only single individuals, but sometimes even all the inhabitants of an Aryan hamlet. It is easy to understand under such conditions, that all calamities which befell the Aryan immigrants were imputed to those hidden and malicious enemies, as, for instance, deadly diseases and the like. Wherever in Indian literature such savages are spoken of, their description is mostly that of devils, and the boundary is unstable between visible beings in human or animal form and invisible spirits. For it was the general belief that such demons are able to assume any bodily form they like.

Therefore according to my opinion, those forest-dwellers were not called demons, because they had a religion and cult different from the Aryan by worshipping demons. No, they were themselves the demons owing to their dreadful qualities and faculties.

154. By the modern Sinhalese of the lower classes every affliction they have to suffer in their daily life, such as failure of business, loss of money, damage caused by fire, and chiefly illness, is imputed to the *yaku* (pl. of *yakā*). Cf. S. PARANAVITANA, Pre-Buddhist religious beliefs in Ceylon, Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceylon Br., XXXI, No 82, 1929, p. 302 sq. The word *yakā* corresponds to Sk. *yakṣa*, Pāli *yakkha*. In the Indian epics the *Yakṣas* are the attendants of the god *Kubera* who has his residence in the *Himālaya*; *yakṣa* seems, therefore, to have been the name given by the Aryans to a tribe dwelling in those mountains. This is confirmed by the tradition concerning missionaries sent out by king *Asoka*, for we hear *Mhvs* 12.9, 20—21 that in N.W. India, in *Kashmir* and *Gandhāra*, many *Yakkhas*, together with *Nāgas*, *Gandhabbas*

and Kumbhaṇḍas, were converted to Buddhism by the Thera Majjhantika. We understand therefore that when the first Aryans who came just from NW. India met in Ceylon its aboriginal inhabitants, they gave them the name *yakkha*. This is the historical kernel of the Vijaya-Kuvaṇṇā legends (7.9 sq., 30 sq.). At the first of his legendary visits to Ceylon the Buddha is said to have preached his doctrine to the deities of the Island, after he had removed its original inhabitants, the Yakkhas, to Giridīpa (1.21 sq.; 30 sq.). Nevertheless in the Vijaya legends Yakkhas are the aboriginal tribe of Ceylon, and yet in the third century B. C. king Devānampiyatissa, when hunting in the forest of the Missaka mountain, first beheld the Thera Mahinda, was terrified, because he thought he might be a Yakkha (14.6—7).

From the very outset in the stories told in the chronicle the ambiguity of the character of the Yakkhas is manifest. The Yakkhas may appear as human beings or as animals, or may be invisible spirits. In order to seduce the companions of Vijaya a Yakkhinī appears to them as a bitch (7.9), and their mistress Kuvaṇṇā as a woman-hermit sitting at the foot of a tree (7.11). The marriage of Vijaya with Kuvaṇṇā is a human affair, but the Yakkhas who afterwards were slain by Vijaya with the help of the Yakkhinī were spirits invisible to him (7.35—36).

Men and women may become Yakkhas after death, and in the oldest time *yakkha* was not the particular denomination of a malignant demon, but simply of a superhuman being.

Fortunetellers had predicted that a son born to the princess Cittā, the daughter of Paṇḍuvāsudeva, would kill his uncles, Abhaya and the other brothers of Cittā. They therefore took her in custody, and when she was nevertheless with child, they ordered her servants to kill the child if it would be a son. Two faithful slaves, Kāla and Citta, refused to give the promise and were killed by the princes. They were reborn as Yakkhas and both kept guard over the child in the mother's womb (9.22—23). The son who was afterwards born by Cittā was saved by substitution of a girl born at the same time. He was called Paṇḍukābhaya. When he had occupied the throne, he settled the two Yakkhas near Anurādhapura (10.84). I can understand this only in the sense that he built them sanctuaries. Cf. PARANAVITANA, I. I., p. 303. At the place of the Yakkha Kāla afterwards a Thūpa was erected by King Mahāsena (37.44). We even hear that the two Yakkhas Citta and Kāla (cf. 10.4) were visible, in bodily form enjoying with the king his good fortune (10.104). To the slave woman who as a serving woman of princess Cittā had carried away and placed in safety the new-born boy and was reborn after death as Yakkhinī, a sanctuary was dedicated by King Paṇḍukābhaya. The Yakkhinī in the form of a mare who had formerly dwelled on the Dhūmarakha mountain (10.53 sq.) and had afterwards helped the king, was housed by him within the royal precincts (10.84—88).

It is manifest that in all these passages the Yakkhas and Yakkhinīs were considered to be rather tutelary deities than demons. In 30.90, 31.81 we also hear of twenty-eight Yakkha generals who were to ward off the evil Yakkhas (*dutthayakkhe*).

In the mediæval part of the chronicle the Yakkhas are spoken of as devils. They are the representatives of calamity and destruction and never propitious

spirits. During the reign of Sena I, 9th century, the *Damīlas* had occupied Anurādhapura and left the splendid town in a state, as if it had been plundered by *Yakkhas* (50.36), and during that of Mahinda V, 10th century, the *Coḷas* like blood-sucking *Yakkhas* took away all the treasures of Ceylon (55.21).

It is generally assumed that the *Vāddās* are the last remnants of the aboriginal race of *Yakkhas*, and I think, this is indeed very probable. At any rate those aborigines were a tribe of hunters living in hills and forests just as now-a-days the *Vāddās* are. How could we otherwise explain the fact that they were considered as demons by the Aryan colonists? The chronicle speaks, it is true, of a *Yakka* city, existing in Ceylon (7.32), but this is merely a fiction and a transfer of human things into the world of demons. The city was certainly as invisible to human eyes as the *Yakkhas* themselves were to those of *Vijaya*. Though we hear that the two *Yakkhas* *Kāla* and *Citta* were visible, in bodily form enjoying with the king his good fortune (10.104), this too is merely a poetical paraphrase for the relations which were brought about through the worship instituted by the king for those superhuman beings.

155. Another name for aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon, perhaps different from the *Yakkhas*, is *nāga*. It corresponds to Sk. *nāga* and means 'serpent'. It would again hardly be correct to say that the *Nāgas* were given this name because they were serpent-worshippers. The many frightful snakes which were met with in India by the Aryans were rather themselves regarded as demons, since hardly any animal has a more devilish nature for our feeling than the snake. As demons may also appear in human form, tribes who dwelt in districts where snakes existed in extraordinary multitude and caused extraordinary fear, were identified with the snakes and were demons in the eyes of the Aryans.

In India *Nāgas* lived in many parts of the country; they are also said to have lived in Kashmir and Gandhāra (see 154) where they were converted by the Thera *Majjhantika*. In Ceylon they are supposed to have lived in the Buddha's time. His second and third visits to the Island were meant for the *Nāgas* (Mhvs 1.44 sq., 71 sq.). A *Nāga* king is mentioned in these legends as residing in *Kalyāṇī*. In historical times *Nāgadīpa* 'the Isle of the *Nāgas*' seems to have been used as name for the Northern provinces of Ceylon. King *Aggabodhi* II, 7th century, erected a temple in *Nāgadīpa*, and during the reign of Mahinda IV, 10th century, the *Vallabhas* invaded it. The conflict was brought to an end by a treaty (42.62; 54.12—16; cf. above, 6).

The conceptions concerning the *Nāgas* developed in the Buddhist literature in a particular manner. They are always adherents and worshippers of the Buddha. The Bodhi tree when it was brought to Ceylon was protected by them, and they wished to get it for themselves (19.3, 19 sq.). In their possession were the sacred relics of the Master which afterwards were deposited in the Great *Thūpa* at Anurādhapura (31.19, 27 sq., 45 sq.). Their king *Kālanāga* or *Mahākāla* is mentioned several times (5.87; 30.75; 31.27, 83). He was the *Nāga* king, conjured by a magician in an incantation to be described below (see 160; 41.80—83).

In Indian mythology birds, called *suparṇa* (Pāli *supaṇṇa*) or *garuḍa* (P. *garuḷa*) are the bitter adversaries of the *Nāgas* who are permanently chased and often killed by them. Allegorically the *Ādipāda* *Kassapa* when he broke in battle through the army of the *Damīlas* is compared with a *Supaṇṇa* who

in catching a snake (*bhujāṅga*) breaks through its watery abode (50.27). In a similar manner the general Rakkha is said to have shattered all the enemy and made the battlefield bloody as the world of the Nāgas when afflicted by the Garuḷas (75.38), and the Sihalas of king Parakkamabāhu II harassed the Damiḷas in war as the Garuḷas harass the Nāgas (83.14).

156. It is doubtful whether the ancient inhabitants of Ceylon, apart from the Aryans, were of a homogeneous race. Besides the Yakkhas and Nāgas other aboriginal tribes may have lived in Ceylon, all possessing of course demonic qualities. The Kirātas, mentioned in Mhvs 72.208, (see above 145) were perhaps a pygmean race, living in SE. Ceylon. The word *pulinda*, Sk. the same, occurs only in 7.68. Kuvannā had borne two children, brother and sister, to Vijaya. When she was sent away by her husband and afterwards slain by the Yakkhas, the children escaped into the wilderness of Adam's Peak. Here the brother, when he grew up, took the sister for his wife, and multiplying with sons and daughters they dwelt in Malaya. From these are sprung the Pulindas. The name seems, therefore, to denote people who descended from the cross of Aryans and Yakkhinīs. A mere synonym of *yakkha* is perhaps *sabara* (= Sk. *śabara*), preserved in the name of the province Sabaragamuva in S.W. Ceylon.

Other names of demons occurring in the Mahāvamśa have their equivalents in Hindu mythology. A general name is *asura*. The Asuras are opposed to gods (*sura*) and men (51.39; 99.63), and there is perpetual war between gods and Asuras (72.299—300; 96.37). The battles between the gods and the Dānavas (Sk. id.) are also alluded to in the chronicle (75.54).

The Rakkhasas (Sk. *rākṣasa*) are monsters, depicted with huge projecting teeth (cf. 39.34), living in water and devouring the people who descend into the water to drink or to take a bath. The fords of the Mahavāliganga were guarded by Parakkamabāhu's troops as if they were protected by Rakkhasas so that no foe ventured to cross the river (72.70). The Damiḷas who plundered the country during the reign of Sena V, 10th century, are compared to such devils in 54.66. The Rakkhasas may also cause pestilence (15.60). Virabāhu, the nephew of Parakkamabāhu II, is said to have slain the Jāvakas who had invaded Ceylon, as Rāma slew the Rakkhasas (83.46).

Rāhu is a demon to whom the eclipses of sun and moon are ascribed. Virabāhu is compared to him because he annihilated the Jāvaka Candabhānu whose name means 'moonshine' (83.42). The Gahas are planetary spirits of malignant character (*pāpa-ggahā*, 87.1). They caused a terrible heat in Ceylon by which everything was burnt up so that the corn withered and a famine seemed to be inevitable. That the cult of the stars was widespread in ancient Ceylon appears also from the many personal names of astral character which occur in early times. The custom of naming a person after the constellation (*nakkhatta*) under which he was born, was common (PARANAVITANA, I. I., p. 320). I mention the frequent name Tissa and others as Anurādha, Phussadeva, Cittā, Mūla, Revata which are all derived from the names of constellations (Sk. *tiṣya*, *anurādha*, *puṣya*, *citrā*, *mūla*, *revatī*). Now-a-days planetary worship has the principal place in Sinhalese popular religion.

To the figures of the popular belief also belong spirits like the Gandhabbas (Sk. *gandharva*), the heavenly musicians, but also mentioned among the

inhabitants of the Himālaya (12.20) side by side with the Kumbhaṇḍas (Sk. *kumbhāṇḍa*). The Accharās (Sk. *apsaras*) were nymphs of great beauty (cf. 25.102). A bountiful woman was reborn after death in a heavenly palace, continually surrounded by thousands of Accharās (27.13). Her palace was the model of the Lohapāsāda in Anurādhapura. Kandappa (Sk. *kandarpa*) is the Indian Cupid. Parakkamabāhu's beauty is compared to that of Kandappa (77.106). Finally the Kinnaras (Sk. P. *kinṇara*) may be mentioned, forest-spirits of human body with the head of a horse. Pictures of them were in the Tivaṅka temple erected by Parakkamabāhu (78.40). A Kinnarī was, it is said, the beloved of a forest-dweller (*vanacara*, 5.212).

157. As is still believed by the modern Sinhalese a man owes his good fortune, luck and success, health and life to the Devatās, the tutelary deities, and their protection. The same was the belief in ancient and mediæval times. It was owing to the protection of their guardian deities (*devatā*) that Paṇḍuvāsudeva and Bhaddakaccānā with their attendants safely arrived in Ceylon (Mhvs 8.13, 25). Kākaṇṇatissa, king of Rohaṇa, metaphorically called the Buddhist priests the guardian spirits of his clan (*kula-devatā*, 22.80). Devatās were entrusted with the protection of Ceylon. Because they failed to carry out this protection, the usurper Māgha could land there and bring the greatest calamity to the Island and its inhabitants (80.55—56; cf. 99.112).

Devatās live everywhere in the visible world. They are called *bhum-madevatā* 'earth-deities' (14.38) in contrast with the heavenly gods. They live in trees (*rukkha-devatā*), as the *Nigrodha-devatā*, the deity of a banian tree, who protected the princess Sumanā (5.42; cf. 10.89), and in the sea. The Devatās of the ocean, enraged by the King Tissa of Kalyāṇī who had a pious Thera slain and thrown into the sea, caused a tremendous flood by which much land was submerged (22.19—20). Mountains were also the seat of Devatās. Sumanadeva, the tutelary deity of the Adam's Peak (86.19) was perhaps worshipped already in Pre-Aryan times. Even in buildings, or articles of use such deities are believed to dwell. In 42.54 Devatās are mentioned who dwelt in the Thūpārāma. The Devatā of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's parasol having observed the king who was pondering over the possibility of providing the bricks necessary for the Great Thūpa, informed the gods of his sorrows (28.6). Here the Devatā appears to be a mediator between men and gods. When Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was approaching his last hours, Devatās came driving six cars with six gods who invited the king to enter into their heavens (32.63—64).

Generally these Devatās are regarded as male deities. In a story told in the Rasavāhinī (Colombo 1901, II 13 sq.) a Rukkhadevatā residing in a Karañja tree is called *devaputta* and has a wife denoted as *divyastri* 'goddess' in the Sinhalese version of the story (Saddharmālaṅkāraya, Colombo 1928, p. 598¹²). They both save the life of the pious Thera Abhaya by providing him with heavenly food during a period of famine in Ceylon.

Women who had lived a pious life could be reborn after death as Devatās (30.50). A tutelary female Devatā seems to have been the 'Western Queen' (*pacchima-rājini* 10.89) whose chapel was built by King Paṇḍukābhaya near the W. gate of Anurādhapura. Owing to the scantiness of information concerning this deity I do not venture to explain that interesting name. S. PARANAVITANA, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. XXXI, No. 82, 1929, p. 309 sq., connects

the Pacchimarājini with the wide-spread tradition of the existence of an island to the West of India which was inhabited by a race of Amazons and may be identified with Mahilādīpa where according to Mhvs 6.45 the women of Vijaya's company landed who had been sent off separately from India.

Offerings (*bali*) were regularly made to the Devatās in order to keep hold of their propitiousness (15.67, 135).

158. In the modern popular religion an important part is played by the cult of the god of Kataragama in SE. Ceylon. This deity has been identified with Skanda, the Hindu god of war, and was the protector of the province of Rohaṇa. His worship seems first to be alluded to in Mhvs 45.55 where we are told that Dappula of Rohaṇa offered to the god (of the country: *devam apūjayi*). The god is also mentioned with his old name Kumāra, as he is also called in Sk. literature, in the story of Mānavamma's incantation (57.7; cf. below 160). He is reckoned among the tutelary deities by W. A. DE SILVA, Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceylon Br. XXVIII, No. 73, 1920, p. 16—17. Yet more widespread is the worship of the goddess Pattini (l. l., p. 19—23) who is the ideal of womanhood by her chastity, devotion, love and forgiveness. But we do not hear of this worship in the Mahāvamsa. As the Pattini legends prove, her cult was of Colian origin¹).

159. The boundary between popular and official religion cannot always be fixed with certainty. I mention the worship of two deities, *Uppalavanna deva* 'the Lotus-hued god' and *Nātha* 'the Lord', which according to my opinion was originally of popular character, but has been admitted into the most solemn Buddhist cult. Cf. S. PARANAVITANA, Mahāyānism in Ceylon, Ceyl. Journ. of Science, Sect. G, II, p. 35 sq., 66 sq., 52 sq.

The Uppalavanna god is now identified in Ceylon with Viṣṇu, and images of this form of Viṣṇu are frequently seen in Buddhist temples side by side with images of the Master. But that identification is not more than three or four centuries old. PARANAVITANA points to the fact that in the Laṅkātilaka inscription among the images set up in that Vihāra Viṣṇu is mentioned together with gods like Brahma and Sakka, but Upulvan (*Uppalavanna*) as a distinct deity in a class including guardian deities of Ceylon. Here we come to the root of the Uppalavanna cult. According to the legend in Mhvs 7.2 sq. the Buddha, when he was entering into Nirvāṇa, ordered the god Sakka (Indra) to protect Laṅkā, the future home of the true doctrine, and Sakka handed over the guardianship of Ceylon to the 'Lotus-hued god'. In this passage, Uppalavanna is not ranked with Sakka as Viṣṇu would be, but clearly subordinate, his servant or helper. Nevertheless he is always called *deva*, not *devatā*, in the

¹ For the cult of goddess Pattini and for the history of Pattini cult in Ceylon, see M. D. RAGHAVAN, The Pattini Cult as a Socio-Religious Institution, Ethnol. Survey of Ceylon, No. 3, Spolia Zeylanica, Vol. 26, pt. II, p. 251—261; cf. also [H. NEVILL], The Story of Kovalan, The Taprobanian, Febr. 1888, p. 16 sq.; for the cult of god Kataragamadeviyō (Skandakumāra, Mahāsena) cf. H. AMERESKERE, The Kataragama God, Ceylon Lit. Reg. 3rd Ser. I, 289 sq., 356 sq.; P. WIRZ, Kataragama, die heiligste Stätte Ceylons, Verh. d. Naturf. Ges. Basel, LV, No. 2, 1954; P. ARUNACHALAM, The Worship of Muruka, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. C. B. XXIX, No. 77, 234 sq.; Civarantam TAMPAYĀ, Nakkīrar Iyap̄piya Tirumurukāruppāḍai, Colombo 1955; Katiramalaip-paḷḷu, ed. V. KUMĀRASUVĀMI, Madras 1935; CARTMAN, Hinduism in Ceylon, p. 68 sq. (Ed.).

chronicle; for a higher rank was attributed to him, because he was the chief guardian deity of Ceylon.

The most famous temple of Uppalavaṇṇa was that in Devanagara, now Dondra, near the Southern-most point of Ceylon. The town is first mentioned in 56.6. Vikkamabāhu I, 11th century, suddenly died after a visit to Devanagara. He visited it probably in order to render homage to the Lotus-hued god. The same did Parakkamabāhu II, 13th century (83.49), who later on (85.85) restored the decayed temple there and instituted a regular summer festival for the god. In the fourteenth century Parakkamabāhu IV in the town he had founded in the Māyādhanu district, erected a temple with an image of the *devarāja* Uppalavaṇṇa (90.101 sq.).

Nātha 'Lord' is now a name for the Bodhisatta Avalokiteśvara, but it is doubtful whether, as PARANAVITANA assumes, this was already the case in the thirteenth century. It is true that in 87.3 Nātha is mentioned side by side with Metteyya, but they are both not called Bodhisattas but 'High devas' (*devā-tideva*), apparently because Nātha could not lay claim to the title of a Bodhisatta, for still in the eighteenth century in 100.248 the remarkable distinction is made between the Bodhisatta Metteyya and the Deva Nātha.

In the chapters preceding ch. 87 the name of Nātha does not occur, but in 52.47 Metteyya is called *lokanātha* 'Lord of the world', and here, I think, we arrive at the root of the conception of the god Nātha. Originally *nātha* or *lokanātha* was an attribute of Metteyya, and afterwards it became, as happens so often in the history of religion, the name of a separate god who, of course, was always closely connected with the Bodhisatta Metteyya. In the eighteenth century Narindasīha erected a shrine to the god Nātha in Sirivaddhana, Kandy (97.46), and in this town stands also the best known of all the shrines dedicated at present to Nātha (PARANAVITANA, l. l., p. 57, plate XXXVI). It is situated to the West of the temple of the Tooth relic. In a small Thūpa within the court of the shrine, the Bowl relic is said to be deposited. Several important ceremonies are connected with the worship of Nātha, and in the annual festival held in Kandy at which the Tooth relic is exhibited, the image of Nātha is given the highest place of honour next to the sacred relic.

Nevertheless I believe that the worship of Nātha originally was part of the popular religion. Nātha was a guardian deity of Ceylon similar to Uppalavaṇṇa, and the identification with Avalokiteśvara is due to Mahāyānist influence, perhaps in the tenth century, and hardly earlier, when Mahāyānism was particularly strong in Ceylon. My suggestion seems to be confirmed by the strange fact pointed to by PARANAVITANA, that the worship of Nātha in Kandy is not conducted by Buddhist priests, but by Kapurālas, i. e. by demon-priests or priests of the lowest form of popular religion. I also might refer to a passage in 99.42 where the close connexion of Nātha and Uppalavaṇṇa is made manifest by the compound *nātha-uppalavaṇṇādi-deva-pūjā* 'sacrificial festival for gods as Nāthe and Uppalavaṇṇa and the like'¹).

¹) S. PARANAVITANA, The Shrine of Upulvan at Devundara, Mem. Arch. Survey Ceylon, Vol. VI, Colombo 1953, tries to identify Uppalavaṇṇa with the vedic god Varuṇa. For the festival (*perahāra*) at Kandy, cf. A. COOMARASWAMY, Mediaeval Sinhalese Art, p. 38. (Ed.).

160. Sorcery and every sort of magic art were commonly practised in mediæval Ceylon as they are still at present. They are practised not by Bhikkhus, but by priests of inferior rank, the *kapurālas*. (Cf. W. A. DE SILVA. Sinhalese Magic and Spells, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. Ceyl. Br. XXX, No. 79, 1926, p. 193.) The word *kapurāla* means 'Master of the (magic) ritual', Sinh. *kapu* being derived from P. *kappa*, Sk. *kalpa* 'ordinance, practice, rite'. Sorcery may be practised either in order to ward off the noxious influence of evil spirits or to protect the sorcerer against the witchcraft of some foe, or to cause damage, with the assistance spirits, to another person or to get some wish fulfilled. People who were skilled in the preparation of magic potions and versed in spirit incantation wandered from village to village and offered their services to the superstitious peasants (Mhvs 66.138). An interesting scene of incantation is depicted in 41.75—85, 6th century. A certain man, versed in magic spells, wished to procure the kingship for his benefactor Mahānāga. In a full moon night he took him to the shore of the Gokaṇṇa sea, i. e. the bay into which the Mahavāliganga falls, and murmuring the usual incantations he conjured up the Nāga King. He commanded Mahānāga to touch him, but Mahānāga, through fear, did not dare to do so during the first and second watches of the night. Only in the last watch he touched him with three fingers. When the Nāga King had disappeared, the magician prophesied: After thou hast had war with three kings and slain the fourth, thou shalt be king and live yet three years, and three people of thy clan will be kings after thee. And all this was afterwards realized.

The description of a magical rite of similar kind, performed by prince Mānavamma, 7th century, is met with in 57.6 sq. The scene is again the neighbourhood of the Gokaṇṇa sea. Mānavamma making full preparations according to custom for an incantation had erected an altar with the tray of offerings (*bali-patta*) presented to the spirits who were to be conjured up. A coconut-shell filled with water was placed on the table. Then Mānavamma took the rosary in his hand and began to murmur the magic verse. To him there appeared Kumāra, i. e. the god Skanda who was chiefly worshipped in Kājaragāma, on his bird-vehicle, a peacock. The peacock pecked with its beak at the coconut-shell, but finding no drink therein, as the water had run out of its holes, he flew at the magician's face. The latter offered it his eye, and the peacock slit it open and drank thereof violently. Kumāra was pleased, he granted Mānavamma his prayed-for wish and departed brightly gleaming through the air. But Mānavamma, being one-eyed, handed over the royal dignity which had come to him, to his younger brother, himself underwent the ceremony of world-renunciation and practised ascetism.

Water, probably made magic by certain spells, and a cord spun by a virgin (cf. Sinh. *kanyā-nūla*) were always employed in sorcery. When Vijaya's companions had landed in Ceylon, Uppalavanna, the tutelary deity of Laṅkā, appeared to them in the guise of a wandering ascetic, and sprinkled water on them from his water-vessel and wound a thread about their hands in order to protect them from the witchcraft of the Yakkhas who inhabited the Island (7.8—9).

In the seventh century people are said to have taken ashes from the pyre on which the pious king Aggabodhi IV had been burnt and made out of it

medicine for themselves (46.37). For warding off the influence of evil spirits certain ceremonies and incantations were in use when a festival was to be celebrated. They were called *santi* (85.50, = Sk. *śānti*).

A word of magic efficacy in averting demons seems to have been the imperative *tiṭṭha* 'stay! halt! stop!' It was used by the Thera Soṇuttara in order to keep back the Nāgas, when he had taken possession of the relics hidden by them (31.68). It is noticeable that the modern form of the word *siṭu* is used in the same sense by the Vāddās in their charms when they wish to ward off any dangerous beast in the forest (Ind. Hist. Quarterly XI, 1935, p. 508—9).

161. In a purified form magic art was also admitted into the official religion. Ceremonies of that kind are called *paritta* 'protection (against demonic influence), Sinh. *pirit*, cf. Sk. *paritrāna*. Paritta ceremonies were publicly instituted by the priests whenever a general disaster such as drought and famine or pestilence had befallen the country, and were attended by lots of people. The priests sit side by side whilst a white or yellow cord, the *parittasutta* (Sinh. *pirit-nūla*), passed to their hands from one to the other, and recited the canonical texts contained in a book entitled *Maha-pirit-pota*. This collection of texts is meant by the book *Catu-bhāṇavāra*, 'the four Sections', quoted in Mhvs 98.24. Saraṇāṅkara is said to have composed a commentary on it¹). In Sinhalese it is called *Satar-banvar* and already mentioned in an inscription of the tenth century, Epigr. Zeyl. I, p. 48⁹⁸. The Paritta book used in Siam and edited by SUBHŪTI (The Siam Standard Paritta, Colombo 1897) contains even more texts than the Sinhalese Pirit-pota. The recitation of the Paritta texts lasted twenty-four hours and could be repeated on three or more successive days according to the importance of the event.

In the tenth century king Kassapa V had a Paritta ceremony observed in Anurādhapura by the inmates of the three fraternities (cf. 202) and thus warded off from the people the danger of plague and bad harvest (52.80). Also during the reign of Parakkamabāhu II a great heat by which every thing had been burnt up so that a famine seemed to be inevitable, was brought to an end by the Bhikkhus who recited the *paritta* and bore the sacred Tooth relic round the town. A similar ceremony was that instituted by the priests at the instigation of Upatissa I, 5th century (37.189 sq.) when the Island was vexed by the ills of a drought. The Bhikkhus reciting the Ratanasutta of the Suttanipāta which is one of the Parittasuttas and pouring out water walked round the wall of the town in the three watches of the night. When morning dawned a great cloud poured rain on the earth and the people refreshed held high festival.

In the year 1925 I myself was, with my wife, present at a *paritta* ceremony performed by the priests of the Subhadra-vihāra in Balapiṭiya, a town about

¹) Mhvs 98.24 (Cūlavs. trsl. II, p. 248) must be translated: '... and had a commentary on the book *Catubhāṇavāra* made by him...' (instead of had a commentary of the four *bhāṇavāras* made by him), with the footnote: '*Catubhāṇavāra* is the book, otherwise called *mahāpirit-pota* 'Great paritta book'. Its texts were recited in *paritta* ceremonies. It consists of 4 *bhāṇavāras*, i. e. sections of 250 verses of 32 syllables each. Hence its title (BUDDHADATTA THERA, letter dated 4. V. 1931). Saraṇāṅkara's commentary on the book, the *Catubhāṇavāra-aṭṭhakathā* is mentioned in L. de Zoysa's *Catal. of Pali &c Manuscripts*, p. 6. The title *pirit satar banvar* already occurs in an inscription of the tenth century, Epigr. Zeyl. I, p. 48⁹⁸).

50 miles S. of Colombo. Nay, we were ourselves the object of the ceremony which had been arranged by my old friend, the late Mudaliyar A. M. Gunasekara in order to assure us successful work in Ceylon and a happy return to Europe. A description may be of interest, for such ceremonies were no doubt in the same, or nearly the same form, celebrated during the mediaeval period.

The religious action took place in a large hall of the monastery. The priests, about a dozen in number, were sitting, each with his fan in hand, in a semi-circle behind a round table. A bowl was placed on the table filled with water. Out of it the *paritta-sutta*, was passed through the hands from the youngest one at the left side to the Mahāthera at the right side and finally into those of the Mudaliyar who was squatting on a mat near the feet of the High priest in the posture of praying, the hands joined at the forehead. For us two low seats were put close by the wall, a few steps away from the Mudaliyar.

First the priests three times in unison repeated the Buddhist confession (cf. 199), and proclaimed the five great precepts which must be kept by each pious Buddhist, for the layman, the Mudaliyar, who was present. Then they recited the Mahāmaṅgala-sutta of the Suttanipāta (vv. 258 sq.). It begins with the verse:

‘Many gods and men have meditated on (the idea of) luck, desiring welfare. Tell thou (what) the highest luck (is)’,

and each stanza ends with the words: ‘this is the highest luck’. After the recital was finished one of the Bhikkhus—it was the youngest, I believe—poured a few drops of water from the bowl on the foreheads of all the priests who had participated in the ceremony, the High priest addressed us with a few words in Pāli which I answered in the same language, all the priests and the Mudaliyar rose, the ceremony was at its end. (See also W. GEIGER, *Unter tropischer Sonne*, Bonn 1930, p. 28—30.)

In the *paritta* ceremonies as they were executed by the Bhikkhus, the spirit of the almighty Master contained in his words was believed to be efficacious not the magic power of the word itself, as in popular sorcery. The two were therefore essentially different, and it was a symptom of temporary decline when during the reign of Kittisirirājasīha, 18th century, members of the Order devoted themselves to unseemly professions such as *nakkhatta*, *vejjakamma* and the like (100.46). Here by these terms the activity of the Kapurālas is meant: astrology and medical practice, i. e. curing of disease by incantation, devil-dancing and similar ceremonies.

162. Fortunetelling, soothsaying, interpretation of omens, dreams or bodily marks and similar superstitious rites which originally were common elements of the primitive belief, have in this or that form also found their way into the official religion. It was generally believed that future events were forecast by omens. People who understood such forebodings and were skilled in interpreting them, the soothsayers, were called *nemittā*, *nemittikā* ‘fortunetellers’ (Mhvs 14.53; 39.22; Sk. *naimitta*, °*itika*; *nimitta* omen). Favourable signs were seen by prince Kitti, afterwards king Vijayabāhu I, 11th century, when he left his paternal home to begin the struggle for the throne (57.53). The birth of Parakkamabāhu was accompanied by many auspicious signs. Clear at that moment were all the quarters of the heavens and cool, fragrant,

gentle breezes blew; with the trumpeting of the elephants and the neighing of the horses the royal courtyard was filled with resounding din (62.38—39). Even a word of happy or unhappy augury could be an omen. By an auspicious word spoken by King Gajabāhu's Purohita and by other favourable signs prince Parakkamabāhu was fortified in the resolve to return from Pulatthinagara to his uncle's court (67.29—31).

Much room for soothsaying was given by the explanation of bodily marks by which the future fate of every man was believed to be forecast. Above I have pointed to the fact that such marks (*lakṣhaṇāni*) were often seen on the bodies of princes who were to become powerful monarchs (cf. 105). They could be seen not only in new-born children but also in adult persons and were explained by Brāhmanas or also by other people specially versed in this function (62.46 sq., 81.68 sq.). Chiromancy was apparently wide-spread. People skilled in telling the lines of the hand and other marks on the body used to visit the villages and take advantage of rustic superstition (66.132).

Dreams were also considered to be forebodings of future events, either lucky or unlucky. The chronicler of the first part of the Cūlavamsa (62.21 sq.) tells of a dream seen by the mother of his favourite hero Parakkamabāhu before the birth of her great son, and this dream bears resemblance to that seen by queen Māyā after the conception of the Buddha. The apparition of a white elephant is the centre of both dreams.

163. According to common belief it was of greatest importance to begin each undertaking, might it be a trivial one or one of great consequence, at a lucky hour. The precise indication of such an hour was the duty of the 'Astrologer', *saṃvaccharika* (Mhvs 57.48; Sk. *sāṃvatsarika*). The preliminary condition of a happy and successful end was, according to 89.39—42, the beginning at a lucky moment (*su-muhutte*), on a lucky lunar day (*su-tithimhi*), on a lucky solar day (*su-vāsare*), and under an auspicious constellation (*su-nakṣhatte*). Such was the hour, when king Parakkamabāhu II started from Jambuddoṇi, to transfer the two relics of the Bowl and Tooth to Pulatthinagara.

The idea of lucky and unlucky times is a world-wide belief. In Indian astrology those lunar days called *nandā*, *bhadrā*, *vijayā*, *pūrṇā* (cf. MONIER WILLIAMS, Sanskrit Dictionary, s. vv.) were regarded as lucky. Friday is considered an unlucky solar day even in modern times by many people in Europe, and they would, for instance, never celebrate wedding on this day. Auspicious constellations, mentioned in the Mahāvamsa, are *rohiṇī* (19.47), *visākhā* (29.1), *uttarāsālhā* (31.109).

Parakkamabāhu was, of course, born under a lucky constellation (62.37), but there was at the same time an inauspicious constellation for his father (62.55). He came to the court of his uncle Kittisirimegha under a constellation held to be propitious (63.46—47), and was waiting for a lucky constellation when he intended to leave Pulatthinagara (67.62—63). It was under an auspicious constellation that he assumed the dignity of an *ādipāda* (67.91), and that he was inaugurated as king in Pulatthinagara (71.28).

Yet in the seventeenth century king Rājasiha II is said to have sent out his army against the Portuguese under a favourable constellation (96.12 sq.), and in the eighteenth century Kittisirirājasiha celebrated a great festival under a good constellation, at a good hour, and on a good day (100.191).

II. Hinduism¹).

164. Much of what in the preceding chapter has been described as belonging to the popular religion exists in a similar form also in the lower Hinduism. But the higher Brahmanism also existed in Ceylon from early times side by side with the Buddhism. Temples of the gods (*devālaya*) are mentioned already in the fourth century A. C. King Mahāseṇa had such a temple destroyed and three Vihāras built on its place (Mhvs 37.40). In the eighth century Mahinda II restored many decayed temples of gods (*jiṇṇa-deva-kule*, 48.143) and had costly images of the gods fashioned. Parakkamabāhu is said to have erected thirteen temples for the gods and restored seventy-nine decayed temples (79.19, 22). In a later passage (79.81) the restoration of twenty-four *devālayas* is ascribed to the same king. At the time of Parakkamabāhu II, 13th century, many temples of deities existed in Pulatthinagara (88.93, 119), and among the ruins of this town several sanctuaries of Śiva and Viṣṇu were discovered. Hindu temples could be in possession of landed property, just as Buddhist monasteries, for in the seventeenth century king Rājasiha II is said to have given every thing, villages, fields and so on, that had belonged to the Buddha and the gods, according to tradition, as it had been formerly (96.39).

In the Mahāvamsa, as we shall see below, frequently controversies are reported between different Buddhist sects, but hardly any serious conflict between Brahmanism and Buddhism up to the beginning of the modern era. There was a perturbation in the thirteenth century when the usurper Māgha who came from Kalinga forced the people to adopt a false doctrine (*micchā-ditṭhi* 80.75). We do not know, however, of what kind this doctrine was; we only hear that great confusion was brought by it into the four sharply divided castes. Are we to assume that it was a peculiar form of Hinduism? A persecution of Buddhism took place, it is true, during the reign of Rājasiha I, 1581—1593. The king adopted the religion of Śiva, annihilated the Buddhist Order, slew the community of the Bhikkhus, burned the sacred books and destroyed the monasteries (93.9—11). But the motives of Rājasiha's hatred against the Order were political rather than religious, for it seems to be indubitable that the Buddhist priests, though they had always been favoured by him and his father, joined a conspiracy formed against him by the Portuguese. The persecution was the punishment for this treacherous conduct (P. E. PIERIS, *Ceylon and the Portuguese*, p. 94).

I think that the study of the Mahāvamsa even which is compiled by Buddhist priests, shows us how fallacious it is entirely to separate Buddhism from Brahmanism. The latter is by no means neglected, much less despised by the representatives of the former. In the sequence of religious development it is merely regarded as a preliminary stage and Buddhism as the final result. Symbolically this is expressed by the legend according to which the Buddha lived in the world of the Tusita gods before he descended to the world of men and having preached the true doctrine entered into Nirvāṇa, and in the same heaven the Bodhisatta Metteyya is waiting for his rebirth to a Buddha-existence.

¹ Cf. James CARTMAN, *Hinduism in Ceylon*, Colombo 1957; M. B. ARIYAPALA, *Society in Mediaeval Ceylon*, p. 179 sq. — For reference, see E. W. HOPKINS, *Epic Mythology*, *Encycl. of Indo-Aryan Res.* III 1 B, Straßburg 1915. (Ed.).

We also know (see above 122) that during the whole mediaeval period the Brāhmaṇas, foremost the Purohita, had influence at court in Ceylon, and that the rites prescribed in the Gṛhya-sūtras were strictly observed by the king and the royal family. We know moreover that Brāhmaṇas and Samaṇas, i. e. Brahmanical and Buddhist priests, were equally supported by the Ruler, and it is a Buddhist priest by whom this is acknowledged and praised as a pious and meritorious work. Nay, Buddhism itself has been influenced by Brahmanical conceptions. I point to the fact that the genuine Brahmanical idea of *bhakti* 'devotion' as one of the three ways that lead to the union with god—the two others are *karman* 'ritualism' and *jñāna* 'philosophical perception'—has been transferred into Buddhism.

When by a miracle a great cloud was prevented from disturbing a festival procession instituted by Parakkamabāhu, the people attributed it to the ruler's pious devotion to the Buddha (*ayaṃ bhaddi Tathāgate*, 74.243). At a sacrificial feast arranged by Parakkamabāhu II all people venerated the sacred relics of the Buddha in devotion (*bhaddiyā*, 85.33), and the king himself held with great devotion (*puthu-bhaddimā*, 85.70) such a festival for the Master in Sirivaddhana. He also showed great devotion to the sacred footprint on the top of the Sumanakūṭa by a costly sacrifice (85.121). The fact that all these passages only refer to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries must be noted.

