

ROBE AND PLOUGH

Monasticism and Economic Interest
in Early Medieval Sri Lanka

R. A. L. H. Gunawardana

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The Association for Asian Studies: Monographs and Papers, No. XXXV.

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ROBE AND PLOUGH

Monasticism and Economic Interest in
Early Medieval Sri Lanka

by

R. A. L. H. GUNAWARDANA

Published for The Association for Asian Studies by
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA PRESS
TUCSON ARIZONA

About the Author...

R. A. L. H. GUNAWARDANA took his first degree at the University of Sri Lanka and his doctorate at the University of London. He did post-doctoral research in Cambridge as a Commonwealth Fellow affiliated to Gonville and Caius College and, subsequently, in Oxford as Visiting Fellow at Corpus Christi College. He is at present Associate Professor of History at the Peradeniya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka.

The publication of this volume has been largely financed from a revolving fund initially established by a generous grant from the Asia Foundation to the Association for Asian Studies to assist in the publication of works by distinguished Asian scholars.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA PRESS

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Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Gunawardana, R. A. L. H.
Robe and plough.

(Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies; no. 35)
Based on doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of London.

Bibliography: p.
Includes index.

1. Monasticism and religious orders, Buddhist—Sri Lanka—History. 2. Buddhism and state—Sri Lanka—History. 3. Sri Lanka—History—To 1505. I. Association for Asian Studies. II. Title. III. Series: Association for Asian Studies. Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies; no. 35.
BQ6160.S72G86 294.3'65'095493 78-26090
ISBN 0-8165-0648-5
ISBN 0-8165-0647-7 pbk.

For

FDS
TGS and
VGS

294.365095193

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Preface

This book is based on a doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of London. It was at the insistence of several colleagues, particularly Professor Gananath Obeyesekere, that I began after a long delay to prepare it for publication. The original dissertation has now been substantially revised. In this book there is a considerable amount of new material (especially from inscriptions which have been published in more recent times) and certain problems of theoretical interest are discussed in much greater detail.

The method used in this book for transliterating terms and phrases from South Asian languages is well known to scholars studying this region, but there are certain notations which have to be explained since they are perhaps peculiar to Sri Lanka studies. The *ā* is pronounced as in "mat" while *ā̄*, the longer form of this vowel, is pronounced as in "lad." The two signs *ṁ* and *ṅ* are used to indicate the nasalization of the consonant which follows as in *ṁb* and *ṅd*.

Problems involved in the use of terms denoting regions also deserve mention here. Exactitude in the use of such terms has not always been possible since modern political divisions only rarely approximate early medieval political and cultural regions. For instance the term India has been used in this book in the sense of the Indian subcontinent and not to denote the area which comes within the current political division.

I owe a debt of gratitude to a number of scholars who helped me in numerous ways, in particular to Professor Padmanabh S. Jaini whose guidance was most valuable for ascertaining the meanings of difficult Pāli passages; Professor Hla Pe who showed a great deal of patience in answering my numerous queries and in explaining passages from Burmese inscriptions and chronicles; Mr. Wladimir Zwalf whose assistance I often sought to clarify meanings of passages from Sanskrit works; Professor D. J. Kalupahana, Dr. T. Rajapatirana and Dr. R. Handurukanda who always readily helped me by checking references in Chinese

and Tibetan sources; Dr. V. Kanapathipillai and Dr. C. P. D. Jayawardana who gave generously of their time to help me to unravel meanings of difficult passages from secondary sources in the German language; Dr. Lily de Silva who directed my attention to relevant information in the *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā Linatthavaṇṇanā*; and Dr. Bandula Karunatilaka who undertook the tedious task of preparing the index. I am specially grateful to Professor Paul Wheatley for the keen interest he showed in the publication of this book.

Dr. J. G. de Casparis of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, guided me in the preparation of my dissertation and helped greatly through constructive criticism to improve its quality. Professors Gananath Obeyesekere and W. J. F. La Brooy who read earlier drafts of this book and Professor Frank Reynolds who edited the book for the Association for Asian Studies made many useful suggestions for improvement. Ms. Elizabeth Shaw of the University of Arizona Press took great pains in patiently reading through the manuscript and helped to effect further improvements. While recording my profound appreciation of the enthusiastic assistance I received from all these individuals I wish to emphasize that I alone am responsible for any errors that a reader may detect: sometimes my obstinacy prevailed over their advice.

I had access to the extensive resources of the Libraries at the Universities of London, Cambridge and Oxford and at the British Museum when I was collecting material for this book. Mr. Ian Goonetilleke and his colleagues at the University Library, Peradeniya, took enormous trouble to help me in many ways. The courteous assistance I received at all these institutions is gratefully acknowledged.

Mr. E. V. Christian helped me to prepare the three maps which appear in this book. My wife shared the tiresome task of reading proofs. The University of Arizona Press and the Wesley Press handled the publication of this book expeditiously and efficiently. I am most grateful to them. Such quality as this book may possess will have been adversely affected and its publication long delayed but for the keen interest shown and the willing assistance given by all these and many more besides.

R. A. L. H. Gunawardana.

Peradeniya,
17 April 1978.

Abbreviations

<i>AIC</i>	<i>Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon</i> by Eduard Müller.
<i>Art. As.</i>	<i>Artibus Asiae.</i>
<i>ASC</i>	Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.
<i>ASCAR</i>	<i>Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.</i>
<i>ASI</i>	Archaeological Survey of India.
<i>ASIAR</i>	<i>Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India.</i>
<i>Abdhvk.</i>	<i>Abhidhammatthavikāsinī.</i>
<i>Abdhvt.</i>	<i>Abhidhammāvatāra.</i>
<i>Abhsngsny.</i>	<i>Abhidharmārthasaṅgrahasanyaya.</i>
<i>Atths.</i>	<i>Atthasālinī.</i>
<i>BEFEO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.</i>
<i>CALR</i>	<i>Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.</i>
<i>CCMT</i>	<i>Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times</i> by Wilhelm Geiger.
<i>CII</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.</i>
<i>CHJ</i>	<i>Ceylon Historical Journal.</i>
<i>CJHSS</i>	<i>Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies.</i>
<i>CJSG</i>	<i>Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G: Archaeology, Ethnology etc.</i>
<i>Cv.</i>	<i>Cūlavamsa.</i>
<i>DAG</i>	<i>Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya.</i>
<i>EI</i>	<i>Epigraphia Indica.</i>
<i>EZ</i>	<i>Epigraphia Zeylanica.</i>
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique.</i>
<i>JAG</i>	<i>Jātaka Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya.</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.</i>
<i>JRASCB</i>	<i>Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
<i>JRASCBNS</i>	<i>Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series.</i>
<i>Linattha.</i>	<i>Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā Linatthavaṇṇanā.</i>

<i>MASC</i>	<i>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.</i>
<i>MASI</i>	<i>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.</i>
<i>MRE</i>	<i>Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras.</i>
<i>Muṭ.</i>	<i>Mūlaṭīkā.</i>
<i>Mv.</i>	<i>Mahāvamsa.</i>
<i>Niks.</i>	<i>Nikāyasaṅgrahaya.</i>
<i>Pjv.</i>	<i>Pūjāvaliya.</i>
<i>Shsvp.</i>	<i>Sahassavatthupakarāṇa.</i>
<i>Sihvp.</i>	<i>Sīhalavatthupakarāṇa.</i>
<i>SII</i>	<i>South Indian Inscriptions.</i>
<i>Smhvnd.</i>	<i>Sammohavinodanī.</i>
<i>Smp.</i>	<i>Samantapāsādikā.</i>
<i>ŚSŚ</i>	<i>Śrī Sumaṅgala Śabdakoṣaya by Vālivīṭṭiye Sorata.</i>
<i>Sdhmpyn.</i>	<i>Saddhammopāyana.</i>
<i>Sumv.</i>	<i>Sumaṅgalavilasini.</i>
<i>TL</i>	<i>Tamil Lexicon.</i>
<i>UCHC</i>	<i>University of Ceylon History of Ceylon.</i>
<i>UCR</i>	<i>University of Ceylon Review.</i>
<i>Vap.</i>	<i>Vamsatthappakāsini.</i>
<i>Vimtv.</i>	<i>Vimativinodanī.</i>
<i>Vmg.</i>	<i>Vimuttimagga.</i>
<i>Vsm.</i>	<i>Visuddhimagga.</i>
<i>Vsmsn.</i>	<i>Visuddhi-nārgamahāsanyaya.</i>
<i>Vsmṭ.</i>	<i>Visuddhi-ṅgaṭīkā.</i>

Introduction

A detailed and continuous history of Buddhism is of particular importance for the proper understanding of the culture and history of Sri Lanka. For Buddhism has been closely linked with the social, cultural and even the political history of the vast majority of the inhabitants of this Asian island. The short historical accounts of Buddhism which appeared in the *Histoire du bouddhisme dans l'Inde* by H. Kern, published in 1903, and in Charles Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism*, published in 1921, are among the most noteworthy pioneer works in this field. G. P. Malalasekera dealt with an important aspect of the activities of the Sinhalese *saṅgha* in his *Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, published in 1928. In a paper on "Mahāyānism in Ceylon" published in the same year in the *Ceylon Journal of Science*, S. Paranavitana examined the evidence from literary sources and the archaeological material available at the time on the prevalence of Mahāyāna and Tantric ideas and practices in the island. This study remains one of the most valuable contributions on the subject.

The task of writing a systematic history of Buddhism was begun by E. W. Adikaram, whose doctoral thesis, the *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, was published in 1946. He based his research mainly on the commentarial works on the Pāli Canon, datable to the fifth century A.D. Ten years later the work was taken up by another scholar, Walpola Rahula. His *History of Buddhism in Ceylon (3rd century B.C.—10th century A.D.)*, though handicapped by his attempt to cover such a vast span of time, demonstrates research into a greater variety of sources and a more comprehensive treatment of the subject than is evident in the work of his predecessor.

The last two decades did not witness the publication of any other systematic history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, but the subject has received the attention of some scholars. In a paper published in 1955 in a special issue of the *Ceylon Historical Journal* V. Pandita outlined the history of

Buddhism in the "Polonnaruva Period." In his excellent work, *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule*, published in the same year, André Bareau made a detailed exposition of the main tenets of the Mahāvihāra and investigated certain aspects of the doctrinal differences which were found among the three *nikāyas* of Sinhalese Buddhism. Five years later Heinz Bechert brought out a posthumous publication of a study by Wilhelm Geiger entitled *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*. This work contains a section on "Religion and Culture" in which Geiger brings together a fair amount of material from a variety of sources. In the sections devoted to Buddhism in the *History of Ceylon* sponsored by the University of Sri Lanka, S. Paranavitana outlined the main developments in the history of Buddhism up to the sixteenth century. In 1967 N. Mudiyanse published a monograph entitled *Mahāyāna Monuments in Ceylon* in which he examined archaeological materials which reflect the influence of Mahāyāna Buddhism. More recently, in a work entitled *Śrī Lamkāvē Saṅgha Saṃvidhānaya* (1974), M. Rohanadheera has attempted to trace the history of the organization of the Buddhist *saṅgha* in the island from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth.

In addition to the works mentioned above, there are some unpublished monographs which have a direct bearing on the history of the *saṅgha* during the period covered in the present study. The *Institutions of Ancient Ceylon from Inscriptions (3rd century B.C.—10th century A.D.)* by L. S. Perera, a doctoral thesis presented to the University of Ceylon, is of particular importance. In this useful work Perera examines in considerable detail some of the institutional aspects of Buddhism. In her doctoral thesis, *The Age of Parākramabāhu I*, Sirima Wickremasinghe assesses the contribution of this king to the development of Buddhism and gives an account of the religious buildings erected under his patronage. W. M. K. Wijetunga investigated the social and religious conditions during the period of Coḷa rule in a dissertation entitled *The Rise and Decline of Coḷa Power in Ceylon*. Though it was beyond the scope of these works to make a detailed examination of the history of the *saṅgha*, they form a reliable basis for further research and outline many interesting problems.

Most works on the ancient and medieval history of Sri Lanka have adopted a scheme of periodization based upon the location of the capital of the Sinhalese kingdom; the pre-colonial history of the island is thus divided into eight periods: Anurādhapura, Polonnaruva, Dambadeniya, Kurunāgala, Gampola, Kōṭṭe, Sītāvaka and Kandy. The present writer began his research with the intention of writing a history of Buddhism in the "Polonnaruva Period," but, during the course of his work, he became convinced of the inadequacy of this scheme of periodization. It

became increasingly clear that some of the significant changes in the organization of the Buddhist *saṅgha* in the twelfth century would become understandable only when examined in the context of developments noticeable in the latter part of the "Anurādhapura Period." Hence, in defiance of the traditional chronological categories, it was decided to include the last two centuries of the Anurādhapura kingdom and the period of the Polonnaruva kingdom within the chronological limits of the present study.

The period covered in the present work ranges from the reign of Sena I (A.D. 833-853), which witnessed an event of considerable significance in the history of Buddhism in the island, to the invasion of Māgha in the thirteenth century, an event which marked a turning point in the history of Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese civilization in the "Dry Zone" did not recover from the effects of the troubled times which followed the invasion of Māgha. The consequent shift of the centers of political and cultural activity to the "Wet Zone" also meant a radical change in the methods of agricultural production. This change entailed a shift from cultivation dependent on large-scale irrigation works to rain-fed agriculture in the high-rainfall areas. The fortunes of the *saṅgha* were seriously eroded during the time of political turmoil following the invasion of Māgha. The chroniclers give moving accounts of the destruction wrought by the invaders and of their persecution of Buddhism which forced many monks to flee from the island.

During the four centuries between the reign of Sena I and the invasion of Māgha, the hydraulic civilization of Sri Lanka reached its zenith. The irrigation complexes completed during this period turned the plains of the "Dry Zone" into an intensively cultivated region which produced a surplus capable of supporting a mature and complex civilization. The prosperity of the period is reflected in the munificent patronage that the *saṅgha* received from both the royalty and the nobility. During this period the influence of Buddhism was generally decreasing in South Asia. Particularly in South India, Buddhism, like Jainism, was losing ground to a dynamic and militant type of Hinduism. It continued to thrive at a few centers in India, but even these were subsequently overwhelmed by the tempestuous sweep of Islam. It was only in the two small kingdoms of Nepal and Sri Lanka that Buddhism remained dominant. In both these areas the strong patronage it received from ruling groups was a vital factor behind Buddhism's capacity to survive and flourish.

In Sri Lanka the patronage which Buddhism received enabled the monasteries to become more independent. From as early as the second century B.C., monasteries in the island had benefited from grants of land, irrigation works and other sources of income made by their many wealthy

patrons, and, by the ninth century, they had accumulated considerable holdings of land and property of other sorts. Inscriptions from the ninth and tenth centuries in particular reveal an extremely important development. At this time the fiscal rights and the administrative and judicial authority that the king had traditionally enjoyed over the property of the *saṅgha* were transferred to the monastic authorities. As a result of these grants of "immunity," many monastic estates became out of bounds to royal officials. The autonomy that monasteries began to enjoy in the administration of their estates gave rise to certain new features in Sri Lankan society which attain their mature form in the later medieval period. The present study examines the extent and nature of the *saṅgha's* ownership of property, the organization evolved to carry out the functions that the possession of property and administrative authority involved, and the changes that these new developments brought to the life of the *saṅgha* and to their relations with the laity. It brings to light the organizational and, particularly, the economic aspects of Buddhism which have not received adequate attention in previous works on the religious history of the island.

The ninth and the tenth centuries also witnessed the later stages of an important development in the history of Buddhism in South and Southeast Asia. This was the expansion of the Tantric teachings propounded and systematized primarily at centers of Buddhist learning in the Eastern regions of India. Similarly, the twelfth century marked an important stage of another equally if not more significant movement in the expansion of Sinhalese Theravāda which brought Sri Lanka into prominence as a source of inspiration to the Buddhists of Southeast Asia. In the context of these developments, the relations that the Sinhalese *saṅgha* maintained with the Buddhist communities in lands bordering the Bay of Bengal form a very important aspect of their history.

Perhaps the most significant event in the history of Buddhism in the island during this period was the establishment, for the first time in the Buddhist world, of a unified order of the *saṅgha* for the whole country. This reform, which received enthusiastic assistance from King Parākramabāhu I (A.D. 1153-1186), brought under a common leadership the clerical community which had remained divided into several independent factions for more than a millennium. In the ninth and tenth centuries the three *nikāyas* of the Sinhalese *saṅgha* were at the highest point of their organizational development. The *nikāya* division cut across the structure of the *saṅgha* to create three groups of clerics who accepted the leadership of three monasteries at the capital—the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana. This study examines the organization of the *saṅgha* in the ninth and tenth centuries in order to ascertain the bases of these

divisions and to inquire into the subsequent developments which made unification possible. On the basis of these investigations an attempt will be made to assess the nature and the significance of this unification.

The study of these problems is based primarily on material derived from the Pāli and Sinhalese chronicles and from archaeological sources. The chronicles provide a fairly detailed and continuous account of the history of the *saṅgha* which, at times, is supplemented by inscriptions. The commentarial and sub-commentarial works on the Pāli Canon and contemporary literary works provide additional information and help to clarify some of the problems raised by these sources. Almost all these literary sources, being works of monks, concern themselves with the history of the *saṅgha*. Yet, it is noteworthy that they represent, with only two exceptions, the works of the Mahāvihāra. In compiling the history of the other two *nikāyas*, one is placed in the unenviable position of dependence on the incidental references and prejudiced remarks in these works.

Inscriptional evidence only partly compensates for deficiencies in the literary sources, and furthermore, a large number of inscriptions still await publication. Also, many of the published records await careful editing and much-needed interpretation. This has been attempted wherever possible, and the aid of contemporary literary sources has been sought as an aid to interpretation. In addition to these sources, Tibetan, Burmese and Chinese chronicles, certain manuscripts found in Tibet and Nepal, and epigraphic records from India, Burma and Java provide valuable information on Buddhism in Sri Lanka and on the relations that the Sinhalese *saṅgha* maintained with other Buddhist communities of South and Southeast Asia. The historian who tries to utilize the information available in this variety of sources finds it an exacting but rewarding task; it is remarkable, for instance, that in the whole of South and Southeast Asia, it is only in Sri Lanka that detailed information is available on the organizational and economic aspects of the history of the Buddhist *saṅgha* during the period under consideration.



The Structure of the Saṅgha

The division of the Sinhalese *saṅgha* into three groups called *nikāyas* led by three large monasteries at the capital—the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagirivihāra and the Jetavanavihāra—had become, by the ninth century, one of the most important features of Buddhist clerical organization in Sri Lanka. Vinitadeva, the Indian Buddhist scholar who lived in the eighth century, was aware of this threefold division. The lists of Buddhist *nikāyas* in his work and in the *Varṣāgrapr̥cchāsūtra*, translated into Tibetan in the eleventh century, refer to the Mahāvihāravāsins, the Abhayagirivāsins and the Jetavanīyas as the three divisions of the Theravāda.¹ The schisms which led to the emergence of the three *nikāyas* had taken place many centuries earlier; in fact, the first schism in Sinhalese Buddhism was in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (89-77 B.C.). But, for a long time, the *nikāyas* represented little more than rival factions of monks within the capital. From about the fifth century monasteries in different parts of the island are described in inscriptional and literary sources as belonging to one of the three *nikāyas*, and in the ninth and tenth centuries, the authority and the organizational strength of the *nikāyas* reached a high point.

The term *nikāya* originally meant “group” or “collection” and was specifically used to denote classified groups of *sūtras* in the Buddhist Canon. Later on it acquired the secondary meaning of “a group of monks who subscribed to a particular interpretation of the teachings of the Buddha.” In this sense the terms “school” and “sect” have been used to translate *nikāya*. In Sri Lanka the term seems to have acquired some additional meanings. Two of its derivatives are found in inscriptions, and of these two, *nakā* and *nakay*, the former has been sometimes used to denote larger monastic complexes like the Cetiyagirivihāra at

1. See André Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule*, Saigon, 1955, pp. 24-7

Mihintale.² But all three terms were more often used in the records of the ninth and tenth centuries to refer to a collection of monasteries which accepted the leadership and, in certain instances, the supervisory control of one of the main monasteries at the capital.

The Mahāvihāra Nikāya

The Mahāvihāra or the "Great Monastery," renowned in legend for its association with Mahinda, had within its precincts a number of objects and monuments held in great veneration by all Buddhists. The foremost among these were the Bo Tree brought from Buddha Gayā and the Mahāthūpa which was built by the warrior-king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and his successor Saddhātissa. A series of commentators, the most well known being Buddhaghosa, codified and systematized interpretations of the Pāli Canon as propounded by teachers of the Mahāvihāra. Since both the Canon and the Commentaries of the Mahāvihāra have survived to the present day, its teachings have been studied in detail by modern scholars. André Bareau has selected two hundred and thirty-two theses as representative of the doctrinal position of the Mahāvihāra.³ It was the contention of the followers of the Mahāvihāra that they alone represented the true Theravāda tradition and that the followers of the other two *nikāyas* were schismatics. In their chronicles the Mahāvihāravāsins usually refer to themselves as Theriyā and Theravādino. These names are, however, equally applicable to the members of the other two *nikāyas*.⁴

In the ninth and tenth centuries, the Mahāvihāra received consistent patronage. Substantial additions were made to the number of buildings within its precincts during this period. Chronicles and inscriptions also record many instances of restorative work undertaken by the patrons of this monastery. Sena I (833-853) built the Saṅghasenaparivena.⁵ His successor, Sena II, restored the Lohapāsāda and made sufficient endowments to maintain thirty-two monks. He also repaired the conduit which conveyed water to the Bo Tree.⁶ Sena, a general under Kassapa IV (898-914), built the Samuddagiri-parivena, while the Chief Scribe, also called Sena, built the Mahālekha-pabbata-parivena.⁷ The next king, Kassapa V, restored the Ganthakāra-parivena,⁸ and his sister Saṅghā

2. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 92, *l.* A20; Vol. II, p. 61, *ll.* A23-4; Vol. III, p. 222, *l.* B11.

3. Bareau, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-41.

4. See *supra* p. 7.

5. *Cv.* 50. 70.

6. *Cv.* 51. 69, 71, 78.

7. *Cv.* 52. 21, 33,

8. *Cv.* 52. 27.

repaired the Lohapāsāda and crowned it with a pinnacle.⁹ In an inscription at the Abhayagiri monastery, a king, identified as Mahinda IV (956-972), claims to have constructed the Māra wall near the Mahāthūpa and to have repaired the bronze work of the Ruvanpahā (Ratanapāsāda) at the Mahāvihāra.¹⁰ Kuṭṭhaka, a general serving under Sena V (972-982), built the Senasenāpati-parivena.¹¹ The term *parivena* originally meant "cell" but, by the period under consideration, it had acquired an extended meaning. In the *Sārattha-dīpanī*, it is defined as a group of residences for monks, enclosed within its own boundary wall but situated within the precincts of a large monastery (*mahāvihāra*).¹² Sometimes the *parivena* was situated not within the boundary of the main monastery to which it was affiliated, but at a considerable distance from it. From the contexts in which the term occurs it would seem that the *parivena* denoted an institution comparable to the monastic college of medieval Europe. Prolific building activity, indicated by the evidence cited above, is convincing proof that the Mahāvihāra received patronage from both the royal family and the nobility during the ninth and tenth centuries.

Unfortunately, archaeological evidence from the site of the Mahāvihāra adds very little to our knowledge of its history.¹³ The ruins of this monastery suffered heavily during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early decades of this century when it was plundered as a source of building material for a growing urban settlement. By the beginning of this century, H. C. P. Bell, the pioneer archaeologist, had unearthed thirteen groups of buildings within the monastic precincts. Though it seems likely that these ruins represent buildings which were in use in the period not long before the transfer of the capital to Polonnaruva, it is extremely difficult to arrive at a precise dating for them. Together, the groups of ruins at the Mahāvihāra form an impressive collection, but they seem to be less extensive than the ruins of the Abhayagiri monastery.

Three other monasteries at Anurādhapura, the Thūpārāma, the Mariccavaṭṭi-vihāra and the Issarasamaṇa-vihāra, looked to the Mahāvihāra for leadership. The *Mahāvamsa* mentions that in the reign of Mahāsena the opponents of the Mahāvihāra attempted to destroy the Thūpārāma, presumably because of its partiality towards the Mahāvihāra. It was only through resort to intrigue and even assassination that it was

9. *Pjv.* p. 103.

10. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 222, l. 23.

11. *Cv.* 51. 88.

12. *Sārattha-dīpanī*, ed. B. Devarakkhita, Colombo, 1914, p. 510.

13. *ASCAR*, 1898, pp. 1-3; 1899, pp. 1-2; 1900, pp. 1-4; 1901, pp. 1-5. For a discussion about the identification of the sites of the three monasteries, see H. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, London, 1909, pp. 291-311 and *ASCAR*, 1954, pp. 11-2.

saved.¹⁴ In the reign of Aggabodhi I (A.D. 571-604), the renowned Jotipāla of the Mahāvihāra faction, who vanquished its opponents in debate, was responsible for persuading Aggabodhi I to repair the *stūpa* at this monastery.¹⁵ In the ninth and tenth centuries, the Thūpārāma was enthusiastically patronized. Udaya II (887-898) as well as Sena and Rakkha, generals of Kassapa IV and Dappula IV (924-935) respectively, built new dwellings for monks.¹⁶ Under the patronage of Udaya II and Mahinda IV the *stūpa* at the Thūpārāma was covered with strips of gold and silver.¹⁷

The ruins of the Thūpārāma are found immediately to the south of the old city, between the city wall and the Mahāthūpa. In 1895 Bell discovered a wall enclosing a modest area where the main shrines of this monastery were situated. Apart from the *stūpa* and a shrine known today by the misnomer Daḷadā Māligāva (Temple of the Tooth), a monastic residence was found within these precincts. Immediately to the south of this group there is another enclosed precinct with a pond and the ruins of several buildings. "Judged by its basement ruins," Bell commented on one of these buildings, "no more handsome specimen of this type of shrine was ever erected at Anurādhapura."¹⁸ It is noteworthy that the exact boundary between the Mahāvihāra and the Thūpārāma cannot easily be traced. Bell seems to have thought that both these groups formed one complex: he called them "the Thūpārāma-Ruvanvēli ruins."¹⁹ Yet, it is clear from literary evidence that the Thūpārāma maintained its own identity and held its own ceremonies such as the *uposatha*, the monthly rite of confession for the community of monks.²⁰

It is not certain when the Mariccavaṭṭi monastery accepted the leadership of the Mahāvihāra. However, the detail and care with which the *Mahāvamsa* describes its foundation suggests that it was attached to this *nikāya*, at least by the time this chronicle was written.²¹ Certainly by the tenth century it was within the Mahāvihāra *nikāya*. The *Cūlavamsa* states that this monastery was renovated by Kassapa V (914-923), who found it in ruins (*naṭṭham*), and that he

14. *Mv.* 37. 26-8.

15. *Cv.* 42. 51-9.

16. *Cv.* 51. 129; 52. 16; 53.11.

17. *Cv.* 51.128; 54.42.

18. *ASCAR*, 1897, p. 2.

19. *ASCAR*, 1895, pp. 2-4; 1896, pp. 1-3; 1897, pp. 1-3; 1898, pp. 1-3. See also "Plan to Ruvanvēli Area", *ASCAR*, 1901.

20. See e.g. *Mv.* 34.39; 35.4; 36.107.

21. *Mv.* ch. 26.

granted it to five hundred monks of the Mahāvihāra (*theriya*) faction.²² The testimony of the chronicle is confirmed by an inscription set up by this king at the Abhayagiri monastery.²³ According to the chronicle, the Hair relic of the Buddha also was at the same monastery, and Mahinda IV built the Candanapāsāda to house it.²⁴

At present the ruins of the Mariccavaṭṭi monastery cover an area of about fifty acres. They comprise, apart from single buildings scattered over the precincts, fourteen groups of monastic residences arranged on three sides of the *stūpa* with the north side left open. Bell surmised that, according to the original arrangement, there were four groups of buildings on each of the three sides and two other groups which were added later, and he suggested that the central structure in one of these later groups was the dwelling which, according to the *Cūlavamsa*, was erected by Kassapa II in the seventh century.²⁵ It seems reasonable to infer, on the basis of the evidence in the *Cūlavamsa* and the inscription cited above, that the main ruins of the monastery are a fair indication of its extent after its renovation in the tenth century.

An inscription records an interesting episode which occurred in the ninth year of the reign of Mahinda IV (964) when the chief preceptor of the Mahāvihāra *nikāya* led a deputation of monks from the Isurameṇu Bo-Upulvan-Kasubgiri monastery to bring before the king a dispute which the monastery had with royal officials concerning its right to irrigate its fields with water from the Tissa reservoir.²⁶ This inscription was found at a group of ruins to the east of the Tissa reservoir.²⁷ It is evident from the information in this record that these ruins, known at present by the misnomer Vessagiri, must be identified with the Issarasamana (Isurameṇu) monastery. It is also clear that this monastery, represented today by ruins of unpretentious proportions (varying from caves bearing Brāhmi inscriptions from pre-Christian times to buildings which, like the inscriptions from the site, may date from the ninth and tenth centuries), belonged to the Māhavihāra *nikāya*.

It is only in the fifth century that we find a monastery outside the environs of the capital being granted to any one of the three *nikāyas*. The *Cūlavamsa* records that a monastery built at the Dhūmarakkha

22. *Cv.* 52.45-6.

23. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 46 l.6.

24. *Cv.* 54.40.

25. *ASCAR*, 1902, pp. 3-6; 1903, pp. 1-5; 1906, pp. 2-7 and plans.

26. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 33, ll. 8-13.

27. *ASCAR*, 1906, pp. 8-10; 1907, pp. 1-7.

mountain on the southern bank of the river Mahavāli was granted by Mahānāma (406-428) to the Mahāvihāra.²⁸ The chronicle also states that Dhātusena (455-574) granted thirty-six monasteries to the same faction. Eighteen of those were small (*khuddake*), and only the larger ones are mentioned by name. These are Kālavāpi, Koṭipassāva, Dakkhiṇāgiri, Vaḍḍha, Paṇṇavallakabhūta, Bhallātaka, Dhātusenapabbata, Maṅgana, Thūpaviṭṭhi, Dhātusena, Pācinakambaviṭṭhi, Antaramegiri, Aṭṭālidhātusena, Kassipiṭṭhika, Dāyagāma, Sālavāna, Vibhīšana and Bhillivāna.²⁹ As is evident from its name, the Kālavāpi monastery was most probably in the vicinity of the well-known reservoir of this name in the Kalāgam Palāta of the Anurādhapura District. Geiger located it at Avukana where the gigantic standing image of the Buddha has been found.³⁰ Since the inscriptions at the Avukana monastery testify to the existence of a monastery at the site even in the first century A.D., C. W. Nicholas was more inclined to identify the Kālavāpi monastery with the ruins at Vijitapura, situated at the northern end of the embankment of the Kālavāpi reservoir.³¹ Geiger also suggested that Dakkhiṇāgiri be identified with Mulkirigala in the Southern Province.³² However, it is more likely that it was in the Matale District. The Kaludiyapokuna inscription from this district identifies a ruined monastery found there as the Dakkiṇagirivehera.³³ Nicholas has located the Paṇṇavallakabhūta monastery in the Polonnaruva District and the Dhātusenapabbata and Pācinakambaviṭṭhi monasteries in the Anurādhapura District, but he has not provided a reasoned argument to support this conclusion.³⁴ He also suggested that three other monasteries—Maṅgana, Thūpaviṭṭhi and Dhātusena—should have been in the Jaffna District since the chronicle states that they were “in the north” (*uttare*).³⁵ On the other hand, it is also possible that by this phrase the chronicler merely meant the area to the north of the capital. Dāyagāma, Sālavāna, Vibhīšana and Bhillivāna are described as monasteries in Rohaṇa. If the last is the same as the Bilivana monastery which occurs in a fourth-century inscription from Kāraṃbagala, it should be located in the Hambantota District.³⁶ It is

28. *Cv.* 35.213.

29. *Cv.* 38.45-51.

30. *Cv.* trsl., Vol. I, p. 33, n. 3.

31. *JRASCBS*, Vol. VI, p. 166.

32. *Cv.* trsl., Vol. I, p. 33, n. 3.

33. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 258, ll. A56; p. 264, l. 10.

34. *JRASCBS*, Vol. VI, pp. 154, 159.

35. *Ibid.* p. 84.

36. *Ibid.* p. 67; *AIC*, No. 21a.

not possible to locate or to identify the other monasteries listed in the *Cūlavamsa*.

Though the *Cūlavamsa* would have us believe that all these monasteries were built by Dhātusena, there is evidence which suggests that some of them were merely rebuilt by him. The *Mahāvamsa* states that the Dakkhiṇāgiri monastery was built by Saddhātissa (137-119 B.C.);³⁷ and the Bilivana monastery was flourishing in the time of Sirimeghavanna (A.D. 301-328). If the Koṭipassāva monastery is the same as the Koṭipassāvana monastery which was granted by Mahānāma to the Abhayagiri *nikāya*,³⁸ it raises a question of special interest, for it would imply that Dhātusena renovated a monastery belonging to the Abhayagiri *nikāya* and gave it over to the followers of the Mahāvihāra. Such an act on the part of Dhātusena would not be very surprising since he tried to do something similar with regard to the Cetiyaṭṭhāra monastery.³⁹ However, it is also possible that by this time the monastery had been abandoned by the followers of the Abhayagiri *nikāya*. Another possible, though not very convincing, explanation would be that these references are to two different monasteries within the same village.

The chronicles provide yet another instance of a monastery being granted to the Mahāvihāra *nikāya*. During the reign of Kassapa IV, his general, Rakkha, built a monastery for the Mahāvihāravāsins in the village Savāraka.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine the location of this village.

More evidence on the geographical distribution of monasteries belonging to the Mahāvihāra *nikāya* is found in epigraphic records. Information in an inscription of Mahinda IV suggests that there was a monastery at Sigiri which accepted the leadership of the Mariccavṛṭṭi monastery.⁴¹ An inscription from Polonnaruva, dated in the eighth regnal year of Mahinda IV, refers to the Kuḷu Tisarad monastery in the Eastern Region (*pādum pas*) as being affiliated to the Mahāvihāra *nikāya* (*mahaveherā nakāhi bad*).⁴² It is probably identical with the Kūṭatissa monastery patronized by Sena II.⁴³ The record goes on to add that a hermitage in the village Kinigam belonged to the Kuḷu Tisarad monastery. Nicholas has pointed out that there is a village by this name in

37. *Mv.* 33.7.

38. *Cv.* 37.212.

39. See *infra* p. 19.

40. *Cv.* 52.31.

41. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 222, l. 28.

42. *Ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 49-57.

43. *Cv.* 51.74.

the Laggala Pallesiya Pattu, a territorial division within the Polonnaruva District.⁴⁴

A tenth-century record from Mayilagastoṭa in the Hambantoṭa District refers to a hermitage of the Mahāvihāra *nikāya* called Uḍa Tisa Pirivena.⁴⁵ It was situated on the left bank of the Kirindi river. Another inscription from Deṭagamuva, near Kataragama, dated in the reign of Dappula IV, records an award of privileges to a hermitage called the Kapugam Pirivena.⁴⁶ It was located on the right bank of the river Kapikandur which is known now as the Mānik Gaṅga. The phrase *mahaveher nakā uvanisā pihīṭi* is used in this inscription to describe this hermitage. Paranavitana translated this phrase as "situated in the vicinity of Mahaveher." The term *uvanisā* (Pāli *upanissāya*) could be translated as "near" as well as "dependent on." Hence it is possible to suggest that *mahaveher nakā* in this record denotes the Mahāvihāra *nikāya* and that the Kapugam hermitage was one of its dependent institutions.

It is evident from the preceding discussion that monasteries owing allegiance to the Mahāvihāra *nikāya* were spread over many different parts of the island. They can be traced to places as far apart as the environs of Polonnaruva in the east, Dakkhināgiri and Kinigam in the Matale District, and Kapugam, Uḍatisa and Bhillivāna in the far south. It is clear that monks of the Mahāvihāra, who in an earlier period had been merely one of the rival factions of monks at the capital, had, by this time, become a fraternity with an island-wide influence.

The Abhayagiri Nikāya

The Abhayagiri monastery, founded by Vaṭṭagāmanī (89-77 B.C.), was situated near the northern gate of the inner city. Hence it was also known by the name Uttaravihāra, "the Northern Monastery." The origin of the term Dhammarucikā, frequently used to designate its followers, is uncertain. According to the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* disciples of Dhammaruci, a monk of the Vajjiputtaka (Vātsiputriya) school, came from Pallarārāma in India to live at the Abhayagiri monastery. The monks of this monastery, who had by this time broken away from the Mahāvihāra, accepted his teachings and consequently were called Dhammarucikā.⁴⁷ However the authenticity of this account, which appears

44. *JRASCBS*, Vol. VI. p. 184.

45. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 57-63.

46. *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 219-25.

47. *Niks.* p. 13. Though Pallarārāma may well be a corrupt version of Pallavārāma, this incident is of too early a date to connect this name with the Pallavas.

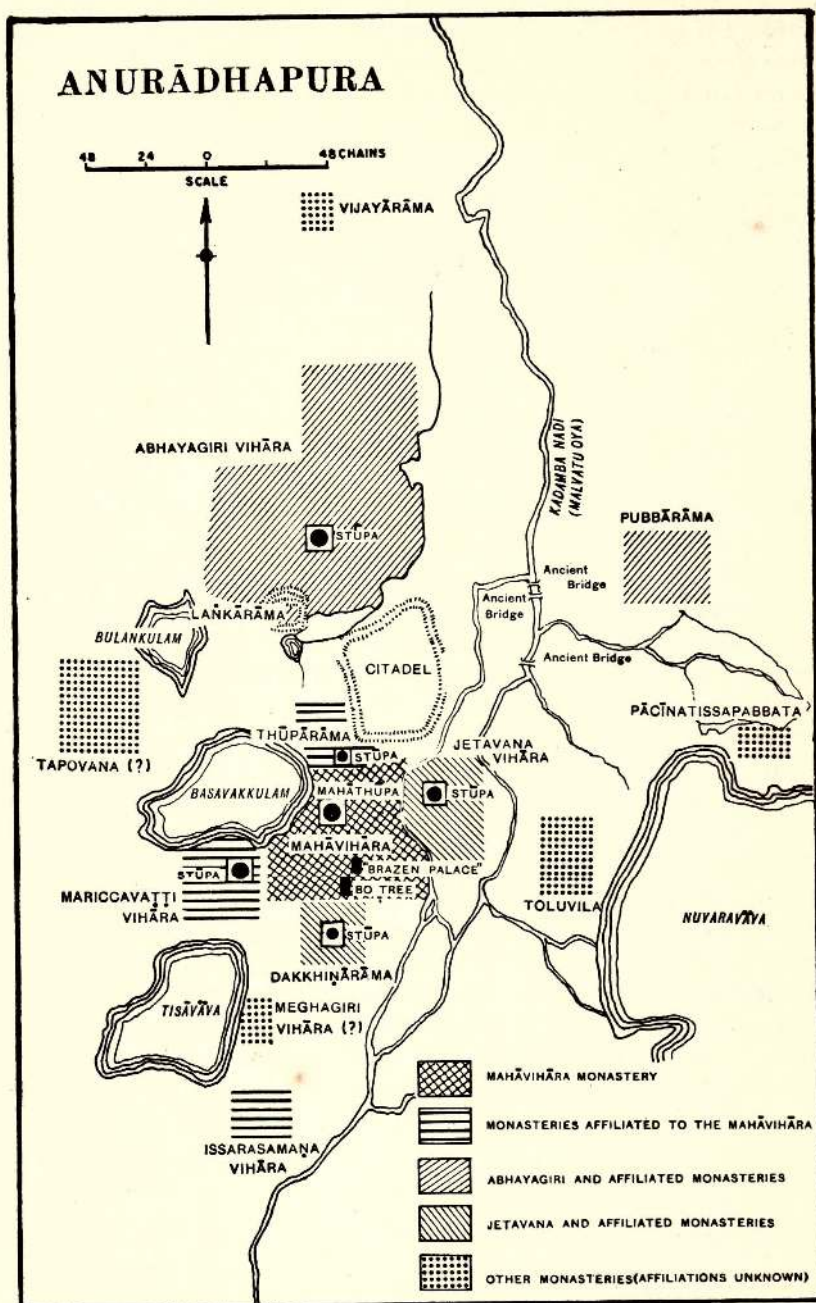


Fig. 1. Map of Anurādhapura showing the location of the principal monasteries.

only in a fourteenth-century chronicle, is by no means certain. It is also possible, as Bareau has pointed out,⁴⁸ that Dhammarucikā was an epithet adopted by the members of this *nikāya* since it means "those who take pleasure in the *dhamma*."

By the fifth century, the Abhayagiri monastery had surpassed the Mahāvihāra in membership. Fa-Hian states that at the time of his visit there were five thousand monks at this monastery while there were only three thousand at the Mahāvihāra.⁴⁹ The important cult objects and monuments within its precincts had elevated Abhayagiri to the position of one of the pre-eminent centers of Buddhist cultic activity. It had been vested with the custodianship of two important Buddhist relics—the Tooth relic and the Alms Bowl of the Buddha. According to Fa-Hian, the Bo Tree at this monastery was an offshoot of the Bo Tree in Mid-India or Madhyadesa and had been brought, like the better-known tree at the Mahāvihāra, by a deputation sent especially for this purpose. The main *stūpa* at this monastery, which, according to legend, had been built over a foot-impression of the Buddha, was larger than the Mahāthūpa at the Mahāvihāra.⁵⁰ It is evident from this description that the objects of mass religious activity at the Abhayagiri monastery rivalled those at the Mahāvihāra; moreover, it is likely that the liberal attitudes of the Abhayagiri monks towards the teachings of the non-Theravāda schools of Buddhism attracted many men of intellect from both the laity and the clergy.

The reputation of the Abhayagiri monastery as a center of Buddhist scholarship spread far beyond the shores of the island. In addition to the description of this monastery by Fa-Hian, the Chinese chronicles contain an account of a visit by another Buddhist scholar. Vajrabodhi, the famous teacher of the Vajrayāna, spent six months at Abhayagiri on his way from India to China.⁵¹ It is likely that Abhayagirivāsins were among the monks who, according to the *Sung Shi*, arrived in China in A.D. 428 with an epistle from the Sinhalese king T'sa-li Mo-ho-nan, identified as Mahānāma.⁵² (This is implied by the fact that the deputation is said to have taken with them "a model of the shrine of the Tooth" as a present for the Chinese emperor.)

48. Bareau, *op. cit.* p. 242.

49. Samuel Beal, *Chinese Accounts of India*, Calcutta, 1957, Vol. I, pp. 46, 49.

50. *Ibid.* pp. 46-7

51. *JRASC*, Vol. XXXIV, 1915-6, p. 88.