165. The existence of the Hindu gods (*deva*, *asura*, *amara*) and of the heavenly world was not denied by orthodox Buddhists. The gods were considered as beings living on the highest stage in the sequence of rebirths and their heaven as an invisible world high above the visible world of men. Pious kings may be reborn in heaven. Thus Saddhātissa, last cent. B. C., when he had accomplished many works of merit, was reborn after his death among the Tusita gods (Mhvs 33.13). In the world of gods a distinction is made between *brahmā* and *devā* (Mhvs 18.51; cf. *devabrahma-manussā*, 87.11). The Brahmas are of higher rank than Devas, and the Brahma world is the highest of all the heavenly worlds. When the Bodhi-tree was to be planted in Anurādhapura, it rose into the air sending forth glorious rays which reached the Brahma world (19.45). The Thera Tissa, the president of the third Buddhist council, had lived there, before he was born in the human world (5.139).

This passage shows that holy ascetics who were endowed with the six supernatural faculties were of equal rank with gods. Their power reached the Brahma world (31.7 sq.). The gods were not objects of worship, but themselves worshippers of the Buddha side by side with pious men. They were Buddhists and would never have attained their prominent position without having been true adherents of the Buddhist doctrine. When the relics, to be deposited in the Great Thūpa, were fetched by the Thera Soṇuttara from the Nāgas, the god Sakka came to the spot where the Thera had emerged from the earth, bringing a golden throne. Vissakamma (Sk. *viśvakarman*), the celestial architect, built a jewel-pavillon where the urn with the relics was placed on the throne. The whole scene of the gods rendering homage to the relics is then depicted after the model of a royal *abhiseka* festival (31.75 sq.; cf. also 30.74 sq.). God Brahmā held the parasol as the king's *chattaggāhaka*; Saṃtusita held the yaktail whisk, Suyāma the jewelled fan, and Sakka the shell with water as *purohita*.

The four great kings, the *lokapālā* or guardians of the world, stood with swords in their grip, and the thirty-three gods (*tetiṃsa devaputtiā* = Sk. *trayastrīṃśad-devāḥ*) with baskets in their hands. The thirty-two celestial maidens (*kumāriyo dvatiṃsa*) after having offered heavenly flowers stood there holding lamps on staves. The twenty-eight Yakkha generals were present to ward off the evil Yakkhas. Pañcasikha (Sk. *pañcaśikha*) and Timbaru (Sk. *tumbaru, tumburu*) played the lute and made music. Many Devas stood there singing sweet songs, and the Nāga-king Mahākāla chanting praises in many-fold way.

In this list of gods Samtusita, Suyāma, the celestial maidens, and the Yakkha chieftains are particularly Buddhist deities who perhaps originally were worshipped in the popular cult and afterwards admitted into the number of higher goddesses. But they all together with the gods of the whole Hindu pantheon clearly bear in that description the same relation to the Buddha as in the human world the supreme court-officials to the king. They are themselves powerful and of high rank, but inferior to the Master forming his stately entourage. This is made manifest by the titles attributed to the Buddha *devātideva* 'god above the gods' (1.57) or *devadeva* 'god of the gods' (82.17).

166. Things and qualities proper to a king or prince are frequently compared to those proper to a god. After having regained the Tooth relic from Rohaṇa, king Parakkamabāhu is said to have borne it in festival procession on his head, like to god Śiva, the Moon-bearer (*canda-dhara*) who bears the crescent moon on his forehead, and returned to his palace, as the god Brahmā returns to the Brahma-palace (Mhvs 74.193 sq.). The palace built by Kassapa I in Sihagiri is (39.5) compared to the Ālakamanda palace of Kubera, the god of wealth, in the Himālaya mountains, one of the palaces erected by Parakkamabāhu to Indra's palace Vejayanta (Sk. *vaijayanta*), and also named after it (73.70; cf. 89.40), and the whole of the town Pulatthinagara to Indra's town Amarāvati (80.5; cf. 88.121; 89.5) or to that of Kubera, Alakā (80.5).

To the wisdom of Bṛhaspati, the priest and teacher of the Devas (*amara-mantar* or *-mantin*), that of the kings Aggabodhi I and Kassapa V is compared (42.3; 52.38). Mānavamma's bravery is like that of Viṣṇu (called *nārāyaṇa*, 47.25) in the battle of the gods with the demons. Doughty soldiers in Parakkamabāhu's army are compared to the troupes of the death-god Yama (72.249), i. e. to the Yāmas of the Hindu belief (v. E. W. HOPKINS, *Epic Mythology*, p. 115). Buddhādāsa, about 400 A. C., protected Anurādhapura, as Vessavaṇa, i. e. Kubera protects Ālakamanda (37.106). He and prince Mahinda, 9th century, at the head of their army are compared to Indra (called *vāsava* in 37.151, and for the sake of the pun *mahinda* in 51.108) at the head of the Devas, and Moggallāna, brother and successor of Kassapa I, to the same god (called *sujāmpati*, 39.23) who fares forth to fight the demons. Parakkamabāhu made his entrance as victor in Pulatthinagara as Indra (*surinda*, 72.299) entered the city of gods after his victory in the battle with the Asuras.

167. None of the Hindu gods is as frequently mentioned in the chronicle as Indra. He was, no doubt, the most popular deity also for the Hindus, and for the Buddhists of Ceylon he had a particularly prominent position, because he was honoured as the chief guardian Deva of the Island (7.2 sq., v. 159). He bore many names, as also in the epic mythology of the Hindus (E. W. HOPKINS,

l. 1., p. 122 sq.). Some of them occur in the passages quoted above, others are *pākaśāsana* (72.186, = Sk. *pākaśāsana*) and *sahassakkha* 'the god with thousand eyes' (72.328 = Sk. *sahasrākṣa*). Foremost stands his name Sakka (Sk. *śakra*) which is commonly used. Sakka is generally regarded as the king of gods: *devānaṃ inda* (17.13), *devarāja* (62.11), *devinda* (72.168). He commands the rain-god Pajjunna to send rain to the earth in due season (21.31); at Sakka's order the bricks necessary for erecting the Great Thūpa are provided by Vissakamma (28.6); the four great guardian gods of the world, the Lokapālas, obey the command of king Sakka as the generals of Parakkamabāhu that of their Lord (72.59). Thus the position of Indra in the celestial world is like that of worldly kings and we understand why the latter are so frequently compared to Sakka.

Among the gods who rendered homage to the relics of the Buddha (31.75 sq.) Brahmā is mentioned, but Śiva (P. *siva*) and Viṣṇu (P. *veṇhu*) are missing. Śiva's name only occurs in 93.9, 10 (v. above 164), but the god is meant by *candadhara* (74.193, v. above) and perhaps with *naralokakapālin* 'Protector of the human world' (73.91; cf. my trsl. Cūlav, II, p. 11, n. 3). After Caṇḍī (or Durgā), the consort of Siva one of the gates of Pulatthinagara was named (73.161). Viṣṇu is mentioned only in 47.25 as Nārāyaṇa. The reason may be that when the first part of the Cūlavamṣa was compiled, Viṣṇu had already identified definitely with the Uppalavaṇṇa deva. The name of Viṣṇu's wife Lakkhī (Sk. *lakṣmī*), the goddess of fortune and beauty, occurs 72.101 in a poetical image. Heroic warriors are, as it were, wedded to Lakkhī: they gain the victory in battle, as a man in wedlock becomes master of the woman.

It appears, I think, from what I said in the present chapters that the Hinduistic mythology was by no means a foreign body within Buddhism, but firmly fitted into the Buddhist world-system and the mentality of the adherents of the Buddhist doctrine.

III. Buddhism¹).

1. Buddha, Dhamma, Saṅgha.

168. The Buddhist religion is comprised in the triad *buddha-dhamma-saṅgha* 'the Buddha—the Doctrine—the Community'. These are the 'three (sacred) objects' (*vatthuttaya*, Mhv 12.28; 85.48, 55 &c) or the 'three jewels' (*ratanaṭṭaya*, 5.81; 21.8; 64.15; 87.43 &c). Those who have faith in that triad and are devoted to it are the true adherents of the Buddha.

The Buddha is the first of the three sacred objects and his personality the centre of the Buddhist creed, because by his teaching the way of salvation was opened to mankind. It is matter of course that all the legends concerning the life and activity of the Master as well as of his predecessors were well known

¹) For Ceylon Buddhism and its history, see E. W. ADIKARAM, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo 1946; W. RAHULA, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon, The Anurādhapura Period*, Colombo 1956; Vincent PANDITHA, *Buddhism during the Polonnaruva Period*, Ceylon Historical Journ. IV, p. 113 sq.; M. ŚRĪ RAMMAṆḌALA, *Daṁbadeṇi kati-kāvāt hā śāsana tatvaya, Sāhityaya, śaka varṣa 1880*, p. 90 sq.; Vinsant PAṆḌITA, *Kōṭṭe yugayē Bauddha tatvaya, Sāhityaya, ś. v. 1879*, 1, p. 66 sq.; M. B. ARIYAPALA, *Society in Mediaeval Ceylon*, p. 227 sq. (Ed.).

to the compilers of the chronicle. I need not quote, therefore, all the single details referred to in the Mahāvamsa, but can confine myself to what has been added to the old traditions in Ceylon.

The genealogy of the Buddha is given in Mhvs 2.15 sq. The report is of interest, because according to it in the Sakya clan cross-cousin marriage which is common custom in Southern India occurred in three generations. Cf. M. B. EMENEAU, Journ. Am. Or. Soc. 59, 1939, p. 220 sq. The Sakya Jayasena had a son Sihahanu and a daughter Yasodharā, and Devadaha a son Añjana and a daughter Kaccānā. Sihahanu married Kaccānā and Añjana married Yasodharā. Sihahanu-Kaccānā had a son Suddhodana and a daughter Amitā, Añjana-Yasodharā a son Suppabuddha and the daughters Māyā and Pajāpati. Suppabuddha married Amitā, and Suddhodana married Māyā and Pajāpati. The son of Suddhodana and Māyā was Siddhattha, the later Buddha; Suppabuddha had a son Devadatta, the later adversary of the Buddha, and a daughter Bhaddakaccānā who became Siddhattha's wife. The son of both was Rāhula.

Of Ceylonese origin is the legend of the Buddha's three visits to Laṅkā. The first (Mhvs 1.19—43) took place in the ninth month of his buddhahood. The Master went to Mahiyaṅga where the Yakkhas had assembled. In order to free the Island from them he caused the island of Giridīpa come near to them, settled them there and made it return to its former place. Giridīpa is perhaps merely a name of the mountainous interior districts of Ceylon. After the Yakkhas were removed, the Buddha preached his doctrine to the local deities and converted their prince, Mahāsamana, the tutelary deity of the Sumanakūṭa. A Thūpa was erected on the spot and afterwards enlarged and completed by a nephew of king Devānaṃpiyatissa and by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. This is the legend of the present Mahiyaṅga-thūpa at Alut-nuvara, situated on the right bank of the Mahavāliganga. It is still now-a-days honoured as the oldest Thūpa of the Island.

At the time of the Buddha's second visit (1.44—70) there was in Ceylon a war between the Nāgas dwelling in the ocean and on the mainland. The Master preached to them the doctrine that begets concord, and converted them to the Buddhist creed. At Kalyāṇī-Kālaniya he planted a *rājāyatana* tree (*Buchanania latifolia*, Sinh. *kiripaḷu*) to do homage thereto.

In the eighth year of his buddhahood the Master, invited by the Nāga-king Maṇiakkhika, came to Kalyāṇī on his third visit to Laṅkā (1.71—83). He preached the doctrine at the spot where in later times the Kalyāṇīthūpa stood, and went thereafter to the Sumanakūṭa on which he left his footsteps, to Dīghavāpi, and finally to the place where later on Anurādhapura was built, consecrating by his presence all the spots which were distinguished afterwards by holy buildings and by the sacred Bodhi tree.

169. The legend is amplified in Mhvs 15.57 sq. so that also the three predecessors in the present *kappa* or world-era of the Buddha are believed to have visited Ceylon and especially the afterwards sanctified places in Anurādhapura. The first of them, the Buddha Kakusandha, came to the Island in order to free the people from a pestilence that had been caused by demons, the second, Koṇāgamaṇa, to make an end of a pernicious drought, and the third, Kassapa, to settle a fraternal war between two kings. The Island and its capital town wore a different name under each of the three Buddhas. The former was called

Ojadīpa, Varadīpa, and Maṇḍadīpa respectively, the latter Abhaya, Vaḍḍhamāna, and Visāla. But the events always passed off in a similar manner. The visits ended with the dedication to the Buddha of a park near the town by the inhabitants of the Island. The names are again different. Kakusandha received the garden called Mahātitthaka, Koṇāgamana the Mahānoma-grove and Kassapa the Mahāsāgara-garden. By this legend the dedication of the Mahāmegha-park to the Thera Mahinda by king Devānampiyatissa is foreshadowed. The Thera himself is made to tell the legend to the king.

Another legend of Ceylonese origin is that of the five great resolutions (*mahāadhittāna-pañcakam* 17.46 sq., 18.22; 82.33) formed by the Buddha when he was lying on the bed of his Nirvāna. Three of them concerned the miracles which were to be connected with the sacred Bodhi tree, the two others those connected with the Collar-bone relic laid in the Thūpārāma and with the relics deposited in the Mahāthūpa.

The pupils of the Buddha were eighty; the first of them was Sāriputta. King Buddhādāsa, 4th century, possessed eighty heroic sons who bore the names of these eighty disciples of the Master (37.176). Parakkamabāhu II is said to have held for the eighty great disciples, for each of them, on the same day, eighty great sacrificial feasts (85.107). The Rajatavihāra, N. of Kurunāgala, was according to a late passage 100.237 erected by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi when he was inspired by the wish for the august position of the chief disciple (*aggasāvaka*) of the future Buddha Metteyya. According to Mhvs 35.4 the Vihāra was built by king Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi, 1st century A. C.

The Buddha bears many names in the chronicle. He is the 'Omniscient' (*sabbāññu*, 85.54), and the 'five-eyed one' (*pañca-netta*, *p^o-cakkhu*, 3.1; 17.46; 18.22), because he possesses the bodily eyes, the heavenly eye by which he sees everything that comes to pass in the universe, the eye of wisdom, the eye of omniscience, and the Buddha-eye by means of which he beheld the saving truth. He is the *dasa-bala* 'gifted with the ten powers', ten kinds of knowledge, peculiar to a Buddha (3.6). In 85.100 sq. he is called the only bridge over the ocean of the circle of rebirths (*samsāra-...eka-setu*), the foremost banner of the Sakya clan (*sakka-vams'eka-ketu*), the Wise (*muni*), the King of the wise (*muni-rāja*), the Master (*satthar*), preserver of the world (*loka-bhattar*), the Seer (*isi*), who is master of his senses (*vasin*), kinsman of the world (*loka-bandhu*), and kinsman of the sun (*bhānu-bandhu*), because like the sun he illumines the whole world, at the same time because the clan of the Sakyas belongs to the solar dynasty. The common name *Gotama* of the Buddha only occurs in Mhvs 1.11 and 15.160, but, strangely enough nowhere in the Cūlavamsa.

170. There are no discussions in the chronicle concerning the Dhamma as source of Buddhist philosophy, but with its moral principles the minds of the people are constantly imbued. The history is the document of their truth. Those who strictly observe them, obtain bliss and happiness in the present or in a future existence, but those who neglect them are working their own destruction. Each action has its reward (*vipāka*), either bliss or punishment. The apostate Rājasīha carried on the government only in virtue of merit acquired in former existences (Mhvs 93.15); on the other hand the cruel death of Dhātusena, a king of great merits, is explained by the fact that he once had treated a Bhikkhu without proper respect (38.112—114).

All beings are subject to the law of *samsāra*, they are roaming in the circle of rebirths. It rests with the man himself to make the following existences better or worse. Their character depends upon the *kamma* of the individual at the time of death, i. e. the sum of his *puñña* and *apuñña*, his merit, and demerit, his good and bad actions. The phrases *yathākammaṃ upāgami* (37.247; 41.41; 53.12 &c) or *yathākammaṃ gato* (37.51; 52.36; 63.18) 'he went (passed away) according to his doing' frequently occur to indicate the future fate of a dying person. The verb *gam* is used with reference to the five *gati*, the five possible 'ways' or forms of rebirth in hell, or as an animal, as a restless ghost (*petā*), as a man, or as a Deva.

Generally these phrases are used in a propitious sense in connexion with the decease of a pious king. Sirimeghavaṇṇa 'after performing innumerable many meritorious works went at the end of his life thither whither his merit took him' (*gato so tattha yā gati*, 37.99). It is often simply said that such a king after death went into heaven or came into the company of gods (54.6; 55.33; 81.79 &c.; 56.6).

Merit acquired by a living person may also be conferred upon a deceased one in order to improve his *gati*. This is the theory of *patti* (Sk. *prāpti*) examples of which occur in the chronicle. King Jetṭhatissa before committing suicide in battle sent a high dignitary with a message to the Queen entreating her to forsake the world, to recite the sacred texts and to transfer the merit to the King (44.109). After the death of his son Siddhattha king Kassapa V, 10th century, built a splendid hall for the Bhikkhus and instituted an offering of alms, transferring to the deceased son the merit thereof (52.69). Even in modern times a *patti* is mentioned in 100.146, 149.¹

171. The first of the great precepts strictly to be observed by all Buddhists, by priests as well as by laymen, is the *ahiṃsā* the precept not to hurt any living being. We understand that pious kings over and over again enjoined it on their subjects. King Aṃaṇḍagāmaṇi, 1st century A. C., on the whole Island prohibited killing (Mhvs 35.6). In a similar manner Kassapa IV, about 900, granted safety to all creatures on land and water (52.15), and Parakkama-bāhu in every month on the four Uposatha days commanded safety of life for all animals without exception, living on dry land and in water (74.20—21). It is remarkable that in the twelfth century one seems to have realised the impossibility of a full execution of the law of *ahiṃsā*.

The quintessence of the Dhamma is the 'noble eightfold path' (*atthaṅgik'ariyamagga* 84.32). It consists of the eight essentials beginning with *sammā-ditṭhi* 'right discernments' and ending with *sammā-samādhi* 'right spiritual concentration'. In order to reach by this eightfold path the saving shore from the ocean of rebirths, Parakkama-bāhu II had built for the Bhikkhus eight times a vast hall resting on sixty pillars (84.32—34). The Dhamma of the Buddha is the absolute truth. Therefore for conversion to Buddhism the expression *dharmābhisamaya* 'approach to the dhamma' is used. It occurs in the old Mahāvamsa (e. g. 15.85) in connexion with the conversions which

¹) This is commonly practised even today. It is called *puññānumodanā*, Sinh. *pin-anumodanā*. On the meaning of *patti* and *pattānumodanā* cf. J. F. Dickson, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. VIII, No. 29, p. 204 sq. (Ed.).

took place when the doctrine of the Buddha was first preached or adopted as the official religion in Ceylon. Those who were converted are said to have been made pure so that they are able to see the truth (*dharmacakkhūṃ visodhayaṃ* 12.30).

The lowest of the four stages leading gradually to Nirvāṇa is called 'entrance into the stream (of salvation)': *sotāpatti*. The further three stages will be obtained by true insight (*vipassanā* 5.152; 19.46). The second stage is that of 'one who has only one existence before him': *sakadāgāmin*; the third that of 'one who will no more be reborn to a worldly existence': *anāgāmin*; the fourth and highest is the Arahantship: *arahatta*. The Arahant when dying enters into Nirvāṇa. When at the beginning of the Mahāthūpa the Grand Thera Piyadassin preached the true doctrine to king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, 40,000 people were converted and the same number reached the first stage of sanctification; a thousand layfolk attained to the second, the third, and the fourth stage; 18,000 Bhikkhus and 14,000 Bhikkhunīs attained to Arahantship (29.67—69). When the relics were deposited in the Mahāthūpa, the casket which contained them rose into the air, opened of itself, and the relics, taking the form of the Buddha, performed a miracle which had been brought to pass by the Master during his lifetime. On beholding the miracle many millions of men and Devas attained to Arahantship and those who attained the three minor fruits of salvation were past reckoning (31.97—101). These are marvellous stories which show that sanctification may by miracle also be obtained in a moment. The Arahant is called *khīṇāsava*, or *anāsava* 'one in whom human passions (*āsava*) are extinct', or 'one who is free from human passions'. The Arahant is also possessed of the six supernatural faculties, he is *chaḷabhiñña*. Cf. 4.12 (with note in my trsl.); 14.14; 52.38. But Sumana, one of Mahinda's companions, was as *Sāmaṇera* in the possession of those faculties (13.4). The first of them is *iddhi* the faculty of working miracles.

It must be pointed to the fact that we hear of these miraculous things frequently, but almost exclusively in the oldest part of the chronicle.

172. Saṅgha, the 'Community' is the sum total of all the single Bhikkhu groups widely spread over the whole Indian world. It is therefore called the community 'of the four quarters' (*cātuddisiya*, °*saka*, Mhvs 45.54; 73.155). The expression already occurs in the oldest Brāhmī inscriptions on caves. Since the community consists of monks and nuns the term *ubhato-saṅgha*, 'community of both (sexes)' is used in 32.34. The single congregations or groups living together in a monastery are called *gaṇa* 'chapter' (89.18, 57), and the monks forming such a chapter *gaṇavāsino* (*bhikkhavo* 74.48). In contrast are the hermits and ascetics who live alone in the wilderness.

The organisation of the Saṅgha is regulated by the Vinaya-piṭaka. The lower ordination of those who wish to enter into the Order is that of *pabbajjā* 'leaving the world'. It is carried out by a Bhikkhu. Whenever in any country the doctrine was first preached, usually thousands of the hearers are said to have wished to receive the first ordination (12.27, 30, 32 &c). When Mahinda had preached it in Anurādhapura, the nephew of king Devānampiyatissa, Ariṭṭha with his fifty-five brothers, asked the Thera for the *pabbajjā* (16.10 sq.) Women could not be invested by a Bhikkhu, but only by a Bhikkhunī. When Queen Anulā after hearing Mahinda with five hundred women wished to enter the

Order, the Thera advised the King to fetch from India, for carrying out the *pabbajjā* ceremony, his sister, the Bhikkhunī Saṅghamittā (15.18 sq.). In the mean time the women piously kept the ten precepts (*dasa-sīla*) and wore the yellow robe (*kāsāya*, 18.9 sq.), and when finally Anulā had received the ordination from the Therī Saṅghamittā, she at once attained to arahantship, the fourth and highest stage of sanctification (19.65).

Not only in ancient times (cf. 17.57—58; 19.65; 34.28—29, 35), but also in the mediaeval period members of the royal family sometimes, at least temporarily, entered into the Buddhist Order. Mahānāma, the younger brother of king Upatissa, 5th century, had received the *pabbajjā*, but after his brother's death, he returned to the lower (*hīna*), i. e. worldly life and ascended the throne (37.210). A grandson of king Dāṭhapatissa also became a priest (57.31), and the ordination of prince Mānavamma who had lost an eye (cf. 160) and therefore renounced the throne and became a priest, was, at the same time, a remarkable exception to the Vinaya rule that individuals with a bodily defect are not admitted to the Order (57.19). Still at the beginning of the seventeenth century Senāratana, the younger brother of King Vimaladhammasuriya is said to have been a priest (94.22), but the King made him leave the Order and placed the burden of government upon him.

By the *pabbajjā* ceremony the candidate becomes a 'novice' (*sāmaṇera*), not yet a priest. Each Sāmaṇera chooses a Bhikkhu as his 'master' (*upajjhāya*) by whom he is instructed in the duties of the monkish life, and a 'teacher' (*ācariya*) who introduces him into the study of the sacred books (Mhvs 5.69, 207—9; cf. Epigr. Zeyl. II, p. 276, n. 2). In the relation (*nissaya*, 36.112) to his master the Sāmaṇera is called 'apprentice' (*antevāsīn*), in that to his teacher 'pupil' (*sāvaka*). The two offices of the master and teacher might also be combined in one Bhikkhu.

The candidates were expected to bring some necessaries such as a robe and an alms-bowl, when they asked for ordination. Those who did not possess them were nicknamed *paṇḍupalāsā* 'sear leaves'. King Kassapa II, 7th century, fulfilled the desires of one hundred Paṇḍupalāsas by presenting them with robes (45.5; cf. WIJESINHA, Mhvs transl. p. 32, n.). But even Sāmaṇeras could attain to a high stage of spiritual perfection. Examples in ancient times are Sumana (see 171) and in modern times Saraṇāṅkara (see 192).

173. The 'Admission' to the Order was attained by the *upasampadā* ceremony. Those who have passed this ceremony (*upasampanna*) bear the title *bhikkhu* 'mendicant'. Another name is *samaṇa* (Sk. *śramaṇa*) 'ascetic', most frequently used for Buddhist priests in contrast with the Brāhmaṇas (Mhvs 67.94 &c). Mahinda introduced himself and his companions to king Devānampiyatissa with the words: 'We are Samaṇas, pupils of the King of truth' (14.8; cf. 26.21; 30.37; 33.93; 97.4). People disguised as Samaṇas were sent out as spies by prince Parakkamabāhu (66.144).

An honorific name of a Bhikkhu is *yati* 'ascetic' (37.175; 53.15; 57.19; 89.55). A prominent priest may be called *yatissara* 'chief of the ascetics' (67.61, 80). Another honorific for Bhikkhus is *ayyaka* (Sk. *āryaka*) 'the notable' (45.69).

Bhikkhus who were members of the Order for a longer series of years get the title *thera* (Sk. *sthavira*) 'Elder', or *mahāthera* 'Grand Elder' (84.38). Revata, the first teacher of Buddhaghosa, bears the latter (37.218). Other

titles are *sāmin* 'Lord' or *mahāsāmin* 'Grand Lord'. They are given to the priests Saṅgharakkhita and Anomadassin in the thirteenth century (81.76; 86.38). In 53.23 *sāsana-sāmin* 'Lord of the church' is opposed to the wordly title *dīpa-sāmin* 'Lord of the Island' (cf. 52.20). The regent Vijayabāhu IV is said to have bestowed titles as *mahāsāmin*, *mūlathera*, *mahāthera*, *parivenāthera* on prominent Bhikkhus in connexion with an Upasampadā festival instituted by him (89.64). It seems that such a custom came into use only in the later centuries of the mediaeval period.

At the time of the second council, held in Vesālī, the Thera Sabbakāmin was *saṅghatthera* on the earth, i. e. supreme Lord of the whole Buddhist church (4.56). This title is preliminary to the later title *saṅgharāja* which seems to have gained acceptance at the time of Parakkamabāhu and also existed in Siam (100.69)¹). The last Saṅgharāja was Saraṇaṅkara. In 37.45 we are told that Mahāsena distributed alms for the priesthood to one thousand Saṅghattheras and must assume that here the chiefs of the single *gaṇas* are meant by the title.

Finally a word on the rosary (*akkhamālā*, = Sk. *akṣamālā*), as it is now used in Ceylon by Hindu mendicants (cf. CLOUGH, Sinh. Dict., s. v.). The term *akkhamālā* does not occur in the whole Pāli literature, as far as I know, except in the Mahāvamsa. Here we read in 57.6 that a rosary is in the hands of a magician who begins an incantation, and in 46.17 king Aggabodhi IV, 7th century, who was a devoted friend of the Bhikkhu community, is said to have made a rosary of his pearl chain of one string (*ekāvali*, cf. 119 e).

174. The number of the nuns (*bhikkhunī*) was considerably smaller than that of the monks and the part they played in society was much less important. In Mhvs 26.15 we read that at the consecration festival of the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra a hundred thousand Bhikkhus and ninety thousand Bhikkhunīs were present, but such fantastic figures are quite unreliable.

The monasteries inhabited by nuns are called *upassaya* or *bhikkhun'upassaya* 'shelter or abode for Bhikkhunīs' (18.12; 20.21; 37.43). King Moggallāna I, 496—513, built such a nunnery and handed it over to the Sāgalika-Bhikkhunīs (39.43). These were, it seems, female adherents of a peculiar Buddhist school (cf. 201) which had received its name from that of *Sāgalā* (Sk. *Śākala*), the capital city of King Milinda (Menandros). In the old Mahāvamsa also Hatthāhaka-Bhikkhunīs are mentioned as a separate group. They were named after the locality where they had their abode (19.71). A third group of Bhikkhunīs is said in 54.47 to have proceeded from the orthodox Thera school.

Mahinda I, 8th century, erected an abode for the Bhikkhunīs which was called after himself and granted them a village (48.71), and king Kassapa IV, 896—913 built the Tissārāma for nuns and entrusted these with the care of the sacred Bodhi tree in the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra (52.24).

In the seventh century queen Jeṭṭhā, the consort of king Aggabodhi IV, erected the Jeṭṭhārāma for the Bhikkhunīs and granted it two villages as well

¹) There were Dhammakitti² (cf. above, 65, and MALALASEKERA, Pāli Lit. of Ceylon, p. 240, 242) in the time of Vikkamabāhu IV. and Dhammakitti³ (cf. above, 65, and MALALASEKERA, l. l., p. 242 sq.) in the time of Virabāhu II, Saṅgharājas in Ceylon. In the reign of Viravikkama, another Dhammakitti was the head of the order (Mhvs 92.21). (Ed.)

as a hundred monastery helpers (46.27—28). We understand that it were chiefly queens and other women of noble birth who supported the nuns (49.25).

After a series of years the Bhikkhunīs received the title *therī* 'elder sister'. Saṅghamittā is called so in 19.65, and *mahātherī* in 19.77.

2. The Vihāra.

175. The number of Buddhist monasteries (*vihāra*) in Ceylon was constantly increasing from the establishment of Buddhism there in the third pre-Christian century, and had become very great in the mediaeval period. They were always foundations of pious people, but there was a great difference concerning their extent and supplies and the number of buildings they enclosed.

The four oldest and most prominent vihāras were those in Anurādhapura (Mhvs 53.37; 54.5, 33, 54), the Mahāvihāra, Maricavaṭṭi-, Abhayagiri-, and Jetavana-vihāra. They were founded, in succession, by the kings Devānampiyatissa (15.214), Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (26.12 sq.) Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (33.81), and Mahāsena (37.33) between the 3rd century B. C. and the 4th century A. C. The Abhayagiri-vihāra is also called Uttara-vihāra 'the Northern monastery' (41.96; 50.79). In the later half of the mediaeval time 'eight original monasteries' (*aṭṭha mūlavihārā* or *aṭṭhāyatanāni*) are mentioned, but their names are not specified in the chronicle. In the turbulent times of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they were often plundered in a reckless manner by tyrannic rulers (cf. 61.59 sq.), but after the restoration of the Sinhalese kingdom Parakkamabāhu II gave back to the eight monasteries the whole property they had lost (84.4). The same king built round about his capital Jambuddoṇi monasteries for the eight Grand Theras who dwelt in the eight *āyatanas* (84.18).

Instead of *vihāra* frequently *ārāma* 'grove' is used to denote a monastery, because Buddhist monks with predilection settled in groves. The ground near Anurādhapura destined for the first vihāra is called *Mahāmeghavanārāma* (15.185, 187; 19.41) or *Tissārāma* (15.174, 179, 203) because it was a park-like part of the Mahāmegha-forest which was presented to Mahinda by the king (Devānampiyatissa). On purpose the King asked the Thera: 'Is a grove allowed to the brotherhood?', and the question was answered by Mahinda: 'It is allowed.' (15.16)

The term *assama* = Sk. *āśrama* 'hermitage' is seldom used in the chronicle. In 72.145 the plural *assamā* is combined with *vannā* 'castes', and this combination means there the same as otherwise the compound *loka-sāsana* 'world and church'.

Each monastery had its sacred boundary (*sīmā*) which was fixed according to the prescriptions in a solemn manner. For the Mahāvihāra the King himself marked the boundary by making a furrow (*sūtā*) in a circle which began near the ford of the Kadamba river (Malvatu-oya) and ended when he again reached the river (15.191). In a later interpolation (cf. my ed. of the Mahāvamsa, App. B, p. 331) the single boundary-marks (*nimittāni*) are exactly described. The action of that ancient King was imitated by Parakkamabāhu I when he bestowed the Jetavana-vihāra in Pulatthinagara upon the Buddhist

brotherhood (78.56 sq.), and again in the 18th century the boundaries of a new monastery were fixed by the king solemnly and with great exactness (100.129, 287, 291).

Within the outer boundary which generally was marked by a stone-wall (*pākāra*, 78.91; cf. 36.8, 37; 78.51; 100.217, 265) the area of the monastery was again divided by inner boundaries into 'courts' (*mālaka*) where the various ecclesiastical acts were carried out by the brotherhood (15.29). There were, for instance, thirty-two *mālakas* in the Mahāvihāra (15.192; 16.15). One of them was called Mahāmucala-mālaka, another Pañhamba-mālaka (15.36, 38). In the former the Uposatha-house of the brotherhood was erected. The Bodhi-tree had also its special court in the Vihāra.

The whole area within the sacred boundary was the inviolable property of the Church, as long as the Bhikkhus themselves did not give it up. Only the brotherhood were entitled to remove a *simā*. The terms for this act are *simam samūhan* and subst. *simāsamuggāta*. This becomes evident by the history of the foundation of the Jetavana-vihāra (37.32—37, 56—57). Wishing to build it in the Joti-grove within the boundaries of the Mahāvihāra King Mahāsena ordered the monks dwelling in this Vihāra to remove the boundary. The Bhikkhus refused to do it and abandoned the monastery. But a few of them remained there, hidden in various places, and prevented other Bhikkhus from performing a valid *simāsamuggāta*.

176. Since the Buddha attained the highest enlightenment (*sambodhi*) when meditating under an *assattha* tree (Sk. *āsvattha*, *Ficus religiosa*) near Bōgayā in Magadha, this tree, called Bodhi-tree, is sacred to all Buddhists. A Bodhi-tree generally enclosed by a stone terrace (*pāsāna-vedikā*), is an essential part of each Buddhist monastery in Ceylon.

The oldest and most sacred Bodhi-tree was that of the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura. According to tradition (cf. Mhvs chapters 18 and 19) a branch of the holy tree of Bōgayā was brought to Ceylon by king Devānampiyatissa and planted in the court of the monastery founded by him. That took place in the eighteenth year of the reign of king Asoka, i. e. 251 B. C. (Mhvs 20.1). A withered *Ficus religiosa*, protected by latticed terraces so that it is hardly approachable, is still venerated in Anurādhapura as that ancient Bodhi-tree. Evidently it is a very old specimen though its identity cannot be proved with absolute certainty, and there is but scanty life in its branches.

The chronicle reports events connected with the Mahābodhi-tree up to the tenth century, but after that it is, strangely enough, seldom mentioned. Sacrifices and feasts, sometimes connected with an irrigation of the sacred tree, were instituted for it by many kings from Duṭṭhagāmaṇi to Mahinda II (28.1; 34.58; 38.55; 41.29; 44.45; 48.124). This covers the time from about the year 100 B. C. to the end of the eighth century A. C. The Kings Abhayanāga and Goṭṭhābhaya, 3rd and 4th century A. C., erected stone-terraces round the tree (36.32, 103), and Kassapa IV 896—913, is said to have increased the soil about it (52.11), apparently in order to improve its growth.

Other Bodhi-trees mentioned in the chronicle are that of the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra (52.24), that of the Gokaṇṇaka-vihāra which bore the name Vaḍḍhamāna (48.5; 49.15), and that of the Abhayagiri-vihāra, called Tissavasabha (? 37.91). There was also a Bodhi-tree, called Mahāmetta, in the Mahāvihāra

(44.96). In Mhvs 19.53—63 we find the legend that when the Mahābodhi-tree had been planted eight shoots sprang from it in a miraculous manner. These eight saplings were planted at different places in the Island, and similarly thirty-two more saplings which afterwards sprang from the same tree. Thus from the outset Bodhi-trees became wide-spread in Ceylon, and their number increased from year to year. When I visited the Vihāra in Badulla, on Febr. 9th 1926, I saw there two wonderful Bodhi-trees and heard that one of them according to popular belief had sprung from one of those ancient saplings.

177. For orthodox Buddhists the *Ficus religiosa* was not an object of worship, but a venerated memory of the Master and the *sambodhi*. But in the lower circles of the people its veneration approaches actual tree-worship. Sinhalese workmen who have to make a road through the wilderness hesitate and even refuse to fell such a tree when they meet it on their way. Tree-worship was certainly not unknown in Ceylon, and if we read in Mhvs 49.27 that king Udaya I, 8th century, had all the great trees on the Cetiya mountain (Mihintalē) near Anurādhapura decorated with brightly coloured flags and streamers, we are reminded of what is called 'rag-tree' by folklorists.

Often a 'Bodhi-house' (*bodhi-ghara*, *-geha*) is mentioned in the chronicle. Such a house (*mahābodhi-ghara*) was connected with the Great Bodhi-tree in the Mahāvihāra (35.80). Jetṭhatissa, 4th century, built three gate-ways (*toranāni*) there (36.126), and Dhātusena, 5th century, seems to have rebuilt the house (38.69). Mahānāga, 6th century, after making an irrigation trench round the tree, had a roof put over its golden house (41.94). The trench was afterwards dammed up anew by Sena II, 9th century (51.78). In the days of Aggabodhi VII, 8th century, the Mahābodhi-house was ruined, and the King had it restored (48.70). A Bodhi-house in the Abhayagiri-vihāra was erected by Mahāsena, 4th century (37.15), and the restoration of that in the Gokanṇaka-vihāra was the meritorious work of the kings Aggabodhi V and Udaya I, 8th century (48.5; 49.15). Parakkamabāhu I is said to have planted seven Bodhi-trees and built as many Bodhi-houses in Rohaṇa (79.72). Whether the passage in 42.19 refers to a Bodhi-house in the Sumanapabbata-vihāra or to that of the Great Bodhi-tree in Anurādhapura, remains doubtful.

It is evident, I think, that it was usual in Ceylon to build a chapel round a Bodhi-tree, and this chapel was called Bodhi-ghara. The *Ficus religiosa* has a short stem and branches not high above the ground; the lower parts of the tree was enclosed by the chapel, the branches stretching out of the windows and the roof. This would exactly correspond to what we see in the reliefs on the gateway of the Sāñichi tope in India where on the middle plate of the left pillar the Bodhi-tree of the Buddha is represented by such a chapel. I refer to the description given by A. GRÜNWEDEL in 'Buddhistische Kunst in Indien', 2nd ed., p. 70. It is, however, remarkable that after the twelfth century Bodhi-houses are no longer mentioned in the Mahāvamsa, so that it is not impossible that the erection of such chapels went gradually out of use in the later mediaeval time. What by *bodhi-kotṭhaka* is meant which occurs in 79.72 side by side with *bodhi-ghara*, can hardly be said with certainty.