52. *Sung-Shi*, ch. 97. See *JRASC*, Vol. XXXIV, 1915-6, p. 107.

In A.D. 505 the *Vimuttimagga*, identified by P.C. Bagchi as a work of the Abhayagiri *nikāya*, was translated into Chinese by Seng-chie-po-lo (Saṅghapāla), a monk from Funan.⁵³ The existence in Central Java of a monastery named after the "Abhayagirivihāra of the Simhalas," as evident from an eighth-century inscription found in the Ratubaka plateau, is clear testimony to the fame that this monastery enjoyed in the Buddhist world.⁵⁴

The community of monks at the Abhayagiri monastery is described in glowing terms in two royal edicts from the tenth century, found within the precincts of this monastery.⁵⁵ According to those records, these monks constantly strove to conquer passion and to carefully observe the precepts, avoiding even the most trivial of transgressions. They were ready to lay down their lives for the preservation of the Buddhist order (*sasun*). Among them were scholars of great wisdom, endowed with the virtues of temperance, contentment and religious austerity, who were always engaged in literary pursuits. According to one of these edicts, a monk called Mahadāmi was the primate of the Dhammaruci *nikāya* at the time.

Both the chronicles and the inscriptions testify to the extensive patronage that the Abhayagiri monastery enjoyed during the ninth and tenth centuries. Sena I built the Viraṅkurārāma within its precincts and extended his patronage to the two fraternities Uttarāḷha and Kappūra.⁵⁶ The queen and the courtiers followed the king's example, and, as a result, four new colleges—Mahindasena, Uttarasena, Vajirasena and Rakkhasa—were added to the monastery.⁵⁷ Sena II restored the shrine of the stone image of the Buddha,⁵⁸ and Saṅghā, his queen, offered a diadem-jewel for this image and also built the Saṅghasenapabbata college.⁵⁹ Kassapa IV repaired the *stūpa* and built a residence for monks, named after himself,⁶⁰ and his general built the Dhammārāma.⁶¹ The next king, Kassapa V, erected the Silāmeghapabbata and Bhaṇḍika colleges

53. P. C. Bagchi, "On the Original Buddhism, its Canon and Language," *Sino-Indian Studies*, Vol. II, p. 113. See also Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine*, Paris, 1927, Vol. I, p. 418.

54. J. G. de Casparis, "New evidence on Cultural Relations between Java and Ceylon in Ancient Times," *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXXIV, 1962, pp. 241-8.

55. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 221, ll. 9-15; p. 237. ll. 56-60.

56. *Cv.* 50. 68, 77.

57. *Cv.* 50. 79, 83-4.

58. *Cv.* 51. 77.

59. *Cv.* 51. 86-7.

60. *Cv.* 52. 13; *Pjv.* p. 103.

61. *Cv.* 52. 17.

and repaired the shrine of the Bo Tree,⁶² and Sena III (938-946) paved the courtyard around the *stūpa*.⁶³ Both the *stūpa* and the shrine of the Bo Tree had to be restored once more in the time of Mahinda IV. This king claims that he also repaired the roof of a mansion erected at this monastery by an earlier king called Kassapa, built the Pusarbā dwelling, and adorned the image of Mahinda with rubies for the eyes and a net of gold for the feet.⁶⁴ This reference to the presence of an image of Mahinda at the Abhayagiri monastery suggests that, like the monks of the Mahāvihāra, the followers of this monastery claimed a close association with Mahinda including, perhaps, direct pupillary descent.

The popularity of the Abhayagiri monastery and the extensive patronage it received, which is indicated by literary and epigraphic sources, finds further confirmation in evidence brought to light by archaeological excavation and exploration.⁶⁵ The monastic complex at Abhayagiri is certainly the most extensive among all ruined monasteries in the island; its grounds extended over more than three hundred acres. A multitude of buildings, grouped around the main *stūpa* and situated close to each other, covered this entire area. Though for the most part, only their foundations remain, these foundations reveal a complex arrangement of many groups of symmetrically placed buildings. Each group is enclosed within its own boundary wall and has an attractive stone porch situated at the entrance, and pathways which traverse the monastic grounds connect these conclaves with one another. This layout reminds one of the definition of a *parivena* in the *Sārattha-dīpanī* and it would seem reasonable to identify these groups of buildings as the colleges of the Abhayagiri monastery.

The techniques adopted in the archaeological excavations carried out in the grounds of the Abhayagiri monastery do not enable one to distinguish different levels of occupation or to fix their chronological limits. But it is possible to form a rough idea concerning the date of the ruins on the basis of evidence from epigraphic records found at the site. A number of granite tablets bearing Sanskrit writings in a script of the Nāgarī type, datable to the ninth century, were discovered in the area to the southwest of the main *stūpa*.⁶⁶ Two more Sanskrit inscriptions, which have been assigned to the first half of the ninth century and to the

62. *Cv.* 52. 58.

63. *Cv.* 53. 33.

64. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 221. *ll.* 13-5.

65. See *ASCAR*, 1891, p. 21; 1894, p. 3; 1910-11, pp. 6-16; 1911-2, pp. 1-28.

66. *ASCAR*, 1940-5, p. 41.

tenth century, were found among the ruins to the north of the Twin Ponds, which have been identified as representing the site of the ancient Kapārā fraternity.⁶⁷ Scribblings on some of the *vousoir* bricks found at a hermitage to the north of the main *stūpa* belong to the tenth century.⁶⁸ Two inscriptions datable to the second half of the tenth century were found near the "Stone Canoe" by the Outer Circular Road to the west of the *stūpa*.⁶⁹ To the north of this site, by the "Stone Canopy," an edict of Kassapa V was found.⁷⁰ Another tenth-century inscription was discovered at yet another site.⁷¹ The distribution of these inscriptions over a wide area of the monastic grounds leads one to suppose that most of the ruins unearthed reflect the extent of the Abhayagiri monastery during the ninth and tenth centuries.

Though there is a wealth of information reflecting the extent of the Abhayagiri monastery and its influence at the capital, evidence on the geographical distribution of monasteries which accepted its leadership is disappointing. The most important monastery which came under the influence of this *nikāya* was the Cetiyaḡiri at Mihintale. According to the *Cūlavamsa*, the Dhammarucikas occupied this monastery during the time of the persecution of the Mahāvihāra by King Mahāsena.⁷² The establishment of its influence over one of the oldest centers of Buddhism in the island, hallowed by its association with Mahinda, would have marked a very important stage in the rise of the Abhayagiri *nikāya*. In the fifth century an attempt was made by King Dhātusena to hand back the Ambatthala *stūpa* at Cetiyaḡiri to the Mahāvihāra *nikāya*, but the Dhammarucikas successfully dissuaded him from doing so.⁷³ The ruins of the Cetiyaḡiri monastery spread over three hills—Ambatthala, Rājagiri and Ānaikutṭi—and into the valley below. At the time of Fa-Hian's visit the number of its inmates was estimated to be two thousand.⁷⁴ The monastery was patronized during the period under consideration by Sena II who built a hospital within its premises and by Kassapa IV who

67. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 1; Vol. V, Pt. 1, p. 162.

68. *ASCAR*, 1894, p. 3.

69. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 213, 230.

70. *Ibid.* p. 41.

71. *ASCAR*; 1940-5, p. 41.

72. *mahāvihāre pāpena mahāsenena nāsīte
vasiṃsu dhammarucikā bhikkhū cetiyapabbate. Cv. 38. 75.*

Geiger's translation which does not take into consideration the significance of the locative absolute construction of this strophe, does not seem to be accurate. *Cv.*, trsl., Vol. I, p. 37.

73. *Cv. 38. 76.*

74. Beal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 48.

added another hermitage to its many residences for monks.⁷⁵ In epigraphic records of the tenth century Cetiyaḡiri is mentioned as a monastery within the Abhayaḡiri *nikāya*. It is clear from these records that by this time the administration of Cetiyaḡiri had come under the close supervisory control of the monks of the Abhayaḡiri monastery.⁷⁶

While royal admirers of the Mahāvihāra like Dhātusena sometimes attempted to transfer control of monasteries belonging to the Abhayaḡiri to the former *nikāya*, there were followers of the Abhayaḡirivihāra who wished to extend the same sort of patronage to their favourite monastery. According to the *Cūlavamsa*, Dāḡhopatissa II (659-667) built the Tiputtulla monastery within the grounds of the Mahāvihāra and gave it to the Abhayaḡiri *nikāya*. This was done amidst vehement protests from the monks of the Mahāvihāra who decided to censure him publicly by not accepting alms from him.⁷⁷ The only other monastic residences in the vicinity of the capital which are known to have been affiliated to the Abhayaḡiri *nikāya* are the Pubbārāma and the "college" attached to it called Udā Kitagbo. The site of these dwellings can be identified with the Puḡiyankulam ruins, to the east of the Abhayaḡiri monastery.⁷⁸

Mahānāma built three monasteries—Lohadvāra, Ralaggāma and Koḡipassāvāna—for the Abhayaḡiri *nikāya*,⁷⁹ but it is not possible to locate them. Apparently there was another center of the Dhammarucikas at Sigiri. Kassapa I (473-491) who moved the capital to Sigiri granted them a monastery built in the Niyyanti park at this place.⁸⁰ The Daḡha and Dāḡhākondaḡḡa monasteries were built at Sigiri by Mogallāna I for the Dhammarucikas and the Sāgalikas.⁸¹ In a tenth-century inscription from the Abhayaḡiri monastery, the Sīḡirimahasā is mentioned as belonging to the Mirisaviḡivehera (Mariccavattivihāra),⁸² which, as we have seen, was associated with the Mahāvihāra. This raises two possibilities. One is that the monastery, after a period during which it had been abandoned, was granted to the Mahāvihāra by a later king. The other explanation is more acceptable. It is very likely that in addition to the monasteries built for the other two *nikāyas*, there was also a

75. Cv. 51. 73; 52. 18.

76. See *infra* p. 131.

77. Cv. 45. 29-33.

78. EZ, Vol. I, pp. 182-190; ASCAR, 1891, p. 3; 1896, p. 3; 1897, pp 4-6; 1898, pp. 3-4.

79. Cv. 37. 272.

80. Cv. 39. 14-5.

81. Cv. 39. 41.

82. EZ, Vol. I, p. 222, l. 28.

monastery of the Mahāvihāra *nikāya* at Sīgiri. A ninth-century record makes it clear that there were also monasteries which accepted the leadership of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* at Lahasikā and Huṇāla and, possibly, at Kīrā, Pallāya and Sunagrāma as well;⁸³ but it is not possible to determine in which part of the island these places were to be found. The only other monastery known to have come within the fold of this *nikāya* was at Buddhanehāla, forty-five miles to the north of Anurādhapura. It was a dependent institution under the control of the Cetiyaḡiri monastery at Mihintale.⁸⁴ But in spite of the occasional references which can be gleaned from the sources, the information on the geographical distribution of monasteries belonging to the Abhayagiri *nikāya* is much more scanty than that which is available concerning the Mahāvihāra.

The Teachings of the Abhayagiri Nikāya

The pioneer work of André Bareau⁸⁵ is the only systematic attempt made so far to determine the doctrinal position of the Abhayagiri *nikāya*. References to the teachings of this school are found scattered in at least nineteen literary works, but Bareau was able to utilize only a few of these. The present study attempts to bring together all these references in order to determine the points on which this important branch of the Sinhalese Theravāda differed from the Mahāvihāra.

The sources can be grouped chronologically under three headings. Five works attributed to Buddhaghosa, the *Visuddhimagga*, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, the *Atthasālinī*, the *Sammoha-vinodanī* and the *Samantapāsādikā*, may be grouped together with the *Abhidhammāvātāra* of Buddhadatta who is said to have been a junior contemporary of Buddhaghosa (ca. fifth century). The *Mūlaṡikā*, a sub-commentary on the *Abhidhamma*, the *Visuddhimagga-ṡikā*, the *Linatthavaṇṇanā* which is a sub-commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya*, and the *Vaṇṣatthappakāsinī* which is a commentary on the *Mahāvamsa*, fall into another somewhat later group. These two groups contain reports and comments of writers who lived at a time when the Abhayagiri *nikāya* was still in existence and thus they constitute the most valuable sources for the study of the subject.

Four of the works which belong to the third group—the *Sāratthadīpanī*, the *Vinaya-vinicchaya-saṅgaha* and its commentary, and the *Abhidharmārtha-saṅgraha-sanyaya*—were written by Sāriputta, the hierarch who lived in the time of Parākramabāhu I. The *Vimati-vinodanī* which, like

83. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 4, ll. 8-10.

84. *Ibid.* pp. 141-200.

85. Bareau, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-3.

the *Sārattha-dīpanī*, is a sub-commentary on the *Samantapāsādikā*, was written by Kassapa. The *Abhidhammatha-vikāsinī*, a commentary on the *Abhidhammāvātāra*, was written by Sumaṅgala who was a disciple of Sāriputta. These writings, together with the *Saddhammopāyana*, a general work on Buddhist teachings which has been assigned to the twelfth century,⁸⁶ and the *Visuddhimārga-mahā-sanyaya*, a Sinhalese sub-commentary on the *Visuddhimagga* which was written in the thirteenth century, form the third group.

All the works in the third group seem to have been written after the unification of the *saṅgha* in the reign of Parākramabāhu I. They refer to those teachings of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* which were evidently current at the time they were written. The fifth and sixth works in this group are of particular significance. The *Vimati-vinodanī* reveals that some of the views of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* had later come to be accepted by the teachers of the Mahāvihāra. The *Abhidhammatha-vikāsinī* contains references to certain views of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* which are not found in any of the other sources; some of them may have been propounded by the teachers of this *nikāya* after the period represented by the second group of literary works. The author of the *Saddharmālaṅkāra* who lived in the time of Bhuvanekabāhu V (A.D. 1372-1408) quotes from the *Saddhammopāyana* which he attributes to *Kavīcakravartī* Ānanda of the Abhayagiri monastery.⁸⁷ Thus, of all the sources mentioned above, the *Saddhammopāyana* is the only work which may be regarded as a product of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* itself. But the ideas expressed in this work do not differ from those in the works of the Mahāvihāra writers except on one minor point.⁸⁸

The *Vimuttimagga* of Upatissa and its relationship to the Abhayagiri *nikāya* deserves special consideration. Subsequent to the discovery of the Chinese translation of this work by M. Nagai,⁸⁹ G. Ratana-joti and K. Ratnapāla published an edition of a Pāli version which they had discovered at the Asgiri monastery at Kandy.⁹⁰ That section of this compendium, which deals with ascetic practices, was translated into Tibetan under the title *Vimuktimārga-dhutagaṇa-nirdeśa* (*Rnam-par grol-baḥilam-las Sbyaṅs-paḥi yon-tan bstan-pa zes bya-ba*) by a scholar named Vidyākara-prabhā who had been invited to Tibet by

86. G. P. Malalasekera, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, London, 1928, p. 212.

87. *Saddharmālaṅkāra*, ed. Bentara Saddhātissa, Pānadura, 1934, pp. 603-4.

88. See No. xiv on p. 29.

89. M. Nagai, "The *Vimuttimagga*, the Way to Deliverance: The Chinese Counterpart of the Pāli *Visuddhimagga*," *JPTS*, 1917-9, pp. 69-80.

90. *Vimuttimagga*, ed. Galkāṭṭiyāgama Siri Ratana-joti and Karaliyādde Siri Ratana-pāla, Colombo, 1963.

King Ralpa-chan in the ninth century.⁹¹ It differs in certain respects from the Pāli and Chinese versions, and it is likely, as the editor has remarked, that it contains many interpolations.⁹² Nagai identified the author of the *Vimuttimaggā* with the *thera* Upatissa who is mentioned in the *Samantapāsādikā* as a teacher of the Vinaya. He also suggested that the *Visuddhimaggā* was a revised version of the *Vimuttimaggā*. Malalasekera criticized this view because he believed it to be based on inadequate evidence.⁹³ Subsequently, in a detailed comparative study of the *Vimuttimaggā* and the *Visuddhimaggā*⁹⁴ P. V. Bapat has pointed out that, though these two works differ in the treatment of certain points of doctrine, there is a strong similarity between them in regard to the manner in which they classify their subject-matter, their use of common similes and examples, and even quotation of common doctrinal views. In the *Visuddhimaggā*, Buddhaghosa discusses and rejects nine doctrinal points which tally with views expressed in the *Vimuttimaggā*. The *Visuddhimaggā-ṭīkā* and *Visuddhimārga-mahā-sanyaya* attribute one of these views to "Upatissa, the author of the *Vimuttimaggā*," and specifically mention that in this particular passage Buddhaghosa was considering Upatissa's views.⁹⁵ Four of the views are attributed to the monks of the Abhayagirivihāra; the remaining four receive no comments in the *Visuddhimaggā-ṭīkā* or the later commentary. Bapat has suggested that the *Vimuttimaggā* was the earlier work, that Buddhaghosa would have used it as a model in writing the *Visuddhimaggā* and that "Upatissa must be supposed to have advocated the views which were later accepted by the Abhayagirivāsins."⁹⁶

P. C. Bagchi advanced the suggestion that the *Vimuttimaggā* and the *Visuddhimaggā* represent respectively the Abhayagiri and the Mahāvihāra recensions of a common original work.⁹⁷ The idea that the *Vimuttimaggā* is a work of the Abhayagirivāsins seems to have found acceptance among a number of scholars,⁹⁸ and it is quite likely that this was so. Nevertheless, in the present study, we have listed only those views which our sources have specifically attributed to the Abhayagirivāsins.

91. *Vimuktimārga-dhutagaṇa-nirdeśa*, ed. P. V. Bapat, Bombay, 1964.

92. *Ibid.* pp. 111-6.

93. Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-7.

94. P. V. Bapat, *Vimuttimaggā and Visuddhimaggā*, Poona, 1937.

95. *Vsmṭ.*, p. 113; *Vsmns.*, p. 246.

96. Bapat, *op. cit.*, pp. xlix, lvii-lix. See also *Vimuktimārgga-dhutagaṇa-nirdeśa*, p. xix.

97. P. C. Bagchi, "On the Original Buddhism, its Canon and Language," *Sino-Indian Studies*, Vol. I, p. 113.

98. See Bareau, *op. cit.*, p. 242; *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 390; *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Fasc. A-Aca, pp. 26-8.

None of the nineteen works mentioned earlier gives a systematic exposition of the views of the Abhayagiri *nikāya*; therefore evidence has to be drawn from incidental references in these works which cover a period of about eight centuries. It is natural that, over the course of such a long period, certain views of the school would change and become inconsistent with those which it had professed earlier. Moreover, all the major sources at our disposal are works of the rival school—the Mahāvihāra, and in almost all these instances the views of the Abhayagirivāsins have been cited solely in order to show their defects. Hence, the possibilities of omission and even distortion cannot be ruled out.

The origin of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* can be traced to disagreements on points of discipline. Mahātissa, for whom Vaṭṭagāmaṇī built the Abhayagiri monastery, was accused by the monks of the Mahāvihāra of a breach of discipline and consequently was expelled from the Order. It is not improbable that Mahātissa's popularity and the favored treatment he received from the king aroused the jealousy of his fellow monks. It is noteworthy that the accusation levelled against him stated that he "frequented lay families" (*kulasamsaggadosa*). At least there were some monks who disagreed with the general decision at the Mahāvihāra to expel Mahātissa. His disciple, also known as Mahātissa, left the Mahāvihāra in protest against the treatment meted out to his teacher, and this led to the formation of the rival faction at the Abhayagirivihāra.⁹⁹ The nature of this schism leads one to suppose that, at least in the initial period, the disagreements between these two factions centered on matters pertaining to interpretation of disciplinary rules. Commenting on this schism, the *Vamsatthappakāsini* states that the monks of the Abhayagiri monastery gave "variant readings and variant interpretations" to the Khandaka and Parivāra sections of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*.¹⁰⁰ This would imply that the Abhayagiri *nikāya* not only adhered to a different interpretation of the rules of monastic discipline, but also that it had its own recension of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*.

The *Samantapāsādikā* gives information about a discrepancy between the Mahāvihāra recension of the Suttavibhaṅga section of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and that of the Abhayagiri monastery. It is significant that the passage concerned dealt with a case of an expulsion from the Order. In the story of the nun Mettiyā, who is said to have unjustly accused the

99. *Mv.* 33. 95-8; *Niks.* pp. 14-5. It is not possible to trace *kulasamsaggadosa* in the *Vinaya*. The closest to this in meaning would be *gihisamsatṭha* (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. II, p. 4). Severe admonition (*tajjanīyakamma*) was prescribed for this particular violation of the codes of proper behaviour. Another more serious offense, *kuladūsakakamma*, was punishable by expulsion (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. III, pp. 184-5).

100. *bhagavato āhacca-bhāsita-vinayapīṭakato khandakaparivāraṃ atthantara pāṭhantara-karaṇa-vasena bhedaṃ katvā*. *Vap.*, Vol. I, pp. 175-6.

monk Dabba Mallaputta of having violated her chastity, the *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Mahāvihāra states that the Buddha questioned Dabba Mallaputta and, on his denial, ordered that Mettiyā be expelled from the Order. Clearly this account presents a problem. It implies that Mettiyā was punished before she was given a chance to defend herself or to confess her guilt. The Abhayagirivāsins possessed a version which stated that she was expelled "on her confession" (*sakāya paṭiññāya nāsitā*). In the reign of Bhātikatissa (A.D. 143-167) a dispute concerning the authenticity of the two versions arose among the monks of the two monasteries. The *Samantapāsādikā* records that the minister Dīghakārāyana, who was appointed to inquire into the dispute, gave his verdict in favor of the Mahāvihāra, though the reasoning behind this verdict is not clear.¹⁰¹

During the reign of Mahāsena (A.D. 274-301) the monks of the Abhayagiri monastery accused the residents of the Mahāvihāra of being "undisciplined," citing their use of ivory fans, their practice of conferring the Ordination by messenger and their practice of reckoning the qualifying age for Ordination from the date of conception to back up their charge.¹⁰² They also disagreed with the monks of the Mahāvihāra on the method of fixing ceremonial boundaries (*simā*) and the propriety of spitting on the ground during morning ablutions. The *Vamsatthappakāsini* cites the authority of the Mahāvagga and Cullavagga sections of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* to vindicate the Mahāvihāra's position.¹⁰³ Presumably the Abhayagiri's recension of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* differed on these points.

The propriety of using a stand (*ādhāraka*) to accept offerings of food was another point of controversy between the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagirivihāra. According to the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Sārattha-dīpanī*, the monks of the Abhayagiri monastery believed that the use of a stand limited physical participation in the act of acceptance and, therefore, considered this practice inappropriate.¹⁰⁴

At least in one case it seems that the views of the Abhayagiri monastery on matters of discipline came to be accepted by some of the teachers of the Mahāvihāra. The author of the *Vimāti-vinodanī* cites the ruling given by Sāriputta¹⁰⁵ that a novice who inadvertently consumes liquor does not commit a breach of discipline and attributes this decision to the influence of the Abhayagiri school. He devotes a long section of his work to the refutation of this view.¹⁰⁶

101. *Smp.*, Vol. III, 1930, pp. 582-4.

102. *Mv.* 37. 3-5; *Vap.*, Vol. II, pp. 676-7.

103. *Vinaya Piṭaka.*, Vol. I, pp. 93, 106; Vol. II, pp. 130, 277.

104. *Smp.*, Vol. IV, 1934, p. 846; *Sārattha-dīpanī*, p. 851. This is confirmed by the *Vinaya-vinicchaya-saṅgaha* (p. 120) and its commentary, *Vinaya-vinicchaya-saṅgaha-tīkā* (p. 62).

105. *Sārattha-dīpanī*, pp. 425-6.

106. *Vimtv.*, pp. 94-100.

Some differences between the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri traditions pertained to matters of textual exposition. For instance, the *Līnatthavannanā* quotes variant interpretations given in the commentarial tradition of the Abhayagirivihāra on certain terms in the Brahmajāla, Mahānidāna, Sāmaññaphala, Mahāpadāna and Janavasabha Suttas.¹⁰⁷ In certain cases the differences in exegesis reflect differences in doctrine. In the Sāmaññaphala Sutta, Ajātasattu goes to see the Buddha and asks Jīvaka, who accompanied him, which person was the Buddha. According to the commentarial tradition of the Abhayagiri *nikāya*, Ajātasattu was only a child when he had last seen the Buddha and could not recognize him after the intervening lapse of time. But the Mahāvihāra tradition maintained that the Buddha, who emanated six-fold rays and possessed a body marked with special characteristics, could not be mistaken for anyone else and that Ajātasattu was merely pretending not to recognize him.¹⁰⁸ It is thus evident that, unlike the Abhayagirivāsins, the commentators of the Mahāvihāra insisted on the superhuman characteristics of the Buddha.

Buddhaghosa and other authors of works in the first category of our sources do not refer to the monks of the Abhayagiri monastery by name when they discuss differences of opinion on matters of doctrine. Instead they invariably use the term *keci*, "some," and it is only with the help of works in the second and third categories that it is possible to identify who exactly is being referred to. This contrasts with the method

107. Most of the differences were on the meanings of words:

- i. *sāciyogo, vetālam, uddalomī, ekantalomī* and *devā* in the Brahmajāla Sutta, *Sumv.*, Vol. I, pp. 80, 84, 87, 164; *Līnatthavannanā*, Vol. I, pp. 160, 163, 164, 207.
- ii. *ubhatobhāgavimutto* in Mahānidāna Sutta, *Sumv.*, Vol. I, p. 514; *Līnattha.*, Vol. II, pp. 155-6.
- iii. *pañcakammāni* and *sampajānakāri hotīti* in Sāmaññaphala Sutta, *Sumv.*, Vol. I, p. 162; *Līnattha.*, Vol. I, p. 316.
- iv. *ascecanaka* in the *Samyutta Nikāya* (SN, Vol. V, pp. 321-2; *Vsm.*, p. 221; *Vsm.*, p. 284; *Vsm.*, p. 647). It is interesting that the *Therīgāthā Atthakathā* (PTS, 1891, p. 168) follows the Abhayagirivāsins in its explanation of this term. Some of the differences between the two commentarial traditions pertained to the explanation of certain incidents. When describing Jīvaka's visit to the Buddha, for instance, the Janavasabha Sutta states that he was frightened on the way. The Mahāvihāravāsins held that it was the silence which frightened him, while the Abhayagiri tradition explained that it was the darkness which caused him fright. (*Sumv.*, Vol. I, p. 150; *Līnattha.*, Vol. I, p. 280). Similarly, while explaining the passage in the Mahāpadāna Sutta which describes how the Bodhisattva was received by the gods when he was born, the Mahāvihāra tradition stated that they appeared in their normal form while the Abhayagirivāsins held that they appeared disguised as servants (*Sumv.*, Vol. II, p. 437; *Līnattha.*, Vol. II, p. 36). The author is indebted to Dr. Lily de Silva for drawing his attention to the references in the *Līnattha.*

108. *Sumv.*, Vol. I, p. 152; *Līnattha.*, Vol. I, p. 280.

adopted to deal with differences of opinion over interpretation of disciplinary rules. As noted earlier, the *Samantapāsādikā* unambiguously explains the position taken by the Abhayagiri *nikāya* on certain questions of discipline. A fair amount of material on the doctrinal teachings of the Abhayagirivāsins lies scattered in our sources, and it is possible to distinguish fourteen of the theses which differentiated their teachings from those of the Mahāvihāra. These theses are classified below according to the types of sources which reveal this information.

1. VIEWS MENTIONED IN THE FIRST CATEGORY OF SOURCES

1a. Views mentioned in the *Vimuttimaggā* and in a work of the first category of sources, and attributed to the Abhayagirivāsins in a work belonging to the second category:

- (i) Ascetic practices (*dhutaṅga*) are outside the Profitable Triad (*kusalattikavinimuttam*); they are merely nominal (*nāmapaññatti*); in an ultimate sense they do not exist (*asantam*), and being so, they cannot rid one of defilements.¹⁰⁹
- (ii) Purity of Progress (*paṭipadā-visuddhi*) means Access and its constituents (*sasambhāriko upacāro*); the development of Equanimity (*upekkhānubrūhana*) means Ecstasy (*appanā*); and Thrill (*sampahaṃsana*) means Reflection (*paccavekkhana*). This is the Abhayagiri *nikāya*'s interpretation of a passage from the *Paṭisambhidā*. The monks of the Mahāvihāra believed that Purity of Progress is a constituent of Ecstasy.¹¹⁰
- (iii) The Abhayagirivāsins added Inertia as Matter (*middharūpa*) to the Mahāvihāra list of material qualities.¹¹¹
- (iv) A Stream-winner (*sotāpanna*) who sets up Insight (*vipassanā*) thinking, "I shall enter upon the Fruition Attainment (*phalāsamāpatti*)," becomes a Once-returner (*sakadāgāmi*); and similarly, a Once-returner becomes a Non-returner (*anāgāmi*).

The teachers of the Mahāvihāra maintained that such a person would attain the Fruition (*phala*) of the same stage but not the Path (*magga*) of the next stage and that by developing the Path one attained the Fruition of the next stage.¹¹²

109. *Vmg.*, p. 24; *Vsm.*, p. 64; *Vsmṭ.* p. 87; *Vsmsn.*, p. 194.

110. *Vmg.*, p. 49; *Vsm.*, p. 120; *Vsmṭ.*, p. 144; *Abhdhvk.*, p. 352; *Vsmsn.* p. 358.

111. *Vmg.*, p. 95; *Vsm.*, p. 381; *Vsmṭ.*, pp. 455-6; *Vsmsn.*, p. 1070.

112. *Vmg.*, p. 127; *Vsm.*, p. 603; *Vsmṭ.*, p. 898; *Vsmsn.*, p. 1726.

1b. Views mentioned in a work of the first category of sources and attributed to the Abhayagirivāsins in a work belonging to the second category:

- (v) The teachers of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* maintained that the “consciousness of the momentary present” (*khaṇapaccuppannacittam*) was the object (*ārammaṇa*) of the “knowledge of discerning others’ thoughts” (*cetopariyañāna*) because consciousness arises simultaneously in the possessor of psychic powers (*iddhimā*) and in the other whose thoughts are discerned. This was explained by means of a simile: “Just as when a handful of flowers is thrown in the air, one flower undoubtedly hits another, stalk to stalk, and so too, when with the thought ‘I will know the mind of another,’ the mind is adverted to the minds of a multitude as a mass, then the mind of one penetrates the mind of another at the nascent moment (*uppādak-khaṇa*), the static moment (*thitikkhaṇa*) or the cessant moment (*bhaṅgakkhaṇa*).”

The teachers of the Mahāvihāra believed that the object of cognition was the continuous present (*santatipaccuppanna*) and the durational present (*addhā-paccuppanna*).¹¹³

- (vi) Psychic Powers (*iddhi*) are “undetermined” (*anipphanna*); the Bases of Psychic Powers (*iddhipāda*) are “determined” (*nipphanna*).

The Mahāvihāra school held that both Psychic powers and the Bases of Psychic Powers are “determined” and subject to the properties of the phenomenal world (*tilakkhaṇabbhāhato*).¹¹⁴

1c. Views mentioned in a source of the first category and attributed to the Abhayagirivāsins in a work of the third category:

- (vii) The Mahāvihārayāsins held that the three Abstinenes (*virati*) are invariably found together in the Transcendental Consciousness (*lokuttaracitta*).

(a) The monks of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* held that they existed separately (*tividhatta*) and that they were not invariably (*aniyatatta*) found there.

(b) It is also suggested that the Abhayagirivāsins believed in a fourth Abstinence which was invariably found

113. *Vsm.*, p. 365; *Atth.*, p. 421; *Vsm.*, pp. 424-7; *Mūl.*, pp. 194-7; *Abhdhv.*, p. 109; *Abhdhv.*, p. 387; *Vsm.*, pp. 1015-8.

114. *Smhvnd.*, p. 303, *Sumv.*, II, p. 642, *Mul.* (Vbhg.) p. 169; *Linattha.*, Vol. II, p. 268.

(*catutthaṃ niyataṃ viratiṃ*)¹¹⁵ in the Transcendental Consciousness.

(viii) Matter and other things (*rūpādayo*) which, owing to the limitations in duration and spatiality (*khaṇavatthuparittattā*), are not subject to the field of the senses, belong to the category of the Objects of Ideation (*dhammārammaṇa*).¹¹⁶

(ix) Eye is the sentient surface of phenomena (*bhūta*) which have the Heat-element (*tejo*) in excess; the ear, nose, tongue and the body are the sentient surfaces of those who have Space-elements (*vivara*), Mobility (*vāyu*), Cohesion (*āpa*) and Extension (*paṭhavi*) in excess.

The followers of the Mahāvihāra pointed out that there was no scriptural evidence to support this statement.¹¹⁷

2. A VIEW ATTRIBUTED TO THE ABHAYAGIRIVĀSINS IN SOURCES OF THE SECOND CATEGORY:

(x) The *Visuddhimagga-tīkā* and the *Mūlaṭīkā* state that the Abhayagirivāsins did not accept the "static moment" (*thitikkhana*). The *Abhidharmārtha-saṅgraha-sanyaya* adds that they argued that the "static moment" does not find mention in the Canon. The Mahāvihāravāsins pointed out the contradiction between this and an earlier view (v) of the Abhayagirivāsins. This view is similar to the Sautrāntika teachings on the subject though this does not necessarily imply that one school was influenced by the other.¹¹⁸

3. VIEWS ATTRIBUTED TO THE ABHAYAGIRIVĀSINS IN SOURCES OF THE THIRD CATEGORY:

(xi) The Abhayagirivāsins did not include "the correction of false views" (*ditṭhujjukammaṃ*) in their list of ten meritorious actions (*puñṇākiriya*).

The Mahāvihāravāsins pointed out that they agreed with the Mahāsāṅghikas in this respect.¹¹⁹

(xii) Envy (*issā*) and Meanness (*macchariya*) may by chance (*yadicchāvasena*) rise together.

115. *Abdhvt.*, p. 21., *Abdhvk.*, pp. 128-9.

116. *Abdhvt.*, p. 45; *Abdhvk.*, p. 169.

117. *Vsmf.*, p. 376; *Vsmsn.*, p. 1050.

118. *Vsmf.*, p. 484; *Mūl.*, p. 194; *Abhsngsny.*, p. 70; *Vsmsn.*, p. 1015; *Bareau, op. cit.*, p. 157.

119. *Abdhvk.*, p. 46.

The Mahāvihāra school held that this could never happen.¹²⁰

- (xiii) The Abhayagirivāsins held that from the sixth stage of the *jhānas*, the Sphere of Infinity of Consciousness (*viññānancāyatana*), the seventh stage, the Sphere of Nothingness (*ākāñcāyatana*), is attained by reflecting on the "non-existence" of the Sphere of the Infinity of Consciousness.

The Mahāvihāravāsins maintained that the seventh stage goes beyond the use of objects of concentration.¹²¹

- (xiv) The *Saddhammopāyana* states that there were three *apāyas*. The writings of the Mahāvihāra list four.¹²²

The third category represents views which were propounded by the Abhayagiri *nikāya* probably in the last phase of its existence as a separate group. It may be suggested that the need to criticize them arose because some monks continued to hold such views even after the unification of the *saṅgha* in the reign of Parākramabāhu I. The manner in which they are cited and discussed in works like the *Abhidhammattha-vikāsinī* also supports such a supposition.

The foregoing examination of the teachings of the Abhayagiri school of the Theravāda reveals that they had, apart from a commentarial tradition of their own, a separate recension of the Pāli Canon or of some of its parts which was different from that of the Mahāvihāra. It is clear that the monks of the Mahāvihāra were aware of the views propounded by the Abhayagiri *nikāya*. The works of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* should have been in existence even in the time of Sumaṅgala, the author of the *Abhidhammattha-vikāsinī* since this commentator quotes from them.¹²³ Though it is likely that some of these works were destroyed in the reign of Māgha (A.D. 1215-1236) when, according to the *Cūlavamsa*, "many books known and famous were torn from their cords and strewn about" by his retainers,¹²⁴ it is also noteworthy that the *Visuddhimārga-mahā-sanyaya*, which was written subsequently, identifies and discusses some of the teachings of the Abhayagiri *nikāya*. Further, the recent discovery of the *Vimuttimaggā* calls into question the supposition that all these works have been irretrievably lost.

The scholastic tradition of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* was not restricted to the teachings of the Theravāda. The *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Mahīśāsaka

120. *Abdhvk.*, p. 136.

121. *Ibid.*, pp. 364-5.

122. *Sdhmpyn.*, JPTS, 1887, p. 36.

123. *Abdhvk.*, pp. 46, 128-9.

124. *Cv.* 80, 69.

school that Fa-Hian obtained in Sri Lanka was probably from the Abhayagiri monastery.¹²⁵ The teachers of this *nikāya* are supposed to have been influenced by the Vajjiputtakas (Vātsīputriyas) though it is not possible, at the present stage of our knowledge, to trace even one of their theses to any of the well-known teachings of this school. It is clear from the preceding discussion that the Abhayagirivāsins held views similar to some of those propounded by the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Sautrāntikas. More items of evidence, to be cited later, reveal that the monks of the Mahāsāṅghika school, and probably those of the Sarvāstivādin and the Sammitiya schools as well, lived at this monastery and that an attempt was made to undertake a comparative study of their teachings.¹²⁶

From about the third century the Abhayagiri monastery took an interest in the teachings of the Vetullavāda. In spite of the fact that kings like Vohārika Tissa (A.D. 214-236) and Goṭṭābhaya (A.D. 253-266) attempted to suppress the Vetullavāda, these teachings continued to find adherents at the Abhayagiri monastery even up to the time of Parākramabāhu I. Kern and Paranavithana have rightly identified Vetullavāda as a term used to refer to the Mahāyāna.¹²⁷ Hiuen-tsang recorded that the teachings of both the Theravāda and the Mahāyāna were studied at the Abhayagiri monastery in his time.¹²⁸ A number of copper plaques, some of which contain quotations from the *Pañcaviṃśati-sahasrikā* and the *Śatasahasrikā* versions of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, have been found at the *Indikaṭusāya stūpa* situated at the foot of the Mihintale hill and within the precincts of the Cetiyagiri monastery.¹²⁹ It is evident from archaeological material at the site of the Abhayagiri monastery that Tantric teachings had become influential by the ninth century. Slabs bearing Tantric formulae dating from this period have been found there,¹³⁰ and further, the tenth-century record from Buddhanehāla, cited earlier, records that the practice of initiating novices according to the rite of *abhiseka* was known and practiced at some of the institutions

125. Beal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 51.

126. See *infra* p. 256.

127. Kern, "Vaitulya, Vetulla, Vetulyaka," *Versl. en Med. der K. von Wetenschappen*, Letter K, 4e R., D. VIII, pp. 312-9, reported by de la Vallée Poussin in *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 422-4; also *CJSG*, Vol. II, pp. 35-6. See also W. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956, p. 89. More evidence to support this identification is found in the *Abhidharmārttha-samuccaya* (Santiniketan, 1950, p. 79) and the *Vibhāṣā prabhā-vṛtti* quoted by P. S. Jaini in the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Fasc. A-Aca, pp. 56-7.

128. Beal, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 443.

129. *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 199-212; Vol. IV, pp. 238-42.

130. See *infra* p. 255.

belonging to this *nikāya*.¹³¹ According to the commentary on the Mahāvairocana Sūtra, the *abhiṣeka* was an essential rite which had to be performed before a teacher of the Tantra began to instruct a disciple.¹³²

Though followers of both the Mahāyāna and the Tantra lived at the Abhayagiri monastery, this *nikāya* was primarily a division within the Theravāda and was recognized as such by contemporary Buddhist writers in India.¹³³ It was remarkably tolerant of non-Theravāda teachings and even encouraged its members to study them and allowed followers of the Mahāyāna and the Tantra to reside within its monasteries. It would seem from the foregoing discussion that the Abhayagiri *nikāya* fostered a variety of scholarly and philosophical opinions, and it is unlikely that the cohesion of such a *nikāya* depended on a strict adherence being demanded of its members to a systematized body of doctrinal teachings, though the difference of their teachings from those of the Mahāvihāra would have given them a clear identity of their own.

It is remarkable that in the commentarial works of the Mahāvihāra *nikāya* no mention is made of Mahāyāna and Tantric ideas held by the followers of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* even though they discuss their disagreements with their rivals over variant readings and interpretation of the Pāli Canon in minute detail. One reason for this attitude may be that, at least in the latter part of the period under review, the monks of the Mahāvihāra also borrowed some Mahāyāna and Tantric ideas and practices which were not in actual conflict with their own teachings.¹³⁴ One might also suggest that adherents of the Mahāyāna and Tantric traditions within the Abhayagiri *nikāya* constituted only a small minority and, as such, were considered to be inconsequential. The main challenge to the position of the Mahāvihāra came from the Theravāda faction of the Abhayagiri *nikāya*, who gave variant readings and interpretations to the texts on which the followers of the Mahāvihāra based their teachings. Hence, they devoted much time and effort to combat these "revisionist" views which they would have regarded as the more formidable threat.

The Jetavana Nikāya

The origin of the Jetavana *nikāya* can be traced to three hundred monks who did not want to associate themselves with the teachings of

131. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 196, ll. B 7-8.

132. See the article on *Abhiṣeka* in the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Fasc. A-Aca, pp. 125-130.

133. See *supra*, p. 7.

134. See *infra* p. 326.

the Vetullavāda and therefore broke away from the Abhayagiri monastery to take up residence at the Dakkhinārāma. Chronological information concerning this schism, found in the *Vamsatthappakāsini*, dates this event in the year A.D. 249.¹³⁵ According to the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* the followers of this faction came to be known as Sāgalikā because of the fame which a member of the group named Sāgala had gained as an expositor of the *dhamma*.¹³⁶ The same point is reiterated in a tenth-century inscription found in the premises of the Jetavana monastery which refers to a certain Sāguli as the monk after whom the *nikāya* was named.¹³⁷

Mahāsenā (A.D. 276-303) built the Jetavana monastery, together with its *stūpa* which is the largest ever built in Sri Lanka, and bestowed it on the *thera* Tissa of this *nikāya*.¹³⁸ From the time of its construction this monastery remained the main center of the activities of the *nikāya*, and the *nikāya* itself came to be known by the name of the monastery. When building the new monastery on the grounds of the Mahāvihāra, Mahāsenā ignored the protests of the Mahāvihāravāsins, and this no doubt increased the hostility of the Mahāvihāra towards this rival *nikāya*. Tissa, the first abbot of this monastery, is reviled in the *Mahāvamsa* in the most opprobrious of terms. He was accused of a serious violation of disciplinary rules (*antimavatthu*), and the minister who held an inquiry into it is said to have expelled him from the Order, thereby even disregarding the wishes of the king.¹³⁹ Later followers of this *nikāya* obviously did not share the chronicler's views concerning the character of the first abbot of their leading monastery. Tissa is commemorated in the tenth-century inscription at this monastery, cited earlier, as a virtuous monk who had led a frugal and contented life.¹⁴⁰

Since the original founders of the Jetavana *nikāya* were hostile to the Vetullavāda and had broken away from the Abhayagiri *nikāya*, most probably the relations between the two groups were not very cordial at the beginning. But a distinct change of attitude seems to have taken place during the reign of Silākāla (518-531). According to the *Cūlavamsa*, a young merchant who visited the city of Kāsī brought

135. According to this work the schism took place 558 years after the establishment of Buddhism in the island. This would be equivalent to the year 795 of the Buddhist era known at the time or A.D. 249. *Vap.*, Vol. I, pp. 175-6.