178. The Dāgo ba (see above 85) comes next into consideration as constituent of a Buddhist Vihāra.

The 'three Great Dāgobas' (*mahācetiya-ttaya*, 38.10) in Anurādhapura are the Mahāthūpa in the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri- and the Jetavana-dāgoba. By far the most famous of them, often mentioned in the previous chapters, is the Mahāthūpa, 'Great Thūpa', also called Hemamālīka-cetiya (17.51; 51.82; 52.67; 54.37, 52), and later on Ratanavāluka-cetiya (76.106; 78.97) or Ratanāvali-cetiya (80.68; 87.66; 88.83), modern Ruvanvāli-dāgoba. It was built in the last century B. C. by king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, and the history of its foundation and construction, the making of the relic-chamber, and the solemn enshrining of the relics fills the chapters 29, 30, 31 in the oldest part of the chronicle. But Duṭṭhagāmaṇi died before the Dāgoba was complete.

All these Dāgobas were destroyed by the Coḷas during their occupation in the eleventh century of the greatest part of the Island. They hoped to find treasures therein. When Parakkamabāhu I resolved to restore the monuments of the ancient capital (76.104 sq.; 78.97 sq.) the Dāgobas were heaps of ruins, overgrown with trees and shrubs and haunted by bears and leopards, and the earth scarcely offered a foothold by reason of the bricks scattered about. After the restoration the Mahāthūpa which seems to have been first restored, had a height of 120 cubits (180 feet), the Jetavana-cetiya of 140 cubits (210 feet), and the Abhayagiri-dāgoba of 160 cubits (240 feet).

The Dāgobas fell again into decay in the turbulent times of the thirteenth century, and it seems that the efforts made during the reign of Parakkamabāhu II to rebuild them (88.80 sq.) did not end in complete success. The Jetavana- and the Abhayagiri-dāgoba are still ruins and now reach a height of 245 and 232 feet respectively. The Ruvanvāli-dāgoba was restored within the last few years. Before this work was done its height was 178 feet (SMITHER, *Architectural Remains, Anuradhapura*, p. 27).

There were also famous Dāgobas in Pulatthinagara. In the Ālāhana-pariveṇa, N. of the city, Parakkamabāhu erected the Subhaddā-cetiya and the Rūpavātī-cetiya (78.51). One of the two seems to be identical with the ruined Dāgoba called Kirivehera by the people. South of it, nearer the city, is the Rankot-dāgoba, probably the Ratanāvali-cetiya (80.20) which was reconstructed and decorated with a golden *thūpikā* by Nissāṅkamalla. According to a passage in an inscription of this king (*Epigr. Zeyl. II* 113, 121) which however is not quite clear, it was 80 cubits (120 feet) high.

But by far the largest Dāgoba in Pulatthinagara and perhaps in the whole Island was the Mahāthūpa, erected by Parakkamabāhu near the Uttarārāma, 'Northern monastery' (78.74, 76 sq.). It was also called *Damiḷa-thūpa*, because it had been built by prisoners of war who had been brought to Ceylon during the campaign against the Paṇḍus. Its popular name *Demaḷa-mahasāya* was erroneously transferred to a neighbouring image-temple. This Mahāthūpa is said to have had a circumference of 1300 cubits (1950 feet), whilst that of the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura according to PARKER (*Anc. Ceylon*, p. 286, 306) measured only 929 feet and that of the Abhayagiri-dāgoba 1115 feet. Now it is just a huge heap of bricks and looks like a natural hill in the forest, covered by jungle and crossed by the path of wild elephants. According to what I heard myself from the lips of a local inhabitant we must assume that the *Damiḷa-thūpa* belonged to the Veḷuvana-vihāra in the suburb Vijita.

179. The Dāgobas in the many monasteries were often the centre and object of festivals. On such occasions they were decorated with flowers, flags and pennants (Mhvs 54.37) or covered with a white cloth or other costly stuff (33.10; 34.74; 44.44; 54.37, 42). Numerous descriptions of such feasts are met with in the chronicle, chiefly, of course, concerning the most sacred Dāgoba, the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura. One example may be sufficient. King Bhātikābhaya (34.41) had the Great Thūpa from the *pāvedikā* up to the topmost parasol (*yāva dhuracchattā*) plastered with a thick past of unguent, and flowers carefully embedded therein, so that the tee resembled a globe of flowers. Another time the same king (34.44) commanded that the Dāgoba be strewn with flowers *sopānato*, 'from the stairs' up to the parasol on its top. By *sopāna* here the stairs are meant on which the pilgrims ascended from the platform of the terrace the three galleries in order to perambulate the Thūpa. The whole dome of the Dāgoba looked, therefore, like a gigantic heap of blossoms.

Yet more artistical was the decoration of the Dāgoba on a third occasion (34.47—48). The king had a net of corals prepared and cast over the Thūpa. Then he had lotus-flowers of gold fastened in the meshes, with clusters of pearls hanging on them which reached the lotus-flower beneath.

180. As I said above in 85 sometimes a kind of Maṇḍapa (*thūpaghara* or *-geha*) was raised over a Dāgoba of smaller size, probably in order to secure it against the damage caused by sun and rain. In Anurādhapura two of the smaller Dāgobas, the Thūpārāma- and the Laṅkā-rāma-cetiya, are surrounded by three concentric circles of stone pillars, the innermost pillars being the highest, the outermost the lowest (SMITHER, l. l., p. 4 sq., 16 sq.). I think, we cannot but assume that these pillars are the remnant of a chapel and were a structure which formed a roofing over the Dāgoba, a peculiar form of a *thūpaghara*, although SMITHER seems to decline the theory. If the present Thūpārāma-dāgoba appears to be too high for such a roof, we must not forget that it is not the original building, but was rebuilt at a later period of time. The three intervals between the dome of the Dāgoba and the outermost row of pillars clearly correspond to the three galleries of the great Dāgobas and served the same purpose. In Mhvs 48.66 we are told that king Aggabodhi VI, 8th century, restored the 'house' in the Thūpārāma and transposed the pillars therein (*tattha thambhe parivattayi*).

181. Relics were also kept in temples called Relic-houses (*dhātu-ghara*, *-geha*, *-sālā*). Relic temples were built by Mahāsena in the Abhayagiri-vihāra (Mhvs 37.15), under Aggabodhi IV, 7th century, in the Maṇḍalagiri-vihāra (46.29), and by Parakkamabāhu I on the causeway of an irrigation-work constructed by him (68.28) and later on in a suburb of Pulatthinagara in the Kusinārā-vihāra (78.85).

A particular form were the Circular Relic-temples (*vaṭṭa-dhātughara*) An example is the Vaṭa-dā-gē in the Quadrangle in Pulatthinagara, described by S. PARANAVITANA, Ceylon Journ. of Science, Sect. G II 166. A two-storeyed circular relic temple was erected by King Goṭhābhaya, 4th century, in the Hatthavanagalla-vihāra in commemoration of the sacrificial death of King Sirisaṅghabodhi. King Parakkamabāhu II, 13th century, had this temple repaired and a third storey added (85.75 sq.). Parakkamabāhu I built a Cir-

cular Relic-temple in the Jetavana-vihāra in Pulatthinagara (78.41), but the passage in the chronicle that it was intended for keeping the Tooth relic, is hardly correct. The temples of this relic were, as we shall hear below, generally not part of a Vihāra, but stood always near the royal palace.

182. An essential part of a monastery was the Image-house (*paṭimāgeha-ghara*), containing a Buddha figure, often together with images of his disciples or of gods adoring the Master. The Aggabodhi-vihāra in Vāligama which I visited in January 1926 may be described as a typical Buddhist monastery. In the centre of the square courtyard there was a Dāgoba, in one corner a Bodhi-tree and in another a temple of the god Viṣṇu or rather the Deva Uppalavaṇṇa (cf. 159). The Image-house stood in the corner, to the left of the entrance. It contained an image of the Buddha in recumbent posture. There were also sculptured figures of Sāriputta and Moggallāna, those of the other pupils were painted on the wall. Caves were often used as Image houses. Brilliant examples are the cave temples of Mulgirigala in the Southern Province and of Dambulla, Jambukola, N. of Mātālē.

Image houses were often erected by kings and other pious persons and dedicated to a monastery (35.89; 37.15, 183; 60.83; 68.28). They were sometimes three- or five-storeyed (78.52, 85; 86.50). In the Hatthavanagalla-vihāra Parakkamabāhu II, 13th century, had built an octagonal Image house and a stone image set up in it (85.77). His son and coregent Vijayabāhu erected a splendid three-storeyed Image house in Hatthigiripura (Kurunāgala) and had made for it a great image of the Buddha (88.56). Still in the eighteenth century king Vijayarājasiha is praised for having restored many decayed Image houses and increased thereby the quantity of his merit (98.66—67).

183. The Buddhist Sabbath is called *uposatha* (ved. *upavasatha*, the eve of the Soma sacrifice). It is kept four times in the lunar month, on the day of the new moon, called 'the fourteenth' (*cātuddasi*), on that of the full moon, 'the fifteenth' (*pañcadasi*), and on 'the eighth' day (*aṭṭhami*) of each half of the month. On the full moon and new moon days the *pāṭimokkha* is recited, the list of all the sins to be avoided by a Bhikkhu, in a chapter of at least four monks, and the present Bhikkhus had to confess any transgression. For this ceremony a special building existed in the vihāra and was called 'Uposatha-house' (*uposathāgāra*, *uposatha-ghara*). When king Sena II, 9th century, heard 'that all the great Saints had possessed an Uposatha-house, he erected such a building as dwelling for the Community wishing that it never should be empty' (Mhvs 51.70)¹. It seems that sometimes the Uposatha house also contained the monk's cells or bedrooms, probably round the room where the Uposatha ceremony was performed. Cf. below 184.

Uposatha-houses are mentioned in many monasteries (15.37; 34.30; 35.85). King Kaniṭṭhatissa, 3rd century A. C., built three Uposatha-houses in three vihāras, and Goṭhābhaya four in the Thupārāma, Maṇisoma-, Maricavaṭṭi-, and Dakkhina-vihāra (36.16—17, 107). In the sixteenth century king Vīravikkama erected an Uposatha-house in Sirivaḍḍhana, and in the eighteenth century Kittisirirājasiha in the Rajata-vihāra (92.10; 100.287).

¹) Mhvs 51.70. My rendering of the verse in Cūlav. trsl. I, p. 153 is wrong and must be corrected according to the translation in the present work.

For the spiritual exertions (*padhāna*), as they were practised by ascetics in order to attain a higher stage of sanctification, in some monasteries Exertion-houses (*padhāna-ghara*) were erected. Such a building is mentioned in the Mahāvihāra (37.232). Others were built by Uttara, the Senāpati of Moggallāna I and by Aggabodhi III and Aggabodhi IV, 7th century (39.58; 44.119; 46.11). Aggabodhi II had a Padhāna-ghara erected for the Kaliṅga King who at the beginning of the seventh century came to Ceylon with the resolve of world renunciation (42.45, 46). In 36.105 Goṭhābhaya is said to have laid out a tract of land for exercises, a *padhāna-bhūmi*.

Sermon-halls (*dhamma-sālā*) were in use for preaching. By Parakkama-bāhu three were built in Pulatthinagara in the Jetavana-vihāra and one in the Pacchimārāma (78.42, 73), and twenty-three decayed halls repaired (79.21). It seems, however that Sermon halls were not always connected with a particular monastery. In the eighteenth century king Vijayarājasiha is said to have erected Sermon halls here and there in places which were fitted for the assembling of a great multitude of people (98.78).

In such a hall two elevated seats were set up, one in the middle of the western side, facing the East, the other on the Southern side, facing the North. From the former seat, *dhammāsana*, the priest delivered the sermon, on the latter, *therāsana*, the Thera who was president of the assembly, had his place (3.21—22; 44.115; 85.46).

184. As we shall see below there were always Bhikkhus who preferred a solitary life in the wilderness, using as dwelling a cave or rock-cavern (*guhā, lena*), but those who were inhabitants of a monastery enjoyed solid building with cells (*gabbha*) or rooms for the single Bhikkhus. Such buildings may have been different as to size, structure, and equipment. The general name is *pāsāda* or *āvāsa*. Some of them, after the wealth and magnificence of the Vihāras continued to increase, were really palaces with all the architectural features belonging to such buildings. In the Ājāhana-pariveṇa Parakkama-bāhu built for the thera of the monastery a splendid Pāsāda with rooms and terraces (*hammiya-tthalaṇ*), with a choice of various apartments (*gabbha*), embellished by pavilions (*kūtāgāra*), three storeys high (Mhv 78.49; cf. 78.34).

Pāsādas were often built in the Vihāras by the kings and offered as present to the Community (36.11; 52.13, 78.33 sq.; 90.96). They had frequently more than one storey. In 60.11 a five-storeyed Pāsāda is mentioned, well equipped with charming rows of dwellings (cells) round about. It was built in Pulatthinagara by Vijayabāhu I in a Vihāra founded by this monarch. In later parts of the chronicle often a distinction is made between 'long Pāsādas' (*diḡha-p.*) and 'small Pāsādas' (*culla-p.* 78.36 sq.), but we do not know, whether they differed only in size or also in structure. The words *gabbhaghara* 'house with cells' (78.38) and *saṅghāvasatha* 'dwelling for the Community' (92.11) mean probably the same as *pāsāda*. Five great 'dwellings' (*mahāvāsa* 60.57) were built by Vijayabāhu in Budalaviṭṭhi at the place where his parents had been cremated.

A splendid building was the Ratanapāsāda in the Abhayagiri-vihāra, erected by king Mahinda II (48.135—6) A. M. HOCART has made it probable that the remnants of this palace are the ruins known by tradition as the 'Elephant stables' (Mem. Arch. Surv. Ceylon I 1 sq.). During a revolt in the

tenth century it was the shelter of king Udaya III (53.17). This shows that it was a building of extraordinary strength.

It is mentioned above in 183 that sometimes the cells for the monks were attached to the Uposatha-house. The Baddhasīmāpāsāda in the Ālāhana-pariveṇa is called *uposathaghara*, and it was also furnished with chambers and cells (*gabbha* and *pañjara-geha* 78.55). The plan of the remnants of this Pāsāda in the Reports Arch. Surv. Ceylon III 81 sq. shows that the central part of the building was a large hall where the Uposatha ceremony could be performed, but on its four sides it was surrounded by small cells, apparently the sleeping apartments for the monks. The Lohapāsāda in Anurādhapura seems to have had a similar character. The dwelling chambers it contained were one thousand, the number of course being exaggerated (27.28).

185. By the word *pariveṇa* too a cell is meant as dwelling room of a Bhikkhu, or a building which contains such cells. In the latter sense also *pariveṇa-panti* 'row of cells' is used (Mhvs 35.57; 36.10). We may accept this meaning wherever the chroniclers tell us that a Pariveṇa was built within a Vihāra by a pious king (15.204, 206 sq.; 35.88; 36.8; 45.29; 48.135). In such a connexion *pāsāda* and *pariveṇa* may be used as synonyms as in 15.212 and 213.

CHILDERS in his Pali Dict. only admits the meaning 'cell' for *pariveṇa*, but the corresponding Sinhalese *piriveṇaya* has not this meaning only, but also denotes a 'college', i. e. a Vihāra whose inhabitants are particularly engaged in the study of the holy language and the sacred texts, eventually also of Sanskrit, and in handing over their knowledge to younger Bhikkhus. I think the meaning 'college' for *pariveṇa* came up in the mediaeval period and must be assumed in such passages where a *pariveṇa* is not part of a Vihāra but a separate establishment.

In the seventh century, during the reign of Aggabodhi IV Vihāras and Pariveṇas were built by the chiefs of the cantons here and there in the kingdom (46.31). Māna, 11th century, is said to have erected for his elder brother Mānavamma who had abdicated the throne and gone through the ceremony of world-renunciation, a splendid Pariveṇa and made him head of the Pariveṇa (57.20). Obviously Mānavamma in his monastic life wished to devote himself to speculation and scientific studies.

North of the Jetavana-vihāra and connected with it Parakkamabāhu founded the Ālāhana-pariveṇa (78.48 sq.) which was equipped with all the buildings generally attached to a Vihāra, a splendid Image-house called Laṅkātilaka, two Dāgobas, an Uposatha-house and several Pāsādas with their appurtenances. Apparently this Pariveṇa was again an abode for Bhikkhus who were engaged in scientific research.

The many Pariveṇas existing today have all been founded within the last hundred years.

186. Monks living in one of the wealthy Vihāras were not at all in indigent circumstances. In many ways the life in such a monastery was made easy and comfortable. The Bhikkhus had their own Refectory (*bhattasālā*, *bhattagga*, *bhojanasālā*). That of the Mahāvihāra had been built by Devānampiyatissa (Mhvs 15.205). To the refectories of the Jetavana- and Abhayagiri-vihāra villages were granted for their maintenance by Kassapa V, 10th century (52.59). In the Jetavana-vihāra in Pulatthinagara there was a Refectory of

great length and breadth (78.42). In the Ticket-house (*salākagga*) tickets were issued for the distribution of food by allotment. Such a house is mentioned in the Mahāvihāra (15.205; 36.74; 49.14) and in the Arikāri-vihāra (49.32).

Bathing tanks (*pokkharāṇī*) or Bathing houses (*nahāna-koṭṭhaka*) were always found in a Vihāra, for bodily cleanliness was of greatest importance for the health of the Bhikkhus. In the Avkana-vihāra I saw two tanks sunk in the rocky ground; one contained drinking water, the other served for bathing purposes. Three tanks, one of them in the Thūpārāma, were laid down by Queen Kittī, 10th century (54.51). Parakkamabāhu erected eight Bath-houses of stone with pillars, staircases and railings, each of which had its special name (78.45—46), and in the Isipatana-vihāra there was a fine Bathing house, wholly made of stone (78.82).

The Bhikkhus often had a Cloister (*caṅkama-na*) in their Vihāra where they could comfortably walk up and down in silent meditation or edifying conversation. Such a Cloister was in the Mahāvihāra (15.208), and in Pulatthinagara in the Jetavana- and Kusinārā-vihāras and in the Pacchimārāma (78.42, 72, 85).

A Library (*poṭṭhakālaya*) is mentioned in the Jetavana-vihāra (78.37), and a great number of Fire-houses (*aggisālā*, for keeping the sacrificial fire) in the many other monasteries built in Pulatthinagara by Parakkamabāhu (78.43, 51, 71, 82, 86, 90). The Pāsādas were provided with privies (*vaccakuti*). In the Jetavana-vihāra there were 178 *culla-pāsādā* and the same number of privies (78.37, 43), in the Ālāhana-pariveṇa forty *dīgha-pāsādā* and privies (78.50); in the Isipatana-vihāra six privies (78.82). The privies excavated in the Tapovana-vihāras, W. of Anurādhapura, are described by A. M. HOCART, Mem. Arch. Surv. Ceylon I 56.

187. The number of the guardians, helpers and servants in a monastery was large. The Bhikkhus were exempted from all the lower work of daily life so that they could devote themselves exclusively to the performance of their higher spiritual duties.

It seems that at least the more important sanctuaries had their special guardian (*ārakkhaka*) who was appointed by the king. Aggabodhi I, 6th century, assigned a village to the Lohapāsāda and ordered its protection (*nīyojesi ārakkham*, Mhvs 42.21). The guardians got a payment for their office. Aggabodhi II, 7th century, granted a village to the guardians of the Relic temple in the Thūpārāma (42.61), and Silāmeghavanna assigned the revenues of the Kola-tank for the guardianship of the stone-image and its temple in the Abhayagiri-vihāra (44.69; similarly 49.16). The word *vattakāraka* 'one who performs the duties', occurring in 98.27 seems also to denote the guardian of a sanctuary. It was the duty of the guardian to look after the sanctuary and to see that it was kept in proper condition. He probably also had to supervise the helpers of the monastery.

The general expression for the monastery helpers was *ārāmika* (46.14; 100.218). A hundred helpers and three villages were granted by Aggabodhi IV's Queen Jetṭhā to a nunnery built by her (46.28). The helpers were paid for their work which was apparently considered to be highly respectable. When king Sirimeghavanna, 4th century, built up all the Pariveṇas demolished during the reign of his father he fixed the revenues of the monastery helpers as heretofore (37.63).

The helpers could be either slaves (*dāsā*) or labourers (*kammakarā*; as to these terms I refer to 29). I understand the passage 50.64 thus: Sena I, 9th century, granted to the monastery of the Pamsukūlins on the Riṭigala 'a splendid equipment (*parihāra*) and many helpers (*ārāmike ca bahavo*), slaves as well as labourers (*dāse kammakare pi ca*).

Slaves had to perform the lowest work in the monastery such as cleaning and the like. They were placed by Aggabodhi IV, 7th century, at the disposal of the Community, wherever they were wanted (46.10), or they were assigned by a king to any monastery together with a village (46.20), or a village was granted to a monastery for the maintenance of the slaves (46.22).

The labourers were craftsmen who were bound to do some work for their lord as equivalent for the piece of land they had received from him for their maintenance. The lord may cede this performance to a monastery. This appears from the passage 57.21—22. When Māna had built for his brother a Pariveṇa (see 185), he placed under him there six hundred Bhikkhus, gave him the seven supervisory officials (*paṭihāre satta*) and the five groups of workmen (*pessavagge pañca*, cf. 25). He gave him further people who were versed in various handicrafts and placed under him the guardians of the Tooth relic'. It is evident that here the 'five groups of workmen' are the 'labourers' who had to serve in the monastery, and the supervisory officials correspond to the seven officials enumerated in the inscription of the Mihintalē tablet A, line 20—21. See WICKREMASINGHE, Epigr. Zeyl. I 101. The people mentioned in 57.22 were the experts who had to examine the work done by the labourers, and the superintendents of the whole monastery.

The terms *kappiyakāraka* 'who does what is appropriate', occurring in 37.173; 97.55, *paricāraka* 'attendant' in 44.120, and *parivārajana* 'people for service', 88.58, seem to be synonymous with *ārāmika*.

In conclusion I quote the story told in Mhvs 42.51 sq. In the Thūpārāma a piece of masonry had got loosened and fallen in front of a Thera. When king Aggabodhi II saw it he was horrified and had the work taken in hand. But as the repairs were delayed, the Devatās dwelling there appeared to the King in a dream as *ārāmikas* and threatened him that, if he would hesitate to rebuild the shrine, they would take the relics and bring them somewhere else. The King awoke and, greatly perturbed, had the work on the shrine finished in a short time.

3. Monastic Life.

188. The life of the Bhikkhus is regulated by the Vinaya-piṭaka. In the present work I need not repeat all these rules, as a general knowledge of them can be acquired from any of the handbooks on Buddhism. I have only to show, by collecting the single passages contained in the Mahāvamsa, how the rules were executed in practice.

There are four things which are absolutely necessary to a Bhikkhu, the so-called 'four requisites' (*catupaccaya*). They are food (*pinḍapāta*), clothing (*civara*), bed and chair, i. e. lodging (*senāsana*), and medicine (*bhesajja*). It cannot be too often repeated by the chronicler that pious kings never did forget to provide the community of the Bhikkhus abundantly with these necessaries (Mhvs 22.24; 33.94;—37.76; 41.3; 45.57; 49.30; 51.122; 60.10, 15, 69; 84.16; 89.50; 90.41; 94.20; 97.11; 98.22; 99.26).

Often in the same connexion 'eight articles of use' (*attha parikkhārā*) are mentioned. These are the articles expected to be in the possession of a youth who wishes to be admitted to the order as a novice: the three parts of the monk's dress (*ticivara*, see below), a girdle (*kāya-bandhana*), a razor (*vāsi*), a needle (*sūci*), a water-strainer (*parissāvana*), and the alms-bowl (*patta*). These eight articles were the only personal property allowed to a Samāṇa and are therefore called *sāmaṇakā parikkhārā* (4.26; 30.37). They too were distributed by kings to the community in great abundance (20.24; 26.11; 30.39;—51.25; 60.71; 84.21, 39, 41; 85.39; 88.52; 89.66; 91.21; 97.8; 99.89).

189. The three priestly garments (*ticivara*; cf. H. KERN, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 79), so frequently offered to Bhikkhus were the shirt (*antaravāsika*), something like a petticoat, hanging low down, and bound to the loins with a girdle,—the undergarment (*uttarāsaṅga*), covering the breast and shoulders, and reaching below the knees,—and the robe (*saṅghāṭī*) a kind of cloak, wound round the body in a manner similar to the Roman toga. Both shoulders were covered by it when a Bhikkhu was entering a village or town or house. When he was making a long journey through a lonely country, he could go with one shoulder uncovered, and this is the mode of the Siamese sect in Ceylon for a long time past (BUDDHADATTA, letter 6.4.32). The colour of the robe is a reddish yellow (*kāsāva*, °*ya*); hence the phrase *kāsāvapajjoto Laṅkādvīpo* 'the island of Laṅkā is glittering with yellow robes'.

King Vasabha, 2nd century A. C., bestowed the three garments on the whole brotherhood in the Island every three years (35.77), and similar offerings were made by Silākāla (41.29), by Aggabodhi I, 6th century (42.20), and others. Udaya II, 9th century, every year distributed beautiful, specially fine stuffs for making robes for the priests (51.131).

At the end of the rainy season in the month Kattika (Oct.-Nov.) the Bhikkhus of the single chapters used to celebrate the 'invitation feast' (*pavāraṇā*). It was the lay-brotherhood who were invited to present the Bhikkhus with what they were in need of. On this occasion often the Kaṭhina ceremony was performed which was considered to be highly meritorious. It consists in cutting out, sewing and dyeing the priestly garment in the course of one day (BUDDHADATTA). Since unimaginable blessings were attached by the Buddha to such a donation, Parakkamabāhu II gave the community a *kaṭhina* offering of eighty and on another occasion of twenty-six robes (85.99, 102; 86.47). Moggallāna III, 7th century, is said to have *kaṭhina* robes made for the Bhikkhus in all their dwellings (44.48), and similar offerings are reported of Parakkamabāhu VI, 15th century (91.33—34) with obvious exaggeration, and in the eighteenth century of Kittisirirājasīha (100.132)¹).

In a few passages six garments (*chacivara*) occur as royal donation. Mahā-cūḷi Mahātissa gave them to sixty thousand Bhikkhus and to thirty thousand Bhikkhunīs (34.7; cf. also 34.84; 36.110, 131). I have suggested (Mhvs trsl., 33.26, note) that a pair of each of the three garments is meant with *chacivara*. But I think that this is doubtful and we must perhaps connect the term with the six kinds of cloth out of which garments can be manufactured: linen, silk, cotton, wool, and two sorts of hemp (STEDE, *Pali Dict.* s. v. *civara*).

¹) For a discussion of the Kaṭhina ceremony, see Herbert HÄRTEL, *Karmavācanā, Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden III*, Berlin 1956, p. 138 sq. (Ed.).

190. The Bhikkhus received their food as alms (*piṇḍapāta*), but they do not really beg for it. On their daily walk from house to house they make a halt near the entrance to each of them, waiting silent and in decent posture until the inhabitant will put something into their alms-bowl. Alms-giving is meritorious, and it is therefore the layman who must be happy to have the opportunity of acquiring such merit, *puñña*, which is an advancement in his future life. It is a severe punishment, something like excommunication, if the Bhikkhus refuse to accept alms from somebody. They make this manifest by passing his house with inverted alms-bowl (*patta-nikkujjana*). When Dāṭhapatissa II, 7th century, intended to build a monastery within the boundary of an area being property of the Theravādins and had his plan carried through by force, the Bhikkhus of the Thera school inflicted that punishment on the king (45.29 sq.).

In times of peace and when there was no famine, the Bhikkhus never suffered from want of food or medicine. I may refer here to what I said in 51 about the Mahāpāli hall in Anurādhapura where enormous quantities of rice gruel offered to the Bhikkhus by kings and rich people were accumulated in the *bhatta-nāvā*. Over and over again honorable mention is made in the chronicle of pious kings who instituted a great alms-giving (39.36; 48.123; 49.22; 53.35 &c), or provided the various groups of monks and ascetics with abundant food and medicine. It may be sufficient to quote as example the passage 54.18 sq: 'The King (Mahinda IV, 10th century) assembled the Paṃsukūlika Bhikkhus, invited them in a friendly manner and had them brought into his house. He had seats prepared for them, made them sit down and had pure food abundantly set before them, and this always as on the one day. To the ascetics living in the wilderness the King sent continually food pure, costly and abundant, with all kinds of seasoning. To sick ascetics he . . . sent physicians and sought continually to heal them. Pieces of sugar baked in melted butter, juice of garlic, and betel of sweet odour for the mouth, he gave them always as dessert. He had the alms-bowls of the Paṃsukūlika Bhikkhus filled with garlic, black pepper, long pepper and ginger, sugar and the three kinds of myrobalans, and to every single Bhikkhu he distributed continually melted butter, oil and honey.'

Obviously the Bhikkhus, just as the monks of the Christian church, did by no means despise a delicious meal. It is often emphasized that meals offered to them were of the same kind as those served at the royal table. When Kasapa I, 5th century, had enjoyed a rice dish of particular deliciousness he ordered that the like dish should be given to the Bhikkhus (39.16). Silākāla, 6th century, had delicious meals prepared in the same way as for the king distributed in the Mahāpāli hall (41.28), and Aggabodhi VII, 8th century, offered to the Paṃsukūlin Bhikkhus delicious foods fitting for himself (48.73; cf. 50.5).

191. The vows submitted to the novice at the *pabbajjā* ceremony were altogether ten (*dasasīla*, Mhvs 18.10) to avoid 1. the destruction of life, 2. theft, 3. sexual intercourse, 4. lying, 5. the use of intoxicating liquors, 6. eating after noon, 7. attending worldly amusements, 8. the use of unguents and ornaments, 9. the use of a large or ornamented couch, 10. the receiving of money (H. KERN, l. l., p. 70). But these vows were not intended to be taken for

life. The Bhikkhu could return to the 'lower' worldly life whenever he liked to do so, much more the Sāmaṇera, and this was not dishonouring for him. Silākāla in his youth had undergone the *pabbajjā* ceremony and fulfilled his duties to the Community with zeal and great skill (Mhvs 39.47 sq.). Afterwards he was appointed sword-bearer by king Moggallāna I, and when Upatissa II had died he himself ascended the throne (41.26; cf. also 94.23).

Expulsion from the Order could be inflicted upon a Bhikkhu after a judiciary procedure. Thus against the Thera Tissa who had built the Jetavana-vihāra within the boundary of the Mahāvihāra a charge of the gravest kind (*antimavathu*) was raised and he was expelled from the Community (37.38—39). A grave offence was that of 'frequenting lay-families' (*kula-samsagga*). For this fault a Thera, Mahātissa by name, was expelled from the Order in the last century B. C. (33.95).

On the whole worldly professions were avoided by the Bhikkhus, some strictly prohibited to them. It was always a sign of decline when they followed forbidden occupations for the sake of a more comfortable life, as was the case after the interregnum at the beginning of the thirteenth century (84.7), and again in the eighteenth century (100.46). In the latter passage professions are mentioned which were generally practised by a Kapurāla (cf. 160).

When a Bhikkhu died, his corpse was never buried, but burnt on a pyre. The solemn cremation of the Grand Thera Mahinda is amply described in 20.34 sq., and in modern times that of the distinguished Thera Upāli, the friend and adviser of king Kittisirirājasīha in 100.147—8.

192. The Bhikkhus who living together in a monastery formed a Chapter (*gaṇa*), had in common to perform the ecclesiastical acts (*dhammakamma* Mhvs 39.57). The proceedings at these acts, by which questions proposed by the chairman were decided by vote, are called *kammavācā* (5.207). Such an act was, for instance, the *upasampadā* ceremony. All those acts must be executed by a chapter of at least five ordained priests. It could happen that in turbulent times there was not a sufficient number of Bhikkhus in Ceylon to form a chapter. In such times the Bhikkhus had either abandoned the Order, or by committing grave offences (*pārājikā*) had lost the right to membership.

Thus after the Coḷa rule in the eleventh century King Vijayabāhu I who wished to reorganize the Order sent messengers to Rāmañña and fetched venerable Theras from that country, so that the *Upasampadā* could be performed again in Ceylon and the number of Bhikkhus was supplied in the Island (60.4 sq.). Similarly in the eighteenth century, when Buddhism was at its lowest ebb there, one of the most prominent men belonging to the Community, Saraṇāṅkara, had to be Sāmaṇera up to his fifty-sixth year, because there was no numerically complete chapter of Bhikkhus in Ceylon. Only after Theras had arrived from Siam could he be ordained in the year 1753 and was made Saṅgharāja by King Kittisirirājasīha (97.51, 56 sq.; 98.23—24; 100.48 sq., 108; cf. Sir D. B. JAYATILAKA, Saraṇāṅkara, the last Sangha-Raja of Ceylon). There had been several other instances of such decline and reorganisation (84.9; 94.15; 97.10).

Ecclesiastical acts were always performed within a *simā*, sacred boundary (cf. 175). They could also be performed in a building erected in a tank or in a

river, and even on a boat. In this case the boundary was a so called *udak'-ukkhepa-simā*, a 'boundary (fixed) by throwing up water' (89.70; 94.17; 97.12). When the chapter had gathered one of the Bhikkhus took water in a vessel or a handful of water from the river or tank itself, throwing it to the four directions. The boundary was thus fixed beginning with the furthestmost points where water had fallen (BUDDHADATTA THERA).

A favourite place for such acts was in the later mediaeval period the Mahāvāliganga and particularly the ford Sahassatittha, now Dāstoṭa, S. of Pulatthinagara (78.28—30; 87.71—72 &c).

193. The Bhikkhus of a monastery had in common to perform ceremonies like the Uposatha, described above 183, and some feasts occurring annually as that of the Vassūpanāyikā 'Entrance into the rainy season', and at the end of it the Pavāraṇā (cf. 189). The Vesākha festival was celebrated on the full-moon day of the month Vesākha, April-May, the day on which the Master had reached supreme enlightenment (Mhvs 1.12), and on which he had entered into Nirvāna. Such feasts were often arranged by kings (32.35; 34.59; 35.100; 36.40, 109, 130; 44.46). Sena II, 9th century, celebrated the Vesākha festival with the poor, giving them food and drink and clothing as they desired (51.84).

Another festival day was the full-moon day of the Āsāḷhī month (June-July). It was the day of the conception of the Buddha (Jāt. ed. FAUSBÖLL I 50²³), and at the same time the day on which he left his house. On this day Parakkamabāhu II every year had a feast celebrated in the temple of Devanagara (Dondra) for the Lotus-hued God (85.89; cf. 159), and still in the eighteenth century King Kittisirirājasīha was wont to hold a yearly Āsāḷhī festival (99.53).

The feast 'Eye-offering' (*akkhipūjā*) was not a constantly recurring festival, but celebrated with quite special ceremonies whenever jewels were placed as eyes in a Buddha image (100.187, 191, 204—5, 235, 267). The word *akkhipūjā* occurs already in the old Mahāvamsa (5.94). A similar ceremony is mentioned in the Velakkāra inscription in Polonnaruva. It was performed annually when in the colossal stone statue of the Buddha the (jewel-)eyes were loosened and collyrium applied to them (Epigr. Zeyl. II 254).

Some passages met with in the chronicle clearly point to a regular daily temple ritual. In this ritual the image of the Buddha or a relic is attended by the priests as the king by his retinue and servants. The image is rendered homage, bathed and provided with food and drink and with raiment and the like as if it were a living person. Evidently this ritual is meant by the word *buddhupatṭhāna* in 34.61, for *upatṭhāna* is the term denoting the daily attendance at court of the royal ministers and officials. King Sena III, 10th century, gave the Bhikkhus food and raiment for the Buddha image (53.30), and we may assume that the food was placed by the priests in the temple before the image and the garments swathed about it.

In the fourteenth century King Parakkamabāhu IV ordered that what the daily ceremonial (*dīna-cārīta*) was in the lifetime of the Buddha shall be that of the Tooth relic in future. He composed in the Sinhalese language a book *Dāthādātu-cārīta* (cf. 67), and in keeping with it he performed daily the ceremonial for the relic (90.77—79). In the eighteenth century King Narindasiha

had a robe made the size of the Buddha's robe and sacrificed it to the Tooth relic with other articles (97.38).

This daily ritual is still now-a-days performed by the priests in the temple of the Tooth relic in Kandy and minutely described by A. M. HOCART, *The Temple of the Tooth in Kandy*, Mem. Arch. Surv. Ceylon IV, 18 sq.

The relic-cult in general will be discussed below in the chapter on Church-history of Ceylon. As to the *paritta* ceremony I refer to 161.

194. Besides the cult in the temple one of the duties of the Bhikkhus was the study of the Tipiṭaka, the sacred texts composed in Pāli language and the recitation in chorus (*gaṇasajjhāya*) of such texts they had learned by heart. When King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi lying on his deathbed was looking at his great but unfinished work, the Mahāthūpa, the Bhikkhus who surrounded his couch chanted in chorus group by group (*gaṇasajjhāyam akarum* 32.11), and they did the same when the King went to heaven (32.63). King Bhātikābhaya had heard one day the sound of the priests chanting in chorus in the relic chamber of the Great Thūpa and the desire arose in him of beholding the wonders of this room (34.49).

The knowledge of the Tipiṭaka was, of course, very unequal among the Bhikkhus. Things were probably the same in mediaeval Ceylon as they are in our days. Some of the monks were ignorant knowing only a few texts by memory; others were true scholars with profound and extensive knowledge. Those who had mastered the whole mass of sacred texts received the title *tepiṭaka* 'Master of the Tipiṭaka' (27.44; 42.24).

Another duty was the 'preaching of the doctrine' (*dhamma-desanā*; *dh.-dāna* in 98.77; 99.15, 24). The preaching could consist in the recital of a text (14.22, 58 &c), as Mahinda preached in the Nandana-garden the Bālapaṇḍita-suttanta, the 'Discourse of the fool and the wise man' (Majjhimanikāya No. 129, ed. CHALMERS III 163) to an assembly of women of noble families and made a thousand of these women attain to *sotāpatti* (15.4—5). The People always listened with devotion to such a sermon, though they did not understand the language. They were entranced by rhythmical sound of the chant. The preacher might also preach a sermon in the Sinhala language on some subject of the Buddhist doctrine. It seems that preachers of this kind are meant with the term *dhammabhāṇaka* (37.149), whilst they otherwise are called *dhammadesaka* or *dhammakathika*. The word *dhammaghosaka* (37.173) is not synonymous with *dhammabhāṇaka*, but signifies a Bhikkhu who proclaims to the villagers that such and such a priest will preach the doctrine at such and such a place. At present a sermon (Sinh. *baṇa*) is held in Sinhalese so that all laymen understand it. Baṇa-preaching lasts two or three hours in the afternoon or first half of the night. Sometimes in upcountry it also lasts for a whole night (BUDDHADATTA THERA, letter 22. 8. 30). The traditional form of a sermon is for the preacher to recite a passage from the scriptures, following it with a commentary in Sinhalese, and repeating the process again and again. (Ed.).