136. *Niks.*, p. 14.

137. *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 226-9. Geiger believed that the name Sāgala was possibly connected with the city of this name in Northwestern India, but no definite evidence pointing to any such relationship is available. See *CCMT*, p. 185.

138. *Mv.* 37. 32-5.

139. *Mv.* 37. 38-9.

140. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 227, ll. 5-7.

back the *dhammadhātu* in the twelfth year of Silākāla's reign. The king received it with great honour, placed it in a shrine close to the palace and instituted the practice of taking it to the Jetavana monastery once every year for a festival which was in its honor.¹⁴¹ The term *dhammadhātu* is suggestive of Mahāyānā connections; in fact, the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* states that the book brought by the merchant contained the Vaitulyavāda. It goes on to add that the monks of the Jetavana monastery at first were hesitant about accepting the teachings of the Vaitulyavāda but eventually were persuaded to do so by the monks of the Abhayagiri monastery.¹⁴² This is an important development in the relations between the *nikāyas* since it seems to imply that the monks of the Jetavana monastery had moved closer to the Abhayagiri *nikāya*.

The reverses suffered by the followers of the Vaitulyavāda during the reign of Aggabodhi I (571-604) brought about another change in the attitude of the Jetavana *nikāya*. The Vaitulyavādins were worsted in a public debate and, consequently, their opponents, led by an Indian monk called Jotipāla, gained the king's favor.¹⁴³ According to the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya*, the defeated monks continued to wield influence over the king through the *viyatnā*, an official at the court. But after this official died, they no longer wielded any influence, and, in the words of the chronicler, the monks of the Jetavana monastery "became meek and humble and accepted the leadership of the Mahāvihāra."¹⁴⁴

If indeed the monks of the Jetavana *nikāya* changed their allegiance as the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* asserts, they accomplished yet another *volte face* before long. The *Vamsatthappakāsini* mentions a noteworthy event which took place during the reign of Dāṭhapatissa II (659-667). Two monks, who were both known by the name Dāṭhāveda, collaborated to make a compilation of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. They incorporated the two Vibhaṅga sections of the Dhammarucika recension and the Khandaka and Parivāra sections of the Sāgalika recension in their compilation, and, after adding their own interpretation and comments, claimed that their version was more "orthodox" than that of the Mahāvihāra. One of these monks was a resident of the Kurundaculla-parivena of the Jetavana

141. *Cv.* 41. 37-40.

142. *Niks.*, p. 19.

143. *Cv.* 42. 35-7.

144. *ohu maḷa pasu denānakayehi bhikṣūhu nihitamānava mahāvihāravāsīṅṭa avanatava visūha. Niks.*, p. 19. Jetavana monastery is referred to as Denāvehera in this work. Apparently Rahula (*op.cit.* p.103) misunderstood this passage when he stated that "the monks of the two *nikāyas*, namely, the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana, dismissed pride and lived in submission to the Mahāvihāra."

monastery while the other was from the Kolambahāḷaka-parivena.¹⁴⁵ Kolambahāḷaka occurs in the *Mahāvamsa* as the name of a hermitage to the north of the city, close to the Abhayagiri monastery.¹⁴⁶ The author of the passage from the *Vamsatthappakāsini* assumes that, like the other two *nikāyas*, Jetavana also had its own recension of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and, probably, a commentarial tradition of its own. The joint venture on the part of these two scholars was evidently an attempt to prepare an edition of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and of its commentaries which would be acceptable to both groups. Though the stands taken to date by the Jetavana *nikāya* on doctrinal issues had been ambiguous and variable, it is likely that this development brought them closer again to the Abhayagiri *nikāya*. By the reign of Parākramabāhu I they had become enthusiastic about the Vaitulyavāda, for, according to the *Cūlavamsa*, they were preaching these teachings as the word of the Buddha.¹⁴⁷

During the ninth and tenth centuries the Jetavana *nikāya* was patronized by several kings though not to the same extent as the other *nikāyas*. Sena I rebuilt the Mahāparivena which had been burnt down and also erected a new mansion where he installed a gold image of the Buddha.¹⁴⁸ Sena II placed figures of Bodhisattvas in the Maṇimekhalā-pāsāda which was destroyed later by the Coḷa invaders. The task of its restoration was undertaken by Udaya IV and completed by Mahinda IV.¹⁴⁹ The latter was also responsible for the restoration of the Diyasen house which was used for the performance of the *uposatha* ceremony.¹⁵⁰ An important addition to the monastery was the Kassapa-parivena built by the general Sena Ilaṅga during the reign of Kassapa IV.¹⁵¹ Also four officials of Mahinda IV added four more colleges.¹⁵²

A site enclosed within a boundary wall, containing the ruins of about fifteen groups of buildings in addition to an alms-hall and a number of image-houses, all arranged around the main *stūpa*, are what remains of the Jetavana monastery today.¹⁵³ The main ruin in one of these groups

145. *Vap.*, Vol. I, p. 176.

146. *Mv.* 21, 5; 25, 80; 33, 42; 35, 94.

147. It has been suggested that the Jetavana *nikāya* was connected with the Sautrāntika school of Buddhism. See D. J. Kalupahana, "Schools of Buddhism in Early Ceylon," *The Ceylon Journal of the Humanities*, Vol. I, 1970, pp. 159-90. But there is absolutely no evidence to show that any of the well-known theories of the Sautrāntika school had been accepted by this *nikāya*.

148. *Cv.* 50, 65-7.

149. *Cv.* 51, 77; 53, 51; 54, 48; *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 227.

150. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 227.

151. *Cv.* 52, 17.

152. *Cv.* 54, 49.

153. *ASCAR*, 1892, pp. 1-3; 1893, pp. 1-5; 1894, pp. 1-2.

shows that the Jetavana monastery possessed one of the most impressive image-houses found at Anurādhapura.¹⁵⁴ Two inscriptions, one from the fourth century and the other from the tenth, have been found within these monastic grounds.¹⁵⁵ On the whole, the Jetavana monastery compares poorly with the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagirivihāra; it does not seem to have occupied a position comparable to the other two monasteries in the religious life of the city.

Very little information is available concerning the monasteries affiliated to this *nikāya*. Apart from the Dakkhinārāma, only two other monasteries are mentioned in our sources. Moggallāna I built the Dāṭhakoṇḍaṇṇa monastery at Sigiri;¹⁵⁶ during the reign of Aggabodhi II (606-614) the Veluvana monastery was built for this *nikāya*,¹⁵⁷ but its location is not known.

It is clear from our study that, though there is a fair amount of information on the geographical distribution of monasteries belonging to the Mahāvihāra *nikāya*, data which would increase our knowledge about monasteries affiliated to the other two *nikāyas*, particularly Jetavana, are extremely scanty. There is, however, some circumstantial evidence which suggests that the influence of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana *nikāyas* had spread to the far south by the beginning of this period. Charms with mystic Tantric formulae, written on clay tablets in a script datable to about the ninth century, have been unearthed at Monarāgala in the Uva Province, at Dumbara in the Central Province and at Tangalla in the Southern Province.¹⁵⁸ Also, colossal figures of Bodhisattvas have been found at Buduruvegala in the Uva Province and at Vāligama in the Southern Province.¹⁵⁹ It seems not unreasonable to suppose that the penetration of the Mahāyāna and Tantric influences into Rohaṇa and less accessible terrain in Malaya came in the wake of the expansion of Abhayagiri and Jetavana influence rather than that of the Mahāvihāra; but no concrete evidence linking these sites with either of these *nikāyas* has been discovered.

There is clearer evidence for the presence in Rohaṇa of religious establishments affiliated to all the three *nikāyas*, at least in the eleventh century. The *Cūlavamsa* records that the relic shrines of all the three *nikāyas* at Mahāgāma had been destroyed by the Coḷa invaders and were

154. *ASC, Tenth Report*, Pl. VII.

155. *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 226-9; Vol. IV, pp. 273-85.

156. *Cv.* 39. 41.

157. *Cv.* 42. 43.

158. *CJSG*, Vol. II, p. 47.

159. *Ibid.* p. 49. See also *infra* p. 223.

restored by Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110).¹⁶⁰ There is little doubt that the influence of the three *nikāyas* was definitely established in Rohaṇa after the mass exodus of monks from Polonnaruva during the reign of Vikramabāhu I (1111-1132).¹⁶¹ In the time of Parākramabāhu I monks of the three *nikāyas* dwelling in Rohaṇa were among the religieus invited by this king to participate in the synod convened under his sponsorship.¹⁶²

The Order of Nuns

The interesting history of the nuns of Sri Lanka, who proved to be extraordinarily zealous missionaries and who were responsible for the establishment of the order of nuns in China, received very little attention from the local chroniclers. The *Dīpavaṃsa*, which provides more information than the *Mahāvāṃsa*, describes the early nuns as well accomplished in the scriptures and lists the names of those who were prominent in the order of nuns from the earliest times until the reign of Bhātikābhaya (22 B.C.-A.D. 7).¹⁶³ Many of them were drawn from the upper strata of society. Anulā, who had been the consort of Mahānāga, Mahilā and Samantā who were the daughters of Kākavaṇṇatissa, and Sivalā and Samuddā, who probably were the daughters of Bhātikābhaya, were all prominent nuns in their times. Later on, we hear of the queen of Jeṭṭhatissa III becoming a nun upon the death of her husband.¹⁶⁴ Similarly a daughter of Agghabodhi VI became a nun to escape maltreatment at the hands of her husband.¹⁶⁵

According to the Chinese annals, eight Sinhalese nuns arrived at Nanking in A.D. 426 and their presence "inspired the Chinese women for the first time to seek to enter the 'Holy Orders.'" But ten nuns were required to form a chapter to perform the ceremony of admission. In 429 three more nuns arrived from Sri Lanka, and women were admitted into the order of nuns for the first time in the history of Buddhism in China.¹⁶⁶

There are clear references from the tenth century concerning two nunneries belonging to the Mahāvihāra *nikāya*. During the reign of Kassapa V, Vajirā, the wife of the official Sakkasenāpati, built a dwelling

160. *Cv.* 60. 56.

161. *Cv.* 61. 58-61.

162. *Cv.* 78. 10.

163. *Dv.* ch. 18.

164. *Cv.* 44. 144.

165. *Cv.* 48. 57.

166. *Seng-che-lio*, *Kao-seng-tchouan* and *Fo-tsou-t'ong-ki*, quoted by Pelliot in *BEFEO*, Vol. IV, p. 356. Translated into English in summary form by John M. Senviratne in *JRASC*, Vol. XXIV, 1915, pp. 107-8.

at Padalañchana for the nuns of this *nikāya*.¹⁶⁷ Mahinda IV built the Mahāmallaka convent for the same sorority.¹⁶⁸ It is likely that at least two other nunneries, the Nālārāma and the Tissārāma, also came under the leadership of the Mahāvihāra. According to an inscription from Mahakalattāva, datable to the reign of Kassapa IV, the Nālārāma was built by Sena, the Chief Scribe. He endowed this convent with an estate consisting of the village of Gitelgamu and charged its members with the task of watering and maintaining the Bo Tree at the Mahāvihāra.¹⁶⁹ There is little doubt that this convent came under the Mahāvihāra *nikāya*. The *Cūlavamsa* records that Sena Ilaṅga built the Tissārāma during the same reign.¹⁷⁰ It seems reasonable to believe that this nunnery also housed adherents of the Mahāvihāra *nikāya* since they were entrusted with the responsibility of looking after the Bo Tree at the Mariccavaṭṭi monastery.

During the reign of Moggallāna I a convent named Rājinī was built for the nuns of the Sāgalika *nikāya*.¹⁷¹ This is the only such institution affiliated to this *nikāya* which is mentioned in our sources. It is certain that there were nuns in the Abhayagiri *nikāya* too. In one of his inscriptions Kassapa V refers to nunneries (*mehenivar*) belonging to this *nikāya* but not a single one of these institutions is known by name.¹⁷² Several other convents like those named after Uttara, Abhaya, Silāmegha, Mahinda and Jeṭṭhā occur in the chronicles and the epigraphic records,¹⁷³ but no information is available on their affiliations. It is tempting to suppose that the Abhaya and Uttara convents, built by Mahāsena, were given over to the Abhayagiri monastery which was also known by the two names Abhayavihāra and Uttaravihāra. Similarly, it is also possible that the Silāmegha nunnery, which received a gift of a silver image of a Bodhisattva from Mahinda II (777-797), belonged to the Abhayagiri or the Jetavana *nikāya*.¹⁷⁴ But it must be admitted that the evidence is not adequate to confirm either of these hypotheses.

Even if there is little information about nunneries from places outside the capital, it is fairly clear that nuns were by no means rare at

167. Cv. 52. 63.

168. Cv. 54. 47.

169. AIC, No. 110.

170. Cv. 52. 24.

171. Cv. 39. 43.

172. EZ, Vol. I, p. 47, l. 16.

173. Mv. 37. 45; Cv. 46. 27-8, 48, 139; EZ, Vol. II, pp. 19-25.

174. Cv. 48. 139.

Anurādhapura. Some of the convents built for them seem to have been quite extensive. For instance, the Jeṭṭhārāma, built by the queen of Aggabodhi IV, had a hundred employees attached to it.¹⁷⁵ It is also evident from the preceding discussion that all the three *nikāyas* had followers within the community of nuns.

Nuns left the stage of history as quietly as they had occupied it, and there are no clues to help the curious historian to determine the causes or the circumstances of their disappearance. It is during the reign of Mahinda IV that they are heard of for the last time. It has already been mentioned that this king built the Mahāmallaka convent. In an inscription at the Abhayagiri monastery he states that he built an alms-hall for nuns and that he repaired dilapidated buildings at nunneries of poor means.¹⁷⁶ Perhaps the troubled years of the Coḷa occupation made a life in robes particularly difficult for women.

Even if the order of nuns had become extinct in Sri Lanka by the end of the period of Coḷa rule, nuns are mentioned in later inscriptions from Burma. The nun *Uiw Paṃ*, for example, is said to have witnessed a ceremony of the dedication of a monastery in A.D. 1196.¹⁷⁷ Two inscriptions from the thirteenth century refer to nuns of slave parentage.¹⁷⁸ According to an inscription from the Minwaing Kyaung enclosure at Minnanthu in Pagan, *Uiw Chī Tāw*, presumably a nun, was among the eight dignitaries present at a recital of *paritta* in A.D. 1261.¹⁷⁹ Than Tun suggests that it was probably the same person who is mentioned as the chief incumbent of a nunnery in A.D. 1279.¹⁸⁰ It appears strange that no attempt was made to restore the order of nuns in Sri Lanka with help from the Burmese. Perhaps the Burmese nuns were not considered by the Buddhists of Sri Lanka to be sufficiently "orthodox" in their views and practices. It is also possible that the revival of the order of nuns was not considered to be particularly conducive to the well-being of the *sāsana*. The belief that the existence of an order of nuns had a harmful effect on the clerical community can be traced back to the Canon.¹⁸¹ Owing to the inadequacy of information bearing on this problem it is not possible to give a satisfactory explanation of this surprising lack of clerical or lay interest in reviving the order of nuns.

175. *Cv.* 46. 27-8.

176. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 222, II. 32-3.

177. G. H. Luce and Pe Maung Tin, *Inscriptions of Burma*, Pl. 576A.

178. *Ibid.* Pl. 89. 92.

179. *Ibid.* Pl. 200.

180. *Ibid.* Pl. 268; Than Tun, *The Buddhist Church in Burma during the Pagan Period*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, pp. 285-6.

181. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. II, London, 1964, p. 238.

The Ascetic Sects

An interesting phenomenon noticeable in the period under discussion is the growth in popularity of ascetic sects. Though Buddhism clearly expressed its aversion to extreme forms of asceticism, eight types of ascetic practices, variously called *dhutaṅga*, *vatta*, and *yoga*, were known to early Buddhist texts.¹⁸² In the *Vimuttimaggā* and the *Visuddhimaggā*, the list is extended to include thirteen practices.¹⁸³ Two of the practices recommended in these texts, *paṃsukūlikaṅga* and *ārañṇikaṅga*, were the most popular in Sri Lanka.

The followers of the first of these ascetic disciplines, the Paṃsukūlikas, were expected to depend solely on discarded rags for material to make their robes. Evidently not all the members of this sect adhered strictly to the rules and principles of this asceticism. Buddhaghosa refers to three types of Paṃsukūlikas—the “strict”, the “moderate” and the “soft.” According to him, “He who picks up a rag thrown away at the cremating ground is a strict man. He who picks up a rag which had been placed with the utterance, ‘A monk will pick it up,’ is a moderate man. He who accepts a rag placed at his feet is a soft man.”¹⁸⁴

Ārañṇikaṅga was an ascetic discipline which enjoined the contemplative life in the seclusion of the forest. It seems that by the time of Buddhaghosa there were liberal interpretations of the precepts pertaining to this ascetic discipline. According to these interpretations, it was adequate if the Ārañṇika ascetic was in the forest before the break of dawn, i.e., he need not live there all the time. And for this purpose, “forest” was defined as what lay beyond a stone’s throw from the gates of a village or even a city.¹⁸⁵

If, as has been suggested by Bagchi, the *Vimuttimaggā* was a work of the Abhayagiri *nikāya*, it would seem that the Abhayagirivāsins expected their ascetics to strictly adhere to the precepts in both principle and detail. The *Vimuttimaggā* lays down that it would be a transgression of precepts for a Paṃsukūlika to accept a present of robes or for an Ārañṇika to live close to a village.¹⁸⁶ While this work insisted on strict adherence to ascetic ideals, it was equivocal as far as its stand on the usefulness of asceticism was concerned. It propounded the view, specifically attributed to the Abhayagirivāsins in later commentaries, that

182. *Mahāniddeśa*, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin and E. J. Thomas, PTS, London, 1916. Vol. I, p. 188.

183. *Vmg.*, pp. 16-25; *Vsm.*, ed. Warren and Kosambi, p. 56.

184. Pe Maung Tin, *The Path of Purity*, p. 72.

185. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-3.

186. *Vmg.*, pp. 17,20.

asceticism was outside the Profitable Triad (*kusalattika*), and such a stand would not have been attractive to monks who took to ascetic practices. It is likely that the Mahāvihāra, with its more liberal interpretations of the precepts and a doctrinal stand which stressed the importance and validity of ascetic practices, would have had more followers among ascetic groups, even if they were, to use Buddhaghosa's turn of phrase, men who preferred the "soft" forms of asceticism.

The Pamsukūlikas

Though monks who practiced the asceticism of wearing robes made out of rags were known in Sri Lanka from at least the second century B.C.,¹⁸⁷ it is in the seventh century that they came into prominence. From the seventh century to the tenth they are frequently mentioned in the chronicles. Mānavamma (684-718) built a hermitage for them at the Thūpārāma;¹⁸⁸ his successor, Agghabodhi V, built four monasteries for this sect.¹⁸⁹ Of these, the location of the Girinagara and Rājamātika monasteries cannot be determined. The Kadambagona monastery was in Mahāthala, roughly the present Matale District, and the Deva monastery was at Antarasobbha, a ford over the river Mahavāli to the north of Mahiyāngana. Vajira, a general of Dappula II (815-831), built a monastery for this sect at Kacchavāla,¹⁹⁰ probably identical to the Kaccha ford over the river Mahavāli. Another large monastery for the Pamsukūlikas was built by Sena I at Aritṭhapabbata, the present Riṭigala range of hills in the Hurulu Palāta of the Anurādhapura District.¹⁹¹ A ninth-century inscription from this area, which refers to the Riṭigala monastery built by King Salamevan, confirms the statement in the chronicle.¹⁹² Although some of the Pamsukūlikas lived in the environs of the capital, it is clear that monasteries belonging to this sect were spread over a wide area. The instances cited above also suggest that groups of Pamsukūlikas tended to live separately even if they were affiliated to a particular monastery or a *nikāya*.

This concern for individuality was further strengthened in the latter half of the ninth century which witnessed a significant development in the history of the Pamsukūlikas and their relations with the Abhayagiri

187. See *Sahassa-vatthu-pakarāṇa*, p. 49 and *Manoratha-pūraṇī*, PTS, Vol. I, pp. 92-3.

188. Cv. 47. 66.

189. Cv. 48. 3-4.

190. Cv. 49. 80.

191. Cv. 50. 63-4; *JRASCBS*, Vol. VI, pp. 171-2.

192. *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 289-94.

nikāya. The *Cūlavamsa* states that during the reign of Sena I a separate kitchen was constructed for the Pāṃsukūlikas of the Abhayagiri monastery.¹⁹³ The separatist tendencies implicit in this statement had developed to such an extent by the twentieth regnal year of Sena II (A.D. 872) that the Pāṃsukūlikas left the Abhayagiri monastery to form a school or sect (*gaṇa*) of their own.¹⁹⁴ The relevant passage in the chronicle is too brief to enable one to make an adequate assessment of this incident, but there is no doubt that the loss of this faction would have been detrimental to the prestige of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* since, as is evident from the generous patronage they enjoyed well into the tenth century, the Pāṃsukūlikas seem to have been immensely popular.