Often Bhikkhus who were distinguished preachers were invited by Kings to preach the doctrine and they received a salary for their sermon. Moggallāna II, 6th century, had by such preachers the whole Tipiṭaka together with its commentary recited and presented them with abundant gifts of honour (41.58; cf. 98.79; 99.19), and Vijayabāhu I, 11th century, did the same (60.8). Buddha-

dāsa, 4th century, is said to have fixed the salaries of the preachers in different places (37.149). At a ceremony instituted by King Parakkamabāhu II, 13th century, priests preached the true doctrine that went straight to the heart of the hearers. The preachers were sitting on a high seat which had been carefully spread by the faithful hearers, and laid hold of a fan (85.46—47; cf. 98.73). Sometimes a pavilion (*maṇḍapa*) was erected for the preacher (99.16).

195. The foremost of all the duties of a Bhikkhu was the constant progress on the way to final emancipation (*nibbāna*). It was esteemed more than the study of the sacred texts, as becomes evident from the story told in 27.43 sq. At the consecration festival of the Lohapāsāda those Bhikkhus who were yet 'simple folk' (*puthujjanā*) stood on the first storey of the nine-storied building; on the second the 'Masters of the Tipiṭaka'; on the third, fourth and fifth those who had attained to the first, second and third stage of salvation, and on the fourth and highest story the Arahants.

The progress from stage to stage must be obtained by spiritual practices and meditation, as they are comprised within the term *yoga*. It was H. ВЕСКН who with more emphasis than anybody else before pointed to the importance of the Yoga for the Buddhist monks in his booklet on 'Buddhism', 1916, and the system of the Buddhist practice of meditation has been accurately described by FR. HEILER, 'Die Buddhistische Versenkung'² (1922).

There can be no doubt that the whole system was well known to the chroniclers, though it is more frequently alluded to in the oldest portion of the Mahāvamsa than in the later parts. The practices by which the Bhikkhu is trained for meditation are implied in the term *padhāna*, and we know that in many monasteries there was a special room or house for such spiritual exercises (36.105; 42.46). The right methods of meditation are meant by *kammaṭṭhāna* (5.148). Certain qualities, aptitudes and marks (called *upanissaya* 5.46, 172, 194) may be observable on an individual, even on a boy, which show that he is qualified for attaining the highest stage of perfection, the arahantship.

The meditation (*samādhi*) by applying the prescribed methods (*bhāvanā*, °*naṃ anuyūñjati* 23.63) leads to trance (*jhāna*). In the legend the Buddha, when he had visited Ceylon, is said to have given himself up to meditation in several places and consecrated the spot thereby (1.79 sq., 15.77). In the trance eight successive states (*samāpatti*) are distinguished. A few of them are mentioned in the chronicle. The seventh is the *nirodha* stage, the cessation of consciousness. The daughter of King Subha saw in a thicket of Kadambapuppha shrubs an ascetic who had been seven days in the state of Nirodha trance, and she gave him food, for otherwise he would have died (35.104 sq.). Other terms denoting a method of meditation are *anicca-lakkhaṇa* (88.55) in which the meditating Bhikkhu is permeated by the feeling of the instability of all things and conditions, the *appamaññā* (39.18) the clear conception of the infinity of space, and the *tejo-jhāna* (5.220—221). In this meditation the meditating ascetic concentrates all his thoughts on the concept 'fire' (*tejo*), and the effect is that a fire arises within his body which consumes him.

Sunk in a trance (*samāpatti-samāpanna*) the ascetic has his senses restrained. When addressed he does not hear nor give a reply, and he cannot come forth from his state but at a call from the Master or from the brother, or when the allotted time is ended or at the approach of death (5.123—5). It

was a great offence to disturb a meditating Bhikkhu. When King Dhātusena was building the Kālavāpi tank he saw a Bhikkhu sunk in meditation, and as he could not rouse him out of his absorption, he had a clod of earth flung at his head. The punishment for this deed was the violent death of the King (38.113—4).

196. In ancient times the Buddhist monks had no permanent dwelling during the dry season, but wandered about in the country. In the rainy season they joined in small groups and took up their abode in a common locality. This was the origin of the monastery life which became more and more usual and was the rule in Ceylon from the outset.

But there were always Bhikkhus who preferred the life of hermits. In the eleventh century the grandson of King Dāthopātissa was such a hermit living 'solitary in a lonely abode' (*vivitto pantasenāsane*, Mhvs 57.32), and in the thirteenth century a distinction is made between the Bhikkhus who were dwelling in villages and those who were living in the wilderness (*gāmārañña-vāsino* 84.18, 22). In 99.170 these hermits (*āraññakā*) are opposed to the preachers (*dhammakathikā*), to those who were acquainted with the precepts of the monastic discipline (*vinaye visāradā*), and to those who led a life of contemplation (*vipassakā*).

The Vihāras were generally erected near a human settlement, a town, or, much more frequently, a village, but many Bhikkhus who laid more stress on asceticism than on preaching or scholarship disdained the pomp so often connected with cult and temple festivals and considered a life of poverty and seclusion as their foremost duty. The general name for these 'ascetics' or 'penitents' was *tapodhana* (89.57) or *tapassin* (41.99; 91.25—26) = Sk. *tapodhana*, *tapasvin*.

Often these ascetics formed groups with particular names, but it would hardly be correct to call them sects, for they did not necessarily differ dogmatically from the other Buddhist schools, but merely in the manner of life. They had their abode in the wilderness far from intercourse with worldly circles.

The most important group of ascetics was that of the Pamsukūlins. The word *pamsukūla* means rags found in dust-heaps and *pamsukūlin* is a Bhikkhu who wears garments made of such rags patched together. But the name must not be taken too literally; it is merely a symbol of the utmost poorness. The Pamsukūlins, originally at least, appear not to have dwelt together in a solid building, but dispersed in single huts. The general Sena Ilaṅga of king Kassapa V is said in 52.19 to have erected in groves (*ārāmesu*) here a hut and there a hut for those Bhikkhus to dwell therein. It is remarkable that the Pamsukūlins were not presented with villages, but generally with groves (48.4; 49.80; 50.63). They were, therefore, *ārāmikā bhikkhavo* (52.19). It seems, however, that in the course of time they, partly at least, gave up the strictest asceticism, living not exclusively in temporary huts, but also in substantial buildings, though generally erected not near the city but in the wilderness.

The Pamsukūlins are first mentioned about the year 700 A. C. (47.66); in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries they were at the height of their authority. Still in the 12th century their name occurs in the chronicle, but after that time it disappears. The Pamsukūlins were patronized by the Kings Aggabodhi V, 711—17 (48.3—4, 16) and Aggabodhi VII, 766—72 (48.73). A general of King

Dappula II, 812—28, laid out for them the Kacchavāla grove (*kacchavālaṃ kāresi ārāmaṃ*, 49.80), and King Sena I, 831—51, a wonderful grove on the Aritṭha mountain (50.63). Up to the time of King Sena II, 851—85, they belonged to the Abhayagiri-vihāra, but separated from it and formed special groups (*gaṇā 'hesuṃ* 51.52). Kassapa IV, 896—913, is said to have erected a *pariveṇa* for them in the Mahāvihāra (52.21); he also dispensed food and clothing to the mothers of Paṃsukūlin Bhikkhus (52.27). In the tenth century king Udaya IV distributed to all the Paṃsukūlins dwelling in the Island the articles of equipment (53.48), and Mahinda IV also supported them in the most munificent way (54.18, 24—25).

Paṃsukūlins were the ascetics who lived in the 'Grove of Penitents' (*tapovana*) not far from Anurādhapura (cf. 53.14 with 25). We may assume that they belonged to the Mahāvihāra but lived in the wilderners (52.22). Ruins of buildings in the forest W. of Anurādhapura are described in an excellent manner by A. M. HOCART (*The Western Monasteries of Anurādhapura*, Mem. Arch. Surv. Ceylon I, 1924, p. 18 sq.), and their monastic character cannot be doubted any longer. They consist of several groups, each of the groups having a main central building, probably the temple, and smaller buildings around which may have contained the cells of the ascetics. The temples are generally of the double platform type (cf. 88). It is believed that these ruins represent the monasteries of the Paṃsukūlins in the 'Grove of the Penitents', and I accept this opinion with more confidence than HOCART who says that the theory is quite worth considering, though it is based on a very weak array of evidence. The Grove of the Penitents was the scene of the events reported in 140.

Another group of ascetics were the Vantaḥivakas. The name means those 'who have thrown away their lives'. They are mentioned together with the Lābhavāsins (60.68—71) who were dwelling in the three fraternities of Anurādhapura and presented with villages by King Vijayabāhu I.

4. Church, King and Laity.

197. The problem of the relation between church and state must be looked at in Ceylon and other Eastern countries from a quite different standpoint as in the mediaeval and modern Europe. Rivalry between the two is almost out of question. Their interests were too closely knitted together: the kingship by which the state was represented was the firmest support of the Buddhist church and the latter that of the kingship. For the compilers of the Mahāvamsa who were all priests, the superiority of the church and its predominance was beyond all doubt, and it appears from the attitude of the kings that they could not but acknowledge the strength of clerical pretensions. Members of the royal family themselves temporarily, or even for life entered the Order (cf. above 123 and 172).

As we have frequently shown in the foregoing chapters most of the kings, with the exception of usurpers and disbelievers, did their utmost to further the welfare of the church (*sāsana*). They had statues of the Buddha and his disciples made and Vihāras, temples and Dāgobas built. They repaired what had been dilapidated. They provided the Bhikkhus with food, medicaments

and raiment in great abundance, and bestowed villages with the necessary attendants upon the monasteries so that some of them, although their inmates had no personal property, became the wealthiest among the great landed proprietors in the Island. Prominent Bhikkhus were the advisers of the king and entrusted with the education of the princes.

Often the kings instituted a sacrificial festival (*mahāpūjā*) in honour of a sanctuary or a relic, in the later time chiefly of the Daladā, the Tooth relic. The chronicle abounds with verbose descriptions of such feasts, all made after a set pattern and exactly corresponding to those mentioned in 60. The 'sacrificial articles' (*pujāvattḥūni* 97.33; 98.52 sq., 75; 99.22, 56), carried along in a festive procession, were of the most different kind: divers jewels and pearls, various articles made of gold and silver, as fans, fly-whisks, umbrellas, brimming jars (*puṇṇaḡhaṭa*), costly stuffs for making robes to be thrown around the Buddha images, lamps with fragrant oil, perfumes, flowers, incense and the like, even elephants, horses, slaves, besides the four requisites and the eight articles of use for Bhikkhus and Sāmaṇeras. We must, of course, in such descriptions always take account of the chronicler's usual exaggeration. For the procession certain 'sacrificial objects' (*pūjopakaraṇāni*, 70.193; 98.93 &c) were in common use, as musical instruments (*saṅkha*, *pañcaturiyāni*), dancers and singers, a white parasol, flags and pennons (*dhaḡa-patākā*).

Lamp-festivals and illuminations (*dīpapūjā*) were also frequently instituted by kings. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi boasted of having a thousand lamps kept burning perpetually on twelve places (32.37), and King Vasabha had the same number of lamps lighted on four places (35.79). After the restoration of the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura Parakkamabāhu I had the night turned into the day's brightness with a lamp-festival (76.119), and Parakkamabāhu II celebrated several feasts of this kind. At the first he had the whole space round about the Vihāra in Sirivaḡḡhana lit up with many hundreds of thousands of lamps burning fragrant oil, with lovely festoons of numberless camphor lamps so that it was like to the starry firmament (85.40; cf. 85.70, 84, 116; 86.31). At a festival instituted by Vijayarājasīha near the Tooth relic temple the number of burning lamps is said to have been seven hundred and ninety thousand six hundred (98.61). The same king had a lamp-feast instituted on the Sumana-kūṭa (98.84).

All those meritorious works of the sovereign were registered in the royal annals (cf. 66 sub finem) and found their way from them into the chronicle. Often the kings symbolized their submission to the church by dedicating their kingdom or the royal insignia to an image or temple or to a relic. King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi boasts of having done so five times for seven days in each case (32.36). Sometimes the white umbrella, the symbol of the royalty, was dedicated to the church and its representants (31.90, 111; 39.31). Aggabodhi II, 7th century, dedicated the Island of Laṅkā, i. e. the whole kingdom, together with his own person to the relics of the Thūpārāma (42.61), and to the Tooth relic. Parakkamabāhu II first offered the sixty-four royal ornaments (82.50), then at a feast of seven days the royal dignity (85.109), and later even his highly esteemed minister Devappaṭirāja with wife and children (86.57).

198. In the later centuries of the mediaeval period from the end of the eleventh century many kings in order to invigorate the Buddhist church

arranged festivals in connexion with which the *upasampadā* ceremony was performed by the priests. Vijayabāhu I, we know (cf. 192), had fetched Theras from Rāmañña for that purpose (Mhvs 60.7). Similar feasts were instituted by Parakkamabāhu I (78.30), Vijayabāhu III (81.49—50), Parakkamabāhu II who celebrated eight great and superb festivals of that kind, each feast lasting seven days (84.37, 43; 87.72), and later on by several rulers of the 13th, 14th and 15th century (90.62, 65; 91.31). An *upasampadā* festival held by Bhuvanekabāhu I is called a world-festival (*loka-maṅgala* 90.39). From the sixteenth century the stress is laid on the fact that the candidates were born in noble houses. Thus Viravikkama brought about the ordination of three hundred and fifty-five sons of good families (*kulaṅguttā* 92.22). King Vimaladhammasuriya I had the Thera Nandicakka with other Bhikkhus brought over from the country of Rakkhaṅga and made them take their abode in Kandy. He instituted a splendid festival in the Mahāvālukagaṅgā at the Gaṅṭhamba ford, where he had a fine building erected in the water and within an *udakuk-khepasimā* (cf. 192) the ceremony of admission performed on many of the sons of good families (94.15 sq.). Vimaladhammasuriya II also caused the ordination of thirty-three young noblemen (97.8, 13). In the course of three years King Kittisirirājasīha had the *upasampadā* performed by the Siamese Bhikkhus on seven hundred persons and the *pabbajjā* on three thousand sons of good families (100.133—4).

The kings realized the importance of a numerous well instructed clergy of blameless moral discipline for the welfare of the kingdom and the strength of their own position. They therefore often induced prominent Bhikkhus to preach the doctrine (see above 194), they caused sacred texts to be copied and commentaries to be written on such books, as Mahinda IV, 10th century, entrusted the learned Thera Dhammamitta with the composition of a commentary on the Abhidhamma (54.35). King Parakkamabāhu II sent many gifts to the Coḷa country and caused to be brought over to Ceylon many respected Coḷa Bhikkhus who were known for their moral conduct and versed in the Tipiṭaka (84.9). From Tambaraṭṭha he invited the Grand Thera Dhammakitti who was radiant in the glory of moral discipline and made him come to Lankā (84.11 sq.). Even Queens took care of the accomplishments of the clergy. The Mahesis of King Vijayarājasīha, 18th century, made young people renounce the world and had good instruction given them in the knowledge of the sacred scriptures and the pious duties (98.16—17).

Often when any trouble made itself felt in the Order the king induced the Bhikkhus to extirpate it by an ecclesiastical or "regulative" act (*dhammakammena*) founded on the rules of the Vinaya. Thus the king is said to have purified the doctrine (*sodhesi sāsanam*). This is reported of Moggallāna I, about the year 500 (39.57), of Kumāradhātusena, 6th century (41.2), of Moggallāna III, 7th century (44.46), of Aggabodhi VII, 8th century (48.71), of Sena II, 9th century (51.64), of Kassapa IV, 896—913 (52.10), of Kassapa V, 10th century (52.44), and in more modern times of Bhuvanekabāhu V, 14th century (91.10), and of Kittisirirājasīha, 18th century (100.44—46). We have not only to assume that unworthy individuals had intruded into the Order who were to be expelled in a legal way, but also that false and heterodox doctrines had crept into Buddhism which must be refuted and extirpated.

As we shall see below there existed from the last century B. C. different Buddhist schools in Ceylon, the doctrines of the Mahāyāna rivaling with those of the Hīnayāna. Much dissension was caused by this fact between the various monasteries and their inmates. As this discord caused considerable weakening of the church, prudent and far-sighted kings were always anxious to achieve unity among the different sects. This was the purpose of Parakkamabāhu I when he instituted his great church-reform. He summoned representatives of the various schools to a conference in Pulatthinagara, and after having purified the Order he brought about mutual concord among the three fraternities and succeeded in establishing the community as it had been in the Buddha's time (73.11—22; 78.2—27).

Nevertheless a century after that Parakkamabāhu II was again compelled to purify the Order by excluding from it all the corrupt groups of Bhikkhus who lived for their own desires with unbridled senses, following forbidden occupations, and to establish harmony between the two doctrines of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna (84.7—10)¹ and having united the great community of the Bhikkhus dwelling on the Island he celebrated sacrificial festivals, each lasting seven days (85.117).

Conflicts sometimes arose between king and church, and they were of a serious character when the king had favoured one of the fraternities who were opposed to each other. The conflict between King Udaya III and the Pamsukūlins was brought to an end by the submission of the Monarch. (Cf. above 140.) The conversion to Śivaism of King Rājasīha I and the prosecution of Buddhism instituted by him is mentioned above in 164.

199. A Buddhist layman (*upāsaka*, fem. *upāsikā*) is one 'who has come unto the refuges and the precepts of duty' (*saraṇesu sīlesu ca thita*, Mhvs 1.32, 62; 12.19; 14.23,40). The refuges are three, the *raṭanattaya* (cf. 168): Buddha, Dhamma, Saṃgha. The confession of the Buddhist is *buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi* 'I take refuge the Buddha, the doctrine, the community'. It is repeated three times at the beginning of each religious ceremony by the laymen who are present. The precepts binding on all Buddhists are five (*pañcasīlaṃ* 1.62; 100.280; 25.110; 35.75; 36.73; 98.13). They are the same as the first five of the ten precepts binding on the priests (cf. 191) with a modification of the third: Adultery is forbidden to the laymen, to the priests all sexual intercourse.

Alms-giving was the foremost duty of a Buddhist layman, and when fulfilling it he acted in his own interest, for alms-giving was a great merit. Certainly rich people bestowed abundant gifts on the Bhikkhus, as they often do still now-a-days. But we do not hear much about the private charitableness, since it was not registered like that of kings and noblemen and was overshadowed by it. The intimate connexion of the laymen with the church becomes manifest on the four Uposatha days of the lunar month. On these days laymen, clad in festival garments, visited the temple of the nearest Vihāra to attend to their devotion, to hear the sermon of a Thera and to decorate

¹ For *ubhayasāsana* in 84.10, *ubhayavāsana* should be read. These are the Gāmvāsī and the Araññavāsī, mentioned in 84.18 ('village-dwellers' and 'forest-dwellers'—but not Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna). Cf. also *Nikāyasaṅgraha*, 1922 ed., p. 22^o. (Ed.).

the Buddha image with flowers. On these days pious people made the Uposatha vows (*uposathaṃ upavasati* 60.21; *uposathin* 17.6). The vows were eightfold (37.212—3), comprising the fulfilling of the five precepts and besides fasting (35.76; 48.10; 100.131) and abstinence from sensual pleasures. According to 73.40 sq. even Parakkamabāhu I took upon himself the Uposatha vows on the four holy days of the month, and having laid aside all his ornaments he was wont to visit the great hospital he had built, and to examine the favourable or unfavourable condition of the sick lying in that hall. King Aggabodhi VIII, 9th century, forbade on the Uposatha days the bringing in of fish, meat and intoxicating drinks into the centre of the town (49.48). Zealous lay-Buddhists often kept the fasts even on days which were not Uposatha days (97.19; 98.13).

200. Buddhist laymen as well as priests were always great lovers of pilgrimages. They visited alone or in groups the sacred places performing their devotion before the holy shrines. There were altogether sixteen places of the greatest sanctity in Ceylon (100.128; 253), sanctified by the presence of the Master on his legendary visits to the Island: Mahiyaṅgaṇa, Nāgadīpa, Kalyāṇī, Sumanakūṭa (Adam's Peak), Divāguhā, Dīghavāpi, Mutiyaṅgaṇa (Badulla), Tissamahārāma (in Rohaṇa), seven places in Anurādhapura (the Bodhi tree, Maricavaṭṭicetiya, Mahāthūpa, Thūpārāma, Abhayagiri, Jetavana, Sela-cetiya), and Kājaragāma (WJESINHA, *Mhvs trsl.* p. 364, n. 3).

A favourite place of pilgrimage always was, and is still in our days, the Sumanakūṭa where the Master had left his footprint on the surface of the rock (1.77). It seems that the income accruing from the offerings presented by the numerous pilgrims was considerable, for the apostate, Rājasīha of Sītāvaka assigned it to the Śivaites with whom he sided (93.12; 100.221). Even kings visited as pilgrims the Sumanakūṭa (cf. 96), as for instance Nissaṅkamalla (80.24) and Parakkamabāhu II (85.118) and his son and co-regent Vijayabāhu IV (88.48), in modern times Vīravikkama, Vimaladhammasuriya, Narindasiha and Vijayarājasīha (92.17; 97.16—18, 30; 98.84). Mahiyaṅgaṇa was visited on pilgrimage by King Narindasiha (97.27—29), and Kittisirirājasīha is said to have worshipped the sacred spots at Anurādhapura, Mahiyaṅgaṇa and other places (99.36 sq., 100.125).

5. History of the Buddhism in Ceylon¹).

201. Buddhism was preached in Ceylon in its primitive form which it had in the first centuries after the Master's death. But in India a new form, the *mahāyāna* or 'the Great vehicle', came into prominence about the beginning of the Christian Era, though probably in undeveloped form it existed already in earlier times, and its doctrines were given an authoritative form in the second century by Nāgārjuna (cf. for this and the following passage S. PARANAVITANA, *Mahāyānism in Ceylon*, *Ceyl. Journ. of Science*, Sect. G, II 35 sq.; G. P. MALALASEKERA, *Pāli Lit. of Ceylon*, p. 51 sq.). In contrast with *mahāyāna* the older form of Buddhism is called *hinayāna*, 'the Lesser vehicle', and the school

¹ Cf. note to 168. See also Moratuvē SĀSANARATANA, *Lakdiva Mahāyāna adahas*, Pānadura 1952; Heinz BECHERT, *Zur Geschichte der buddhistischen Sekten in Indien und Ceylon*, *La Nouvelle Clío*, VII—IX, 1957, 311 sq. (Ed.).

existing in Ceylon by its adherents themselves *theravāda* 'Doctrine of the Elder' (Mhvs 33.97) or *theravaṃsa* (52.46, 63, 64; 54.46, 47), and its adherents *theravādino* (38.76; 39.12) or *theriyā* (41.31; 45.30, 31; 50.68; 52.16, 61) or *theriyavādā* (44.80).

Controversies in India also affected Ceylon. The first schism here took place in the last century B. C. during the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (33.97). The Bhikkhus of the Abhayagiri-vihāra seceded from the Theravāda. The secession may have taken place in consequence differences of dogma which however are unknown to us. From the Abhayagiri-vihāra afterwards the monks of the Dakkhina-vihāra separated.

In the third century A. C. the Vetulla-doctrine took root in Ceylon (36.41). There is no doubt, as PARANAVITANA has shown, that the Vetullas (Sk. *Vaitulyāḥ* or *Vaipulyāḥ*) were a Mahāyānist sect of Northern India. Their doctrine gained ground in the Abhayagiri-vihāra, but was suppressed by King Vohārikatissa, 4th cent., and later on by Goṭhābhaya (36.111) who expelled sixty of the heretical monks dwelling in that monastery to India. But serious affliction was suffered by the Theravādins who had their residence in the Mahāvihāra during the reign of Mahāsenā, 334—362, who favoured the Abhayagiri monastery at the expense of the Mahāvihāra (37.2 sq.). The latter was abandoned by its inmates for nine years. Mahāsenā also erected the Jetavanavihāra, thus encroaching on the boundaries of the Mahāvihāra. The new monastery afterwards became like the Abhayagiri-vihāra the seat of heretic monks. But Mahāsenā was compelled to change his politics. The Theravādins returned to their old monastery and appear to have lived there unmolested up to the sixth century.

The Vetullavāda got a new impulse during the reign of Silākāla when the *dhammadhātu* was brought to Ceylon (41.37 sq.). This is the title of one of the Vetulla text-books and probably identical with, or a part of, the Vetulla-piṭaka which according to the report of Parakkamabāhu's church-reform was taught in the Abhayagiri- and Jetavana-vihāra (78.22). King Silākāla became an adherent of the Vetulla doctrine, but the success of this heretic sect did not last long. In a public disputation the Grand Thera Jotipāla refuted the Vetulla doctrine (42.35), and we do not hear any longer of the Vetullas in the chronicle. Although they did not cease to exist and to find adherents in Ceylon, for the following time onwards the predominance of the Theravāda was apparently undisputed.

Besides the Vetullas as separate sects existing in Ceylon in the mediaeval period the Mahāsaṅghikas, the Dhammarucikas, and the Sāgalikas are mentioned in the Mahāvāṃsa.

The Mahāsaṅghikas were according to Mhvs 5.4, 5 the earliest sect to break away off from the orthodox Buddhism. Their name occurs in the Cūlavāṃsa only once in 50.68. King Sena I, 9th century, had a building erected in the Abhayagiri-vihāra which he bestowed on the Mahāsaṅghikas and the Theravādins¹).

¹ I incline to read *Mahimsāsakabhikkhūnaṃ* for *Mahāsaṅghikabhikkhūnaṃ* in Mhvs 50.68. Mahimsāsaka is the Pali name of the sect called Mahīśāsaka in Sanskrit books (cf. Mhvs trsl., Appendix, p. 279). A *Mahimsāsakavāsa* is mentioned in the introduction

The secession of the Dhammarucikas (in the Abhayagiri-vihāra) was probably the event which took place during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (33.95 sq.) in the last century B. C. In the fifth century A. C. they were dwelling in the Mahāvihāra, but in opposition to the Theravādins; for when King Dhātusena had built on Mihintalē the Ambatthala-vihāra which he wished to hand over to the Theravādins, the Dhammarucikas persuaded him to make it over to them (38.75, 76). After that they seem to have dwelt in separate monasteries (39.15), according to the Sinhalese Nikāya-saṃgraha (1922 ed., p. 11¹², 12⁷.) in the Abhayagiri-vihāra.

The sect of the Sāgalikas was of later origin. It broke away from the Theravāda in the year 795 after the Buddha's death (Nik. saṃgr. p. 12¹⁶) = 251 A. C. The seat of the Sāgalikas was the Dakkhina-vihāra and other monasteries, as that built for them by King Aggabodhi II, 7th century (42.43). After the reign of King Kassapa IV, 896—913, (52.17) their name disappears in the Mahāvamsa like that of the Dhammarucikas. (There were also female adherents of this school, see above 174.)

202. From the sixth century the 'three fraternities' (*tayo nikāyā*, Mhvs 41.97; 44.131 &c, or *nikāya-tt°*, 48.73 &c) are frequently spoken of in the chronicle. The whole Buddhist community is comprehended with this name. That with that triad the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri- and the Jetavana-vihāra are meant becomes manifest by a comparison of the two accounts in Mhvs 73.12 sq. and 78.2 sq. of Parakkamabāhu's church-reform. In the former the King is said to have aimed at the union of the three fraternities; in the latter, instead of them, the three Vihāras are named which he wished to unite. The president of the council, the Grand Thera Mahākassapa, is called a light of the Thera school. The King who had instituted him into this position began with a purification of the Mahāvihāra by excluding all the unfit elements from the Order, but he assigned them lucrative positions that they might not, by striving after gain, do harm to the Order. There he set about to achieve unity among the inmates of the Abhayagiri- and Jetavanavihāra. Those who were obstinate and did not accept the Buddha teaching, i. e. the Theravāda, were dismissed by him, but treated with the same mildness as those excluded from the Mahāvihāra. Thus the council ended with a complete victory and the re-establishment of the Theravāda.

The three monasteries of Anurādhapura were the seats of the various sects and they had each their branch-monasteries in the Island. There were 'three fraternities' also in Pulatthinagara (60.9, 13; 70. 328) and in Mahāgāma in Rohaṇa (60.56; 70.181).

The kings and the high dignitaries, as I said above, for political reasons generally were impartial towards the different doctrines and their representatives. Moggallāna I, 496—513, granted Vihāras to the adherents of the Dhammaruci and Sāgala schools (39.41), and Sena Ilaṅga, the Senāpati of King Kassapa IV, to the Theravādins, the Dhammarucikas and the Sāgalikas (52.16—18). So we often read in the chronicle that the same gifts were

to the Jātaka commentary (ed. FAUSBÖLL I 1¹⁸). Fa-hien obtained in Ceylon a copy of the Vinayapitaka according to the Mahāsāsakas. But there is no mention of Mahāsāṅghikas in Ceylon (Ed.).

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given by a king to all three fraternities (46.16; 48.73; 51.133; 52.12, 35). The three fraternities were purified by Sena II, 9th century (51.64) and by Kassapa IV (52.10). That Kassapa V, 10th century, had Paritta ceremonies performed by them has been mentioned above in 161. When the learned and wise King Sena IV, 10th century, expounded sacred texts in the Lohapāsāda, he was surrounded by the inmates of the three fraternities (54.4).

Exceptions prove the rule. Sometimes kings had a predilection for one or the other of the sects or monkish groups. In the sixth century the heretic sects were favoured by the rulers, possibly because they were more tolerant of their misdeeds than the Theravādins (MALALASEKERA, l. l., p. 152). Mahinda IV seems to have specially patronized the Pamsukūlins (54.18 sq.) without however neglecting the other groups of Bhikkhus. The Sakkasenāpati of Kassapa V with his wife Vajirā and his mother Devā were particularly devoted to the 'universally revered' Thera school (52.61 sq.).

When Silāmeghavaṇṇa invited the Bhikkhus of the Thera school with the others to celebrate together the Uposatha festival, he was refused, although he had expelled the unworthy members of the Order in the Abhayagirivihāra (44.80). The King flew into a rage over this implacable behaviour of the Bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra.

In one passage only (46.15) 'two fraternities' are mentioned. Aggabodhi IV, 7th century, is said to have granted them maintenance villages. I think that here by *dve nikāyā* Hīnayāna, represented by the Theravāda, and Mahāyāna, represented by the heretic sects, are meant, the same, therefore, as by 'two doctrines' *ubhaya-sāsana* in 84.10¹).

203. In the paper quoted above, by PARANAVITANA much evidence is alleged from inscriptions which show how widespread the Mahāyāna was in mediaeval Ceylon. Since its contact with the Hīnayāna was uninterrupted there through many centuries an influence of the Mahāyāna ideas upon those of the Theravādins was inevitable. An example may be the change of the Bodhisatta doctrine in the Mahāvamsa whose compilers were all Theravādins. The adherents of the Hīnayāna knew only one Bodhisatta. This is Metteyya, the Bodhisattva Maitreya of the Northern Buddhists, who after the lapse of five thousand years will come to the world to preach again the true doctrine. By the Mahāyāna the way to Buddhahood is opened for everybody, and there are many Bodhisattvas in the world, Avalokiteśvara playing an even more important part than Maitreya.

According to the old Mahāvamsa Metteyya is in the Tusita heaven awaiting the time when he shall become a Buddha. Then Duṭṭhagāmaṇi will in a new existence become his foremost disciple, and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's son, Sāliirāja, his son (Mhvs 32.73, 81, 83). In the first part of the Cūlavamsa, 37.242, we read that the Bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra believed Buddhaghosa to be the Bodhisatta Metteyya owing to his marvellous wisdom. King Dhātusena, 5th century, built a temple for Metteyya and provided the image of this temple with the full equipment of a king (38.67—68). Statues of Metteyya were erected by Dappula (45.62) and Parakkamabāhu I (79.75). But no other Bodhisatta than Metteyya is mentioned by name in these parts of the chronicle.

¹) Cf., however, above 198, note. (Ed.).

Nevertheless the ancient doctrine had suffered a change. The chronicler must admit that pious kings could be on the way to becoming Buddhas in a future existence. I think that this was a concession to the Mahāyānist who attributed such a quality to certain rulers, and it was made to them by the Theravādins in order not to disturb the good relations between church and royalty. The first trace of this novelty is perhaps to be found in Mhvs 36.90. Here King Sirisamghabodhi is called *mahāsatta* 'Great being', and this word corresponds to the term *mahāsattva* with which Bodhisattvas are distinguished by the Northern Buddhists. In 37.109 Buddhadāsa, 4th century, is said to have lived the life that Bodhisattas lead, and in 42.1 and 50.65 Aggabodhi I who died in the year 601, and Sena I, 9th century, are said to have aspired to the attainment of the highest enlightenment. However to none of these kings is the title of Bodhisatta given directly. It is manifest that up to the thirteenth century, when the first part of the Cūlavamsa was composed by Dhammakitti, the Theravādins only reluctantly accepted the new Bodhisatta doctrine.

In the second part of the Cūlavamsa which was probably composed in the second half of the fourteenth century King Vijayabāhu IV is directly called a Bodhisatta (88.35; 90.48), but even now the chief Bodhisattva of the Mahāyānist Avalokiteśvara is nowhere mentioned by name in the chronicle nor the identification of the god Nātha with him perfected (cf. above 159).

204. I cannot finish the present work without casting a glance at the Relic worship which is so closely connected with the Buddhist creed and with the cultural and political history of Ceylon.

There are two kinds of relics: 'bodily relics' (*sārīrikā dhātuyo*, Mhvs 17.12; 82.34; 99.58), i. e. remnants of the body found in the ashes of the funeral pyre, and 'relics of personal use' (*pāribhojīkā dhātuyo* 82.34), i. e. articles or parts of articles used by the deceased during his lifetime. Many bodily relics got lost in the turbulent times of the thirteenth century (80.69). A relic of the second kind was, as I believe, the *chinnapattīkā-dhātu*, mentioned among the royal treasures (cf. 119, g).

Not only relics of the Buddha but also of ancient Theras were revered in Ceylon. Relics of Mahinda were deposited in a Cetiya erected on the spot where his body had been burnt (20.44). A relic of the Grand Thera Mahākassapa, the president of the first council held immediately after the Master's death, a tooth, was kept in a Vihāra at Bhīmatittha (Bentoṭa) and honoured by Parakkamabāhu II with a sacrificial festival (85.80 sq.). King Viravikkama caused 140 caskets to be made for the various relics kept in the Island (92.14).

Relics are kept in a 'casket' (*karaṇḍa-ka*), often in more than one, each being within the other. In this case the outer casket may also be called 'urn' (*carigoṭa-ka* 31.75, 77; 91.18). The caskets were generally made of gold and set with precious stones. For the Tooth relic Parakkamabāhu VI, 15th century, had fashioned four Karaṇḍakas of this kind (91.17 sq.), and in modern times the caskets became ever more superb and costly, and are described in the chronicle, however not without exaggeration. The casket made by Vimaladhammasuriya II resembled a Cetiya made of all precious things, gold and gems (*ratana-cetiya* 97.7) for the sum of 25,000 silver coins. This casket is referred to in 100.21. Narindasiha, 18th century, had a Karaṇḍa made, one and a half

cubits high (= 27 inches), covered it with gold and set it with seven hundred gems (97.53; cf. 98.94), and the casket which Kittisirirājasīha ordered to be made costed 2000 gold coins and 7(000) Nikkhas. A large diamond was placed on its top and the whole casket decorated with hundreds of smaller diamonds, topazes, sapphires, rubies and pearls (100.13 sq.).

Relics, chiefly those of the first kind, but also those of the second (82.34), performed miracles as the living Master had done. Most of such marvellous stories are met with in the old Mahāvamsa (17.25 sq., 43 sq., 54; 31.97—99), but one occurs also in 82.41 sq., in the thirteenth century. King Parakkama-bāhu II, holding the Tooth relic in his hand, made the vow ever to further the laity and the Order. To seal this vow the relic rose by itself into the air, assumed the form of the living Master illumining the world with clusters of rays, enraptured the King and returning from the air settled again on his hand in its previous form. The great crowd of people round about rejoiced at the sight of this superb miracle, and the whole town was full of intense excitement.

205. The most venerated relics existing in Ceylon in the twelfth century are enumerated in Mhvs 64.30: the Hair relic (*kesa-dhātu*), the Collar-bone relic (*akkhaka-dhātu*), the Neck-bone relic (*gīvatthi- or gīva-dhātu*), the Tooth relic (*dāṭhā-dhātu*), the Alms-bowl relic (*patta-dhātu*). Besides them there were also many unspecified relics in the Island. Leaving aside legendary stories of the ancient time we must first mention the relics introduced into Ceylon during the reign of Devānaṃpiyatissa. According to a half-legendary and half-historical tradition which is handed down in chapter 17 of the chronicle the King after his conversion to the true doctrine by the Thera Mahinda wished to build a Thūpa and was anxious to obtain relics for it. Mahinda sent one of his companions, Sumana, the grandson of King Asoka, to India to request from this King relics of the Great Sage (*munino dhātuyo*) and the alms-bowl used by the Master (*pattaṃ bhuttaṃ ca satthunā* 17.12). If we keep in sight these clear and unambiguous words, it seems to be evident that wherever in later passages expressions like 'the bowl with the relics' (*dhātu-patta* 17.21, 24) or 'the bowl-ful relics' (*patta-pūrā dhātuyo* 17.13, 18) are used, with *patta* always the alms-bowl of the Buddha is meant by the chronicler. Bowl and relics were, according to tradition, in the possession of Asoka and granted by him to his friend in Ceylon. The relic together with the collar-bone relic (see below) were enshrined in the Thūpārāma-cetiya, but this was apparently not the case with the alms-bowl. The chronicle only says in 20.13: the bowl that the Saṃbuddha had used the king kept in his beautiful palace and worshipped continually with manifold offerings.

Unspecified were also the relics deposited by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in the Mahā-thūpa. They had been in the possession of the Nāgas and were worshipped by them. But they were gained by the young ascetic Soṇuttara and given to the King for his monumental building (31.45 sq.). The history of these relics is again legendary.

I now revert to the first three of the five relics mentioned above.

The Hair relic was brought to Ceylon by Silākāla who was at that time a Sāmaṇera. King Moggallāna I, 496—513, accepted the relic, preserved it in a casket of crystal and housed it in a beautiful temple (39.49). Moggallāna III, 7th century, and Sena I, 9th century, celebrated festivals in honour of the

relic and the latter had a golden casket made for it (44.45; 50.71). Mahinda IV, 10th century, sheltered the relic in the Candana-pāsāda built by him in the Maricavaṭi-vihāra (54.41). We no longer hear of this relic in the chronicle.