This leads to a problem of immediate concern to the subject of this survey—the extent of the influence that the three *nikāyas* wielded on the monks belonging to the Pāṃsukūlika sect. It is quite clear that there were Pāṃsukūlikas in the Mahāvihāra *nikāya*. The hermitage built by Mānavamma was at the Thūpārāma. About three centuries later Sena Ilaṅga, a general of Kassapa IV, built the Samuddagiri hermitage at the Mahāvihāra for the Pāṃsukūlika monks.¹⁹⁵ This shows clearly that the Pāṃsukūlika fraternity at the Mahāvihāra remained within the fold of its *nikāya* right into the tenth century. Hence it is not unreasonable to suppose that the *nikāya* division cut across the Pāṃsukūlika sect, though there is no clear reference in the sources to a Pāṃsukūlika faction within the Jetavana *nikāya*.

In this connection, it is significant that in the reign of Vikramabāhu I (1111-1132) the Pāṃsukūlikas were divided into two factions (*koṭṭhāsa-dvayanissitā*).¹⁹⁶ On the basis of this information it is possible to adduce two explanations of the withdrawal of the Pāṃsukūlikas from the Abhayagiri monastery which took place during the reign of Sena II. The Pāṃsukūlikas who left might have joined either those of the Jetavana *nikāya*, or less probably, the Mahāvihāra *nikāya*, but the term *gaṇāhesuṃ* used by the chronicler in this context suggests that they formed an independent group of their own, hence it is possible to suggest a second explanation—that it was this independent group and the Pāṃsukūlikas of the Mahāvihāra who formed the two factions in the time of Vikramabāhu I. The second explanation would imply that there was no Pāṃsukūlika faction within the Jetavana *nikāya*.

193. Cv. 50. 76.

194. *tassa visatime vasse vihāre abhayuttare nikkhamitvā gaṇāhesuṃ pāṃsukūlika-bhikkhavo*. Cv. 51.52.

195. Cv. 52. 21.

196. Cv. 61. 59.

Paradoxically, the lavish patronage that the Pāmsukūlikas attracted through their popularity had a mellowing effect on the very severity of the austerities which had earlier brought them such fame. It is ironic that these monks, who were expected to wear robes made from rags, were presented with royal garments during the reign of Aggabodhi V.¹⁹⁷ Aggabodhi VII (772-777) decreed that food fit for royalty be given to them regularly.¹⁹⁸ Their monastery at Ariṭṭhapabbata was endowed with extensive resources (*mahābhogaṃ*) and equipment worthy of royalty (*parikkhāraṃ rājārahaṃ*). Furthermore, attendants, slaves and workmen were appointed to look after their needs.¹⁹⁹ These donations are an indication of the changes that were taking place in the life and attitudes of the Pāmsukūlikas.

Even though the Pāmsukūlikas were getting used to a "soft" life, far beyond even what Buddhaghosa considered permissible, they continued to receive enthusiastic patronage. They were held in such high regard that even their kinsmen were honored. Sena Ilaṅga, for example, distributed rice and clothing among the mothers of Pāmsukūlika monks.²⁰⁰ Immediately after his successful campaign against the Coḷas, Udaya IV (946-954) distributed monastic requisites which he bought at considerable cost, among Pāmsukūlika monks.²⁰¹ Mahinda IV regularly presented them with alms as well as with bowls filled with garlic, black pepper, long pepper, ginger, molasses, myrobalan, clarified butter, oil and honey (presumably for use as medicaments), blankets, carpets, robes and other amenities.²⁰² Their popularity is best exemplified by an incident which took place during the reign of Udaya III (935-938) when the citizens of Anurādhapura rose in revolt against the king for having violated the traditional privileges enjoyed by the Pāmsukūlika monasteries at Tapovana.²⁰³

E. R. Ayrton has identified the so-called Western Monasteries at Anurādhapura, situated in the area traversed by the Outer Circular and Arippu roads, with the Tapovana hermitages.²⁰⁴ There are several groups of buildings amongst these ruins; each of these groups is enclosed within a double-wall of stone and has a porch of handsome proportions

197. Cv. 48. 61.

198. Cv. 48. 73.

199. Cv. 50. 63-4.

200. Cv. 52. 27.

201. Cv. 53. 48.

202. Cv. 54. 18-9, 23-5.

203. See *infra* p. 208

204. Ayrton's papers were edited by A. M. Hocart in the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, Vol. I, Colombo, 1924. See pp. 18-48.

at the entrance. The characteristic feature which distinguishes this type of hermitage from the monastic residences described earlier is that at its center there were one or more specimens of a structure consisting of two platforms which were faced with stone and connected by a monolithic "bridge." Ayrton surmised that the first of these platforms would have been left open, without a roof, and was perhaps surrounded by a half-wall. The second platform was invariably situated on the hummock of a rock and, presumably, had a flat roof. Its foundations were built in such a manner that a moat surrounded the platform which rested on the bare face of the rock. Surrounding these double platforms are an assortment of buildings the functions of which are recognizable only in the cases of image-houses and privies. The whole monastic complex is noteworthy for the severe austerity of its execution. Dressed slabs, sometimes sparsely ornamented, were used in its construction. Curiously enough, the only instance of lavish ornamentation is seen in the workmanship of the urinal slabs of the privies.²⁰⁵

It has already been pointed out that these ruins, situated about two to three miles from the city, differ considerably from the usual type of monastery in style and layout. It is also significant that ruins of the double-platform type have been found among the Riṭigala hills where Sena I built the monastery for the Pamsukūlikas. These facts add strength to Ayrton's identification, although there is no direct evidence to substantiate it.

Ruins of a similar type have been found at Mullegala, Mānakanda, Veherabāṇḍigala, Sivalukanda, Galbāṇḍivihāre, Māṇikdena and Nuvaragalkanda.²⁰⁶ As Ayrton remarked, all these sites need not necessarily have been associated with the Pamsukūlika sect,²⁰⁷ and, one might add, the Pamsukūlikas were not necessarily confined to monasteries of this type.

The Pamsukūlikas are last heard of during the reign of Vikramabāhu I. Along with the monks of the eight *mūlavihāras* of Polonnaruva, they left for Rohana in protest against the confiscation of monastic property by this king.²⁰⁸ But once they walked out of the capital they never again appeared in the historical records of Sri Lanka.

205. Hocart's explanation (*MASC*, Vol. I, p.56) that the excretory functions of the monks were considered to be a holy rite amounts to nothing more than highly fanciful and weird imagination.

206. *MASC*, Vol. I, p. 43.

207. *Ibid.* p. 47.

208. See *infra* p. 92

The Ārañṅikas

Not before the tenth century do we find any reference to the Ārañṅikas in the chronicles, and even in other sources, earlier references to them are most rare. During the reign of Kassapa IV the general Sena Ilaṅga built a hermitage in the woods for the Ārañṅika monks of the Mahāvihāra *nikāya*²⁰⁹ who were held in very high regard by the author of the *Cūlavamsa*. When recording that Devā, the queen of Kassapa IV, built another hermitage for the Ārañṅikas, he refers to them as "lamps unto the Theravaṃsa."²¹⁰ Like the Paṃsukūlikas, the Ārañṅikas benefited from the zealous patronage of Mahinda IV. He regularly sent them wholesome food, molasses heated in clarified butter, essence of garlic (presumably for medicament), and betel. He also delegated physicians to attend to the sick among them.²¹¹ It is noteworthy that while there are several references to Ārañṅika monks of the Mahāvihāra *nikāya*, there is no such information on those affiliated to the Abhayagiri and Jetavana *nikāyas*.

It would seem that the Ārañṅikas flourished even in times when the main Buddhist establishments at the capital suffered reverses. The settlement of monks at Diṃbulāgala, ten miles to the southeast of Polonnaruva, was patronized by Vikramabāhu's queen, Sundaramahādevī.²¹² It is evident from an inscription issued in the sixth year of her son's reign that there were five hundred monks living at Diṃbulāgala. This monastery, renowned as a place which housed the corporeal relics of the Buddha, attracted many pilgrims. The queen was moved at the sight of these pilgrims, particularly old folk, who climbed up to these shrines with strenuous effort. She had a path constructed between the two caves, Hiru-mahalena and Saṅda-mahalena, placed images inside one of these, probably the Hiru-mahalena, built a *stūpa*, planted a Bo Tree at the site and renamed the cave Kaliṅgulena, after her own clan. It is also interesting that the same record refers to a mansion at the monastery which was called Demaḷapāhā (Damiḷapāsāda). Sundaramahādevī claims to have made endowments for providing boiled rice and gruel to the inmates of this mansion. As in the case of Kaliṅgu-lena, the name Demaḷapāhā probably indicates that the monks of Diṃbulāgala received patronage from the Tamil community.

Literary sources, especially those in Pāli, refer to a place called Udumbarapabbata or Udumbaragiri. The *Sahassa-vatthu-pakaraṇa*

209. Cv. 52. 22.

210. Cv. 52. 64.

211. Cv. 54. 20-2.

212. EZ, Vol. II, pp. 194-202.

mentions the Candamukhalena at the Udumbarapabbata where the *thera* Maliyadeva once discoursed on the *dhamma*. It also refers to a certain Udumbaravihāra where the Ariyavaṃsa was preached,²¹³ but it is not clear whether this is the same as the Udumbarapabbata. According to the *Rasavāhini* monks used to go to Udumbaragiri to practice meditation.²¹⁴

Udumbarapabbata or Udumbaragiri is an exact translation into Pāli of the Sinhalese name Diṃbulāgala. The *Sahassa-vatthu-pakarāṇa* mentions that the Udumbarapabbata was situated on the way between Anurādhapura and Mahāgāma and suggests that it was close to the river Mahavāli.²¹⁵ The name Candamukhalena is strongly reminiscent of Saṇḍa-mahalena. Hence it seems quite probable that all three terms, Udumbarapabbata, Udumbaragiri and Diṃbulāgala, denoted the same place. One might argue that this identification is not tenable since the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* mentions a monk called Kassapa as belonging to the Audumbaragiri fraternity but refers to another monk, Medhaṅkara, as a member of the Diṃbulāgala fraternity.²¹⁶ However, this does not really invalidate our identification since the author of the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* tended to use both Sanskrit and Sinhalese forms of a name rather indiscriminately.²¹⁷ Also, in the *Padasādhana Sannaya* the same Medhaṅkara is described as *audumbarāhita-pabbata-vāsika*,²¹⁸ a fact which leaves little doubt as to the validity of this identification. Diṃbulāgala was perhaps the most important center of the Āraṇṇika sect during this period and it produced some of the leading scholars and hierarchs among the *saṅgha* during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Perhaps it is not merely accidental that the ascetic sects rose into prominence at a time when monasteries were becoming increasingly wealthy. In the eyes of the masses the self-denying life of the ascetic would have been a refreshing contrast to the ease and comfort of the life of the monk at the larger monasteries. Even if the life style of the Paṃsukūlikas was becoming less austere, the Āraṇṇikas appear to have in fact lived in the woods in accordance with their precepts without taking advantage of the liberal interpretations allowed by Buddhaghosa. They advocated withdrawal from both economic and social ties to the "world" in order to follow a life of total devotion to philosophical contemplation and scholarly endeavour. Also, the fame that some Āraṇṇika monks

213. *Shsvp.*, pp. 120, 183.

214. *Rasavāhini*, Colombo, 1920, Vol. 1, p. 183.

215. *Shsvp.*, pp. 120, 183.

216. *Niks.*, pp. 25-6.

217. Cf. for instance the use of Palābatgala and Puṭabhattasela on p. 27.

218. *Padasādhana-sannaya*, ed. Dharmānanda, 1932, p. 303.

gained through scholarly achievement would have attracted the attention and respect of the discerning laity; some of the better-known teachers and exegetists of this period belonged to this sect. But there is little doubt that it was the ascetic charisma which enabled the Āraṇṇīkas easily to surpass the city-dwelling leadership of the *nikāyas* in popularity and to acquire the influence they later came to wield.

The Dravidian Monks

If Geiger's reading and interpretation of a strophe in the *Cūlavamsa* are accepted, it would appear that there was yet another separate group within the *saṅgha* in Sri Lanka. He has given this strophe, which occurs in the description of the meritorious deeds of the queen of Udaya I, the following reading:

*kāretvā jayasenam ca pabbataṃ dāmiḷassadā
bhikkhusaṅghassa sā gāmaṃ mahā-ummaraṃ ca tassadā*²¹⁹

In six of the manuscripts Geiger consulted, the last word in the first *pāda* occurs as *dāmissadā* and in a seventh as *dāmisassadā*. It is evident from the case endings that this term was meant to qualify *bhikkhusaṅghassa* in the second *pāda*, but *dāmiḷbhikkhusaṅgha* or *dāmisabhikkhusaṅgha* carries little sense. Hence it was emended to read *gāmikassa* by Sumangala and Batuwantudawe in the first edition of the *Cūlavamsa*.²²⁰ Buddhadatta accepted this emendation in his more recent edition of the chronicle,²²¹ but Geiger's emendation of the phrase to read *dāmiḷassadā* is closer to the original text and yields a more meaningful translation than the phrase *gāmikassadā*. He translated the strophe as follows: "And having built the Jayasenapabbata (*vihāra*), she granted it to the Damiḷa-bhikkhu community. She also made over to them the village Mahā-ummāra."²²²

The acceptance of Geiger's reading, however, carries the implication that the community of Dravidian monks existed as a separate group. For they were, as a group, the beneficiaries of a grant of a monastery and land. Nicholas believed that Mahā-ummāra should be located between Anurādhapura and the river Mahavāli in the area known today as the Hurulu Palāta.²²³ However, the location of this village is not a necessary indication of the whereabouts of the monastery.

219. *Cv.* 49. 24.

220. *The Mahāvamsa*, ed. H. Sumangala and H. A. de S. Batuwantudawe, Colombo, 1908, p. 298.

221. *Unapūraṇasaḥito Mahāvamsa*, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, Colombo 1959, p. 284.

222. *Cv.* trsl., Vol. I, p. 128.

223. *JRASCBSNS*, Vol. VI, p. 173.

An inscription from Vevālkāṭiya in the Kāṇḍā Korale, twenty-one miles to the northeast of Anurādhapura, also hints at the possible existence of a separate community of Dravidian monks. This tenth-century record mentions a certain Demelṣehera at Kibinilam which was situated in the district of Aṅgam in the Northern Division.²²⁴ It is possible that the Demelṣehera was a monastery where Dravidian monks lived, and if so, the assumption that there were separate monasteries for the community of Dravidian monks may be valid. But one cannot rule out the possibility that the monastery received this name for some other reason, for instance, because it had been built by a Dravidian.

The Dravidian monk was a familiar figure in ancient Sri Lanka. Some monks came from South India to make a significant contribution to the development of Buddhist thought in the island.²²⁵ However, the assumption that there was a community of Dravidian monks leading a separate existence entails the grave implication that the community of monks was divided on racial grounds. Such an assumption would be based, as has been demonstrated above, on weak and questionable evidence.

The Place of the Nikāya in the Structure of the Saṅgha

Though most sources are in accord as to the number of *nikāyas* in the island, there are certain passages in the chronicles which seem to suggest that there were more than three *nikāyas*. One such passage occurs in the description of the meritorious deeds of Aggabodhi IV (A.D. 667-683) in the *Cūlavamsa*:

Having heard and seen that the monasteries of the two *nikāyas* were poorly endowed, he granted them many maintenance villages. What need is there for many words? To the three *nikāyas* he gave a thousand villages yielding undisputed and abundant revenues.²²⁶

The crucial question here is whether the two *nikāyas* mentioned first are to be considered as distinct from the three *nikāyas* mentioned subsequently. Evidently Geiger believed that they were distinct, for he suggested that they should be identified with the Thupārāma and Mariccavaṭṭi monasteries.²²⁷ This would imply that there were five different *nikāyas* among the Buddhist *saṅgha* in Sri Lanka; however, this is not the only possible

224. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 246, ll. 6-7.

225. See *infra* p. 264.

226. *tathā dvinnam nikāyānaṃ vihāre mandapaccaye disvāpi ca sutvā vā bhogaḡāme bahū adā bahunā kiṃ nu vuttena nikāyesu pi tisu pi adā gāmasahassam so bahuppādam nirākulaṃ*. Cv. 46. 15-6.

227. Cv., trsl., Vol. I, p. 99, n. 2.

interpretation of this passage. It is also possible that the first reference is to the two better known of the *nikāyas*, the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri, while all the three *nikāyas* are referred to in the second strophe. The two monasteries cited by Geiger are nowhere mentioned as independent *nikāyas*, and it is certain that they were institutions attached to the Mahāvihāra *nikāya*.

Two fourteenth-century chronicles, the *Daḷadā-pūjāvāliya* and the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya*, refer to the Dhammaruci, Sāgalī and the Vaitulyavādi as the *nikāyas* which were reformed by Parākramabāhu I.²²⁸ This testimony would imply that, together with the Mahāvihāra, there were four *nikāyas* in Sri Lanka at this time. However, these two works are clearly at variance with more reliable sources like the Galvihāra inscription. In its description of Parākramabāhu's reforms this record mentions only the three *nikāyas* and none other.²²⁹ Though the teachings of the Mahāyāna, the Tantra and some other schools of Indian Buddhism were known in Sri Lanka, it does not seem likely that their local followers had separate organizations. The *Mahāvāṃsa* and the *Cūlavāṃsa* refer to the Vaitulyavāda merely as a body of "heretical teachings" accepted by certain monks of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana *nikāyas*.²³⁰ The *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* categorically states that the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana were the only *nikāyas* constituting the Buddhist *saṅgha* of Sri Lanka.²³¹

It becomes clear from this examination of the groups which constituted the Buddhist *saṅgha* in Sri Lanka that in the ninth and tenth centuries the *nikāya* formed the main element in its structure. Unlike the divisions in Tibetan Buddhism, the three *nikāyas* of Sri Lanka did not represent provincial interests; they existed side by side in various localities. The influence of the Mahāvihāra seems to have been more widely spread in the island while the strength of the other two *nikāyas* lay mainly in the capital. It would also seem that among the ascetic sects the Mahāvihāra enjoyed far greater support than the other two *nikāyas*.

The liberal attitude adopted by the Abhayagiri *nikāya* towards non-Theravāda schools of Buddhism and the ambiguous stance of the Jetavana *nikāya* in doctrinal disputes make it unlikely that these two *nikāyas* attempted to enforce rigid adherence of their members to specific bodies of doctrinal teachings. On the other hand, in almost all the commentarial

228. *Niks.*, p. 25; *Dalpju.*, p. 61.

229. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 269, l. 13.

230. For a detailed discussion, see *supra* p. 31.

231. *ito vādattayo idhañṇaṃ vādantaram natthīti ca datthabban. tenetaṃ vuttam: dhammarucikā sāgalikā laṅkāṅṅipamhi bhinnakāti.* *Vap.*, Vol. I, pp. 175-6.

works of the Mahāvihāra one notices the emphasis on the "purity" of its doctrinal traditions. It is likely that this *nikāya* expected a more rigid adherence to its traditions from its followers, but there is little information on institutional provisions enabling any such control.

An inscription issued by Kassapa V, found at the Abhayagiri monastery, alludes to the practice of assigning monks who were trained in scriptures at the main monastery to fill vacancies at dependent institutions.²³² Such arrangements would have been conducive to greater ideological unity within a *nikāya*. In matters of doctrinal teachings the relationship between the main monastery and its affiliated institutions would come into force mainly in instances of dispute. Consultations with neighbouring monasteries was one of the means recommended in the Vinaya for the solution of disputes regarding the doctrine or the disciplinary rules.²³³ It would have been usual to refer such disputes either to the main monastery or to other monasteries within the *nikāya* for solution. However, distance would have been one of the limiting factors on the functioning of the relationship between the main monastery and the other constituents of a *nikāya*. It is doubtful that the leading monasteries at the capital were successful in maintaining their supervisory influence over affiliated monasteries and hermitages in the far corners of Rohaṇa and Dakkhinadesa.

Nevertheless, it is evident from the commentaries of Buddhaghosa that some form of consultation did prevail between monasteries situated at considerable distances from each other. The *Atthasālinī*, for example, quotes extensively (and tacitly approves of) the interpretation of the *Dhammasaṅgani* professed by Mahādammārakkhita of Rohaṇa and Mahādatta of Moravāpi, though it purports to be an exposition of the views held by the Mahāvihārā.²³⁴ Further, the *Visuddhimagga* records an instance of a monk from Anurādhapura going to Rohaṇa to acquaint himself with the interpretation of the Canon propounded by the *thera* Mahā Dhammārakkhita mentioned above.²³⁵ Such evidence suggests that, at least in the early days, it was not simply a case of the main monasteries of Anurādhapura giving the lead and impressing their views on the rest. The provincial monasteries came into prominence when they produced men of scholarly attainment, and their views were accepted even by the monks at the capital.

232. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 48, l. 4.

233. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. II, p. 94.

234. *Atthasālinī*, PTS, 1897, pp. 230, 278, 284-6. Moravāpi has been located in the Kurunāgala District. *JRASCBS*, Vol. VI, p. 94.

235. *Vsm.*, pp. 77-8.