The Collar-bone relic — it was the right collar-bone, *dakḥiṇakkhaka* — was originally, according to the legend, in the possession of the god Indra. When Sumana had received the alms-bowl of the Buddha, filled with relics, from King Asoka, he went to Indra's heaven and got from him the Collar-bone relic. He brought it, together with the other relics, to Ceylon and here it was enshrined in the Cetiya of the Thūpārāma (17.20 sq.). In the seventh century, when this Cetiya had become ruinous, King Aggabodhi II temporarily housed the relic in an inner room of the Lohapāsāda (42.51 sq.). After the restoration of the Cetiya it was, we must assume, brought back to its former place.

The Neck-bone relic, according to an ancient legend, was found in the funeral pyre by Sarabhu, a disciple of Sāriputta. He brought it to Ceylon where it was deposited in the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-thūpa (1.37 sq.). The enshrining (? *patitthāpana*) of the Neck-bone relic¹) is mentioned in a difficult passage (20.19) among the meritorious works of Devānampiyatissa, but we do not know the Thūpa where it was enshrined.

In the later chapters of the chronicle neither the Collar-bone relic nor the Neck-bone relic is ever mentioned.

206. The Tooth relic and the Alms-bowl relic cannot be separated from each other. During the second half of the mediaeval period their fate was always the same. We know the tradition concerning the arrival in Ceylon of the Alms-bowl relic. It seems that it was kept in the royal palace in Anurādhapura. When King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, 1st century B. C., conquered by the Damiḷas, fled from the town, he could not take the relic with him. Thus it fell into the hands of one of the Damiḷa leaders who carried it away to India (Mhvs 33.47 sq.). At the end of the fourth century A. C. it was again in Ceylon, for King Upatissa I made use of the stone alms-bowl of the Master in a rain-charm instituted by him when the Island was vexed by the ills of a famine and a plague (37.192).

At the beginning of the twelfth century the offerings presented by pious people to the Alms-bowl relic and to the Tooth relic were forcibly taken by King Jayabāhu I (61.56). From that time onwards the two relics form an inseparable pair in the chronicle up to the fourteenth century. The present shelter of the Alms-bowl is said to be a smaller Dāgoba near the Tooth relic temple in Kandy.

The Tooth relic, called *daḷadā* (= *dāṭhā-dhātu*) in Sinhalese, is by far the most revered and most popular relic. It was the right eye-tooth of the Buddha, according to the legend first in the possession of the god Indra and worshipped by him in his heaven. When Sumana received from Indra the Master's collar-bone he left him the tooth to honour it (Mhvs 17.14—15).

The history of the Daḷadā begins with the fourth century A. C. During the reign of King Sirimeghavaṇṇa a Brahman woman came from the Kaliṅga

¹) Mhvs 1.37 and 20.19 (Mhvs trsl., p. 5, 137). I have *givaṭṭhi* and *givadhātu* wrongly rendered with 'Collar-bone relic' instead of 'Neck-bone relic, confounding *givadhātu* with *akkhakahātu*.

country to Ceylon, carrying with her the eye-tooth of the Buddha. The King accepted it with reverence and housed it in a building erected by Devānam-piyatissa 'on royal ground' (*rāja-vatthumhi*), i. e. near the king's palace in Anurādhapura (Mhvs 37.92). Henceforth this building was the Temple of the Tooth relic (*dāthā-dhātughara*) for several centuries, and the relic had its special guardians (*rakkhiya* 57.22). Festivals were instituted in its honour and offerings were presented to it by many kings (38.70; 42.33; 44.45; 51.22; 54.5). In the tenth century the temple was destroyed by fire, but restored by King Mahinda IV (54.45), and we hear in this connexion that it was situated in the centre of the town. After the Coḷa invasion King Vijayabāhu I, at the end of the eleventh century built for the Tooth relic a beautiful and new temple in Pulatthinagara and instituted permanently for it a great festival (60.16). With this temple a building on the so-called Quadrangle (see 48) has been identified with much probability by S. PARANAVITANA (Ceylon Journ. of Science, Sect. G, II 162).

207. A new chapter of the history of the Daḷadā begins with the twelfth century. The sacred relic which was always kept by the kings near their own residence, has now become the Palladium of the Sinhalese kingdom. It often changes its shelter. From fear of Vikkamabāhu's violence the Pamsukūlins transported the Daḷadā and the Alms-bowl relic to the province of Rohaṇa (Mhvs 61.61) where they settled here and there. When Mānābharaṇa tried to get hold of the royal dominion in Pulatthinagara he fetched the two relics together with his mother Sugalā and all his wives from Rohaṇa (70.266) and brought them back to that province after he had been defeated by Parakkamabāhu (70.310). In the wars of King Parakkamabāhu with the rebels in Rohaṇa the two relics played a prominent part as spoils (74.84, 103). Queen Sugalā had secured them and herself in Uruvelā (74.88), but here the generals of Parakkamabāhu succeeded in capturing them (74.126). The relics were sent to Pulatthinagara where they were accepted by the King with the greatest solemnity. For the Tooth relic Parakkamabāhu had a splendid temple erected 'in the middle of the the town' (74.198). From this passage we may assume that it was situated not far from Vijayabāhu's temple on the Quadrangle and I venture to propose its identification with the building popularly called Thūpārāma, leaving, however, the decision to better authorities.

The Alms-bowl relic was housed in a costly pavilion (74.210).

In the turbulent times which followed the reign of Parakkamabāhu the Daḷadā shared all the vicissitudes of the kingdom. It was often necessary to protect the relic against foreign invaders, and none of the kings would risk the loss of that palladium.

During the rule of the usurper Māgha who was a disbeliever, the two relics did not seem to be secure in Pulatthinagara. The Bhikkhus therefore conveyed them to the Kotthumala mountain and buried them in the earth (81.17 sq.). When King Vijayabāhu III, 1232—36, had established his rule, he fetched the relics from Kotthumala and brought them to his residence Jambuddoṇi (Dambadeniya) (81.26), but in order to provide for them a more inaccessible place, fast and sure, he erected a fortress on the Billasela mountain (Beligala) and sheltered the relics there (81.37). The Grand Thera Saṅgharakkhita was entrusted with the guardianship (81.77).

Parakkamabāhu II, 1236—71, transported the Tooth relic from Billasela to Jambuddonī where it was kept in a temple near the royal palace (82.6 sq.). Later on it was housed in the Sirivijayasundara-vihāra (85.90 sq.). The relic was highly revered by the King (85.111; 86.54 sq.), and made use of for performing a rain-charm (87.5 sq.). When Pulatthinagara had been rebuilt by order of the King the Daḷadā and the Alms-bowl relic were conveyed to this town with great solemnity (89.13 sq.).

Bhuvanekabāhu I, 1273—84, menaced with death by the treacherous general Mitta, had taken refuge on the fortified Subhagiri rock (Yāpahu) (90.5). He apparently brought the Tooth relic to the same place, for the Damiḷa general Āriyacakkavattin who had invaded Ceylon, seized it there and carried it away to the Paṇḍu country (90.46). Parakkamabāhu III, end of the 13th century, obtained the relic again by negotiations and placed it in Pulatthinagara in the former relic temple (90.51 sq., 55).

208. We come to the last phase in the history of the Tooth relic. King Parakkamabāhu IV, 1302—32, had like his father Bhuvanekabāhu V his residence in Hatthigiripura (Kurunāgala). He housed the Daḷadā in a temple which he had built in the royal courtyard (*rājanagara*) and put it there on a splendid throne together with the Alms-bowl relic (Mhvs 90.66, 72, 77). The latter is no longer mentioned in the chronicle.

The royal residence at the end of the fourteenth century was Jayavaḍḍhana (Kottē) where Parakkamabāhu VI built a Pāsāda for the Tooth relic (91.17). Viravikkama, 16th century, was the first who erected a temple for it in Senkhaṇḍa-Sirivaḍḍhana, i. e. Kandy (92.9), and from this time onwards Kandy remained the shelter of the Daḷadā with short interruptions. When Rājasīha, 16th century, persecuted the Buddhist community, it was temporarily kept hidden in Labujāma (Delgamuva, N. of Ratnapura) and brought back to Kandy by Vimaladhammasuriya I, 1592—1604, who again built a temple for it near his palace (94.11 sq.). In the year 1611, when the Portuguese approached Kandy, King Senāratana had the Daḷadā sheltered at a safe place in the district of Pañcasata (N. E. of Kandy), and when they had returned to Colombo, he carried it back to the Kandy temple (95.10 sq.).

The last chapters of the Mahāvamsa (97 &c) abound in verbose and often exaggerated descriptions of feasts and pompous processions instituted by the kings in honour of the Daḷadā, of buildings erected or embellished, of costly treasures of every kind offered to the relic and its temple and the like. Each king seemed to be anxious to surpass his predecessors in devotion and prodigality (97.4, 25, 36, 52; 98.25—64, 94). King Kittisirirājasīha is even said to have taken the Daḷadā with him on his journeys through the whole kingdom, because he could not bear the pain accruing to him from the separation from the relic (99.143). To the King Dhammika of Sāminḍa who had sent Theras to Ceylon for performing there Upasampadā ceremonies he sent a model of the Daḷadā to show him his gratitude (100.153 sq.).

At present the Daḷadā is no longer a symbol of political power, but it is the revered centre of worship for all the pious Buddhists living in Ceylon and for many thousands of pilgrims who come from abroad to profess their veneration and devotion for that holy relic of the Great Master of the world.

Explanations to Plate I

I. Provinces. A: Rājaraṭṭha, Patittharaṭṭha, Pihīṭiraṭa. B: Dakkhinadesa. C: Rohaṇa, Ruhunu. D: Malaya.

II. Districts. a: Jaffna. b: Gokaṇṇa. c: Muttākara. d: Janapada. e: Ālisāra. f: Bintānē. g: Ūva. h: Doṇivagga. k: Atṭhasahassaka. l: Dvādasasahassaka. m: Pañcayojana (Pasdun). n: Navayojana.

III. Rivers (n. = nadī, g. = ganga, o. = oya). 1: Malvatu-oya (Aruvi-aru). 2: Goṇa-n. (Kalā-o.). 3: Jajjara-n. (Dāduru-o.). 3a: Kiribulvana-oya. 4: Maha-oya. 5: Kālāṇi-g. 6: Kaṇha-n. (Kalu-g.). 7: Gin-g. 8: Nilavāla-n. 9: Vana-n. (Valavē-g.) 10: Karinda-n. (Kirindi-o.) 11: Kappakandara-n. (Māṇik-g.) 12: Mahā-n. (Kumbukkan-o.) 13: Gal-o. 14: Mahāvāluka-g. (Mahavāli-g.). 14a: Amban-g. 15: Yan-o.

IV. Localities (p. = pabbata, v. = vāpi, vāva). 16: Mahātitha (Mannāra). 17: Anurādhapura. 18: Ariṭṭhap. (Riṭigala). 19: Kāla-v. (Kalāvāva). 20: Sihagiri (Sigiri). 21: Jambukola (Dambulla). 22: Pulatthinagara (Polonnaruva). 23: Kacchakatitha (Mahagantota). 24: Sahassatitha (Dāstoṭa). 25: Mahātila (Mātalē). 26: Puttalam. 27: Subhagiri (Māhō, Yāpahu). 28: Mahiyaṅgaṇa. 29: Chilaw. 30: Jambuddoṇi (Dambadeniya). 31: Hatthiselapura (Kurunāgala). 32: Śirivaḍḍhana (Seṅkhaṇḍa, Kandy). 33: Dīghavāpi. 34: Gangā-siripura (Gampola). 35: Kalyāṇī (Kālaniya). 36: Colombo and Jayavaḍḍhana-koṭṭe. 37: Sītāvaka (Avisāvella). 38: Sumanakūṭa (Adam's Peak). 39: Badulla. 40: Govindasela (Westminster Abbey). 41: Guttasālā (Buttala). 42: Ratnapura. 43: Kājaragāma (Katara-gama). 44: Cittalap. (Situlpavva). 45: Tissamahārāma and Mahāgāma (Māgama). 46: Mahānāgahula. 47: Devanagara (Dondra and Mātara). 48: Vālukagāma (Vāligama). 49: Gimhatitha (Ginganga). 50: Bhīmatitha (Bentoṭa). 51: Batticaloa. 52: Tikoṇamālatitha (Trincomalee).

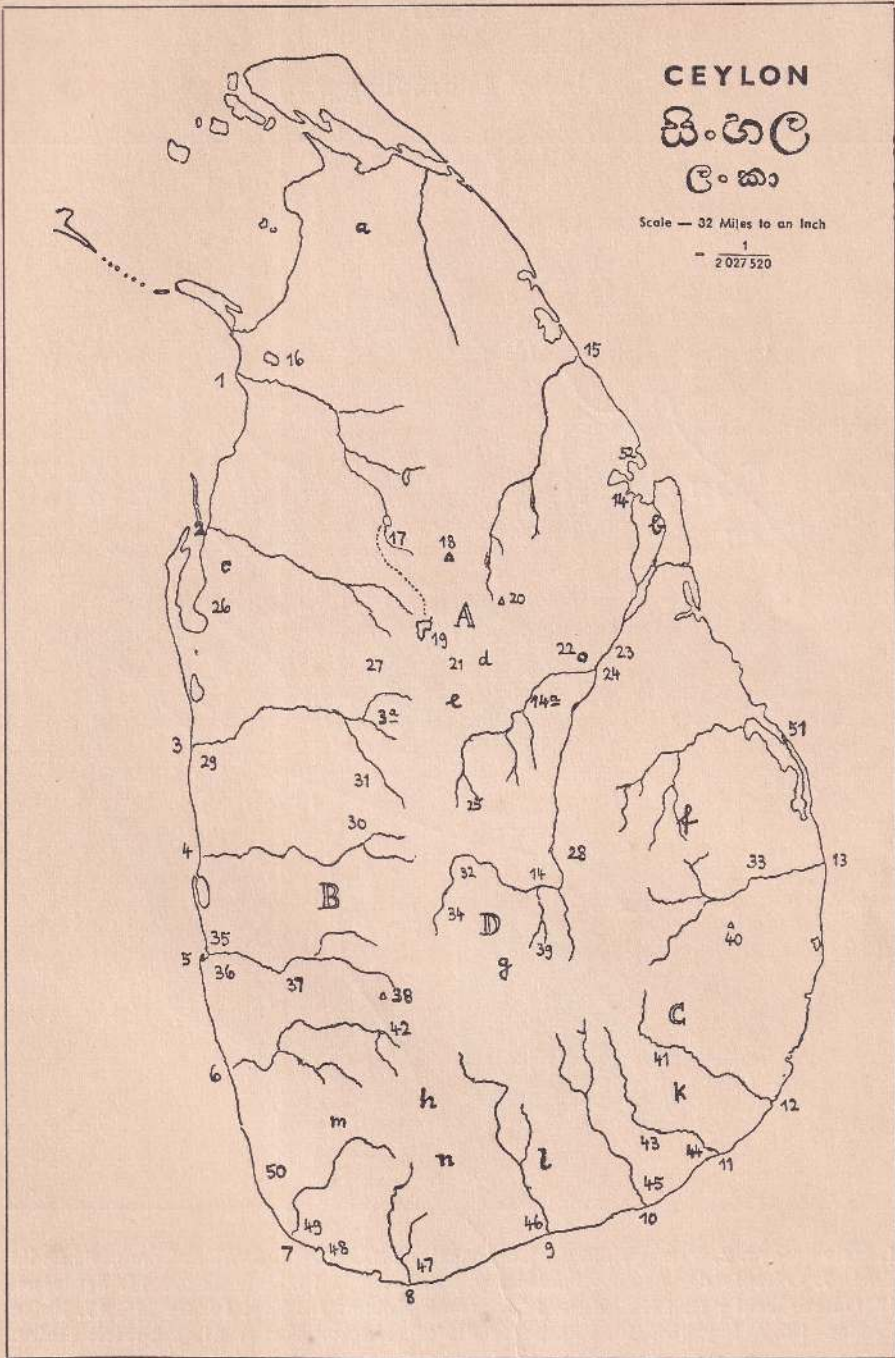
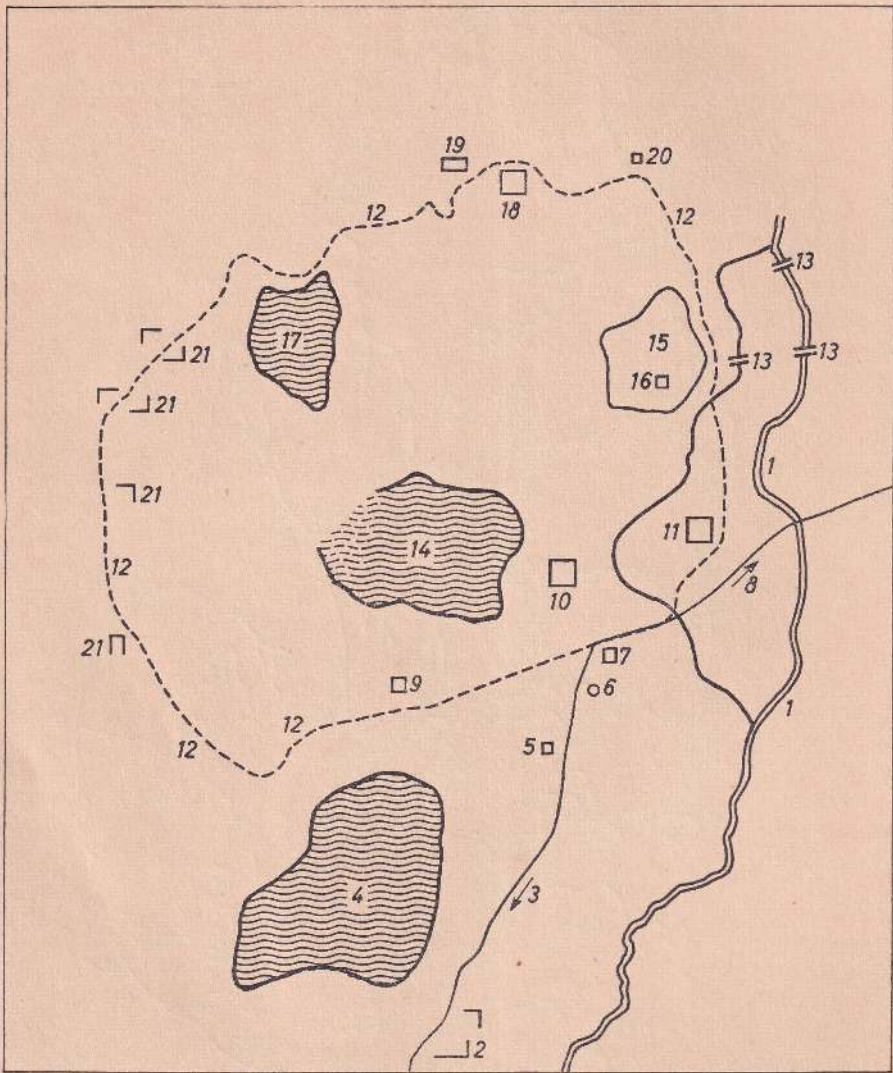


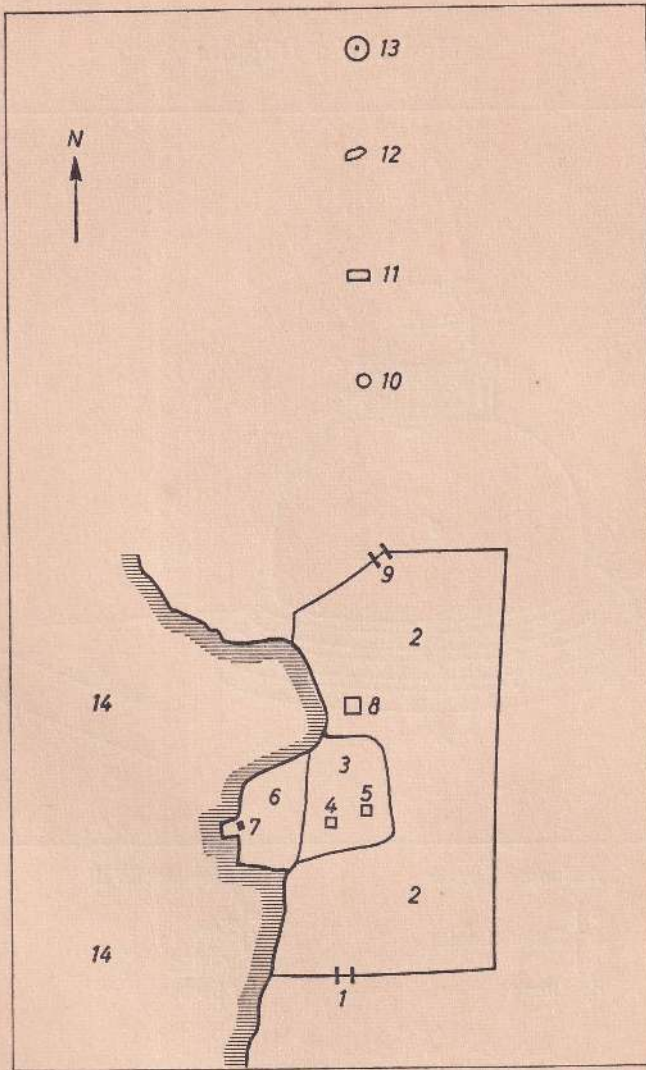
Plate I

Plan of Anurādhapura



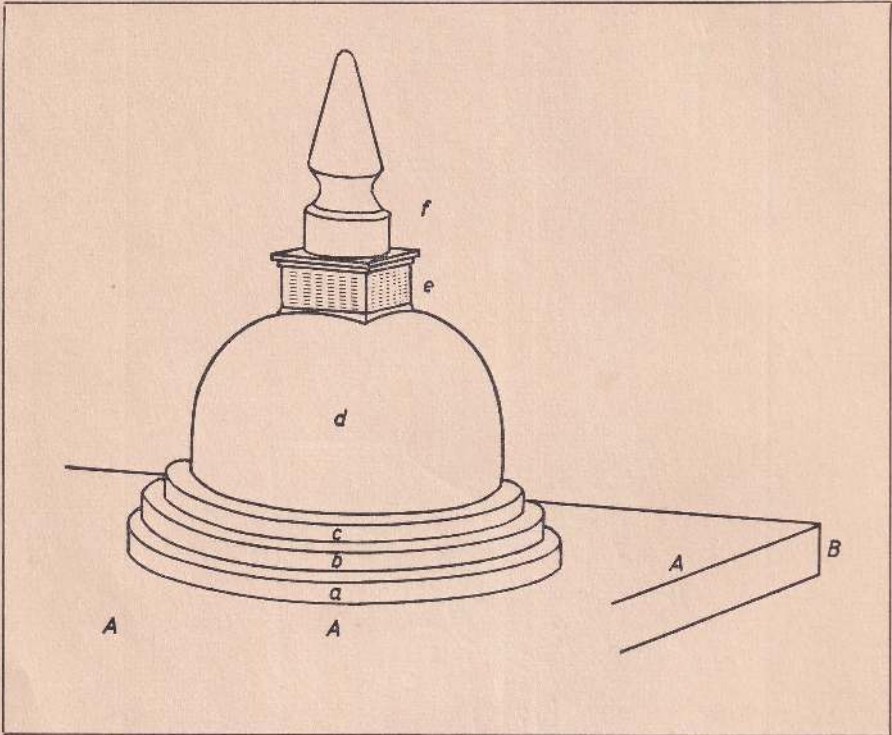
1. Malvatu-oya. 2. Vessagiri. 3. To Kurunāgala. 4. Tissavāpi. 5. Elāra Tomb. 6. Bodhi Tree. 7. Lohapāsāda. 8. To Mihintale. 9. Maricavaṭṭi. 10. Mahāthūpa. 11. Jetavana. 12. Outer Circular R. 13. Bridges. 14. Baṣavak Kulam. 15. City. 16. Geḍigē. 17. Bulan Kulam. 18. Abhayagiri. 19. Ratanapāsāda. 20. Kuṭampokuna. 21. Tapovana Ruins.

Plan of Polonnaruva



1. Southern Gate. 2. City. 3. Citadel. 4. Kings' Palace. 5. Audience Hall. 6. Promontory. 7. Resthouse. 8. Daladā Maḥuva. 9. Northern Gate. 10. Rankot Dāgoba. 11. Baddhasīmāpāsāda. 12. Galvihāra. 13. Demalamaha-sāya. 14. Tōpāvāva.

Model of a Dāgoba



A Square Terrace

B Elephant Wall

a }
 b } Three circuits
 c }
 d Dome

e }
 f } Tee
 e Vedikā
 f Chatta

APPENDICES

List of Sinhalese Kings

This is GEIGER's list, taken from his translation of the Cūlavamsa, pt. II, p. IX—XV (following the additional notes in his copy for personal use). Figures in italics denote that we have to do with fictitious numbers. SSB = Sirisaṅghabodhi; SMV = Silāmeghavanṇa; Lamb. = Lambakaṇṇa. (See also D. M. de Z. WICKREMASINGHE, Ceylonese Chronology: Ep. Zeyl. III (1933), p. 1—47). Editor.

A. Kings in the Oldest Part of the Mahāvamsa.

1. Vijaya	<i>483—445</i> B.C.	Mhvs 7.74	Dīp 9.42
Interregnum	<i>445—444</i>	8.5	11.9
2. Paṇḍuvāsudeva	<i>444—414</i>	8.27	10.5
3. Abhaya	<i>414—394</i>	9.29	10.7
Interregnum		10.105	11.2, 11
4. Paṇḍukābhaya } (5. Gaṇatissa) ¹⁾	<i>394—307</i>	10.77	11.4
6. Muṭṭasiva, son of 4.	<i>307—247</i>	11.1	11.5, 12
7. Devānampiyatissa, son of 6.	<i>247—207</i>	11.7	11.14
8. Uttiya	<i>207—197</i>	20.29	17.94
9. Mahāsiva } sons of 6.	<i>197—187</i>	21.1	18.45
10. Sūratissa }	<i>187—177</i>	21.3	18.46
11. Sena } Damiḷas	<i>177—155</i>	21.10	18.47
12. Guttika }		21.10	18.47
13. Asela, son of 6. ²⁾	<i>155—145</i>	21.11	18.48
14. Elāra, Damiḷa	<i>145—101</i>	21.13	18.49
15. Duṭṭhagāmaṇī	<i>101—77</i>	22.1	18.53
16. Saddhātissa, brother of 15.	<i>77—59</i>	33.4	20.7
17. Thūlathana	<i>59</i>	33.18	20.8
18. Lañjatissa } sons of 16.	<i>59—50</i>	33.19	20.9
19. Khallāṭanāga }	<i>50—43</i>	33.29	20.12
— Mahārattaka	<i>43</i>	(33.33)	20.13
20. Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, son of 16.	<i>43</i>	33.34	20.14
21. Pulahattha		33.56	20.15
22. Bāhiya		33.57	20.15
23. Panayamāra } Damiḷas	<i>43—29</i>	33.58	20.16
24. Piḷayamāra }		33.59	20.16
25. Dāṭhika		33.60	20.17
(20.) Vaṭṭagāmaṇī	<i>29—17</i>	33.78	20.18
26. Mahācūḷimahātissa, son of 19.	<i>17—3</i>	34.1	20.22
27. Coranāga, son of 20.	3 B. C.—9 A. D.	34.11	20.24
28. Tissa, son of 26.	9—12 A. D.	34.15	20.25

¹⁾ [See Rājāvaliya 17⁵; Mahābodhivamsa 112¹⁹.]

²⁾ [As to Asela, see WICKREMASINGHE, Epigr. Zeyl. III, p. 5, note 1.]

29. Anulā			34.17	20.26	
together with Siva	}	12—16	34.18	20.26	
together with Vaṭuka			34.20	20.27	
together with Tissa			34.22	20.28	
together with Niliya			34.26	20.29	
alone			34.27	20.30	
30. Kuṭakannatissa, son of 26.		16—38	34.28	20.31	
31. Bhātikābhaya	}	sons of 30.	38—66	34.37	21.1
32. Mahādāthikamahānāga			67—79	34.68	21.31
33. Āmaṇḍagāmaṇī	}	sons of 32.	79—89	35.1	21.34
34. Kaṇṇirajānutissa			89—92	35.9	21.38
35. Cūlābhaya, son of 33.		92—93	35.12	21.39	
36. Sivalī, daughter of 33.		93	35.14	21.40	
37. Pānāga, bhāgineyya of 33.		93—102	35.15	21.41	
38. Candamukhasiva	}	sons of 37.	103—112	35.46	21.44
39. Yasalālakatissa			112—120	35.50	21.46
40. Subharāja, usurper			120—126	35.56	21.47
41. Vasabha	}	Lamb.	127—171	35.69	22.1
42. Vaṅkanāsikatissa, son of 41.			171—174	35.112	22.12
43. Gajabāhugāmaṇī, son of 42.			174—196	35.115	22.13
44. Mahallanāga			196—202	35.123	22.15
45. Bhātikatissa			203—227	36.1	22.18
46. Kaṇṇiṭṭhatissa	}	sons of 44.	227—245	36.6	22.23
47. Khujjanāga			246—248	36.18	22.32
48. Kuñcanāga	}	sons of 46.	248—249	36.19	22.33
49. Sirināga I., brother-in-law of 48.			249—268	36.21	22.34
50. Vohārikatissa	}	sons of 49.	269—291	36.27	22.39
51. Abhayānāga			291—299	36.42	22.37
52. Sirināga II., son of 50			300—302	36.54	22.46
53. Vijayakumāra, son of 52.		302—303	36.57	22.51	
54. Saṃghatissa	}	Lamb.	303—307	36.63	22.48
55. Sirisaṃghabodhi			307—309	36.73	22.53
56. Goṭhābhaya			309—322	36.98	22.55
(Meghavaṇṇābhaya)				323—333	36.118
57. Jeṭṭhatissa I	}	sons of 56.	334—361/2	37.1	22.66
58. Mahāsena					

B. Kings in the Cūlavamsa.

1. Sirimeghavanna	}	Lamb.	}	Mhvs	37.53
2. Jeṭṭhatissa II				362—409	37.100
3. Buddhadāsa					37.105
4. Upatissa I					37.179
5. Mahānāma					37.209
6. Soṭthisena	38.1				
7. Chattagāhaka	}	}	431—432	38.3	
8. Mittasena			432—433	38.4	
9. Paṇḍu			38.11		
10. Parinda	}	}	}	38.29	
11. Khuddapārinda				433—460	38.30
12. Tiritara					38.32
13. Dāṭhiya					38.33
14. Piṭhiya					38.34

15. Dhātusena, Moriya	460—478	38.35	
16. Kassapa I, son of 15.	478—496	38.85	
17. Moggallāna I, son of 15.	496—513	39.20	
18. Kumāradhātusena, son of 17.	513—522	41.1	
19. Kittisena, son of 18.	522	41.4	
20. Sīva I, uncle of 19.	522	41.5	
21. Upatissā II	522—524	41.6	
22. Silākāla	524—537	41.26	
23. Dāthāpabhuti	} Lamb.	537	41.42
24. Moggallāna II		537—556	41.54
25. Kittisirimegha	} Lamb.	556	41.64
26. Mahānāga, Moriya	556—559	41.91	
— Lāmāni Siṅgānā ¹⁾	559—568	—	
27. Aggabodhi I, bhāgineyya of 26.	568—601	42.1	
28. Aggabodhi II, bhāgineyya of 27.	601—611	42.40	
29. Saṃghatissa, brother of 28.	611	44.1	
30. Moggallāna III, Lamb.	611—617	44.22	
31. Silāmeghavaṇṇa	617—626	44.63	
32. Aggabodhi III SSB	} 626—641	44.83	
33. Jeṭṭhatissa III		44.95	
(32.) Aggabodhi III SSB		44.118	
34. Dāthopatisa I		44.128	
35. Kassapa II	641—650	44.144	
36. Dappula I	650	45.16	
37. Dāthopatisa II	650—658	45.22	
38. Aggabodhi IV SSB	658—674	46.1	
39. Datta	} vassals of	674—676	46.41
40. Hatthadāṭha		Potthakutṭha, Damiḷa	676
41. Mānavamma	676—711	47.1	
42. Aggabodhi V	711—717	48.1	
43. Kassapa III SSB	717—724	48.20	
44. Mahinda I	724—727	48.26	
45. Aggabodhi VI SMV	727—766	48.42	
46. Aggabodhi VII	766—772	48.68	
47. Mahinda II SMV	772—792	48.76	
48. Udaya I	792—797	49.1	
49. Mahinda III SMV	797—801	49.38	
50. Aggabodhi VIII	801—812	49.43	
51. Dappula II	812—828	49.65	
52. Aggabodhi IX	828—831	49.83	
53. Sena I SMV	831—851	50.1	
54. Sena II SSB	851—885	51.1	
55. Udaya II SMV	885—896	51.90	
56. Kassapa IV SSB	896—913	52.1	
57. Kassapa V SMV	913—923	52.37	
58. Dappula III SSB	923	53.1	
59. Dappula IV SMV	923—934	53.4	
60. Udaya III SSB	934—937	53.13	
61. Sena III SMV	937—945	53.28	
62. Udaya IV SSB	945—953	53.39	
63. Sena IV	953—956	54.1	

¹⁾ [See Cūlavamsa, trsl., I, p. 62, n. 3.]

64. Mahinda IV SSB	956—972	54.7
65. Sena V SMV	972—981	54.57
66. Mahinda V SSB [981—1017] }	981—1029	55.1
Interregnum [1017—1029] }		55.19
67. Vikkamabāhu I (Kassapa VI)	1029—1041	56.1
68. Kittī	1041	56.7
69. Mahālānakitti	1041—1044	56.8
70. Vikkamapaṇḍu	1044—1047	56.10
71. Jagatīpāla	1047—1051	56.13
72. Parakkamapaṇḍu I	1051—1053	56.16
73a. Loka SSB	1053—1059	57.1
73b. (Kassapa)	1059	57.65
74. Vijayabāhu I SSB	1059—1114	58.1
75. Jayabāhu I	1114—1116	61.1
76. Vikkamabāhu II	1116—1137	62.1
77. Gajabāhu (II)	1137—1153	63.18
78. Parakkamabāhu I SSB, the Great	1153—1186	71.1
79. Vijayabāhu II	1186—1187	80.1
80. Mahinda VI	1187	80.15
81. Nissaṅkamalla [Kittinissaṅka]	1187—1196	80.18
82. Virabāhu I	1196	80.27
83. Vikkamabāhu III	1196	80.28
84. Coḍagaṅga	1196—1197	80.29
85. Līlāvati	1197—1200	80.30
86. Sāhasamalla	1200—1202	80.32
87. Kalyāṇavatī	1202—1208	80.33
88. Dhammāsoka	1208—1209	80.42
89. Anikaṅga	1209	80.43
(85.) Līlāvati	1209—1210	80.45
90. Lokissara	1210—1211	80.47
(85.) Līlāvati	1211	80.49
91. Parakkamapaṇḍu II	1211—1214	80.52
92. Māgha	1214—1235	80.54
93. Vijayabāhu III	1232—1236	81.10
94. Parakkamabāhu II	1236—1271	82.1
95. Vijayabāhu IV	1271—1273	88.1; 90.1
96. Bhuvanekabāhu I	1273—1284	90.4
97. Parakkamabāhu III	1284—1291	90.49
98. Bhuvanekabāhu II	1291—1302	90.59
99. Parakkamabāhu IV [1302—1332] }		90.64
100. Bhuvanekabāhu III	1302—1346	90.105
101. Vijayabāhu V		90.105
102. Bhuvanekabāhu IV	1346—1353	90.106
103. Parakkamabāhu V	1348—1360 }	91.1
104. Vikkamabāhu IV SSB	1357—1375 }	
105. Bhuvanekabāhu V	1360—1391	91.9
106. Virabāhu II	1391—1397	91.13
(Vijayabāhu VI) ¹⁾	1397—1411	—
107. Parakkamabāhu VI SSB	1410—1468	91.16
108. Jayabāhu II	1468—1473	92.1
109. Bhuvanekabāhu VI SSB	1473—1480	92.1

¹⁾ [See Cūlavamsa, trsl., II, p. XXIII sq.]

110. Parakkamabāhu VII	1480—1484	92.3
111. Parakkamabāhu VIII (Parakkamabāhu IX) ¹⁾	1484—1518 1506—1528	92.3 —
112. Vijayabāhu VI (VII) ²⁾	1509—1521	92.4
113. Bhuvanekabāhu VII	1521—1550	92.4
114. Viravikkama	1542—?	92.6
115. Māyādhanu (Dharmapāla) ³⁾	1521—1581 1551—1597	93.1 —
116. Rājasīha I	1581—1592	93.3
117. Vimaladhammasuriya I	1592—1604	94.6
118. Senāratana	1604—1635	95.1
119. Rājasīha II	1635—1687	96.3
120. Vimaladhammasuriya II	1687—1707	97.1
121. Viraparakkamanarindasīha	1707—1739	97.23
122. Sirivijayarājasīha	1739—1747	98.1
123. Kittisirirājasīha	1747—1781	99.1
124. Sirirājādhirājasīha	1781—1798	101.1
125. Sirivikkamarājasīha	1798—1815	101.19

Residences (Capitals).

Ancient Mahāvamsa:

- Nr. 1: Tambapaṇṇī (7.74): 483—445 B. C.
 Nr. 2—3: Upatissagāma (10.52): 444—394.
 Nr. 4—58: Anurādhapura: 394 B. C.—362 A. C.

Cūlavamsa:

- Nr. 1—15: Anurādhapura: 362—478.
 Nr. 16: Sīhagiri (39.2): 478—496.
 Nr. 17—66: Anurādhapura: 496—1017.
 temporary residence of Nr. 38, 46 and 53: Pulatthinagara (46.34; 48.74; 50.85)⁴⁾
 temporary residence of Nr. 65: Pulatthinagara and Rohaṇa (54.62 and 64)⁴⁾
 Nr. 67—73b: Rohaṇa (56.8, 12, 14; 57.2): 1029—1059.
 Nr. 74—92: Pulatthinagara (59.10): 1059—1235.
 Nr. 93: Jambuddoṇī (81.16): 1236—1236.
 Nr. 94: Jambuddoṇī (Pulatthinagara): 1236—1271.
 Nr. 95: Pulatthinagara: 1271—1273.
 Nr. 96: Jambuddoṇī (Subhagiri 90.42): 1273—1284.
 Nr. 97: Pulatthinagara (90.56): 1284—1291.
 Nr. 98—101: Hatthiselapura (90.59): 1291—1346.
 Nr. 102—104: Gaṅgāsiripura (90.106): 1346—1375.
 Nr. 105—113: Jayavaḍḍhana-Koṭṭē (91.7): 1360—1550.
 Nr. 114: Sirivaḍḍhana-Kandy (92.7): 1542—?
 Nr. 115—116: Sītāvaka (93.5; Cūlavamsa trsl., II, p. 224, note 1): 1521—1592.
 Nr. 117—125: Sirivaḍḍhana-Kandy (94.6): 1592—1815.