Finally, it has to be emphasized that, though the three *nikāyas* were held to be representative of the *saṅgha* as a whole by the chroniclers, this does not necessarily mean that all the monasteries in the island came within their fold. Buddhism had penetrated throughout the island well before *nikāya* divisions arose and it is possible that some of the ancient monasteries continued to lead an independent existence and avoided affiliation with any one of the *nikāyas*. Perhaps it is a similar independent institution that finds mention in the *Cūlavamsa* when it records that the Kurunda monastery built by Aggabodhi I (574-604) was for the whole order of monks (*sabbasaṅghikaṃ*).²³⁶ If any importance is to be attached to the last phrase, this particular monastery, unlike many monasteries constructed or given grants during this period, would seem to have been devoid of affiliation to any one of the *nikāyas*. It has already been suggested that the Paṃsukūlikas who broke away from the Abhayagiri *nikāya* in the ninth century existed as an independent group. Hence it would seem that the three *nikāyas* represented the *saṅgha* only in a conventional sense; their rise into prominence did not bring about a sharp division of the entire clerical community into three groups.

236. Cv. 42. 15.



The Saṅgha and Monastic Property

The ideal of the early Buddhist monks, like that of most other ascetics, represented an attempt to stand aloof from the economic and social bonds of normal lay life. It prescribed the rejection of wealth and all forms of economic activity. The monk was to lead a life of poverty and of total dependence on the voluntary donations of the laity. However, with the rise in number of clerics and monasteries, adherence to such an ideal ceased to be practicable. The total dependence of a large number of monks and nuns on voluntary donations for their food and clothing was an unsatisfactory arrangement. It became increasingly clear that the monastery needed a stable source of income in order to regularly provide for the essential requisites of its inmates, the performance of its ritual, and the maintenance of its buildings. Meanwhile, the capacity of the royalty and the nobility to make substantial endowments grew with developments in the technology of food production. This paved the way to the growth of monastic property and brought about a significant change in the attitude of the *saṅgha* towards wealth.

The Accumulation of Monastic Property

The practice of endowing monasteries with property in land and irrigation works can be traced back to a period as early as the latter part of the second century B.C. The Dūvegala and Nā-ulpota inscriptions of Lañjatissa (119-109 B.C.) record a grant of tracts of land and of an irrigation reservoir to a monastery.¹ It has also been suggested that the Nā-ulpota and Galgamuva inscriptions, which mention donations of both agricultural and irrigation property to monasteries, date from the

1. *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. III, Pt. 3, 1918, pp. 204-5; *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 148.

reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (103-102, 89-77 B.C.).² With the reign of Vasabha (A.D. 76-111) begins a period of intensive hydraulic enterprise which lasted for about seven centuries, and it would seem that the monasteries benefited from the extension of the cultivated area and the increase of agricultural produce it brought about. The inscriptions as well as the chronicles abound with references to donations of property in both land and irrigation works which were made to the *saṅgha* during this period.

Vasabha presented the rights to dues from his major irrigation enterprise, the Āḷisāra canal, to the Mucela monastery. He also granted a reservoir which could irrigate a thousand *karīsas* to a monastery at Galambatittha.³ Mahānāga (569-571) granted three hundred "fields" to the Jetavana monastery and a thousand "fields" to the Mahāvihāra.⁴ Aggabodhi I endowed the Kurunda monastery with a coconut plantation which was "three *yojanas* in extent." His *yuvārāja* gave two hundred "fields" to another monastery.⁵ The use of such vague terms as "field" in the chronicles makes it difficult to form a clear idea of the extent of the properties granted to monasteries. Further, there is no means of verifying the figures given by the chroniclers. But, even if one were to make allowances for possible exaggerations, it would seem from these instances that the donations made during this period progressively increased in both extent and value. Though the wealth that the monastery acquired was mainly in land and irrigation works, there are occasional references to other types of property. For instance, Moggallāna III (618-623) is said to have donated more than three hundred salterns.⁶

Perhaps the most common type of property granted to monasteries during this period was the *gāma*. It is loosely rendered into English as "village." The problems involved in the translation of this term have already attracted the attention of several scholars,⁷ but, in the absence of a suitable alternative, the term "village" has been retained in this study.

2. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 148; *CJSG*, Vol. II, p. 123.

3. *Mv.* 35.47. *Karīsa* = *kiri*. The *Saddharma-ratnāvalī* (ed. D. B. Jayatilaka, 1928, p. 135) translates the Pāli term *aṭṭhakarīsa* in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (P.T.S. ed., Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 94) as *ekayāla dolosamuṇa*. Since a *yāla* is equivalent to twenty *amuṇu*, this means that a *karīsa* of cultivable land amounted to four *amuṇu* in sowing extent. According to Clough, an *amuṇa* is equivalent to about 2 to 2½ acres. Codrington estimated it at 1 acre. See *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 189-90.

4. *Cv.* 41. 98-9.

5. *Cv.* 92. 9, 15-6.

6. *loṇakhetta*. *Cv.* 44. 49.

7. See for instance Julius de Lanerolle, "An Examination of Mr. Codrington's Work on Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon," *JRASC*, Vol. XXXIV, 1938, pp. 199-219; Codrington's rejoinder (*Ibid.* pp. 220-5) and de Lanerolle's reply (*Ibid.* pp. 226-30).

It is used, however, not in its strict English sense but, as Baden-Powell used it in his well-known work on land tenure in India,⁸ to mean "a group of landholdings aggregated in one place."

The villages granted to the main monasteries of the Mahāvihāra *nikāya* formed a fairly substantial collection. Buddhādāsa (337-365) endowed the Moraparivena at the Mahāvihāra with two villages—Sama-nagāma and Golapānugāma.⁹ Dāṭhopatissa II (659-667) gave the village Kasagāma to the same establishment.¹⁰ L. S. Perera has remarked that there is no mention of land grants in the inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries,¹¹ but it is clear from the evidence in the *Cūlavamsa* that the growth of monastic property continued unabated. Sena II (853-887) granted villages called *bhogagāma* to the Lohapāsāda.¹² Geiger rendered *bhogagāma* into English as "maintenance village."¹³ During the reign of Kassapa IV (898-914) his general, Sena Ilaṅga, assigned "maintenance villages" to the hermitages he built, some of which were for the monks of the Mahāvihāra *nikāya*.¹⁴ Kassapa V (914-928) presented two "maintenance villages" to the Mariccavaṭṭi monastery;¹⁵ Dappula II (923-924) gave it another village;¹⁶ Dappula IV (924-935) granted a village to the shrine of the Bo Tree at the Mahāvihāra,¹⁷ and finally Mahinda IV (956-972) assigned "maintenance villages" to the Candana-pāsāda at the Mariccavaṭṭi monastery.¹⁸

The other two *nikāyas* do not figure so prominently in the lists of donations found in the chronicles. Sena I fixed "large revenues" (*mahābhoga*) for the residence he built at the Jetavana monastery.¹⁹ Sena II and his queen made endowments for colleges within the Abhayagiri monastery,²⁰ and Kassapa IV granted a village to a residence for monks he built within the same monastery.²¹ The Bhaṇḍika and Silāmegha

8. B. H. Baden-Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, Oxford, 1896, Vol. I, p. 21.

9. Cv. 37. 173.

10. Cv. 45. 27-8.

11. L. S. Perera, *Institutions of Ancient Ceylon from Inscriptions*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, p. 1327.

12. Cv. 51.71.

13. Cv. trsl., Vol. I, p. 153.

14. Cv. 52. 26.

15. Cv. 52. 46.

16. Cv. 53. 2.

17. Cv. 53. 10.

18. Cv. 54. 10.

19. Cv. 50. 66.

20. Cv. 51. 86.

21. Cv. 52. 13.

colleges of this monastery received a grant of two villages during the reign of Kassapa V.²²

It was not only the monasteries at the capital that benefited from grants of land during the period under consideration. The *Cūlavamsa* records grants of villages and "maintenance villages" made to the Senagabodhi shrine at Polonnaruva, the Kūṭatissa, Maṇḍalagiri and Nilārāma monasteries in Rājaraṭṭha, the Buddhagāma monastery in Malaya and the Mahiyaṅgaṇa monastery in Rohaṇa.²³ Inscriptions from a ruined site at Kaludiyapokuṇa reveal that a large well-endowed monastery existed there in the tenth century.²⁴ The preceding account of donations to the community of monks makes it clear that the main monasteries at the capital as well as hermitages from various parts of the island had, by this time, come to own varied types of property which included irrigation works, fields, plantations, salterns and villages.

The acceptance of property introduced a new concept into the organization of the *saṅgha*. The earliest donations, mostly of caves, were made "to the *saṅgha* of the four directions, present and absent" or, in other words, to the entire *saṅgha*.²⁵ It is very likely that donations of other types of dwellings, situated in parks, were of a similar character, but donations of sources of income were made from the start to individual monasteries. As a result of this practice the monastery came to represent not merely a group of resident monks but also a corporate property-owning institution. The boundary disputes between the major monasteries at the capital and, in particular, the objections raised by the Mahāvihāra to other monasteries being erected on what it considered its own grounds reveal how strongly the inmates of these monasteries felt that the land attached to their monasteries belonged to them alone.²⁶ It is noteworthy that some of these grants were made not merely to a monastery but to a particular institution within a monastery such as a college or a shrine. Such grants reflect the expansion of the monastery and the consequent rise in importance of sub-units within its organization. Certain grants make a further specification; for instance, the village Koṭṭhagāma was granted by Udaya I (797-801) for the purpose of meeting the cost of guarding an image-house. Similarly, the village Mahāgāma was donated

22. *Cv.* 52. 58.

23. *Cv.* 49. 17; 51. 74-5.

24. *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 253-69.

25. *agata anagata catudisa sagasa*.

26. Chronicles record three instances of such disputes, i.e., during the reigns of Kaniṭṭha Tissa, Mahāsena and Daṭṭhopatissa II. *Mv.* 36. 10-3; 37. 32-3; *Cv.* 45. 29-30.

by the same king in order to meet the expenses of festivals pertaining to the Kholakkhiya Buddha image.²⁷

The Nature of Property Rights

The problem of the nature and extent of the rights that the monasteries enjoyed over their property has to be examined in detail at this stage particularly because it has been suggested that these donations of property involved merely the transfer of taxes or income due from them and not of the complete property rights. If indeed this was the case, the taxes due to the king or a share of the income would have been turned over to the monastery which would, however, have no real control over the management of its property.

Two statements in the *Mahāvamsa* shed light on the nature of at least some of these grants. Gajabāhu I is said to have granted the Mariccavaṭṭi monastery a tract of land which he had bought for a hundred thousand (*kaḥāpanas*?); his mother bought another plot of land from the Mahāvihāra in order to build a dwelling for monks.²⁸ It seems most likely that it was a proprietary right rather than a right to royal dues that Gajabāhu purchased at such cost for the Mariccavaṭṭi monastery. The second reference makes it clear that even as early as in the second century A.D. monasteries could, at least theoretically, dispose of their lands. In certain inscriptions, grants of property are made after exempting them from *kara* which most probably denoted a tax (*kara kaḍaya* or *kara kaḍavaya*).²⁹ Hence it is possible to suggest that at least some of these grants involved the transfer of property rights which were more extensive than the rights to royal dues.

Inscriptions and chronicles prove to be of limited use in determining the nature of the relationship which prevailed between the monastery and its tenants and in investigating the ways in which the monastery exerted its rights of ownership during this period. However, the *Samantapāsādikā* throws some light on the nature of the property rights of the monastery. In one passage Buddhaghosa lays down the procedure to be followed in the exchange of property:

This is the procedure to be followed in exchange of property: A coconut plantation belonging to the *saṅgha* is situated at a distance from the monastery. *Kappiyakāra*³⁰ consume much of

27. Cv. 49. 14-6.

28. Mv. 35. 121.

29. For S. Paranavitana's interpretation of these terms, see *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 117-8.

30. For an explanation of this term see *infra* pp. 97-8.

the produce. And when whatever is left is brought from thither, it would amount to little once the charges of the carts are paid. Some people from a village close to the plantation own a plantation close to the monastery. They come and suggest that the plantations be exchanged. In such a case, the suggestion should be accepted, if it is agreeable to the *saṅgha*, without hesitating on the thought that the plantation belongs to the *saṅgha* and as such should not be exchanged.³¹

The reference to exchange of property and the realistic manner in which the problems that the landowners have to face, like misappropriation by employees and cost of transporting produce, are described in the *Samanta-pāsādikā* leave little doubt that the monastery was in fact enjoying proprietary rights over its lands.

In the course of commenting on the word *udake* in the second section on *Pārājikā*, Buddhaghosa grades various offenses connected with irrigation and recommends penances for each offense.³² This suggests the possibility that monasteries were involved in irrigational activities. The *Rājasikkhāpadavaṇṇanā* subsection of the *Tiṃsakavaṇṇanā* further clarifies this relationship. It provides some rules to guide monks in their relations with cultivators who use irrigation water from reservoirs belonging to the monastery:

If people, bent on helping the *saṅgha*, construct an irrigation reservoir on the land belonging to the *saṅgha*, and thenceforth provide "allowed articles"³³ from the proceeds of the crops raised with the water from the reservoir, it is permissible to accept them. And when it is requested, "Appoint a *kappiyakāraka*³⁴ for us," it is in order to appoint one. And if these people, being oppressed by the tax demands of the king, were to give up the land and go away, and if others who occupy their land do not give anything to the monks, it is permissible to stop the supply of water; but this should be done in the ploughing season and not in the crop season. And if the people were to say, "Reverend sirs, even in the past people raised crops with water from this reservoir," then they should be told, "They helped the *saṅgha* in such and such manner, and provided the *saṅgha* with such and such articles." And if they say, "We, too, shall do so," it is permissible to accept what they offer.³⁵

31. *Smp.* Vol. VI, 1947, p. 1238.

32. *Smp.* Vol. II, 1927, pp. 343-6.

33. *kappiyabhaṇḍa*, "utensils allowable to the monks." See *Vinaya Pīṭaka*, PTS, Vol. I, p. 192.

34. For an explanation of this term, see *infra* pp. 97-100.

35. *Smp.* Vol. III, 1930, p. 679.

Similar procedures are recommended for the collection of dues from canals, fields and forests belonging to the *saṅgha*.³⁶

It is quite clear that these rules have been drafted with consideration for the interests of the tenant. Even the coercive measures designed to make him pay his dues were to be executed in a manner which would not cause him excessive losses. The regulations also imply that the rights of the *saṅgha* were limited and regulated by precedent. It is on the strength of precedent, i.e., that the previous tenant had been paying dues, that the monastery demanded dues from the new tenant. The monastery was not to demand dues from the first tenant; payment was left to his discretion.³⁷ In actual practice, however, this would hardly have been a hindrance or a limitation. A donor of a field, a canal or a reservoir would see to it that the income and the rights that were his due were transferred to the monastery after donation, and this would create the necessary precedent for the monastery to establish its rights. The most important fact that emerges from this passage is that the rights of the *saṅgha* in both land and irrigation works were not restricted to taxes or to a share of the income turned over by a third party. They were in actual possession of at least some of these donations and were in a position to enforce the right to their legitimate share by gentle yet effective means.

Exactly what was involved in the transfer of villages to the monasteries remains to be examined. The grant of a village could involve the right to taxes, to labor from its inhabitants, to proprietary right over its land, or a combination of these. In addition to *gāma*, terms like *ārā-mikagāma*, *lābhaggāma* and *bhogagāma* have been used to describe grants of villages made to the *saṅgha* up to and during the period under consideration. An *ārāmikagāma* would be a "service-village" which supplied men to perform various specified functions at the monastery.³⁸ Geiger translated the term *lābha* as "revenues" and a passage which reads *lābhaggāmaṃ . . . mahesiyā* as "the village the proceeds of which had belonged to the *mahesi*."³⁹ In his valuable paper on "Proprietary and Tenurial Rights in Ancient Ceylon," L. S. Perera commented that *lābha* "does not appear to be a technical term as such though it carries the general meaning of 'profit' or 'advantage' or 'gain.' Whether villages were called *bhogagāma* or not," he further adds, "most if not all the grants of this period fall into the same type."⁴⁰ This interpretation

36. *Smp.* Vol. III, p. 682.

37. *Ibid.* p. 680.

38. See *infra* pp. 98-9.

39. *Cv.* 42. 61.

40. *CJHSS*, Vol. III, No. 1, 1960, pp. 16, 18-9.

would imply that though three different terms, *lābhaggāma*, *bhogagāma* and *gāma*, were used in the chronicles, they in fact denoted the same type of grant. This, however, does not seem likely.

Though in early Pāli literature the term *lābha* carries the general meanings given above, it seems to have acquired a special connotation in the tenth-century inscriptions, and it is even likely that it possessed similar connotations in the chronicles. The slab inscription of Kassapa V lists *lābha laduvan* (recipients of *lābha*) as one of the three types of monks who lived at the Abhayagiri monastery.⁴¹ The Kapārārāma Sanskrit inscription of Saṅghanandin refers to *vāsalābhārtha* to which the inmates of a monastery were entitled.⁴² Paranavitana translated *vāsalābhārtha* as "residence, income and welfare." He suggests that *lābha* would have been the stipend that an inmate of a monastery received.⁴³ The stipend could have covered the right to board as well. But most probably it denoted something more than the right to board. If this were not so, the reference to a category of monks called recipients of *lābha* would be meaningless. The payment of special emoluments to monks of scholarly attainment and to those who performed administrative duties at the monastery is mentioned in many of the contemporary sources.⁴⁴ The two instances of the occurrence of *lābha* in the *Cūlavamsa* agree with the interpretation of the term as a stipend. It was the learned monks who were honored by Moggallāna III with assignments of especially high *lābha*.⁴⁵ Aggabodhi II granted a *lābhaggāma* belonging to his queen to the men who were to guard the relic-shrine at the Thūpārāma.⁴⁶ *Lābhaggāma* in this context may be interpreted as a village granted in lieu of a stipend.

The term *bhoga* occurs in Sanskrit in a wide variety of meanings including "enjoyment, usufruct, food, income, revenues and wealth." In Indian inscriptions it appears as a technical term connoting a special type of "royal dues" as well as in a general sense of "enjoyment, possession and wealth" to quote only a few of its connotations.⁴⁷ The Pāli dictionary gives the following explanation of *bhogagāma*: " 'village of revenue,' a tributary village i.e. a village which has to pay tribute or contribution (in food etc.) to the owner of its ground."⁴⁸

41. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 48, ll. 29-30.

42. *EZ*, Vol. V, Pt. 1, p. 169, l. 13.

43. *Ibid.* n. 7.

44. See *infra* pp. 101, 148.

45. *Cv.* 44.47.

46. *Cv.* 42. 61.

47. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, 1872, p. 722.

48. *Pali-English Dictionary*, PTS.

In the Pāli chronicles, too, the term *bhoga* has been used in a wide variety of meanings. The first and the third kings who bore the name Moggallāna gave *bhoga* when they gave their sisters and daughters in marriage.⁴⁹ Here it could mean either "wealth" or "revenues," and Geiger has chosen the second meaning. Dhātusena restored to his brother Kumārasena his *pubbabhoga* which consisted of two hundred fields and half the income from Kālavāpi.⁵⁰ In this context the term most probably meant proprietary right rather than royal dues. But the term *bhoga* has been used in the chronicle to denote some type of royal dues too. In one particular strophe the term occurs in both the senses of "tax" and of "property." While describing the meritorious works of Mahinda IV, the chronicler mentions a decree of this king appealing to future kings not to charge *bhoga* from *saṅghabhoga*.⁵¹ These examples reveal, as Perera has pointed out, that *bhoga* was a general term which had a variety of meanings: it has to be interpreted in accordance with the context in which it occurs.⁵² It may be added that even in instances where the king makes grants of *bhoga*, the word is liable to any one of these interpretations and does not necessarily connote the transfer of "revenues" or "revenue-yielding villages."

The term *bhogagāma* occurs in the *Sahassa-vatthu-pakaraṇa*.⁵³ In the *Cūlavamsa* it occurs for the first time in the account of the reign of Kassapa I (473-491) and is found in numerous instances up to the reign of Parākramabāhu II (1236-1270).⁵⁴ These instances reveal that the practice of granting *bhogagāmas* was widely prevalent in different parts of the island throughout the period under consideration. It is also noteworthy that in all these instances the grants of *bhogagāmas* concern the maintenance of people, whether they be monks or laymen. Though villages are granted for such purposes as meeting the cost of daily ritual at shrines and of festivals, the term *bhogagāma* is never used in such a context. The validity of this observation is confirmed by descriptions of some of the grants found in the *Cūlavamsa*. Sena II granted *bhogagāmas* to the Lohapāsāda which he had renovated, and he decreed that thirty monks should live there.⁵⁵ Some grants are more specific. Udaya I

49. Cv. 39. 55; 41.7.

50. Cv. 38. 53.

51. *rājā so' nāgate bhogam rājāno saṅghabhogato na gaṇhātūti pāsāne likhāpetvā nidhāpayi.* Cv. 54. 28.

52. See *CJHSS*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 18.

53. *Shsyp.*, p. 158.