¹⁾ [See Cūlavamsa, trsl., II, p. XXIV and 219, n. 1.]

²⁾ [Cf., however, WICKREMASINGHE, Epigr. Zeyl. III, p. 43.]

³⁾ [See Cūlavamsa, trsl., II, p. 224, n. 1.]

⁴⁾ [See also S. PARANAVITANA, The Capital of Ceylon during the ninth and tenth centuries, Ceylon Journ. of Science, Sect. G. II, p. 141—147.]

Unpublished Additions and Corrections to his translation of the *Māhāvamsa* and the *Cūlavamsa* by W. Geiger

These additions and corrections have been taken from GEIGER's copy of personal use and his list of corrections to the *Mahāvamsa* translation. Readers using the additions and corrections should consult the corrections in the *Cūlavamsa* translation, pt. II, p. 361—365. (There are a few supplements to the *Mahāvamsa* translation, too, at the end of the 2nd ed., London 1934, p. 301—304, for the greater part covered by the present additions.) It was only after I came to Ceylon that I was able to see the two collections of additions and corrections to GEIGER's *Mahāvamsa* and *Cūlavamsa* published in Ceylon: Addendum to the 1950 reprint of Dr. Wm. GEIGER's translation prepared by G. C. MENDIS, Information Department, Colombo, and Corrections of Geiger's *Mahāvamsa* etc., a collection of monographs, by A. P. BUDDHADATTA, Ambalangoda 1957 (reprinted from *The University of Ceylon Review*). I was therefore able to use these two recent publications only when reading the proofs and I refer to these additions for some passages only, mainly in the old *Mahāvamsa*, where they seemed to be important. It was not possible to examine or to put into consideration the whole of these addenda and, on the other hand, it was not necessary too, because here it is intended to give GEIGER's last views on these texts. In any case, all the notices not taken from GEIGER's own manuscripts and notices have been put into brackets.

Editor.

I. *Mahāvamsa*.

Introduction

- p. XI, l. u. [Cf., however, *Cūlavamsa* trsl., p. 35 note 2.]
p. XX, l. 11f. [Cf., however, ERNST WALDSCHMIDT's revised edition of GRÜNWEDEL's *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*.]
p. XXXVI f. Cf. *Cūlavamsa* trsl., II, p. 361.
p. LI. [For the Buddhist Councils, see E. FRAUWALLNER, *Die buddhistischen Konzile*, ZDMG 102 (1952), p. 240—261; M. HOFINGER, *Étude sur le Concile du Vaiśālī*, *Bibl. du Muséon*, Louvain 1946.]

Translation

- p. 2, l. 4 (1.11). [Cf. BUDDHADATTA, *Corrections*, p. 1f.; MENDIS, *Add.*, p. 2.]
p. 5, l. 13 (1.38). Read: neck-bone (for collarbone). [Cf. above, 205, note 1.]
p. 6, l. 11 (1.49). [Read: His younger sister, Kaṇhā, had been given . . . on the Vaḍḍhamāṇa Mountain. Cf. BUDDHADATTA, *Corr.*, p. 3f.]
p. 7, l. 11f. (1.62). [Read: eighty koṭṭis of Nāgas, dwellers on land and sea. (MENDIS, *Add.*, p. 2).]
p. 7, l. 24f. (1.67). [Read: he caused to be established even there the Rājāyatana cetiya. (MENDIS, l. 1.)]
p. 11, l. 7—9 (2.11). Read: and sixteen even unto Okkāka; these (kings) who are mentioned in groups reigned in due order, each one in his capital.—Add the note: In v. 11 we have to read *pavuttā* instead of *paputtā*.

p. 14, l. 4 (3.1). Read: forty-five, instead of eighty-four. ["when he has been the incomparable Conqueror, who . . . , for 45 years and . . ."]

p. 14, l. 14—15, l. 8 (3,5—9). [Cf. BUDDHADATTA, Corr., p. 4ff.; MENDIS, Add., p. 2f.]

p. 26, l. 18 (5.7). [As we have *Channāgarikā* in Mhvs-Ṭikā (ed. MALALASEKERA) I 174 and Nikāyasangraha (Govt. ed.) p. 6, we have to read *Channāgarikā* in the Mhvs too. But it is not admissible to alter *Vajjiputtaka* into *Vacchiputtaka* (BUDDHADATTA, Corr., p. 8) in a Pali text, although GEIGER himself (Mhvs trsl. p. 279) has pointed out that *Vajjiputtaka* must be understood as an assimilation to the name of the Vajjiputtaka monks, the sectaries of Vaisālī. But as *Vajjiputtaka* is the only reading in the Pali literature, and, on the other hand, as even this correction does not remove the more decisive confusions in the Pali records on the sects, there is no point in changing the text.]

p. 27, l. 1—2 (5.12). Read: the Pubbaseliya, the Aparaseliya, instead of: the first Seliya bhikkhus, the other Seliyā. (Cf. Mhvs trsl. p. 283.)

p. 31, note 4. Read: P. *upajjhāyassa*. Every novice on his entrance into the order chooses an *upajjhāya* 'a master' and an *ācāriya* 'a teacher'. The former stands in the capacity of a father to the novice, from the *ācāriya* he learns the prescribed religious texts. WICKREMASINGHE, Epigr. Zeyl. II, p. 276 n. 2. (Cf. Cūlavś trsl. II, p. 361.)

p. 35, l. 13 (5.106). [Read: even at the age of twelve, instead of: the end of twelve years (BUDDHADATTA, Corr., p. 10).]

p. 36, l. 9 (5.115). [Read: men, instead of brahmins. (ibid., p. 11).]

p. 36, l. 12 (5. 116). [Read: father, instead of teacher. (Cf. ibid., p. 11).]

p. 37, l. 25 (5.132). See Mahāvamsa trsl., p. 300 (Addenda.)

p. 38, l. 12 (5.139). Read: therefore he used to keep his chair hung up, after it had been perfumed. (Cf. Cūlavś trsl., II, p. 361.)

p. 39, note 1. [Read: I. e. 'dyads concerning the mind.' The reference etc. (Cf. BUDDHADATTA, Corr., p. 12.)]

p. 40, l. 19 (5.161). Read: by an elephant, instead of by a cobra.

p. 42, l. 16 (5.188). [Read: to produce joy in Dhammasoka, instead of: the end that the king Dh. might be converted. (Cf. BUDDHADATTA, Corr. p. 12f.)]

p. 44, l. 16 (5.212). Read: Kuntikinnarī, instead of: a wood-nymph named K. [The real meaning of K. is uncertain; for suggestions, see BUDDHADATTA, Corr. p. 13.]

p. 44, note 1: [Read: he recited the kammavācā in the chapter when M. was ordained. Cf. above, Corr. to p. 31 n. 4 and BUDDHADATTA, Corr., p. 13.]

p. 51, l. 26. Add to 6.10 the foot-note: Cf. with the following passage the Padakasalamānavajātaka, FAUSBÖLL, Jāt. III 503, 17 sq.

p. 52, l. 24 (6.22). [Read: border-villages. Pālitext read: *-gāmake*. Mhvs-Ṭikā, ed. MALALASEKERA, I, p. XLV.]

p. 55, note 2. Read: *devass' uppalavannassa*. The allusion is to the colour of the blue lotus (*uppala*). The god was originally one of the tutelary deities of Ceylon in the popular religion. Afterwards he was identified with Viṣṇu. Cf. S. PARANAVITANA, Ceylon Journ. of Science, Sect. G, II, p. 66.

p. 56, l. 4 (7.11). [MALALASEKERA prefers to read Kuveṇī for Kuvanā. Mhvs-Ṭikā, I, p. XLV.]

p. 58, note 3. Read: Malvatu-oya, instead of Malvaṭṭa-oya.

p. 59. Add to 7.57 the note: The same number of guilds (*seṇi*) Jāt. VI 22,20—21; Mahāvastu III 114,4.

p. 60, l. 6 (7.60). [Read: non-human, instead of superhuman. (MENDIS, Add., p. 4.)]

p. 61, l. 10 (7.73). [Read: and every year he sent to his wife's father chanks and pearls worth two hundred thousand. (BUDDHADATTA, Corr., p. 15.)]

p. 62, note 1. [The Madras were a tribe that lived in N.W. India. (MENDIS, Add., p. 4.)]

p. 63, l. 17 (8.18). [Read: in disguise to, instead of: to another tract of land on. (BUDDHADATTA, Corr., p. 16; MENDIS, l. c.)]

p. 65, l. 10 (9.3). To: a chamber having but one pillar add the note: *P. gehe ekatthūṇike*. Cf. A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *Eastern Art* III 185. *Mhvs* 73.92 *ekatthambha pāsāda*; *Jāt.* I 441,24; IV 153,12 *ekatthambhaka p.*; *Jāt.* IV 79,18 *ekatthūṇaka p.*

p. 66, l. 30 (9.22). Read: *Citta*, instead of *Cittā*.

p. 66, l. 31 (9.23). [According to BUDDHADATTA, *Corr.* p. 17, the translation would be: since they would not acknowledge the fact (instead of: since they would make no promise).]

p. 70, l. 4 (10.27). [Read: township, instead of city. (MENDIS, l. c.)]

p. 72, l. 14 (10.59). [Read: tail, instead of mane (BUDDHADATTA, *Corr.*, p. 17).]

p. 72, l. 29 (10.65). [According to the *Mhvs-Tīkā* (ed. MALALASEKERA) I 291, *Nagaraka* is the name of the village.]

p. 72, note 1 should run thus: The Dhūmarakkha is Dimbulāgala near the Kacchaka-tittha on the right bank of the Mahavāliganga. Cf. above, 5, note 1.

p. 73, l. 20 (10.74). [Read: and the latter dwelt in that building, instead of: but he dwelt in his house. (BUDDHADATTA, *Corr.*, p. 17).]

p. 74, l. 27 (10.90). To Yonas add the note: Concerning the Yonas see E. R. AYRTON, *Ceylon Notes and Queries*, I, Oct. 1913, p. VIII. They were foreign traders, corresponding to the modern Moormen. It seems that they were not allowed to dwell in the city at that time but had to stay in a kind of ghetto. [Cf. above, 100.]

p. 75, note 3 (10.102). [For a suggestion on *sivikā-sotthisālaṅ ca* cf. BUDDHADATTA, *Corr.*, p. 17f.]

p. 78, l. 1 (11.8), 2 (11.9) and 18 (11.16). Read: precious stones (instead of jewels).

p. 78, l. 31 (11.21). Read: gems (instead of jewels).

p. 78. To l. 5 (11.10) 'three bamboo-stems' add the note: *tisso veluyatthino*. N. LAW, *Ind. Hist. Quart.* VI 571 refers to Kaṭṭalya's *Arthaśāstra*, ed. SHAMA SASTRY, p. 76 where *Sk. yaṣṭi* occurs in the meaning 'necklace': (An only string of pearls) with a gem in the centre is called *yaṣṭi*. He believes that this meaning must be applied to *yatthi* in our passage, but I cannot accept his opinion. It seems to be improbable in the compound *veluyatthi*. [This is GEIGER's final view and corrects his assertion in *Mhvs* trsl., p. 301f. and *Cūlav.* trsl. II, p. 362.]

p. 79, l. 9 (11.26). Read: *Daṇḍanāyaka* (for staffbearer), and add a note: The title *daṇḍanāyaka* occurs in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* in a compound with *senāpati*; this means 'commander-in-chief', and *daṇḍanāyaka* 'commander of a column of troops, general'.

p. 80, l. 26 (11.41). [*sāmihite ratā* 'wishing the welfare of their master' (inst. of rejoicing in the s. of their k.); BUDDHADATTA, *Corr.*, p. 18; cf. *Mhvs-Tīkā*.]

p. 86, l. 23 (12.51). [Read: kept guards around, inst. of: made a bulwark round. (BUDDHADATTA, *Corr.*, p. 18.)]

p. 86, note 2. *Suvannabhūmi* was a district of Lower Burma, adjacent to the coast. FLEET's suggestion (*JRAS* 1910, p. 428) that it is a district in India certainly is wrong. H. KERN refers me to *Jātakamālā* XIV, 1 and *Kathāsaritsāgara* 52, v. 318. Both these passages show that from India one went to *Suvannabhūmi* by sea.

p. 92, l. 4 (14.14). Read: threefold higher knowledge, instead of three vedas.

p. 93, l. 19 (14.29). [Read: what service he had to do to the therā, instead of what the th. intended to do. (MENDIS, *Add.* p. 5; cf. BUDDHADATTA, *Corr.*, p. 18 and *Mhvs-Tīkā*.)]

p. 95, note 2: The ruins of the *Paṭhamacetiya* 'First cetiya' were discovered E. of the city of *Anurādhapura* between the two branches of the *Malvatu-oya* near an ancient bridge on the road to *Mihintale*.

p. 97, note 3 should run thus: I. e. 'the discourse of the fool and the wise man' in *Majjhimanikāya* III. 163.

p. 97, l. ult. (15.11). [Read: whose gate is on the east, inst. of at the east gate. (BUDDHADATTA, *Corr.*, p. 19.)]

p. 99, l. 11 (15.28). [BUDDHADATTA, l. c. and MENDIS, *Add.* p. 5: 'standing on the south side of it' should precede 'scattered'.]

- p. 99, note 2, Add. after *Tamarix India*: According to J. M. SENAVERATNA 'Silk cotton tree'. He follows the Sinhalese translators of the Mhvs. Cf. Ceylon Antiqu. and Lit. Reg. VII 31.
- p. 100, l. 12 (15.38). Read: mango-fruit, inst. of. mango-tree.
- p. 104, l. 1 (15.88). [BUDDHADATTA, CORR. p. 20 and 26 translates 'water-strainer' inst. of drinking-vessel.]
- p. 109, l. 20 (15.169). Read: Mahānāga, instead of Mahānāma.
- p. 110, l. 18—19 (15.180). [Read: 'Has the doctrine of the Conqueror now been established here, Sir?' (BUDDHADATTA, CORR., p. 20.)]
- p. 115, l. 22 (16.16). [Read: expecting, inst. of. weary of. (ebd.)]
- p. 117, l. 22 (17.17). [Cf. MALALASEKERA, Mhvs-Ṭikā, I, p. XLVII f.]
- p. 118, l. 22—23 (17.30—31). Read: on the place (destined) for the Bodhi-tree, inst. of on the place of the B.
- p. 118, l. 25—26 (17.31). Read: covered with Kadamba-puppha shrubs, inst. of c. with fl. kadamba-plants. The note 3 should run thus: The Kadamba-puppha shrub (Sk. *kadamba-puspa*) bears this name because its blossoms resemble those of the Kadamba-tree (*Nauclea cordifolia*). The word occurs in the Mhvs in five places etc. etc.
- p. 128, note 2. Read: are clan-names of totemistic character, inst. of seem here to designate etc.
- p. 132, l. 30—32 (19.56). [Cf. BUDDHADATTA, CORR. p. 21.]
- p. 133, l. 19—20 (19.64). [Cf. MALALASEKERA, Mhvs-Ṭikā I, p. XLIX.]
- p. 134, l. 11 (19.73) and 17 (19.75). Read: Kadambapuppha-thicket, inst. of Kadamba-flower-thicket.
- p. 137, l. 9—11 (20.16). [Read: In the vihāra where there are rocks whatever caves were inhabited by Mahinda were called Mahinda caves. (BUDDHADATTA, CORR., p. 22; MENDIS, l. c.; vgl. Mhvs-Ṭikā, (II) 416.)]
- p. 137, l. 18 (20.19). Read: neck-bone, instead of collar-bone. [Cf. above, 205, note 1.]
- p. 137, note 7. Add.: Cf. FINOT, Indian Culture, I, p. 570.
- p. 137, l. ult—138, l. 24 (20.22—23). [Read: for the acceptance of food by the brotherhood after they have gathered together at the Hatthālhaka nunnery, the refectory called Mahāpāli, having enough space around, stored with all provisions and provided with service. (Cf. BUDDHADATTA, CORR., p. 23.)]
- p. 138, note 3. [Tissamahāvihāra and Pācīnārāma were in Nāgadīpa (Jaffna Peninsula). MENDIS, Add., p. 5, 21.]
- p. 140, l. 9 (20.46). [Read: the laying down, inst. of burial. (MENDIS, Add., p. 5.)]
- p. 142, l. 11 (21.4). To Gonṇagiri add the note: *Gonṇagiri* as name of a locality occurs in an inscription of the 2nd century A. D. (S. PARANAVITANA, Epigr. Zeyl. III 117).
- p. 142, l. ult. (21.10). [Read: ship-captain, inst. of freighter. Cf. MENDIS, Add., p. 6.]
- p. 143, note 2. [Cf. also MALALASEKERA, Mhvs-Ṭikā, I, p. L.]
- p. 146, note 3: The end of the note should run thus: Tradition identifies the monastery with the Yaṭaha-lena situated 42 miles NE. of Colombo near the Kandy road. H. C. P. BELL, Report on the Kégalla District, p. 35.
- p. 147, l. u.—148, l. 2 (22.22). [Cf. MALALASEKERA, Mhvs-Ṭikā, I, p. L.]
- p. 149, l. 28 ff. (22.42—44). [Cf. BUDDHADATTA, CORR., p. 24 f.; MENDIS, Add., p. 6.]
- p. 151, l. 18 (22.60). Read: precious stones, inst. of gems.
- p. 152, note 3. [Cf. BUDDHADATTA, CORR., p. 25 f.]
- p. 153, l. 15 (22.75). [Read: vessel, inst. of spoon. (ebd., p. 26.)]
- p. 153, l. 15 (23.6). [Read: grind-stone, inst. of mill-stone (ebd.)]
- p. 158, l. 12—13 (23.38). [Cf. ebd., p. 27.]
- p. 160, l. 16—17 (23.68). [Mhvs-Ṭikā has Kumbiyaṅgana (II 454; cf. I, p. LI.)]
- p. 164, l. 20 (24.8). [Perhaps Mahāduggalacetiya (Mhvs-Ṭikā, p. LI; 454), hardly Mahā-mangalacetiya (so BUDDHADATTA, CORR., p. 27.)]
- p. 165, l. 31 (24.22). Add in brackets (Dutthagāmani) after When he.

p. 165, note 5. The note should run thus: The site of Cūlaṅgaṇiyapiṭṭhi where the first battle between the two brothers took place is unknown. The Kappakandara river is not the Kumbukkan-oya but the Mānik-ganga (S. PARANAVITANA, Epigr. Zeyl. III 225, n. 2). The name occurs in the form Kapikandur in a Kataragama inscription the context of which clearly shows that the Mānikganga is meant.

p. 167, l. 18 (24.39). Add to vihāra a note: The locality where the decisive battle was fought between the two brothers is not mentioned in the chronicle. According to the Rājāvaliya the locality of both the battles fought between the two brothers was Yuddhaṅganāpiṭiya (Rājāv., ed. GUNASEKERA, p. 25, l. 4, 14). This is a place now named Yudagannāva, situated a little more than a mile N. N. W. of Buttala, where there is now a monastery and a thūpa. The name itself seems to remind us of the historical event, for *yuda* = P. *yuddha* means 'battle'. The monastery to which prince Tissa had recourse, is, according to the local tradition, the Okkampitiya-vehera, situated about 4 miles E. of Buttala on the Kumbukkan-oya. [Cf. above 8, note 1.]

p. 171, l. 7 and 13 (25.11 and 14), add a footnote 2 to Antarāsobbha and to Nandigāma. The footnote runs: The name of Antarāsobbha occurs in 48.4, that of Nandigāma in 72.44.

p. 173, l. 28 (25.48). Read: surrounded by (thorny) Kadamba-puppha creepers (for s. by an undergrowth of Kadamba flowers).

p. 175, l. 3 (25.66). 'BUDDHADATTA (letter dated 10. 2. 31) prefers the reading *Kulattha-vāpi* and says: *kulattha* is a kind of edible seed (Sinh. *kollu*). When *kollu* is boiled, the water becomes dark red'. This must be added to the footnote 1.

p. 177, l. 16, read: sitting on the throne (for in the royal chamber).

p. 183, l. 16 (27.16). Read: balustrade⁶ (for *vedikā*), and add a footnote 5: Pāli *vedikā*. Cf. Cūlav. trsl. 73.88, note; COOMARASWAMY, Eastern Art III, 191.

p. 188, l. 16 (28.18). Read: gems (for 'precious stones').

p. 188 footnote 1, add at the end: Cf. also F. H. MODDER, JRAS. C. B. XIV, No. 47, 1896, p. 118.

p. 204, footnote 2, add at the end: Kālanāga is the name of the king of the Nāgas.

p. 205, footnote 3, add: Cf. Dhpc. I, 115.

p. 205, footnote 4, add: Cf. Dhpc. III, 209, 216, 225, 228.

p. 206, footnote 2, add: Cf. Sn. 976 sq.

p. 214, l. 9 (31.60). Read: precious stone (for 'gems').

p. 224, footnote 2. The footnote should run thus: ²P. *jālapāva* appears to be the same as *dāl kāvuma* in Sinhalese, a sweetmeat like a pancake, made of flower, oil and jaggery. J. M. SENAVERATNE, Ceyl. Antiqu. and Lit. Reg. IV, 55.

p. 230 (33.25). Add a footnote to Khandakathūpa: The Thūpa has been excavated and restored in the years 1934/35 by PARANAVITANA (Reports ASC 1936, 37). It is probably the same alluded to in 16.12. The name seems to be Kantaka, but it is spelt Kaṇṭaka by PARANAVITANA and LONGHURST in concordance with the Sinhalese ed. of the Mhvs.

p. 231 (33.34), add a footnote: Regarding the names of Sinhalese kings occurring in Brāhmī inscr. of Ceylon, see W. GEIGER, Festschr. f. Winternitz, p. 313—321.

p. 232, l. 6 (33.43). Read: The great black Sihala (for the g. b. lion).

p. 232, l. 19 (33.49). Read: the thera Kupikkala-Mahātissa inst. of the th. Mahātissa from Kupikkala(vihāra), and add the footnote: Kupikkala is the name of Mahātissa's birthplace which is, as usually, put before the ecclesiastic name of the senior priest.

p. 233 (33.62). BUDDHADATTA proposes to read *nivāsatham* and to translate: "When Anulā had gone to Malaya to dwell there." But I believe that *nivāpattham* is necessary to explain why the queen wore a basket (*pacchi* in d).

p. 234 (33.67). Read: the Thera Kupikkala-Mahātissa, instead of the thera Mahātissa of Kupikkala.

p. 235, l. 22—23 (33.85). Read: in a thicket of Kadamba-puppha shrubs (for 'in a th. of flowering K.').

p. 235—6 (33.85—86). [Add a note: Cf. A. M. HOCART, Privy Stones: Mem. Arch. Survey of Ceylon, I, p. 56.]

p. 236 (33.87). Read: upon a lofty platform (for 'on a lofty spot'). P. *vattiha* (in *uccavattiha*) is an architectural term meaning the mound or platform on which a thūpa is erected. The description suits, in deed, well to the Laṅkārama which is built on a very high circular platform. A. M. HOCART, Ceylon Journ. of Sc., Sect. G, II, p. 81.

p. 239 (34.11). To 'Coranāga' add a note: Probably prince Mahānāga, mentioned in 33.45.

p. 240 (34.28), add a note: The names of Kuṭakaṇṇa(tissa), of his father Tissa and of his son (Bhātika) Abhaya occur in a Brāhmi inscription. In another inscription the great king Naka, i. e. Mahānāga, is named. Epigr. Zeyl. III, 153 sq.

p. 241, l. 6—7 (34.11). Read: from the pādavedikā³ to the topmost parasol (for from the vedikā at the foot to the parasol at the top), and add the note 3: There are two cubical superstructures (*vedikā*, so-called, because a balustrade is sculptured on the four sides), one above the other. They are distinguished as *pāda-v.* and *muddha-v.* in 35.2.

p. 241 (34.44). The footnote to 'the steps' should run thus: Probably the steps are meant which form the ascent from the terrace to the so-called pāsādas, the three circuits round the thūpa.

p. 243, l. 24—25 (34.73). Read: four arches set with precious stones, instead of four bejewelled arches.

p. 244, l. 1 (34.73). Read: precious stones, instead of gems.

p. 246, note 5. After 'in a particular variety' add: Cf. J. M. SENAVERATNE, Ceylon Ant. and Lit. Reg. VII, p. 29.

p. 247, l. 17 (34.15). To 'nephew' add a note: P. *bhāgineyyo*, sister's son. Therefore Paṇāga was probably the son of Sīvali. He dethroned his own mother who illegally had occupied the kingship.

p. 247, note 3, read Kalā-oya, instead of Kaḷu-oya, and Kalāvāva, instead of Kaḷu-wāva.

p. 250, l. 17 (35.56). To 'Subharāja' add a note: Cf. the story in PARKER'S Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon, I, 152.

p. 250, l. 21 (35.58), add a footnote to Ekadvāra: An Ekadorikavihāra is mentioned in an inscr. of King Saba (= Subha, A. D. 120—126), Epigr. Zeyl. III, 165.

p. 251, note 1: Mhvs Tīkā, p. 123⁴ foll. (Sinh. ed.) = 186⁴ foll. (PTS-Edition).

p. 254 (35.104) and 255 (35.116). Read: in a thicket of Kadamba-puppha shrubs.

p. 255, l. 12 (35.120), add a footnote to 'for maintenance in food': P. *pākavattāya*. Cf. *maha-paka-vaṭṭaha* in an inscr. of King Maḷu-Tissa (= Kaniṭṭhatissa, A. D. 227—245), WICKREMASINGHE, Epigr. Zeyl. I, 256¹⁴, 258.

p. 256, note 1, add: In inscriptions he is called Maḷu Tissa. H. C. P. BELL, Arch. Survey Ceylon XIII, 1896, p. 47 f.; WICKREMASINGHE, Epigr. Zeyl. I, p. 252 ff.

p. 258, note 6, add: Cf. also Rasavāhinī; Epigr. Zeyl. III, 182. [Cf., however, above 67 and note.]

p. 262, l. 15 (36.82). Read: Rattakkhi.

p. 264, l. 10 (36.107). Read: called Maṇisoma; in the Thūpārāma.

Appendix

p. 274, l. 12. Read: in Sumaṅgalavilāsini I, p. 258 foll.

p. 288, l. 12. Read: to the south-east of Anurādhapura.

p. 289, l. 31—290, l. 2. Read: on the Dhūmarakkha-mountain. This is Dimbulāgala, the so-called Gunner's Quoin on the right bank of the Mahavāliganga, not far from the Kacchaka-ford. (Cf. H. STORBY, Ceylon Ant. and Lit. Reg. III, p. 229).

II. Cūlavamsa, Vol. I

Introduction

p. XX, l. 12. This is wrong. The brother of Aggabodhi was the ādipāda Dāthāpabhuti. His death is narrated 42.36 sq. When he had died, the king conferred the dignity of *mahādipāda* (and *yuvārāja*) on his sister's son Aggabodhi who became his successor.

p. XXII, l. 7. For a footnote to *bhāgineyya* see Cūlavamsa trsl. II, p. 364.

p. XXV, l. 9. For a footnote see Cūlavamsa trsl. II, p. 364, and add at the end of this note after 'HC. p. 68': and Ceylon Journ. of Science, Sect. G, II, p. 137 sqq.

p. XXV, l. 25: For *sāmantā* see Culture, 138.

p. XXVI, l. 15—17 after 'Kesadhātus' should run thus: *Kammanāyaka* or *kammanātha* (72.58, 206; 74.168) means probably (BUDDHADATTA, letter, dated 22. 8. 30) the head of the Public Works Department. The function of the *disāvījayanāyaka* is uncertain.

p. XXVIII, l. 5. Add: As Andhra is also the name of a tribe dwelling in Teliṅga (S. Dekhan), *andhasenāpati* may also be understood as the title of a general of mercenaries belonging to that tribe (thus BUDDHADATTA).

Contents

p. XXXII, l. 30. Read: The Thūpārāmacetiya damaged; the king keeps the Collar-bone relic in the Lohāpāsāda, until the cetiya is repaired (51—60).

p. XXXVI, l. 6—7. Read: The king sends his great nephew Mahinda against him.

Translation

p. 3, l. 11 (37.62). Read: to the Sīhalas, instead of on (the island of) Sīhala.

p. 4, l. 6 (37.66). Read: And when the Ruler.

p. 4, l. 14 (37.68—69). Read: mango tree of the Thera⁵ on the seventh day of the first half of the Pūbbakattika month⁶. There he lodged it on the eight day.—Add a footnote 6 here: Pūbbakattika is a name of the month Assayaṅga, September—October.

p. 5 (37.72). Add at the end of the footnote 1: BUDDHADATTA Thera refers to the Sakkapañhasuttanta, Dīgha Nik. Nr. 21 = II, p. 263.

p. 5, l. 14 (37.77). Read: took the image.

p. 5, l. 21 (37.80). Read: to the town Vesālī.

p. 7, footnote 3: GEIGER declares his interpretation of the name Tissavasabha doubtful, because in this case we should expect: Vasabhatissa.

p. 8, l. 3 (37.94). Read: urn made of pure crystal.

p. 9, l. 1 (37.100). Read: his youngest brother¹, instead of the youngest son of his brother.—The footnote 1 should run thus: The reading *bhātā* (not *bhātu* as in my edition) is correct. In the whole historical literature of Ceylon Jeṭṭhatissa is called the brother, not the nephew of his predecessor. PARANAVITANA refers to an inscription found at Velan-golla in the Kurunāgala district, dated in the reign of Jeṭṭhatissa in which his father *Maha . . . maharaja* is mentioned. Although two letters are missing, we can safely restore here the name of Mahasena (Ceylon Journ. of Science, Sect. G, II, p. 102). The chronological difficulties are removed, if we agree with my theory that Sinhalese chronology was changed in the period described in chapter 37 (cf. Cūlavamsa trsl. II, Introd., p. VI and below, p. 247).

p. 11, l. 9 (37.121). Read: have experienced my great charity.

p. 14. The footnote 2 should run thus: P. *dhambhāyaka* means "preacher of the doctrine", but *dhammaghosaka* (v. 173) is a bhikkhu who proclaims to the villagers or townsmen that such and such a priest will preach the doctrine at such and such a place. At present a *baṇa* is preached in Sinhalese so that all laymen understand it. Baṇa-preaching lasts two or three hours in the afternoon or first half of the night. Sometimes, upcountry, it lasts for a whole night. BUDDHADATTA, letter, dated 22. 8. 30. [See GEIGER, New Contributions, Ind. Hist. Quart. IX, p. 110 sq.]

- p. 16, l. 7 (37.173). Read: to the bhikkhus who proclaim a sermon on the doctrine.
- p. 16, footnote 4. Add: On *dhammaghosaka* see correction to p. 14, note 2.
- p. 16, footnote 5. See *Cūlavamsa* trsl. II, p. 364.
- p. 16, footnote 6. Read at the end: Cf. below 85.100—102.
- p. 17—20, head-line. Read Upatissa I, instead of Upatissa II.
- p. 17, footnote 6 (to 37.181). Add: According to BUDDHADATTA (letter, 18. 12. 30), *rājānubhojana* means "food similar to that of the royal table" (not "remains of the royal table"). It seems possible, if we consider the use of *anu*.
- p. 20, l. 2 (37.199). Read: go slowly to the forest.
- p. 20, l. 4 (37.200). [Add to a seat note: i. e. the altars used for offering flowers, the *pupphāsana*. Cf. BUDDHADATTA, COIT., p. 41.]
- p. 20, l. 9 (37.202.) [Cf. BUDDHADATTA, COIT. p. 41f. *pāṭihāriyapakka* means the observance of eight precepts within the rainy season.]
- p. 21, l. 1 (37.204). Read: for the squirrels, instead of Kalanda birds. The footnote 1 should run thus: According to the Northern tradition Sk. *kalanta*(*ka*) denotes a bird. Cf. ROCKHILL, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 43. But as in Sinhalese *kalada* means "squirrel", it is very improbable that a mediaeval poet in Ceylon would have used P. *kalanda* in a different sense.
- p. 22, footnote 4 (l. 2). Read: It lies on the right bank.
- p. 23, l. 11 (37.221). Read: forth to him a passage of the Abhidhamma, and its meaning. The . . .
- p. 25, l. 13 (37.238). Read: cleverness, instead of greatness.
- p. 25, l. 17 (37.240). Read: composition or content.
- p. 27, l. 12 (38.4). Add to 'rice thief' a footnote 4: P. *vihicora*. It is very difficult to explain this strange denomination. Is not *vihicora* perhaps a clan-name? In this case we had to assume that the word originally denotes an animal, perhaps a bird which is noxious to paddy fields. [Or perhaps *vihicora* is due to a misunderstanding of the author. Pūjāvāliya has *karalsora* (*karala* = 'ear of corn'). This may be a wrong reading for *keralsora*. The author of the Mhvs read in his source *karalsora* and translated *karal* by *vihī*. In reality, Mittasena was an usurper from Kerala. (BUDDHADATTA, letter, 18. 12. 30.)]
- p. 29, footnote 2. Add: Lambakāṇṇā in South India see Mhvs 77.27 sq.
- p. 30 (38.21). Add to the footnote 1: According to Vinayavinicaya (ed. A. P. BUDDHADATTA), 2672, '*gonisādi*' is the name of a certain kind of vihāras.
- p. 31, l. 17 (38.34). Read: After having waged war with Dhātusena the Damiḷa dynasty came to an end, instead of: The race . . . Dhātusena.
- p. 32, l. 7 (38.39). Read: come from Rohaṇa.
- p. 33, footnote 3, l. 8. Add after 'Saddhātissa, the brother of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī': Cf. Epigr. Zeyl. III, 257/8.
- p. 34, l. 4 (38.53). Expunge 'his brother', and add to 'Kumārasena' a footnote: Name for Silātissabodhi, the brother of Dhātusena.
- p. 36, footnote 4. Add at the end: but in the Mhvs the longer *yojana*, being 9 miles, appears to be meant. Cf. PARKER, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 255 sqq. H. W. CODRINGTON, *Ceylon Journ. of Sc.*, Sect. G, II, p. 134 also says: "It will be safe to adopt FLEET's value of 9 miles for a *yojana*".
- p. 38, l. 13 (38.82). Read: he (the nephew) struck her.
- p. 40, l. 3—4 (38.100). Read: a kingdom, and chased their cares away by their mutual converse.
- p. 45, l. 16 (39.25). Read: turned his elephant in order to advance by another road.
- p. 47, l. 2—3 (39.33). Read: the two other vihāras, greeted also the community there respectfully and . . .
- p. 47, l. 9 (39.36). Read: But afterwards when he heard.
- p. 47, l. 17—19 (39.39). Read: When the latter saw it he wept, praised the love of his father to himself and the powerful one appointed the charioteer to the office of gate-keeper.
- p. 48, l. 11 (39.47). Put comma instead of full stop at the end of the line.

- p. 48, l. 13 (39.47—48). Read: skill. Once he presented a mango fruit.
- p. 48, l. 19 (39.51). Read: in the beautiful.
- p. 48, l. 20 (39.51). Read: the picture.
- p. 48—49, footnote 8 to 39.51. Add at the end of the note: It seems to me that the building was already existing at Moggallāna's time and was perhaps called *Dīpaṃkara-nagara* owing to the fresco it contained. The name is paraphrased in v. 51 ab.
- p. 49, l. 13 (39.57). Read: he (the king) freed.
- p. 50, l. 5 (39.59). Read: he though superior to the ferocious Kassapa.
- p. 52, top. Read *Upatissa II* instead of *Upatissa III*.
- p. 52, l. 7 (41.8 ed—9). Read: He was a hero associated with sixteen heroic comrades. With his comrades who were of the same temper he lived by his manliness, rich in his pride, on charitableness in pious fashion, showing reverence to the aged².
- p. 52, l. 9 (41.10). Read: by lust for royal power.
- p. 52, l. 14 (41.12). Read: forth from the city to meet.
- p. 55. The footnote 2 should run thus: *Dhammadhātu* is no doubt the title of a Mahāyānist work. According to the *Nikāyasamgraha* (ed. Colombo 1922, p. 15) it was a *Vaitulya-sūtra* brought to Ceylon by Puṇṇa, the son of a merchant (*velāṇḍaputrayā*), and honoured by the monks of the *Abhayagirivihāra*. *PARANAVITANA* (Ceylon Journ. of Science, Sect. G, II, p. 38) thinks that *dhammadhātu* is synonymous with *dharmakāya* which means 'body of the law' and is the first of the three bodies of a Buddha according to the Mahāyānist doctrine of the *trikāya*. The existence in the 10th century of a book entitled *Dhammadhātu* seems also to be confirmed by notices found in inscriptions (ib., p. 45—46).
- p. 55, footnote 3. Add: Lit. 'he caused to be made the practice of arranging a festival.
- p. 55, l. 19 (41.42). Read: saying that it was not his turn.
- p. 56, l. 13—14 (41.49). Read: Moggallāna also armed himself, mounted his favourite elephant and went (to the fighting place).
- p. 56, l. 17 (41.50). Read: were similar to evening clouds.
- p. 56, l. 22 (41.53). Read: in his pride and cut . . .
- p. 57, l. 13 (41.59). Read: sweetmeats such as they liked and had . . .
- p. 58, l. 3 (41.65). Read: Having been consecrated as king *Kittisirimegha*, the Lord of men, at once had . . .
- p. 58. To *Bhayaśiva*, l. 12 (41.69), add a footnote: *WJESINHA* calls him *Abhayaśiva*. He seems to read *bhayaśivavhaya* and to assume that the *a* could be cut off even at the beginning of the third pāda after the *-e* at the end of pāda 2. But cf. v. 88: *Bhayaśiva* at the beginning of a sentence.
- p. 59, l. 19 (41.80). Read: the *Nāga King* by the spell in the . . .
- p. 60, l. 13 (41.86). Read: he brought from that country many . . .
- p. 60. The footnote 5 should be run thus: The dot after *vaṣaṃ* must be deleted. The sentence goes on up to v. 92. Or we have to alter *vaṣaṃ* into *vaṣi*.
- p. 60. Add at the end of the footnote 6: His successor *Moggallāna II*. was a mere dangerous adversary.
- p. 61, l. 15 (41.96). Read: to the Northern *vihāra* and . . .
- p. 61. Add at the end of the footnote 3: As to the name see v. 70.
- p. 62, l. 4 (41.100). Read: he granted to the same.
- p. 65, l. 5 (42.6). Read: on his brother (*Dāthāpabhuti*) that of *yuvarāja*, on his sister's son (*Aggabodhi*) . . .
- p. 65. Add to note 4: The names of the *yuvarāja* and of the *uparāja* are not mentioned. The King of *Malaya* was *Aggabodhi (II)*.
- p. 69, l. 11—12 (42.34). Read: He built the *Mahāmekhala* bund at the *Maṇihira* tank and conducted a great channel (into it).
- p. 69. The note 6 should run thus: *Maṇihiravāpiyaṃ* is adverbial determination belonging to the whole verse (*bandhūpesi* and *gaṇhesi*). The *Maṇihira-vāpi* is the *Minnerivāva*, NW. of *Polonnaruva*.

- p. 70. Add to note 6: v. 41 bc and 42a. WIJESINHA translates: 'He took to wife the daughter of his mother's brother, and gave her the rank of queen, and made Saṅghabhadda, a kinsman of his queen consort, his swordbearer'. This is, of course, also possible.
- p. 72, l. 3 (42.55). Read: and go somewhere else", said they.
- p. 72, l. 6—8 (42.57). Read: Further (he had made) for the shrine four images, at the throne of stone a golden umbrella and work in stone and ivory.—Add to umbrella a note: I believe that *pallaṅke silāmaye* is loc. sg. and must be connected with *hemacchattam*.
- p. 72, l. 9 (42.58). Read: one hundred and nine reliquaries.
- p. 72, l. 10—11 (42.59). Read: he had made a great offering.
- p. 72, note 6. Add: As to Rājāyatana, cf. 1.52, 68.
- p. 73, note 2. [See Cūlav. trsl., I, p. 349.] Add in the note: Cf. note to 70.286 and 312.
- p. 74, l. 11 (44.5). Read: Therupon he (Moggallāna) betook . . .
- p. 74, l. 13 (44.5). Read: collected (new) troops there.
- p. 75, l. 7—9 (44.10). Read: Be not troubled; only surveying the Prince's actions³ protect the city.
- p. 76, l. 4 (44.17). Expunge: in the centre.
- p. 76, l. 14 (44.21). Read: and a (faithful) minister³.
- p. 76, note 3. Add: I read: *puttam 'maccam ca ādiya*.
- p. 77, l. 4 (44.28). Read: to Malaya to the . . .
- p. 78, l. 12 (44.44). Read: with new cloth, instead of with new material.
- p. 78. The footnote 4 from 'The term is *atthatakathino* . . . to the end should be corrected thus: The ceremony consists in cutting-out, sewing and dyeing the priestly garments in the course of one day (BUDDHADATTA). Cf. Vinaya I 253 sqq. = Mahāvagga VII 1 sqq. [Cf. now, Herbert HÄRTEL, Karmavācānā, Berlin 1956, p. 141 sqq. and 142, note 2.]
- p. 79, l. 16 (44.55). To Jeṭṭhatissa add a note: Son of Saṃghatissa (42.28).
- p. 79, l. 18 (44.56). Read: the district of Janapada.
- p. 79, note 4. The note should run thus: I believe we must read *raṭṭham Janapadam*. By this name the frontier-district between Malaya and Rājaraṭṭha is meant, so frequently mentioned in the wars between Parakkamabāhu and Gajabāhu (66.110; 67.22 etc.). The Dohalapabbata cannot be the same as the Doḷapabbata, for this mountain (Mhvs 10.44), now called Dolagalvela, is situated on the right bank of the Mahāvāliganga, too distant from Janapada. Taking up a position there would at all events be a retreat, not an advance.
- p. 79, l. 20—21 (44.57). Read: he (likewise) erected an armed camp near him.
- p. 80. Add to note 6: Sirināga was brother-in-law of Saṃghatissa.
- p. 82. Add to note 2: As to Jeṭṭhatissa in Malaya see above v. 28.
- p. 86, l. 14—15 (44.129). Read: The other (Aggabodhi) took advantage of every opportunity and . . .
- p. 86. Add to note 3: Cf. Kaṭṭaliya II.11 (J. J. MEYER, p. 208).
- p. 87, l. 1 (44.134). Read: royal palaces.
- p. 88. Add to note 2 (to 44.148): BUDDHADATTA proposes to read *sabbāgamīya-* from *āgama*; he translates "bhikkhus who know all the sacred texts" (letter, 10. 2. 31).
- p. 89. Add to note 1: BUDDHADATTA translates *sasamgaham* 'together with other treatises' (letter, 10. 2. 31).
- p. 90, l. 5 (45.8). Read: with (the care of) his sons.
- p. 90, l. 24 (45.17). Read: the Order and the people.
- p. 91, note 5 (45.29). The dispute arose, not concerning the Kappūrapariveṇa, but the Tiputthullavihāra, which had been built near or within the boundary of the Mahāvihāra, though it had been granted to the Abhayuttara. So BUDDHADATTA (letter, 10. 2. 31).
- p. 92, l. 2. *assaddha* (rendered by 'unbeliever') exactly means "who is not devout" (BUDDHADATTA, letter, 10. 2. 31).
- p. 95, l. 15 (45.65). Read: he having provided for his army.

- p. 95. Add to note 1: See Annual Report Arch. Survey of Ceylon 1934, May 1935, I, p. 20.
- p. 96, l. 8 (45.72). Read: took their wet garments and . . .
- p. 96, l. 16—18 (45.76). Read: While thus this most excellent of men who only thought of meritorious works, directed his life, also keeping all the people of his country to meritorious action, Add a note to 'all the people': The two words *raṭṭham janapadam* cannot be separated. The whole province with all its inhabitants is meant.
- p. 96, l. 23 (45.79). Read: When they met each other . . .
- p. 100, l. 8 (46.22). Read: finished in the Jetavanavihāra . . .
- p. 100, l. 12 (46.24). Read: the *Sehāla-uparājaka* (-*pariveṇa*).
- p. 100, l. 23 (46.31). Read: All the chiefs of cantons . . .
- p. 101, l. 3—4 (46.34). Read: At another time he betook himself to Pulatthinagara³ and took up his abode there.
- p. 103, l. 7 (47.2). Read: his clan, (*Mānavamma*) a son of Kassapa (II), the . . .
- p. 105, l. 11 (47.22). Read: Thus pondering, he collected troops, mounted . . .
- p. 108, L. 3 of note 1, read: a particular group, instead of 'a particular sect'.
- p. 110, l. 6—7 (48.2). Difficult passage. *kāretvāna paricchadam* may mean "after he had caused to be separated". It is worthy of notice that *pādika* means "a quarter".
- p. 110, l. 17 (48.7). Read: gold pieces the king restored . . .
- p. 110, l. 18 (48.8). Read: Having built the Tālavatthuvihāra . . .
- p. 112, l. 9 (48.23). Read: and enforced the interdiction against destroying animal life. The . . .
- p. 112, l. 16 (48.27). Read: For he had . . .
- p. 113, l. 3—4 (48.30). Read: therefore must one ever highly esteem good friends.
- p. 113, l. 5—6 (48.31). Read: the kingdom as if it were his only life-task to protect the living beings on the Island.
- p. 113, l. 21 (48.38). Read: he seeking, as it were, his friend . . .
- p. 114, l. 21 (48.48). Read: that he lost his trust in the Prince . . .
- p. 115, l. 8—9 (48.54). Read: he gave him his daughter Saṃghā by name to wife.
- p. 115, l. 9—10 (48.55). Read: While he, in intimate friendship with the King, lived with her, he (once) angered . . .
- p. 116, note 4. Add in line 8 of the note after °*gehāni*: (cf. Ceylon Journ. of Sc. G, I, p. 145ff.).
- p. 117, l. 2 (48.72). Read: wholesome for the sick or harmful¹.
- p. 118, l. 1 (48.80). Read: Therefore when he (King Aggabodhi VI *Silāmegha*) died, . . .
- p. 118, l. 8 (48.82). Read: and destroy the town.—Note to 48.82: Aggabodhi VI had a son Mahinda. Omens point to the fact that he would later become king. The father conceals this, for he knows that Aggabodhi, the son of the Ādipāda Mahinda was authorized to succeed to the throne. Therefore he was afraid that his son Mahinda would be endangered because of these omens and that he would be killed as a rival. In fact after Aggabodhi VI, the son of the Ādipāda Mahinda became king under the name Aggabodhi VII. Mahinda, evidently anxious for his security, avoided the new king. After Aggabodhi's VII death he was at once on the spot and took possession of the government. Certainly he had to defend it immediately against rebels (v. 83 ff.).
- p. 118, l. 10 (48.83). Read: of the cantons together with the chiefs of the districts seized . . .
- p. 118, l. 13 (48.84). Read: the chiefs of cantons.
- p. 118, l. 14 (48.84). Read: chiefs of districts, betook . . .
- p. 118. Add to note 4: I translate *desa* by 'province', *maṇḍala* by 'canton' and *raṭṭha* by 'district' (except in *rājaratṭha* 'royal province').
- p. 119, l. 14 (48.95). Read: When the canton chiefs . . .
- p. 119, l. 16 (48.96). Read: But the *Senāpati* (Mahinda), . . .
- p. 120, l. 5 (48.102). Read: When the *Senāpati* (Mahinda) saw . . .

- p. 120, l. 15 (48.107). Read: elephant, went forth from a gate . . .
- p. 120, l. 20 (48.109). Read: the slaughter and came to . . .
- p. 121, l. 16—17 (48.116). Read: they said (to each other): that is our undoing. They joined together, raised . . .
- p. 121, l. 18. Add to 'brother (Dappula)' a note: Is this a third sister's son of the Dappula mentioned v. 98 or is Dappula here erroneously called 'brother' instead of 'uncle' (*mātula*)?
- p. 121, l. 21 (48.118). Read: brought the canton chiefs . . .
- p. 122, l. 15 (48.127). Read: those who were learned . . .
- p. 122, l. 21 (48.129) and 22 (48.130). Read: mountain (instead of mountains).—To mountain in l. 22 add a note: In order to erect a fortified encampment there.
- p. 123, l. 12—15 (48.138). Read: he made a costly offering with all pomp and dedicated at the festival of the (consecration of the) Pāsāda his whole kingdom⁴ (to the Buddha). (Instead of: he held with all pomp . . . whole kingdom⁴).
- p. 125, l. 14 (48.157). Read: spurred on the elephant on which he was mounted, to kill him.
- p. 125, l. 23 (48.160). Read: Alas! only . . . (instead of: Truly only . . .).
- p. 127, l. 9 (49.6). Read: his eldest son with . . .
- p. 127, l. 14 (49.8). Read: (for themselves).
- p. 128, l. 11—12 (49.14). Read: a fine, solid ticket hall (for the distribution of food by allotment)².
- p. 130, l. 13—14 (49.32). Read: and built (there) a ticket-hall, and a pāsāda . . .—Add to ticket-hall a note: See note to 48.73.
- p. 130, note 7. Add: I must however admit that my interpretation of the passage is made doubtful by the fact that the reading of the MSS. is *suganthike* and not, as we should expect, *suganthike*. [Cf. BUDDHADATTA, CORR., p. 52f.: 'he caused the knots on the iron bowls of the monks to be removed.' (-*esu ganthike*)]
- p. 131, l. 10 (49.39). Read: to whom the pure doctrine . . .
- p. 133, l. 11 (49.59). Read: slaves or labourers as . . .
- p. 135. Note to 49.78—79. Although BUDDHADATTA (10. 2. 31) was of the opinion that rice as tallied with the weight of his body was not the gift of a king, because to this very day mahārājas in India deal out gold, silver etc. to the weight of their own body. But that is here a question of a gift to an eating-hall and therefore I prefer to retain my view. (Cf. however 50.78).
- p. 136, l. 10 (49.88). Read: rice gruel as medicine . . . Add to 'medicine' a note: *Yāgum ganhanti sabbadā* is the text accepted in the Colombo edition with S 3, 7. If we follow the other groups of MSS. *yāgum ganhanti osadham* we must assume that the bhikkhus of the smaller vihāras did not get their yāgu regularly in the Mahāvihāra, but only if they were sick.
- p. 139, l. 10 (50.13). Read ruler, instead of prince.
- p. 139, l. 16 (50.16). Read: the Paṇḍu King also went . . .
- p. 140, l. 5—7 (50.27). Read: He broke through this great army as a supanna when it catches a snake breaks through her watery abode². (Instead of: Even as a supanna . . . by storm.)
- p. 143, l. 1 (50.55). Read: slew her (his father's sister), brought . . .
- p. 143, l. 18 (50.63). Read: he laid out a grove on the Ariṭṭha mountain⁵ . . .
- p. 143, l. 21 (50.64). Read: slaves and labourers.
- p. 145, l. 11 (50.78). Read: dispensed gifts (of rice or gold?) equal . . . (Cf., however, addit. note to 49.78f.)
- p. 145, l. 14 (50.79). Read: in the Northern vihāra³.—The note 3 should run thus: *Uttaramhī vihārake*, i. e. Abhayuttara-vihāra = Abhayagiri-vihāra.
- p. 145. Add to note 6: Cf. note 3.
- p. 146, l. 4 (50.86). Read: and making way² as it were for the hero Sena.
- p. 147, l. 18 (51.8). Read: he disappeared, when it had been discovered . . .

- p. 148, l. 3 (51.10). Read: garden, and thinking . . .
- p. 148, l. 5 (51.12). Read: he already on . . .
- p. 150, l. 1 (51.27). Read: Now just at that time there arrived a prince of the family of the Paṇḍu King.
- p. 150, l. 8 (51.30). Read: the glorious (king) commanded . . .
- p. 150, l. 25 (51.38). Read: consort together with him . . .
- p. 152, l. 13—14 (51.57). Read: Having thus won its favour and . . .
- p. 152, l. 5—6 of note 1. Read: independent branch or group of bhikkhus. WILSON, . . .
- p. 153, l. 22—25 (51.70). Read: When he had heard that all the great saints had possessed an Uposatha house, he erected a dwelling for the community wishing that it should never stand empty. [Cf. above, 183.]
- p. 155, l. 13—14 (51.83): four thousand (bhikkhus) a gift . . .
- p. 155. Add to note 1: Notice the fact that *sagharāṃ* may also mean 'his house' (*sa- < sva-*).
- p. 157, l. 13 (51.97). Read: with rage at him and . . .
- p. 158, l. 19 (51.109). Read: cantons instead of districts.
- p. 158, l. 20 (51.109). Read: districts instead of provinces.
- p. 159, l. 22 (51.121). Read: formed instead of enclosed.
- p. 159, l. 24 (51.122). Read: canton instead of district, and l. 25 districts instead of provinces.
- p. 159, l. 27—28. Read: bounty instead of giving himself up to enjoyment.
- p. 159, note 3. Read: Perhaps name of the Kumbukkan-oya. [Cf. above, 5].
- p. 160, l. 8 (51.128). Read: an offering (of gold).
- p. 162, l. 5 (52.8). Read: cantons instead of districts.
- p. 162, l. 6—7 (52.8). Read: he fled to the capital.
- p. 165, note 5. Add: BUDDHADATTA (letter of 10. 2. 31) suggests to read *āgatamaggo va* (instead of *ca*): He was pious like one who has reached the path of salvation.
- p. 167, note 2. Add: See also Epigr. Zeyl. III, 136.
- p. 172, l. 14 (53.10). Read: Mahāmeghavāna instead of Mahāvihāra.
- p. 173. The course of events v. 14—27 (according to GERGER's notices): The King Udaya and the uparāja disregarded the right of inviolability in the monasteries of the tapovana evidently assisted by other officials. Therefore the monks, *yatayo*, betook themselves under protest to Rohaṇa. Thereupon the troops became rebellious against the King and his accomplices. Most of them were killed, only Sena and Udaya escaped. (Sena is called uparāja [in v. 13 yuvarāja], Udaya became yuvarāja after Sena's being consecrated as king.) They fled to Rohaṇa and begged pardon of the yatis (v. 21—23). When the bhikkhus who had remained in the three monasteries had quieted the rebellion, the Princes with the Pāmsukūlins returned to the capital. The King, accompanied by bhikkhus, went to meet them and obtained their pardon.
- p. 173, note 4. Read: his friend (v. 28) . . .
- p. 177, l. 3 (53.48). Read: on the Island all the articles . . .
- p. 178, note 1. Add the names of these kings in the Mhvs, viz.
- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| Nik-s: Udā | Mhvs: Udaya III |
| Sen | Sena III |
| Udā | Udaya IV |
| Pāsuḷu-Sen | Sena IV |
| Mādi-Sen | — |
- p. 179, l. 9 (54.8). Read: cantons instead of districts.
- p. 181, l. 8 (54.27). (rice) or (gold)? Cf. to 49.78f., 50.78.
- p. 181, l. 15—16 (54.30). Read: alms, beds and couches.
- p. 183, l. 5 (54.49). Read: dignitaries instead of officials.
- p. 184, l. 9 (54.59). Read: his (the Senāpati's) younger brother . . .
- p. 186, l. 14 (55.5). Read: "So long as no pay is given to us he shall not eat."

- p. 186, l. 19 (55.9). Read: the king instead of he.
- p. 186. The note 1 should run thus: According to 54.58 Sena's younger brother Udaya was appointed yuvarāja. He is not mentioned any more nor is his death related. Perhaps we have to assume, that Mahinda was the name which Udaya took when ascending the throne.
- p. 187, l. 15 (55.17). Read: dagger instead of sword. [Cf. above, 119, f.]
- p. 188, l. 1 (55.18). Read: with the false pretence . . .
- p. 189, l. 12—13 (55.31). Read: Buddha asked as wish for the heritable possession of his family village; Kitti . . .—Add a note here: *pavenigāmaṃ varam yācīttha*. With *pavenigāma* a village is meant which is heritable property of one family and which seems to be exempted from taxes. In our case it is the village Māragalla, v. 26. The word is formed like *pavenirāja* 'heritable kingdom' in DhPco I 169⁸. Cf. also 60.75. [Cf. above, 136, note 1.]
- p. 190, l. 15—17 (56.6). Read: to carry on war. And in the twelfth year (of his reign) when he had just visited Devanagara he suddenly came to the company of the gods.³—Add a note to Devanagara: The v. 6 has been misunderstood by WJESIŪHA as well as by myself in the first edition of my translation. Devanagara is the modern Dondra near the Southernmost point of Ceylon. According to Rājāvaliya (trsl. by B. GUNASĒKARA, p. 49) it was built by Aggabodhi IV SSB and by Mānavamma (Mahalāpānō) in the 7th century. [Cf. above, 8, p. 13, note 1.]
- p. 191, l. 9 (56.12). Read: Kālatittha².
- p. 192, l. 6 (57.2). Read: canton instead of district.
- p. 193, l. 1 (57.4). Read: King Kassapa (II) had . . .
- p. 193, l. 11—12 (57.9). Read: The latter remembered the Bhāvinī Siddhi⁷ and offered his eye.—The note 7 should run thus: *bhāvinīm siddhim apekkham*. I follow here WJESIŪHA'S translation. He remarks thereto in the note: "A course of action under certain emergencies, prescribed in magical rites."
- p. 195, l. 13 (57.27). Read: Mahinda (V).
- p. 195. Add to note 2: Perhaps Māna adopted the name Mānavamma when he ascended the throne.
- p. 196, l. 7 (57.32). Read: The gods (of the forest) who . . .
- p. 197, l. 5 (57.40). Read: the Princess.
- p. 198, l. 12 (57.57). Read: canton instead of region.
- p. 198, l. 20 (57.61). Read: assumed instead of demanded.
- p. 199, l. 4 (57.65). Read: on his government.
- p. 199, l. 18 (57.72). Read: averse (from war, and) believing . . .
- p. 202, l. 5 (58.7). Read: occupied instead of besieged.
- p. 202, l. 18 (58.13). Read: officers instead of henchmen.
- p. 203, l. 7 (58.18). Read: In the eleventh year . . .
- p. 204, l. 5 (58.24). Read: with great fury . . .
- p. 204, l. 26—27 (58. 34). Read: canton instead of district.
- p. 206, l. 4—p. 207, l. 2 (58.43—44). Read: . . . Tilagulla, Mahāgalla and Maṇḍagalla¹, and also Anurādhapura, one after the other, and having brought thus the whole kingdom into their power they pushed forward to Mahātīttha.
- p. 206, l. 6—7 of note 1. Read: with Batalagoda (cf. Epigr. Zeyl. IV, 77) in the Ihala-visideke Korale N. E. of Kurunegala. STOREY on the . . .
- p. 207, l. 11—13 (58.49). Read: Proceeding by the (Mahāvāluka-) gaṅgā the Sovereign set up a camp near the Mahiyaṅgaṇathūpa² and . . . (instead of: During the march etc.).
- p. 207, l. 20 (58.52). Read: returned in confusion to . . .
- p. 207, l. 23 (58.54). Read: and a half fought the great . . .
- p. 207, l. 24 (58.54). Read: the Monarch and kept . . .
- p. 209, l. 15 (59.6). Read: annihilated instead of destroyed.
- p. 209, l. 18—19 (59.7). Cf. Cūlavamsa trsl. II, p. 365.
- p. 210, l. 23 (59.17). Read: In the nineteenth year (of the kings' reign).
- p. 211, l. 15 (59.27). Read: district instead of province.

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- p. 212, l. 19—20 (59.41). Read: Paṇḍurāja who ...
- p. 213, l. 15 (59.51). Read: he, the ruler of men, perfectly did what served ...
- p. 214, l. 12 (60.5). Read: the King Anuruddha.
- p. 214, l. 4 of note 4 add: The Theravāda was introduced in Rāmañña by Anawratta (i.e. Anuruddha) in the year 1057. Cf. HARVEY, History of Birma. [Even before the 10th century in Burma existed bhikkhus using the Pāli language and the Pāli canon. About 1050 monks of the Theravāda school also lived in Haripuñja, at that time the capital of Laos (Yonakaraṭṭha or "Western Laos."): See G. COEDÈS, Documents sur l'Histoire Politique et Religieuse du Laos Occidental, BEFEO XXV (1925), p. 30ff.; for the early history of Buddhism in Burma see L. FINOT, Un Nouveau Document sur le Bouddhisme Birman, J. A. 1912, II, p. 121 ff. and ELIOT, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, p. 46 ff. Cf. now, Niharranjan RAY, Theravāda Buddhism in Burma, Calcutta 1946.]
- p. 217, l. 11 (60.31). Read: forces in thy kingdom or in mine ...
- p. 218, l. 8 (60.40). Read: Vīrabāhu, who was of lion-like ...
- p. 218, l. 23 (60.47). Read: sent messengers unto him, instead of dismissed his envoys.
- p. 219, l. 12 (60.55). Read: out of the town.
- p. 220, l. 2. Expunge: in Budalaviṭṭhi.
- p. 220, l. 3 (60.57). Add after (for bhikkhus): and the same in Budalaviṭṭhi.
- p. 220, note 2. On l. 13 of this note read thus: Jambukolavihāra was erected by Devānampiyatissa in the landing place bearing this name (Mhvs 20.25). Jambukolalena is the Dambulla monastery ...
- p. 221, note 5. Read: Evidently an ascetic group (instead of sect) ...
- p. 222. The note 2 should run thus: P. *paveṇigāma*. Cf. note to 55.31 (in these Additions).
- p. 223, l. 14 (60.89). Read: of his sons.
- p. 225, l. 14 (61.6). Read: gems instead of jewels.
- p. 225, l. 20 (61.9). Read: on the spot of my ...
- p. 226, l. 3 (61.12). Read: canton instead of district.
- p. 227, l. 2 (61.22). Read: district instead of province.
- p. 227, l. 6 (21.24). Read: province instead of region.
- p. 227. The note 5 should run thus: H. W. COBRINGTON thinks that Puñkhagāma is the present Dedigama in the Kegalla district. There is a dagoba of the colossal type in that village which may be the thūpa erected according to Mhvs 70.61 by Parakkamabāhu I on the site of the room where he was born. (Ceylon. Journ. of Sc. Sect. G, II, p. 135).
- p. 228, l. 11 (61.35). Read: district instead of province.
- p. 229, l. 22 (61.51). Read: King Vijayabāhu.
- p. 230, l. 5 (61.56). Read: Jewels instead of precious stones.
- p. 230, note 2. Read: that the name now wholly vanishes.
- p. 233, l. 30 (62.24). Read: at this time at once to the sleeping chamber.
- p. 236, l. 2 (62.47). Read: and feet and so on ...
- p. 238, l. 14 (63.5). Read: care instead of pomp.
- p. 238, l. 17 (63.7). Read: the Kāliṅga dynasty.
- p. 239. Add to note 1: [Cf. Culture, 104.]
- p. 243. Add to l. 3 of note 1 after: is meant: Cf. 64.45; 70.56.
- p. 244, l. 13 (64.11). Read: and being invited by him.
- p. 249, l. 12—13 (65.6). Read: to halt here on the road before his own arrival. Expunge: awaiting him on the way.
- p. 249. Add to note 1: H. W. COBRINGTON, Ceylon Journ. of Sc., Sect. G, II, 129 ff., 134.
- p. 250, l. 4 (65.16). Read: the fearless Prince.
- p. 250, l. 5 (65.16). Expunge: fearlessly.
- p. 250, l. 7 (65.17). Read: with me such a long time.
- p. 253, l. 10 (66.4) and l. 15 (66.6). Read: district instead of province.
- p. 254, l. 4 (66.13). Read: kingdom instead of province.
- p. 254, l. 8 (66.16). Put ? after devotion.

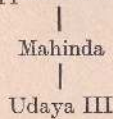
- p. 254, l. 12 (66.18). Read: I must depart hence, instead of I must arise.
- p. 255, l. 24 (66.33). Read: heads of the bravest foe.
- p. 256, l. 14 (66.42). To existed add the note: The translation of 42 *ed vinā pariccayam pubbe dūtasam̐pesanaṃ ca me* is very doubtful. Depending on *pubbe* we expect an abl., not an acc.
- p. 256, l. 32 (66.50). To by the heavens add the note: Lit.: as he could not make the determination of the quarters of the heavens.
- p. 257, l. 4 (66.54). Expunge: and, at the end of the line.
- p. 257, l. 5 (66.54). Read: and reached, instead of reaching.
- p. 257, l. 14—15 (66.58). Read: from our town, although it is well protected, instead of from our well protected town.
- p. 258. Add at the end of note 1: Cf. vol. II, p. 364.
- p. 258. Add after *pādamūlaka* or *lika* in note 2: (Epigr. Zeyl. III, 231).
- p. 259, l. 17—18 (66.82). Read: though they have given up, instead of giving up.
- p. 262, l. 4 (66.110). Expunge: small.
- p. 262, l. 7 (66.112). Read: when King Gajabāhu.
- p. 262, l. 23 (66.119). Read: what foe will approach us with the intent to make war? (instead of will dare . . . on us?).
- p. 263, l. 1 (66.121). Read: I shall soon have.
- p. 263, l. 2 (66.121). Read: son, instead of prince.
- p. 263, l. 24 (66.130). Read: to (himself), their Lord.
- p. 266, l. 8 (66.153). Read: paid to him personally.
- p. 267, l. 6 (67.2). To rolling add the note: *gaṇḍe vattita-*, lit.: "rolling in the cheek (or temple)".
- p. 268, l. 26—27. (67.26). Read: and having paid this very day a visit.
- p. 268, l. 27 (67.26). Expunge: in haste.
- p. 269, l. 16 (67.35). Read: noticed, instead of heard.
- p. 269. Add at the end of note 2: They are amplified by the words of the purohita.
- p. 270, l. 17 (67.49). Read: one of the men, instead of a man.
- p. 271, l. 1 (67.52). Read: who had all come.
- p. 272, l. 11 (67.63). Read: with various games.
- p. 277, l. 2 (68.6). Read: quartered, instead of divided.
- p. 277, l. 3 (68.6). Read: of the kingdom in camps.
- p. 277, l. 8 (68.9). Read: a few, instead of but few.
- p. 277, l. 18 (68.14). Read: the case of a hard task.
- p. 277, note 2. Read: The river rises southeast of Kurunegala.
- p. 283, l. 12 (69.5). To officers add the note: Cf. note to 70.242.
- p. 283, l. 12 (69.5). Read: canton, instead of district.
- p. 283, l. 18 (69.7). Read: weapons for them.
- p. 284, l. 10 (69.15). Read: canton, instead of district.
- p. 284, l. 2 of note 4. Read: That is probably wrong.
- p. 285, l. 2—3 (69. 22). Read: With the wish that they should grow up in court services, skilled in the art of riding elephants or horses . . .
- p. 285, l. 4—5 (69. 22). Expunge: in court service should increase in number.
- p. 285, l. 14 (69.27). Read: learned, instead of established.
- p. 285. Add at the end of note 2: WIFESENHA translates the five names thus: 1) sword-bearers, 2) incense-bearers, 3) menials, 4) Sinhalese musicians, 5) pages.
- p. 285. Add at the end of note 3: Cf. Journ. Greater India Soc. V, 1938, p. 6; [above, 132.]
- p. 286, l. 10 (69.35). Read: and the two heads of the (two) parts of the country he raised . . .
- p. 288, l. 6 (70.12). Read: and after he had subjugated all the enemy.
- p. 288, l. 7 (70.12). Expunge: were subjugated.
- p. 288, l. 18 (70.17). To Dhanumaṇḍala add the note: *dhanumaṇḍala-nātha* is likely to be a title; cf. *dunumaṇḍula* in inser., Epigr. Zeyl. III, 110.

- p. 289, l. 7—8 (70.23). Read: who had with him chariots, troops and beasts of draught, scattered the enemy.
- p. 289. Add to l. 3 of note 1: But cf. Epigr. Zeyl. III, 232.—Add at the end of note 2: 18 miles E. of Kandy.
- p. 289. Add at the end of note 4: Otturāmallaka is probably the same as the chief of Dhanumaṇḍala mentioned in v. 17. After his defection he seems to have gone over into the service of Parakkamabāhu.
- p. 290, l. 23 (70.41). Read: hit it, instead of hit him.
- p. 291, l. 15 (70.51). Read: they over and over again lauded . . .
- p. 291, l. 30—p. 292, l. 1 (70.58). Read: "Do never think: we will do any thing turning aside by a hair's breadth from this my instruction."
- p. 292, 21—p. 293, l. 3 (70.68—69). Read: In the village of Kālavāpi there was a general of Gaḷabāhu known by the name of Nagaragiri Gokaṇṇa⁵, gifted with high heroic virtues, in possession of chariots, troops and beasts of draught, skilled in war, a loyal and devoted adviser of his Lord.
- p. 293, l. 19 (70.78). Read: loss, instead of injury.
- p. 294, l. 5 (70.85). Read: vehicle, instead of chariot.
- p. 294, l. 6 (70.85). Expunge: in the lurch.
- p. 294, l. 11—12 (70.88). Read: who had been stationed in the district of Bodhigāmavara.
- p. 294. Add at the end of note 5: Cf. *puna* in v. 89d.
- p. 296, l. 10 (70.105). Read: a great battle with them, defeated them . . .
- p. 297, l. 4 (70.116). Read: bastions, instead of turrets.
- p. 297, l. 16 (70.121). Read: in his stronghold, instead of in the castle.
- p. 297, l. 17 (70.122). Read: vehicles, instead of chariots.
- p. 297. Add at the end of note 2: and by taking Anurādhapura.
- p. 298, l. 2 (70.127). Expunge: tank.
- p. 299, l. 12 (70.143). Read: took, instead of captured.
- p. 299, l. 13 (70.143). Read: captive, instead of alive.
- p. 300, l. 9 (70.152). Read: all communication, instead of access to the road.
- p. 300, l. 15 (70.156). Read: Senāpati (Deva).
- p. 300, l. 21 (70.159). Read: *breaking down*, instead of *storming*.
- p. 300, l. 25 (70.161). Read: and strengthening the, instead of set up a strong.
- p. 300, l. 26 (70.161). Read: camp there, he took up his position there."
- p. 301, l. 6 (70.164). Read: fortress, instead of castle.
- p. 301. Add at the end of note 3: With 'antelope horn' probably some iron tool is denoted.
- p. 304, l. 1 (70.199). Read: a messenger, instead of word.
- p. 304, l. 2 (70.199). Add after (Mahinda): telling him of these things.
- p. 304. Read in l. 3 of note 3: *vassitum*, instead of *vasitum*.
- p. 305, l. 16 (70.219). Read: drove the foe before him, instead of: pursued them.
- p. 307, l. 7 (70.242). To officers add the note: Here and v. 246 *samanīā* 'officers' is used to denote the chiefs of the smaller districts, elsewhere called *raṭṭhiyā*. Cf. Journ. Greater India Soc. V, 1938, p. 15; [and above, 145].
- p. 307, l. 7 (70.242) and l. 15 (70.246). Read: cantons, instead of districts.
- p. 308, l. 4 (70.254). Read: the officials who were members of the council, the townsmen . . .
- p. 311, l. 1 (70.293). Insert after Kontadisāvijaya: captured him alive.
- p. 311, l. 18 (70.302). Read: where ever they faced, instead of who faced.
- p. 314, l. 2 (70.333). Read: moreover. instead of but.
- p. 315, l. 3 (71.1). To Gaṅgātaṭāka add the note: Cf. note 70.286.
- p. 315, l. 11 (71.5). Read: afflicted with, instead of visited by.
- p. 319, l. 12 (72.5). Read: the selfsame Kesadhātu Rakkha.
- p. 319, l. 13 (72.6). Read: the Kesadhātu named Buddha², who was charged to protect the Pūnagāma ford, having fought . . .
- p. 319, l. 16—17 (72.8). Read: (at that ford), instead of at the Pūnagāma ford.

- p. 321, l. 1—2 (72.21—22). Read: after destroying² many soldiers in a bitter combat and putting the remnant to flight, defeated there . . .
- p. 321, l. 3 (72.22). Read: battle, instead of combat.
- p. 321, l. 7 (72.23). Read: of the ford and returned. This man . . .
- p. 323, l. 6 (72.41). Read: had come, instead of came.
- p. 325, l. 14 (72.68). Expunge: small.
- p. 325, l. 15 (72.68). Read: on young elephants.
- p. 326, l. 8 (72.75). Read: adversary, instead of enemy.
- p. 326, l. 15 (72.80). Read: conspired with, instead of given counsel to.
- p. 333, l. 3. (72.141). (Cf. correction to p. 333, note 3.) Read: the great province, instead of Mahāratṭha.
- p. 333. In note 3 the last 4 lines of p. 333 up to the first line of notes of p. 334 should run thus: . . . Dambagolla (note to 70.72) west of Elahera. The word *mahāratṭha* in v. 141 cannot be taken here as proper noun, as I did in my translation, for the district Mahāratṭha is far away bordering eastwards on the Kālavāpi (cf. 72.163). The 'great province' is, as WIJESINHA has seen, denomination of Rohaṇa. The final result. . . .
- p. 336, l. 21 (72.177). Read: in noble Anurādhapura.⁴
- p. 337, l. 12. (72.186). Put " after the fight.
- p. 338, l. 19 (72.203). Read: bereft, instead of slew.
- p. 338, l. 20 (72.203). Insert: of their life, after officers.
- p. 339. The note 1 should run thus: P. *kirātacorā*. The *corā* were probably Vāddās who served as explorators and guides in the king's army; *kirāta* is used in Sk. to denote dwarfish tribes living in the wilderness. Is here preserved perhaps a reminiscence of the pygmies who are said to have lived in some inaccessible parts of the Uva province and to have been exterminated about two centuries ago by the Vāddās? Cf. FR. LEWIS, JRAS, C. B. Nr. 67, 1914, p. 289.
- p. 343, l. 9 (72.256). Read: Then, instead of Thus.
- p. 343, l. 11 (72.257). Read: Moreover, instead of Then.
- p. 344, l. 15—16 (72.274). Read: do ye, therefore, go in advance to his road and cut off his flight", instead of betake yourselves . . . his flight."
- p. 344, l. 31—32 (72.282). Read: here and there, instead of hither and tither.
- p. 345, l. 5 (72.285). Read: host of the, instead of able bodied.
- p. 347, l. 2 (72.310). Read: Mānā-.
- p. 348, l. 4 (72.323). Insert: and so on, after pearls.

Genealogical Tables

- p. 353. Table IIIa. Add: (a Moriya), to Sister of Bhayasiva.—Add: Dāṭhāpabhuti, to: Prince 42.6, 36 Yuvarāja.—Add: his general Moggallāna successor of Saṃghatissa as king Moggallāna III, to 28. Aggabodhi II . . .
- p. 353. Table IIIb. Add: killed by Moggallāna III. 44.36, to: 29. Saṃghatissa . . .—Add: killed, to Prince 44.13, 35.—Add: mutilated, to Prince 44.24.
- p. 354. Table IV. Add: × Saṃghā 48.54, to: 46. Aggabodhi VII . . .
- p. 355. Table VI. Add: died by suicide, to: Mahinda (9) 50.21—23.—Read: 50.8, 45, after Udaya (2) × Nālā.
- p. 356. Table VII. Read: Kassapa (6), brother of Sena I, instead of (Sena I) Kassapa (6).—Read: 54. Sena II SSB. 50.48, 51.1 × a) Saṃghā (4) b) Devā.—Read: 55. Udaya II. SMV . . .—Read: 56. Kassapa IV (8).—Read: 57. Kassapa V SMV (9) . . .—Add to 58: 58. Dappula III SSB 53.1



Read: 59. Dappula IV SMV (of b) 53.4.—Expunge in the last but one set; Udaya 54.58.—
Add after 66. Mahinda V 55.1: = Udaya 54.58. Epigr. Zeyl. IV, 61.—Add at the bottom,
referring to the whole page: Cf. Epigr. Zeyl. III, 129, 141—2.

		Moggallāna ⁴ × Lokitā 57.29, 41			
74. Vijayabāhu I × Tilokasundarī	Virabāhu 59.11; 60.86 × Subhaddā	75. Jayabāhu I 60.87; 61.5; 62.1 × Sumittā		Mittā ¹ × Pandurāja 59.41; 62.1	Sirivallabha ¹ 59.42; 64.18 × Sugala 59.45
		Kittisirimegha ² +			
76. Vikkamabāhu II** 61.8, 62.1	Rātānāvati*** 59.35, 44.	Mānābharana ¹ (Virabāhu) 59.42; 61.26; 62.67 × Rātānāvati 59.44		Rūpavati 73.142	Līlāvati ²
		Mānābharana ²			
77. Gajabāhu 60.88; 63.19	Anikaṅga 61.40	Mahinda ¹⁶ 62.59; 72.46 ff.		× Mittā ² 63.96 × Pabhāvati 64.24	Sirivallabha ² (of 2.) 64.24; 72.303
		Bhaddavati × Gajabāhu 66.147			
Mittā ² × Mānābharana ² 63.16; 64.24	Pabhāvati	78. Parakkamabāhu I. × Rūpavati 73.142 × Līlāvati ² 80.31		Sirivallabha ² (of 1.) 72.291.	Kittisirimegha ²
		Bhaddavati × Gajabāhu 66.147			

*) [See Table IX.]

**) [Vikkamabāhu's queens were 1) Sundarī of the Kālinga line 59.49, 2) Līlāvati of the Ayodhya line 59.28.]

***) [Other daughters: Subhaddā, Sumittā, Lokanāthā, (Rūpavati) 59.31, 43—45].

+) [Kittisirimegha¹ see 41.65.]

p. 358. Add a supplementary table:

Jagatīpāla (56.13)
of Ayojjha

|
Līlavatī × Vijayabāhu I (59.24)

Yasodharā (59.26)
× Viravamma

|
Sugalā (59.28)
× Sirivallabha¹ (59.45)

|
Mānābharaṇa²

III. *Cūlavamsa*, Vol. II

Introduction

p. VI, l. 22—27. Read: the reading *bhātā tassa kaniṭṭhako* of the MSS S 3 or., 5, 6, 7 can be accepted as correct. In my edition (cf. *Cūlavamsa* I, Introd. p. XVII) I erroneously followed the reading of S 1, 2, 3² *bhātu*. [Cf. above, p. 234, Add. to I, p. 9.]

p. IX—XV. Cf. above, p. 223—227, List of Sinhalese Kings. — p. XIII, No. 81. Cf. Epigr. Zeyl. II, 91 ff.—p. XIV, No. 101. Add to Date: 1344 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

p. XX, l. 34. Add at the end of No. 18: According to HULTZSCH the initial date of this king would be 941 A. D. Cf. Epigr. Zeyl. III, 74.

p. XXIII, l. 5. Add at the end of No. 27: PARANAVITANA, Epigr. Zeyl., IV 94—95 maintains that 1341/2 was the initial year of Bhuvanekabāhu's IV reign.

p. XXX, l. 22. Read: minister Devappatirāja.

Translation

p. 5 (73.47). Add to 73.47: BUDDHADATTA explains (letter of 4.5.31) the passage thus: the king at first took the share of merit given by the doctors, and then he gave, in return, from his own store of merit.

p. 8, note 6. Insert after *dhāraṇīghara* in brackets: PARANAVITANA, C. J. Sc. G II, 69.

p. 11, note 1, l. 3. Add: Cf. Mahāvastu I 194,₁₈—195.

p. 11, note 4, l. 1. Read: *gehe ekathūṇike*.

p. 12, l. 20 (73.101). Read: soft note of the cuckoos, instead of gentle twitter (of the birds).

p. 17. Add at the end of the note (n. 4 of p. 16) after 'Cf. also 74.198 ff.': PARANAVITANA (C. J. Sc. G II, 168) is inclined to identify with this temple the Thūpārāma on the 'Quadrangle'.

p. 17. The note 1 should run thus: The consort of the King, Rūpavatī (cf. v. 142), was a daughter of Kittisirimegha. [Cf. above, 109, note 1.]

p. 25, l. 6 (74.48). Read: to the bhikkhus who were living in a chapter, instead of: to those . . . selfgovernment.

p. 25, note 1, l. 4 ff. Read: Of the villages taken away some are allotted to bhikkhu congregations (cf. *gaṇa-santaka-gāmake* 84.3), others are declared royal property. WJESINGHA's translation 'to assemblies of monks' is correct.

p. 31, l. 23 (74.110). Read: canton, instead of district.

p. 35, l. 12 f. (74.150 f.). See *Cūlav. trsl.*, II, Additions etc., p. 365.

p. 35, l. 22 (74.154) and 25 (74.156), p. 38, l. 4 (74.180), p. 45, l. 15 (75.15). Read: canton, instead of district.

p. 48. Insert in l. 3 of note 2 after 'island': Cf. 56.6.

- p. 59, l. 15 (75.157). Read: soon, instead of son.
- p. 64, note 5. According to BUDDHADATTA (letter, 4. 5. 31), Rāmañña is a name of the whole of Lower Burma, i. e. Pegu (Hanthāwaddy) and the districts Kusīma (now Bassin) and Muttima (now Tanassarim).
- p. 65, note 4. According to CODRINGTON, Ceylon Ant. and Lit. Reg. III, 57 and Epigr. Zeyl. III, 340 in 76.18 °*tikkhalānam* should be read. *tikkhala* = tikal, standard weight of Pegu.
- p. 66, l. 10f. (76.25) BUDDHADATTA (letter, 4. 5. 31) proposes to translate "having thrashed their feet with pestles".
- p. 69, note 1. Add: Kusīma-tittha, now called Bassin, on the river Negaris, W. of Irawaddy (BUDDHADATTA, letter, 4. 5. 31).
- p. 72. The note 2 should run thus: P. *ekadoñīnāvā* is a canoe, the hollowed stem of a tree (BUDDHADATTA), Sinh. *oruva*. Cf. Sk. *droṇī*, Medinī-kośa = *naumbheda*.
- p. 101, l. 9f. (78.3—4). BUDDHADATTA proposes to translate thus: "He having perceived that (some bhikkhus) had none of the sīlas apart from the maintenance of wives and children and so forth in the villages belonging to the community, and some virtuous bhikkhus that did not wish even to see one another not to speak of their having ceremonies in common . . ." He thinks that *thapetvā* does not govern *posanam*, but *ekakammādim*. (Letter, 4. 5. 31.)
- p. 102. Add to note 1 (78.5). BUDDHADATTA reads *ca* instead of *va*. According to him, the king wished purification of the Order at first, and then to achieve unity of the fraternities.
- p. 105. The note 1 should run thus: BELL, HOCART and I myself have identified the ruins of the so-called Quadrangle in Polonnaruva with the Jetavana-vihāra of Parakkamabāhu I. But PARANAVITANA, C. J. Sc. G., II, p. 161ff., has shown that this was wrong. The Quadrangle lies within the fortified city, but monasteries are always built outside. We must, therefore, assume that among the ruins N. of the city-wall which is still traceable, the remnants of the Jetavana-vihāra must be sought. [Cf. above, 48, note 1.]
- p. 105. The note 5 should run thus: The term *tivaṅka* means 'having three bends' (*ti* = Sk. *tri* + *vaṅka* = Sk. *vakra* or *vaṅka*) and is still used by Sinhalese craftsmen for a peculiar pose, with three bends in an image of the Buddha standing upright (PARANAVITANA, C. J. Sc. G., II, p. 170). Two statues of this kind were in the Kālaniya temples according to Sālahiṇiṣandeśa 68. The temple of one of these images was restored by king Parakkamabāhu II, Mhvs 85.66 [Cf. above, 90, note 3].
- p. 106. The note 2 should run thus: P. *jālakavāṭa* means a window with bars fixed both ways, upright and across, producing thus a network (BUDDHADATTA, letter 4. 5. 31).
- p. 106. The note 3 should run thus: As the Jetavana-vihāra is not identical with the ruins of the Quadrangle this temple cannot be the Vāṭa-dā-gē there which, moreover, according to an inscription was not, erected by Parakkamabāhu, but by Nissaṅkamalla.
- p. 106. The note 4 should run thus: I take *bhīti* "outer wall" to mean the boundary wall of the monastery.
- p. 106. The note 5 should be deleted.
- p. 107, l. 16 (78.49). Read pavilions, instead of turrets.
- p. 107. In the note 1 the second proposition (from "The temple on the Quadrangle" to the end) should be deleted.
- p. 107, note 2, l. 5. Add after Ālāhana-pariveṇa: "was apparently an addition to the Jetavana-vihāra and".—l. 6: Expunge "but wrongly" after popularly.
- p. 119, note 1, l. 1. Read: P. *koṭṭhakabaddhaniṅghara*.—l. 4. Read: "(*koṭṭhakabaddha*)".
- p. 120, l. 30. (79.49). Read: Bhāgīrathī.
- p. 122. The note 1 should run thus: Puṅkhagāma (see additional note to 61.26) is probably the present Dedigama in the Kegalla district. The ruined dagoba there has been described by H. C. P. BELL, Report on the Kegalla district, p. 29, and A. M. HOCART, C. J. Sc. G., II, p. 84. Its original height was roughly 180 ft.

p. 126. Add to note 1: Arimaddana was the capital of (whole or) Upper Burma, now Pagan, not very far from Mandalay (BUDDHADATTA, letter, 4. 5. 31).

p. 129. In l. 4 of the continuation of the note 6 of p. 128 add after letter of l. 4. 28: C. J. Sc. G, II, p. 129ff.

p. 130, l. 16 (80.39). Read: of Rājakulavaḍḍhana.

p. 130. The note 5 should run thus: Rājakulavaḍḍhana is, as BUDDHADATTA informs me, a monastery in Vāligama which still bears the name.

p. 136. Add to the note 1: Cf. Pūjāvāliya (ed. B. SADDHĀTISSA) p. 735^a.

p. 136. The beginning of the note 2 should be corrected thus: Here the Vannis are mentioned for the first time . . .—Add at the end of this note: It is, however, evident that the Vannis merely represent the remnant of the village population that had been cut off during the perturbation of the Māgha period from the rest of the world. Some of them may have become degenerated through isolation; they are however no separate race but include both Tamils and Sinhalese. Cf. COOK, Ceylon, p. 334. [See WILH. GEIGER, Studien z. Gesch. und Sprache Ceylons, München 1941, S. 3ff.]

p. 141, l. 17 (81.67). Read after that, instead of for that.

p. 141, l. 21. To Bhuvanekabāhu add the note: Bhuvanekabāhu (*mahapā*) mentioned as son of Vijayabāhu in an inscription. Epigr. Zeyl. III, p. 288.

p. 144. Add to the note 3: The same story in Pūjāv 737—738.

p. 149, l. 1—2 (83.10). Read: The Sihala kings of the Vanni who were equipped . . .

p. 149. Add to the note 2: Cf. Pūjāv 739²⁴.

p. 152. The note 3 should run thus: That is “the blue-coloured”. This was originally name of a guardian deity of Ceylon (cf. Mhvs 7.5), but afterwards, in modern times only, identified with Viṣṇu. See PARANAVITANA, C. J. Sc. G, II, p. 66. When realizing the original character of the Upalavanna deva we understand that Virabāhu celebrated a divine sacrifice for him. He was his helper in his war with the Jāvakas and with his assistance he had by his victory freed Ceylon from foreign rule. Devanagara (or-pura) is the present Dondra, Sinh. Devundara. The place has been already mentioned in 56.6, 60.59 and 75.47, but here for the first time we have a reference to the shrine of that god celebrated in the Middle Ages. According to tradition it was built in 790 A. D. It was plundered and destroyed by the Portuguese in 1588 A. D. See P. E. PIERIS, Ceylon and the Portuguese, (= P. 2) p. 109f. [Cf. above, 159.]

p. 155, note 1. [Cf. above, 198, note.]

p. 155. Add to the note 2: PARANAVITANA, Epigr. Zeyl. IV, 69—71 believes that Taṃbaratṭha is the modern Ligor (or Nakhon Si Thammarat) in S. Siam. I think this is improbable.

p. 156. Add to the note 2: Cf. now J. DE LANEROLLE, JRAS., C.B. XXXI, No. 83, 1930, p. 511—2.

p. 158, l. 1—3 (84.42). Read: Thus the King, the best of men, celebrated the eight great and superb festivals of admission to the Order, each (feast) lasting seven days¹.

p. 158. The note 1 should run thus: *Upasampatti* means the same as *upasampadā*. Cf. 60.7. The verse summarizes what has been told in vv. 32—34 (BUDDHADATTA).

p. 165. The note 6 should run thus: Cf. note to 78.39. The remainder should be deleted.

p. 167. In l. 2 of the note 3 read Upalavanna instead of Viṣṇu.

p. 167. At the end of note 5 the sentence “Buddha was born on that day” should be deleted.

p. 170, l. 4 (85.117). Read: uniting, instead of assembling.

p. 177, l. 9—10 (87.3). Read: and for the miracle-working highest deities Nātha and Metteyya¹ who were to be venerated.

p. 177. Add to the note 1: Nātha is the name used in Ceylon for the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. PARANAVITANA, C. J. Sc. G, II, p. 57.

p. 183—200, head-line. Read Parakkamabāhu II (Vijayabāhu), instead of Vijayabāhu IV.

- p. 185, l. 30 (88.41). Read: When the King (Vijayabāhu) beheld . . .
- p. 185, note 1. Add: Cf. note to 81.3.
- p. 187, note 2. Add: Cf. note to 81.3.
- p. 188, note 2. Read: See 80.68, 87.66.
- p. 199. The note 3 should be run thus: P. *udakukkhepasīmā*. The term occurs again 94.17 and 97.12. It has reference to a ceremony being performed when an ecclesiastic act takes place on water, either in a building erected in a lake or river, or even on a boat. After the saṃgha has gathered one of the community takes water in a vessel or a handful of water from the lake or river itself. He then throws the water with his hand to the four directions. The *sīmā* is then formed beginning from the furthest points where the water has fallen. The bhikkhu who throws the water must stand, while doing so, within the *hatthapāsa* of the chapter. I owe this information to BUDDHADATTA (letter of 4. 5. 31).
- p. 206, note 2. Read: May-June, instead of June-July.
- p. 207, note 3. Add: Cf. above, 67.
- p. 211. Add at the end of the note 1: According to PARANAVITANA, Epigr. Zeyl. IV, 94—5 the initial year of Bhuvanekabāhu's reign would be 1341/2.
- p. 212. Add at the end of the note 4: Concerning Alagakonnāra and his family see W. PERERA, Alakeśwara, his Life and Times, JRAS C. B. XVIII, No. 55, p. 281 ff.; W. F. GUNAWARDHANA, Parakrama Bahu VI and his Alter-Ego, Ceylon Ant. and Lit. Reg. I, p. 48 ff.; S. PARANAVITANA, Epigr. Zeyl. VI, 296—311.
- p. 213. Add to note 4: S. DE SILVA, JRAS C. B. XXII, No. 65 (1912), p. 316 sq.
- p. 217, l. 3—4 (91.27). Read: and the *ṭikās* copied and furthered the doctrine of the Buddha¹. He also granted . . .
- p. 217. The note 1 should run thus: *Buddhassa sāsanasamgahaṃ akā*. According to BUDDHADATTA Thera *sāsanasamgaha* always means furtherance of the Order and is even now used in this sense.
- p. 217. Add to note 2: They were erected by King Bhuvanekabāhu V.
- p. 219. Add the following remarks: During the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI an embassy came from Pegu to the Sinhalese court. The Kalyāṇi-inscription of the Burmese king Dhammaceti (1478 A. D.), cf. Ind. Ant. XXII, 1893, informs us of this. Cf. CODRINGTON, The Kalyāṇi Inscriptions, JRAS C. B., No. 67, 1914, p. 231 ff.; BUDDHADATTA, Kalyāṇi Inscriptions of King Dhammaceti, at Pegu, 1924.
- p. 221, l. 12 (92.14). Read: forty, instead of thirty.
- p. 228, l. 3 (94.7). Read: shelters, instead of tower structures.
- p. 228. Add in the note 1: But cf. 92.9.
- p. 232, l. 2; p. 233, l. 11—13 and l. 16. Read: district (or districts), instead of province (provinces).
- p. 234. Add in the note 3: For Rājasīha, see also D. FERGUSON, Rāja Sinha II and the Dutch: JRAS., C. B. XVIII, No. 55 (1904), p. 166 ff.
- p. 239, l. 20 (97.7). Read: gold, instead of precious stones.
- p. 243. The note 6 should run thus: The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Cf. 87.3, (addit.) note.
- p. 244. Add to note 3: Bhesajjamañjūsā, edited 1924. Cf. MALALASEKERA, Pāli Lit. of Ceylon, p. 215, 282.
- p. 244. In note 5 read: Cf. MALALASEKERA, Pāli Lit. of Ceylon, p. 215, instead of "One could . . . five pariveṇas".
- p. 248, l. 11—12 (98.24). Read: and had a commentary on the *Catubhāṇavāra*-book¹ made by him in the language of Laṅkā.
- p. 248. The note 1 should be corrected thus: The *Catubhāṇavāra* is the book called *Maha-pirit-pota* in Ceylon. It consists of four *bhāṇavāras*, i. e. sections of 250 verses of 32 letters each (BUDDHADATTA, letter 4. 5. 31). Saraṇamkara's commentary on this work, the *Catubhāṇavāra-aṭṭhakathā* is mentioned in L. DE ZOYSA's Catalogue of Pāli etc. Manuscripts, p. 6. The texts of the *Catubhāṇavāra* were recited at the Paritta ceremonies.

The title *pirit satar baṇavar* already occurs in an inscription of the tenth century, Epigr. Zeyl. I, 48³³. [Cf. above, 161, note 1.]

p. 251, l. 26 (98.65). Read: district, instead of province.

p. 254, l. 12 (98.95). Read: gems, instead of jewels.

p. 258, l. 31 (99.42). Read: After a sacrificial festival for Nātha, for the lotus-hued god.

p. 271, l. 13 (99.165). Read: gems, instead of jewels.

p. 276. The note 1 should run thus: Apparently Vimaladhammasuriya II is meant and the casket made by him which is described in 97.6—7.

p. 294, l. 26—27 (100.248—249). Read: that of the Bodhisatta Metteyya, that of the Great God Nātha⁴, and that of King Gāmaṇī.—Add a note 4 after Nātha: See above 87.3 with (addit.) note.

Genealogical Tables

p. 303. Table I. Add to Sīhabāhu and to Sumitta: King in Sihapura.—Add to 2. Paṇḍu-vāsudeva: × Bhaddakaccānā (Sakya-princess).—Add to 3. Abhaya and 9 brothers: Girikaṇḍasiva 10.29 → Pāli (Suvannapāli).—Add to × Dīghagāmaṇī: son of Dīghayu.—Add to Paṇḍukābhaya: × Pāli.

Indices

p. 323, l. 4. Add: *pātali* (bignonia suaveolens) 73.98.

p. 324, l. 12. Add after panther 75.39: 78.100.

p. 324, l. 27. Add: (*āsivisa*) 37.52.—Popular belief: jewels in the head of snakes. 37.122.

p. 334, l. 8. Add after 41.58; 51.79, 80.

p. 334, l. 11. Read after copied: 41.62; 45.3; 51.79; 52.50f.; 60.22 etc.

p. 334, l. 12. Add: redaction of the Tipiṭaka 38.44; 41.2.

p. 334, l. 24—25. Read: 39.57; 41.2; 44.46, 76; 48.71; 51.64; 52.10, 44; 73.2ff. etc.

p. 335, l. 33. Read: *nāyaka* 70. 66, 279.

p. 336, l. 8. Add 37.71 after 34.84.

p. 336, l. 14. Add: 39.35.

p. 338, l. 1. Read: 70.61, 72, 93, 103, 130ff.

p. 338, l. 11. Add: (*seṇi*) after guilds.

p. 338, l. 17. Add: *kula-nagara* 33.37.

p. 338, l. 19. Add after 27.12: 37.158; 44.73.

p. 338, l. 23. Read: *kammakāra* (61.68); 69.21; (99.50).

p. 338, l. 24. Add after 30.6: 67.58; 84.5.

p. 338, l. 26. Add: mendicant artists 52.3; 53.30.

p. 338, l. 30. Add: *dantasippa* 37.100.

p. 339, l. 7. Add: *gāmanāyaka* 68.53.—*pavenigāma* 55.31; 60.75.—*raṭṭhe jānapade* the inhabitants of the open country (open town) 48.99.

p. 339, l. 10. Add: 74.8ff., 15f.

p. 339, l. 12. Read: *vithi* 34.76; 67.1, 33; 73.59, 148ff.

p. 339, l. 13. Add: watchmen *rakkhikā* 65.3.—palaces of Parakkamabāhu I, 73.60—70. Cf. 73.82—94.

p. 339, l. 16. Read: *dānasālā* 37.182; 54.30; 73.26; 74.150 (erected by Parakkamabāhu I in honour of a dead general). Cf. Mem. Arch. Surv. Ceylon III, 24ff. (Mahāpāli).

p. 339, l. 16ff. hospitals 37.145, 148; 38.42; 50.75.—revenues of the hospitals 41.28; 52.57.—hospital on the Cetiyagiri 51.73.—dispensaries 52.27; 73.37.

p. 339, l. 19ff. *āgantusālā* 79.20, 22, 63, 80.—*kārāgāra* dungeon 70.264.—*dāṭhādātughara* (erected by Parakkamabāhu *nagaramajjhamhi*, not in an *ārāma* or *vihāra*) 74.198.—*dhammasālā* 88.93.

p. 339, l. 22. Add: 73.29.

p. 339, l. 28. Add: gates of a village 66.100.

p. 340, l. 2. Add: dowry 39.55; 41.7.

- p. 340, l. u. Add: (*mañcaka*) 73.27, and (*seyya*) 66.49.
- p. 341, l. 4. Add: 30.93.
- p. 341, l. 13. Add after 89.9: 92.15.
- p. 341, l. 15. Add after 78.63, 69: 86.40, 42.—Add: *khetta* (square measure of cultivated ground) 41.99, 42.9.
- p. 341—342. (7. Traffic and trade.) Add: *mahāpatha*, *coramagga* 75.32, 33; 75.64.—high-roads . . . 60.65; 75.64; 86.21 ff.—*vāhana* 67.1 . . .—*eka-doṇi-nāvā* (canoe) 76.91.—Mahātitttha . . . 35.22 . . .—harbours: Sakkharasobbha 35.28.
- p. 342. (8. Rural life etc.). Add: Agriculture . . . 68.8 ff.—Kālāvāpi (Kalāvāva) 38.42, 113; cf. the description in 68.16—38.—tanks constructed or restored by Parakkamabāhu I 79.23 ff.—meaning of *ārāma*: gardens with fruit trees 42.15 (*nālikerārāma*); 68.56 f.; 79.3; 90.93; laying down of *pupphārāma* and *phalārāma* as meritorious work 44.147.—planting of gardens (*vathūni*, *ambuyyānā*) [as puñña] 39.9; 42.15; 44.147; 68.56 f.; 79.3.—care for wild and domestic animals 48.147; 49.36; 50.3; 52.15, 28.—decline of agriculture in the turbulent times (hence the many abandoned tanks) cf. 81.11 [and addit. note to II, p. 136], 83.10 etc.
- p. 343. (9. Education etc.). Add: art of writing . . . 39.18.—humorous tales 66.56.—*Itihāsa*, *purāṇa* etc. 66.143 f.—Literary works quoted: Dhammasaṅgaṇī 52.50; Dīpavaṃsa 38.59; Dāṭhādhatuvaṃsa 37.93; Kesadhātuvaṃsa 39.49.—Kings as poets 41.60; 60.75 f., 79.
- p. 343, l. 24 ff. Add: Even queens are praised for being skilful in dancing and singing 73.141.—drums: *bheri* . . . 75.104; . . . *kāhala* . . . 75.104.
- p. 344, l. 1. Read *samajja*.—l. 6. Add: 74.185 ff., 199 ff., 224 ff.
- p. 344 (11. Medicine). Add: salary of the physicians 37.146 f.; 73.38.—veterinary science . . . 37.111 ff., 128, 147 . . .—diseases . . . 37.141, 153; 44.58; . . . 74.143 (*atisāra*).—medicinal plants 48.72.
- p. 344. (12.) a. building material . . . kiñcikkha stones 34.69.—c. various buildings: tanks: *mariyāda* 51.72, 130; 53.34; *niddhamana* 51.72, 131; 53.34; *nijjhara* 51.130. See VIII, C, 8, p. 342.—d. elements of a house: . . . *vedikā* . . . 78.40.
- p. 345. 12e. Cf. the description of the buildings erected by Parakkamabāhu, in ch. 73.
- p. 345, l. 22. Add: *majjhakūṭaka* 46.30.—After tee add 32.4.
- p. 345, l. 25 ff. (*Maṇḍapa*). Add: 38.61; 39.53; 74.212.
- p. 345, l. ult. Add: *dhaturāji* 38.69.
- p. 346 (b. Plastic art). Add: Cf. p. 35, note 7; cf. 38.58; portrait-statues 39.52.—jewels as eyes in such statues 37.123; 38.62; 50.34.—golden or gilded images . . . 51.69 . . .—*nila-cūlāmaṇi* 51.87.—an elephant's figure made of stucco 38.8.—*pādajūla* 38.64; 52.65; 53.50.—statue of Nātha 100.248; (87.3; 97.46).
- p. 347 (VIII A). Add: devālayas restored by kings 48.143.
- p. 348 (B. Popular belief). Cf. W. A. DE SILVA, Sinhalese Magic and Spells, JRAS C. B. XXX, No. 79 (1926), p. 193 ff.; W. A. DE SILVA, Ceremonial Songs . . ., Articles used in Sinhalese Ceremonial dancing, JRAS C. B. XXIII, No. 73, 74, p. 14, 71; S. PARANAVITANA, Pre-Buddhist Religious Beliefs in Ceylon, JRAS C. B., XXXI, No. 82 (1929), p. 302 ff.—*paritta* cf. IX C 4, p. 352.—*petakiccāni* 74.144.
- p. 349. Add: Mahāyāna in Ceylon. Cf. S. PARANAVITANA, Mahāyānism in Ceylon, C. J. Sc. G, II, p. 35 ff.—Bodhisattas: Metteyya (see Cūlav., ed., II., Index, p. 622); Nātha 87.3; 97.46; 100.248.—Kings as bodhisattas: Sirisamghabodhi 36.90; Buddhādāsa 37.109; Aggabodhi I, 42.1; Sena I, 50.65; Vijayabāhu IV, 88.35; 90.48; Parakkamabāhu VI (Epigr. Zeyl. III, 67¹¹); Kittisirirājasīha 100.136.—As to Metteyya, cf. 52.47 ff.
- p. 350, l. 6. Add: *paṇḍupalāsa* 45.5.
- p. 350, l. 9. Add: theas endowed with the six supernatural faculties 31. 7.—*gaṇavāsīn* 74.48.
- p. 350, l. 10. Add (to bhikkhunī): 39.43; 46.27 f.
- p. 350, l. 14. Add: *paṃsukūlino* cf. No. 6, p. 354.

p. 350 (3. The vihāra). Add: nunneries 42.47; 48.36, 139; 49.25; 52.24; 54.47.—vihāras as asylums 53.15ff.

p. 351. (Component parts of a v.) Add: ornaments: flags and banners 49.27; 54.42.—name of bodhi trees: 37.91; 44.96; 48.5; 49.15.—1000 rooms in the Lohapāsāda 27.28.—(Single buildings:) dwelling house . . . 52.13; 53.17.—*pariveṇa* . . . 45.29; 46.31; 48.135; 90.98 . . .—sleeping rooms in *pariveṇas* 78.38.—Gopāla rock in the Ālāhana-*pariveṇa* 78.66.—*ratana-pāsāda* in the Abhayagiri-vihāra 53.17.—bathing tanks 54.51.—mahā-pāli eating hall 46.3; 50.74.—*pariccheda* 42.39; 48.2; 50.77.—(Servants and officials): *dāsā* 42.23; 50.64.—*ārakkha* (overseer of a vihāra etc.) 42.21, 54, 61. (Cf. 44.69; 49.16).—*paricāraka* 44.120.—*ārāṃikā* 46.14, 28.

p. 352 (4. Duties of the bhikkhu): Scholarly studies: 64000 *dhammakhandhā* 64.31.—Mahādhammakathī translates the suttas 37.175.—difference between *dhammabhāṇaka* and *dhammaghosaka* 37.149, 173 (cf. above, correction to trsl. I, p. 14, n. 2).—salary for preaching 37.149, 173; 41.58.—Parakkamabāhu built the Maṇḍalamandira 73.72 and the dhammāgāra 73.74ff. for preaching, the Pañcasattatimandira for paritta ceremonies 73.73.—paritta cf. VIII B 2 (and additions above).—Parakkamabāhu built 230 dwellings for bhikkhus wandering to the various places 79.17.

p. 352—353 (5. Cult). Add: kattika-festival 17.17 (cf. 17.1).—covering on a thūpa with cloth 54.37, 42.—Relic-cult: dhāṭhādhatu. Add: 78.41.—Relic feasts. Add: 54.5.

p. 353—354 (6. History of the Saṃgha). Add: 42.31—32. Here the Mahāthūpa is mentioned as different from the three nikāyas (?).—judgement of a lawcourt on offences committed by bhikkhus (37.38); 78.13ff.—*dhammarucikā*. Add 39.15.—*paṃsukūṭino* (-*kūṭikā*). Add 48.16, 73.—For Mahāyanism cf. above, p. 349.—Persecution of the order by Dāṭhapatissa I, 44.131—133, by Kassapa (brother of Aggabodhi III) 44.138—140, by the Paṇḍu King (time of Sena I) 50.33—36, by the Coḷas 55.20ff.

p. 354—355 (7. The laity). uposatha vows . . . 49.48. —offerings of a king 42.15—28.—lamps 34.55f.—clothes (ambara) for adorning the Buddha-image 38.64.—medicaments . . . 54.46.—flowers, perfumes . . . 34.52ff.—*pattanikuḷjanam* a punishment inflicted on laymen for unrighteous conduct towards the Order 45.31.

Corrections to the edition of the Cūlavamsa

For the published corrections, see Cūlavamsa, translation, II, p. 357—360. (Cf. Cūlavamsa, trsl., I, p. 349—350; Cūlavamsa, ed., II, p. 658).

Vol. I

- p. XV, l. 10. Add: *bhīndantaṃ* 51.54.
 p. XVII. Expunge l. 22—34 (from: 1. Ch. 37, v. 100 ab . . . to: predecessor).
 37.81 d (p. 5). Read: *sayamkataṃ*.
 37.100 b (p. 7). Read: *bhātū tassa kavitthako*. [See above, p. 234 and 247.] In the note: *bhātū* S 3 or., 5, 6, 7, Ed.
 37.104 b (p. 7). Read: *Lankā*°.
 41.33 d (p. 40). Read: *datvā Puratthimaṃ*.
 41.49 c (p. 41). Read: *tatthāgā, aññamaññam*.—Add the note: 49c: *tathāgā* all mss.
 41.89 b (p. 46). Add the note: *vasaṃ* perhaps to be altered into *vasī*.
 41.100 d (p. 47). Expunge the full stop after *akarayī*.
 42.34 b (p. 51). Expunge the comma after *bandhanaṃ*.
 42.52 a (p. 52). In the note read *sakkositvāna* instead of *sakkosetvāna*.
 44.21 b (p. 56). Read: *ādiya* instead of *sohadam*. Add to the note: The mss. have *puttaṃ* 'maccam ca sohadam'. The verb which governs the acc. case is wanting. I believe that *sohadam* was a gloss by which *ādiya* was displaced.
 44.71 c (p. 61). Read: *Uttaram* instead of *uttaram*.
 44.123 (p. 66). See trsl. I, 86, n. 1.
 p. 90. Put the head-line in brackets: [*Aṭṭhacattūrisatimo paricchedo*.]
 49.14 d (p. 107). Expunge the full stop after *dāpayi*.
 49.16 b (p. 107). Add in the note: *koṭṭhāgāmaṃ* Ed.
 51.88 d (p. 132). Read: *Kuṭṭhakanāmakō* and add in the note: *tutthaka*° mss (cf. trsl. I, 156, n. 2).
 61.40 b (p. 196). Read: *tena rājinā* and add in the note: *rājinā* Ed., *rājino* mss. (cf. trsl. I, 228, n. 6).
 70.248 b (p. 281). Read: *vaḍḍhattaṃ* instead of *vuddhattaṃ*.
 70.284 c (p. 284). Add in the note: But cf. v. 301.
 72.141 a (p. 305). Read: *mahāratṭha*° instead of *Mahāratṭha*° (cf. correction to trsl. I, 333, note 3).
 72.152 d (p. 306). Read: °*viññeyyakopaggi paccabhās' ato* instead of °*viññeyyakopaggi-pātubhāvato*. Cf. trsl. I, 334, n. 4.
 72.170 d (p. 308). Read: *Kālavāpiyaṃ* instead of *Kālavāpiyaṃ*.

Vol. II

- 73.2 (p. 323). Add in the note: Cf. v. 126.
 76.14 c (p. 381). Add after: -*ānugaṃ* Ed. alone: Thus also BUDDHADATTA (letter, 4.5.31).
 76.18 b (p. 381). Cf. Additions to the trsl., above p. 248.
 78.77 b (p. 431). Add in the note after: °*ratanam pari*° S 1, 2, 3, 4, 7 and BUDDHADATTA.
 85.41 d (p. 475). Read: *nabhaṃ tāraṅkitaṃ viya*. Read in the note: d: *tāraṅkitaṃ* BUDDHADATTA, *tāraṅkitaṃ* S 3°, 6; *tāraṅkitaṃ* S 1, 2, 3or., 4, 7.

- 85.80 d (p. 478). Add in the note: *sampattā* BUDDHADATTA.
 87.3 c (p. 487). Read: *Nātha*° instead of *nātha*°.
 90.63 d (p. 514). Add in the note: Cf. COBRINGTON, Ceylon Ant. and Lit. Reg. X (1924).
 p. 91.
 95.19 d (p. 532). Read: *dayāy*' instead of *dāyāy*'.
 97.28 d (p. 540). Read in the note: °*jakehi ca* Ed. alone, instead of °*jātakehi ca*.
 98.24 b (p. 545). Read: *Catubhāṇa*°.
 p. 595, col. 2, line 14. Add: *Āyubbedā* 73.42.
 p. 596, col. 2, l. 35. Expunge "god Viṣṇu".
 p. 597, col. 2, l. 22. Kaḍakkuda, general of PB 75.181 is the same as K., general of king Gajabāhu 70.143 etc.
 p. 597, col. 2, l. 43. Read: Kaṇhanadī, a river, 53.20.
 p. 600, col. 2. Read Kuṇappunallura instead of Kunapunallura and put the article after l. 15.
 p. 601, col. 2, l. 6. Add: 70.66; 72.2, 5, 6.
 p. 603, col. 2. Add: *Catubhānavāra*, paritta book 98.24.
 p. 605, col. 1, ult. Read: 82.27 instead of 82.87.
 p. 607, col. 2. Expunge 88.22 at the end of the article *Dakkhīnadesa*.
 p. 609, col. 2. Read: *Devappatirāja*, minister of Parakkamabāhu II. 84.4, 18, 37, 58.
 p. 610, col. 2. Read: *Nakāranibiḷupa*, a D. chief 77.75, instead of *Nakānibiḷu*.
 p. 611, col. 1. Add to the article *Navayojanaraṭṭha*: 75.72.
 p. 611, col. 1. Read: *Nātha*, the Bodhisatta *Avalokiteśvara* 87.3; 97.46; 99.42; 100.248, instead of *Nāthadeva*, the god *Viṣṇu*.
 p. 612, col. 1. Add to the article *Pamsukūli* etc.: (Cf. Mem. Arch. Surv. Ceylon I, 1924, p. 45).
 p. 612, col. 2. Insert the article: *Paṇḍurāja*, *Mittā*'s husband 59.41.
 p. 614, col. 2. Insert: *Pubbakattikā*, n. of a month 37.68.
 p. 615, col. 1, ult. Insert: *Phussa*, n. of a month 39.37.
 p. 616, col. 2, ult. Insert: in *Hatthigiri* before 88.59.
 p. 617, col. 2, l. 2. Add: 74.165.
 p. 618, col. 2. Add to *Mahākassapa*: 85.80.
 p. 619, col. 2. Add in the article *Mahāpāli*: 44.134; and: (cf. Mem Arch. Surv. Ceylon III 1936, p. 24 ff.)
 p. 620, col. 2. Add to *Mahinda* 18: 70.214.
 p. 621, col. 1. Read in the article *Māgha* 81.8 instead of 81.7.
 p. 623, col. 2. Add to *Rajatavihāra*: 100.282.
 p. 623, col. 2. Expunge the article *Ratanavihāra*.
 p. 628, col. 1. Add to *Vijayasundara*: (85.90).
 p. 631, col. 1. The article *Sirivaḍḍhana*(pura) should run thus: 1) a town near *Jambuddoṇi* 85.1, 4, 31, 60, 98; 2) = *Kandy* 92.7; 94.6, 16; 95.16, 18 etc.
 p. 631, col. 2. Add to *Sirivijayasundara*: (81.51).
 p. 632, col. 1, *Sihalā*. Add: 37.62.
 p. 632, col. 2, l. 1. Expunge 37.62.—l. 2. Expunge: 102, 104, 105.—l. 5. Expunge: 83.10.—l. 8. Add: *Sihalapāṭava*, *Sihalāsi* 72.102—105.
 p. 632, col. 2. Add: *Sunetraparivena*, a monastic building 91.24.
 p. 633, col. 1. Read: *Seṅkhaṇḍa-Sirivaḍḍhana* = 2) *Sirivaḍḍhana* 92.7.
 p. 633, col. 1, ult. Read: *Seṭṭhivāpi*, a tank 68.43.
 p. 643. Add to *ḍāmara* . . . : Cp. *ḍāmara* *Mahāvastu* I 36², III 125¹⁴.
 p. 649. *makaraddhaja*, n. of the god of love 101.12.
 p. 654. *sāragandha*, s. m., sandal-wood 100.196.—skr. *sāragandha*.

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Abbreviations

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INDICES

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Addenda et Corrigenda

- p. 6, 1. 9. Read: Aruvi-āru.
 ✓ p. 32, note 1. Add: For castes in the Janavamsa, see also M. B. ARIYAPALA, Society in Mediaeval Ceylon, p. 290 sq.
 p. 62 sq. For Sinhalese drama, see E. R. SARATHCHANDRA, The Sinhalese Folk Play, Colombo 1953.
 p. 67—69, note 2. Add: See also, D. E. HETTIARATCHI, Vesaturu-dā-sannu, Colombo 1950, Introduction.
 p. 73, 1.9 sq. Daḷadāsirita (ed. by V. SORATA Nāyakathera, Colombo 1955) seems to be a book of the 14th century. It contains the history of the Tooth Relic and the ritual to be performed in the shrine of this relic.
 p. 83. Add a note: For the *navandannō* caste in the Kandyan kingdom, see H. W. COBRINGTON, The Kandyan Navandanno, JRAS, C. B., XXI, No. 62, p. 221 sq.; Ralph PIERIS, Sinhalese Social Organization, p. 181 sq.
 p. 160. See also W. GEIGER, Hūniyam: Aufsätze . . . Ernst Kuhn gewidmet, Breslau 1916, p. 185 sq.
 p. 235. Insert: Correction to Cūlavamsa transl., p. 21, 1.6—8 (37.206). Read: but after sunrise he had burnt the corpse as if (he) full of wrath (would burn) the criminal.
 p. 259 (Abbreviations). Add: Abhp = Abhidhānappadīpikā by Moggallāna Thera, ed. W. SUBHŪTI, 5th ed., Colombo 1938.