54. Cv. 30. 10; 44. 51, 97-101; 46. 12-4; 49. 21; 51. 74, 79; 61. 54-5; 84.3-4.

55. Cv. 51. 71.

renovated the Giribhaṇḍa monastery and granted *bhogagāmas* to the monks living there.⁵⁶ Kassapa V restored the Mariccavaṭṭi monastery and granted *bhogagāmas* to the five hundred monks whom he had settled there.⁵⁷ Similarly, it was to the monks of the same monastery that Mahinda IV assigned *bhogagāmas*.⁵⁸ According to a statement made in the *Cūlavamsa* in connection with the reign of Kassapa IV it appears that *bhogagāmas* were distinct from the villages of the employees of the monastery (*ārāmikagāmas*); thus this king is said to have endowed the monasteries he built with both *bhogagāmas* and *ārāmikagāmas*.⁵⁹ It is probable that *bhogagāmas* were assigned to provide the monks with their priestly requisites. Such an interpretation would gain strength from a strophe in the *Cūlavamsa* according to which Aggabodhi IV, on hearing that the monks of the two *nikāyas* were in need of "requisites," granted them *bhogagāmas*.⁶⁰ It is probably through consideration of these facts that Geiger rendered the term into English as "maintenance village."

In certain instances the grants of "maintenance villages" probably involved the transfer of rights other than royal dues. In one case Kassapa I is said to have purchased the "maintenance villages" he granted to the Issarasamaṇa monastery.⁶¹ It seems unlikely that by the fifth century taxes from all the villages in this area had been granted away so that the king had to buy some back to make a regrant. Further, if it was only the royal dues which were being transferred, the location of the villages would have been of no great importance, and in that case the necessity to buy the villages would not have arisen. But this action of the king would be more understandable if he intended to transfer the proprietary rights over the villages. If this were the case, all the landholdings in the village were being donated to the monastery as an estate.

Further evidence is available in an inscription from Rambāva in the Kāṇḍā Korale, which dates from the reign of Mahinda IV and refers to a grant of certain tracts of land to be enjoyed by a person called Kaliṅgurad Pirivat Hāmbuvan and by his descendants.⁶² Among the lands transferred were fields and unirrigated high land from the *sambhogagamu* Vaṅgurupiti, excluding what had been previously dedicated to the *saṅgha*. It is clearly a transfer of tenurial rights. The grant implies

56. *bhogagāme ca dāpesi bhikkhūnaṃ taṃ nivāsinaṃ*. Cv. 49. 29.

57. Cv. 52. 46.

58. Cv. 54. 40.

59. Cv. 52. 26.

60. Cv. 46. 15.

61. *issarasamaṇārāmaṃ kāretvā pubbatthuto adhikaṃ bhogagāme ca kiṇitvā tassa dāpayi*. Cv. 39. 10.

62. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 65-70.

that the king had a proprietary right over the village except in the lands which had already been given to the *saṅgha*, and the village is termed *sambhogagāmu*. The Pāli equivalent of the term, *sambhogagāma*, does not occur in the chronicles, and it is very tempting to connect it with *bhogagāma* and to cite it as further evidence in support of the interpretation given above.

There is, however, one passage in the *Cūlavamsa* which can be cited in refutation of this interpretation. According to this passage Sena II made a donation of *bhogagāmas* to the three monasteries—Buddhagāma, Mahiyaṅgaṇa and Kūṭatissa. But in the very next strophe he is said to have granted *sagāmake* to the monastery of Maṇḍalagiri.⁶³ The prefix *sa* is sometimes used in the sense of Pāli *saha*, “with,” but it is not applicable in this particular context. It can also be an abridged form of Pāli *saka* and Skt. *sva*, and instances of its use in this sense can be quoted from the *Cūlavamsa* itself.⁶⁴ Hence the term *sagāmake* is probably the equivalent of Pāli *sakagāmake*. Geiger translated it as “villages belonging to himself.” On the basis of this interpretation one could argue that the term *sagāmake* was used to describe the grant to the Maṇḍalagiri monastery to distinguish it from the grants of the former group which did not fall into this category. This would imply that the grant of *bhogagāma*, at least in this case, was more probably a transfer of revenue and that the interpretation given above is inappropriate.

Bhuttagāma, a term similar in form and derivation to *bhogagāma*, occurs in the *Sahassa-vatthu-pakarāṇa*. In one instance a village is granted by the king as *bhuttagāma* to a lady,⁶⁵ but in another instance a king grants the whole division of Rohaṇa as *bhuttagāma*.⁶⁶ Obviously, this was not a grant of proprietary rights, and the use of this term in such a context could cast doubts on the interpretation of *bhogagāma* given above.

In considering these objections it may be pointed out that the term *sagāmake* need not necessarily have been used in a contrastive sense to *bhogagāma*, for it could have been used, as is common in poetry, synonymously. As regards the second objection, it is not clear whether *bhuttagāma* was identical in meaning with *bhogagāma*. In fact, it is probable that they were different in meaning since both these terms are found in the *Sahassa-vatthu-pakarāṇa*. Yet, since it is safer to draw a conclusion

63. *Cv.* 51. 74-5.

64. See e.g. *Cv.* 39. 58.

65. *Shsvp.* p. 64.

66. *Ibid.* p. 69.

which makes allowance for these objections, the interpretation given above may be modified: At least some of the grants of villages, especially of *bhogagāma*, involved the transfer of the proprietary rights of the land-holdings in these villages, and sometimes the monastery also acquired fiscal rights over these monastic estates. A clear instance of a monastery exercising both these rights is found in the Mihintale Tablets according to which the Cetiyagiri monastery separately assigned revenue and land-allotments from the two villages Gutā and Karandā to the officials and to the workmen in its employ.⁶⁷

It is evident from certain other inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries that there were types of grants which entitled the monastery to a share of the produce without involving it in the actual management of property. The Gonnāva Devāle inscription, which dates from the reign of Sena II or of Dappula IV,⁶⁸ records the grant of a tract of land in Mahamiṇilābim to Agbo Mugayin Varadāna to be held on *pamuṇu* tenure.⁶⁹ The grant carried the proviso that a share (*bā*) of one *amuṇa*⁷⁰ of paddy for each *kiri* of field was to be paid at each harvest to the "inner monastery" of the Mahāvihāra.⁷¹ In an inscription from Nāgama dated the seventh regnal year of a king identified as Kassapa IV, a certain *mahayā* Kitambavā was granted the village Koḷayunu in the district of Taṇabim to be held on *pamuṇu* tenure on condition that he paid an annual "tithe" (*badu*)⁷² to the Abhayagiri monastery.⁷³ Owing to the fragmentary nature of the record, it is not possible to determine the extent of this payment. In the Rambāva inscription of the first regnal year of Mahinda IV, which presents a list of property granted to Kaliṅgurad Pirivat Hāmbuvan, the donee was to supply oil for two months each year, at the rate of one *lāha* a week, for the maintenance of lamps at the shrine of the Bo Tree at the Mahāvihāra.⁷⁴ All three grants carried the immunities usually associated with direct grants of land to monasteries.

67. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 94-6, ll. A37-8, B33-6, B 38-40.

68. See *EZ*, Vol. IV, p. 187.

69. For *pamuṇu* tenure, see *infra* p. 68.

70. An *amuṇa* was a measure of grain amounting to 4 *pāl* or 40 *lāha*. The *lāha* was the equivalent of 4 *nāli* (*nāli*). The *nāli* is approximately the same as the modern "measure." A "measure" of rice amounts to about two pounds in weight.

71. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 186-91.

72. *Badu* is used in the sense of royal dues in the Badulla inscription. *EZ*, Vol. V, Pt. II, p. 186, l. C8.

73. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 14-9.

74. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 65-70. For an explanation of *lāha*, see n. 70.

The grants recorded in these inscriptions obviously belong to a new type according to which the donee evidently enjoyed a permanent tenurial right over the land. In the first two cases *pamuṇu* tenure was actually transferred while in the third it was specified that the land was to be enjoyed in hereditary succession by the descendants of the donee. The donee also enjoyed exemption from the usual royal dues. The monastery was not the owner of the land, but it enjoyed certain specified rights, which in a sense restricted the rights of ownership enjoyed by the donee. A portion of the incomes termed "share" in the first inscription, had to be turned over to the monastery, but it does not seem to have amounted to a substantial part of the yield.⁷⁵

The third inscription carries another condition: "Should there arise a dispute concerning this (grant), the *apīṣaraṇa* monks of the Mahāvihāra shall settle it."⁷⁶ This seems to suggest that the monastery wielded a certain amount of influence and authority over the administration of these grants, but the extent of this influence and authority would have varied according to the circumstances. The lands mentioned in the Gonnāva inscription were situated in the Kurunāgala District, and such a remote situation would naturally ensure freedom from excessive intervention by monastic authority for the donee. The donee in the Nāgama inscription bore the title *mahayā*, while his counterpart in the Rambāva slab inscription was termed Kaliṅgurad (Kāliṅgarāja). Both were important members of the nobility. The power and the position of these donees would have restricted the authority that the monastery could wield over the management of these lands, but these grants, reminiscent of similar endowments made to monasteries in Java, ensured for the monastery a source of income without the attendant responsibilities of landownership.

Certain inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries contain grants of exemption from royal dues on land held by monasteries. Most probably these grants of immunity merely amounted to the transfer of revenue to the monasteries. In this connection a statement which occurs among the regulations for the guidance of monks and officials in the administration of the monastery is of particular interest: "Taxes in excess of, or less than (what is due according to) former practices are not to be

75. * The *Saddharmāṅkāra* (ed. Bertoja Saddhātissa, 1934, p. 10) states that a good field was expected to yield a *yāla* or 20 *amuṇu* for each *pāla* sown. At this rate a *kiri* or field would yield a harvest of 320 *amuṇu* of paddy. Even if the yield of the field is placed at half this rate, the share of the monastery was not substantial.

76. *meṇṇaṇ vāṇ viyavulak āta mahavehera apīṣaraṇa saṅgun sāhā deunu koṭṭ*. EZ, Vol. II, p. 68, ll. 29-30. For an explanation of *apīṣaraṇa saṅgun*, see *infra* pp. 127-8.

levied."⁷⁷ It clearly reveals that the monasteries were not only entitled to the royal dues but also that their officials actively participated in their collection. Apart from these taxes, some of the monasteries derived an income from the administration of justice in the villages which came under their control.⁷⁸

An important question regarding the nature of the property rights that the monasteries enjoyed would be whether these grants to monasteries were revocable. A passage in the *Samantapāsādikā* seems to suggest that a grant made by a royal personage was valid only till the end of his lineage:

When the continuity of the lineage (of the donor) is severed, if whosoever becomes the lord of the province (*janapada*) does not hinder the enjoyment (of the grant) but regrants it, like the queen of Alandanāgarāja in the case of the reservoir enjoyed by the monks of the Cittalapabbata monastery, it is in order.⁷⁹

This passage points to the prevalence of the practice of making regrants and suggests by implication the possibility of the withdrawal of a grant by a new ruler.

A passage in the *Cūlavamsa* suggests the same possibility when the chronicler, while describing the reign of Udaya I (797-801), states that this particular king honored the decrees and edicts of previous kings and maintained and safeguarded the donations made by his father.⁸⁰ The possibility of withdrawal of grants gains further strength from a passage in the Anurādhapura slab inscription of Kassapa V in which the king decrees that his successors should not "confiscate in anger the land granted on *pamunu* tenure with full reliance in the efficacy of the Buddhist order."⁸¹

However, actual cases of withdrawal of grants are rare. The Colombo Museum pillar inscription of Kassapa IV can be cited as a record of one such instance if its present interpretation is accepted. The inscription records an endowment made to a *timbirige* (maternity home). Immunities were granted to this property after "having excluded *pera kusalān*."⁸² Paranavitana translated this term as "previous religious gifts."⁸³ Bell interpreted the term *kusalān* as "a benefaction given and

77. *pere siritin vaḍā kīna karavuvāra nobandā isā*. EZ, Vol. III, p. 265, ll. 39.

78. See *infra* pp. 190-6.

79. *Smp.* Vol. III, 1968, pp. 679-80.

80. *Cv.* 49. 21-2.

81. EZ, Vol. I, p. 47, l. 26.

82. EZ, Vol. III, p. 275, ll. D12-4.

83. EZ, Vol. III, p. 277.

received by the pouring of water.”⁸⁴ More recently W. S. Karunaratna has attempted to trace the origin of the term of *kusala śrāvana* and to interpret it as “the proclamation of a meritorious benefaction.” He has further pointed out that in modern parlance the term *koholan kaḷa*, probably derived from *kusalān kaḷa*, is used to describe property donated to the *saṅgha*.⁸⁵ If, on this basis, Paranavitana’s interpretation is accepted, the possibility of withdrawals of religious donations seems rather strong.

Two more inscriptions contain information relevant to the problem under discussion. Of these, the Paṇḍuvasnuvara pillar inscription of a king, identified as Udaya II (887-898), has not been very well preserved and yields a controversial text. It seems to imply that certain rights over two villages, Nāgala and Nāranviṭa, had been originally vested in a Bodhisattva shrine at the Abbhayagiri monastery but were subsequently withdrawn.⁸⁶ The other inscription dates from the tenth century and records the transfer of what has been interpreted as an allotment of land which had belonged to the Ruvanvāli *stūpa* at the Mahāvihāra to an establishment attached to the Kālaṇi monastery.⁸⁷ If the readings and the interpretations of these two inscriptions are accepted, they would imply that at least some of the grants made to monasteries were in fact revocable and that in such instances the property rights of the monasteries did not amount to absolute ownership.

In actual practice, however, the withdrawal of grants made to monasteries would have been by no means an easy task. Further, a founder of a new dynasty, with his eye on the means to consolidate his power, would hardly have deemed it wise to estrange the sympathies of the *saṅgha* by withdrawing the land held by them. The reaction which greeted the attempts of Mahāsena and Dāṭhopatiṣṣa II to reallocate the property claimed by one monastery to another shows how difficult the task would have been.⁸⁸ Apart from instances of plunder of the wealth accumulated in monasteries by kings at war, no attempt to confiscate the land granted to monasteries is evident until the end of the period of the Anurādhapura kingdom.

On the other hand, it is not certain whether all the donors who granted land to monasteries had complete property rights over them. Doubts are particularly strong regarding grants made by officials

84. *CALR*, Vol. X, Pt. 1, 1924, p. 7.

85. See *EZ*, Vol. V, pp. 143-4.

86. *EZ*, Vol. VI, pp. 12-20.

87. *EZ*, Vol. VI, pp. 2-7.

88. *Mv.* 37. 32-3; *Cv.* 45. 29-30.

and lesser employees. A fourteenth-century inscription, for example, refers to a grant made to a monastery of *divel* land belonging to an official;⁸⁹ such a grant could not have been permanent. But we cannot be certain whether the meaning of the term *divel* had changed by the fourteenth century.

It is, however, quite probable that most of the grants to the *saṅgha* were intended to be permanent. The inscriptions from Ayitigeväva and Ātaviragolläva, dated in the reign of Kassapa V, record immunities granted to lands belonging to monasteries. At the end of each inscription are two disc emblems identified by D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe as representations of the sun and the moon.⁹⁰ These probably embodied the idea, expressed in detail in later inscriptions, that the grant was to be valid as long as the sun and the moon lasted. This would indicate that at least some of the inscriptions dealt with permanent grants of land made to the *saṅgha*.

Even if the donations made to monasteries were permanent, it is possible that their estates were alienated by sale and mortgage. The strict rules laid down by the kings of the period prohibiting sale and mortgage of monastic property point to the prevalence of these practices. According to the Mihintale Tablets of Mahinda IV, nothing whatsoever belonging to the "inner monastery"⁹¹ or the "relic shrine" was to be given on loan nor to be purchased if offered for sale by monastic officials. The same edict also dictates that no land or villages belonging to the monastery should in any way be given away on *pamuṇu* or *ukas* tenure. The gold given in payment by those who acquired the land was to be confiscated and given over to the monastery, and those who were responsible for the transaction were to be banished from the country.⁹² L. S. Perera, after examining the various instances of this term, has observed that a grant of land as *pamuṇu* "confers to the grantee the most complete ownership possible within the tenure system."⁹³ The passage quoted from the Mihintale Tablets reveals that this transaction involved money, hence, in this context, it would have amounted to a sale of land. The second term, as both H. W. Codrington and Perera have shown,⁹⁴ connotes "mortgage." Prohibition of sale and mortgage of land belonging to the

89. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 90-110. For an explanation of *divel*, see *infra* p. 122.

90. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 34-8, 44-9.

91. *āt vehera*. See *infra* p. 112.

92. *āt vehera dāge pīlibad kavari vatakud pirul nodiyā yutu. kāmiyan vikinij nogatā yutu . . . meveherhi bad tuvāk gambim kavara pariāyēn ukas pamuṇu nodiyā yutu isā gatuvan ranā nohimi koṭ veheratmā navatā gata yutu isā dunuvan des yavanu koṭ*. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 92, ll. A29-30; p. 97, ll. B56-8.

93. L. S. Perera, *Institutions* . . . p. 1261.

94. *Ibid.* pp. 1262-64; H. W. Codrington, *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon*, 1938, pp. 13-4.

saṅgha on pain of such severe punishments should have helped to conserve monastic wealth. But it is not certain whether these regulations were in force throughout the period under consideration nor whether they were enforced as severely as they were expressed.

The Extent of Monastic Property

The possibility of the withdrawal of grants which had been made to monasteries and the possibility of the disposal of property by monasteries themselves through sale and mortgage make it difficult to determine the extent of property under the control of the larger monasteries at Anurādhapura. Further, the chroniclers are less than precise in their descriptions of donations; nor can they be expected to have recorded all the grants that were made.

In all, the chronicles make specific references to grants to the Mahāvihāra of Samaṇagāma, Kasagāma, Paṇṇeli, Goḷapānugāma, Tīntinīgāma and at least seven other villages, a tract of land worth a hundred thousand (*kahāpaṇas*?) and thousand fields,⁹⁵ and to grants to the Abhayagiri monastery of the villages Aṅganasālaka and Dūratissa, more than four other villages including a weavers' village, the reservoir Kolavāpi and the Rahera canal.⁹⁶ They also mention grants to the Jetavana monastery of three hundred fields and the villages Goṇḍigāma and Vasabhaḡāma⁹⁷ and a grant to the Cetiyaḡiri monastery at Mihintale of ten *amuṇu* of fields.⁹⁸

Inscriptions provide more reliable evidence on the subject, though on the whole the information available in them is meagre. As noted earlier, the "inner monastery" of the Mahāvihāra had interests in land in the vicinity of Gonnāva, a village to the south of the river Dāduru.⁹⁹ According to the Mannar Kacceri inscription, the Bahadurusen college of the Mahāvihāra owned the villages Pepodatuda, Kumbalhala and Tumpokun which were located in the Kuḍakadavukā division of the Northern Coast.¹⁰⁰ The Sen Senevirad college at the same monastery owned Posonavulla (probably the name of a tract of land) in the village Sulinnaru, twelve *kiri* in Mahamaṇḍala, and four *paya* in Gālinḍuru Gomaṇḍala.¹⁰¹ Another college at the Mahāvihāra held five

95. Cv. 37. 172-3; 41. 96-7; 42. 17; 45. 28; 53. 10.

96. Cv. 41.31, 96-7; 42.63; 44.68-9; 46. 19-22; 48. 2; 52. 13, 58.

97. Cv. 41. 96-8.

98. Cv. 38. 77.

99. See *supra* p. 64.

100. EZ, Vol. III, pp. 100-13.

101. EZ, Vol. I, pp. 163-71, 172-5. *Pā*, *pāda*, and *paya* seem to be synonymous and denote a fourth of a *kiri*. It is not certain that *payala* meant the same. It may be equated with *pāla* which amounted to a fourth of an *amuṇa* and hence a sixteenth of a *kiri*. For *kiri*, see *supra* p. 54, n. 3.

payala of land close to Polonnaruva while the village Mahagāpiyova in the district of Pirivatubima in the Southern Quarter belonged to the Kasub Senevirat college.¹⁰² The Mariccavaṭṭi monastery owned an estate called Muhunnaru, situated on the southern borders of the river Dādurū.¹⁰³ The nunnery Tissārāma, an affiliate of the Mahāvihāra, owned land at Loholuva (See fig. 2).¹⁰⁴ According to the Mahakalattāva inscription, the Nālārama, another convent which most probably belonged to the Mahāvihāra *nikāya*, possessed the village Gitelgamu.¹⁰⁵

The so-called Jetavanārāma Sanskrit inscription suggests that the villages Lahasikā, Uruḷugoṇu, Ambilagrāma, Huṇāla, Ulavaṇṇasikhaṅṭigrāma, Kirā, Pallāya and Sunagrāma belonged to monasteries attached to the Abhayagiri *nikāya*.¹⁰⁶ The Moragoḍa and Nāgama inscriptions, both dated in the reign of Kassapa IV, reveal that the Abhayagiri monastery had interests in land near Padaviya in the Northeast and at Koḷayunu, near Dambulla in the South.¹⁰⁷ It is evident from an inscription of Kassapa IV that the Mahindasena college of this *nikāya* possessed a tract of land at Hiṅginiviṭi in the division of Digākuliya in the modern Puttalam District.¹⁰⁸ Nāgala and Nāranviṭa, two villages near Paṇḍuvanusuvara, were for some time held by the Abhayagiri monastery.¹⁰⁹ Also two *paya* of land from Vāligamu were assigned to the employees at the Kapārārāma.¹¹⁰ Evidence concerning the property of the Jetavana monastery is restricted to a single record. This inscription, found at Āṭaviragollāva in Kaḍavat Korale, reveals that the village Velangama belonged to the Sirisaṅborad college of the Jetavana group.¹¹¹

Information of a more specific nature is available concerning the extent of the temporalities of the Cetiyaḡiri monastery. However, this too is by no means complete. The Plinth Course inscription copied by Müller seems to refer to payments due to the monastery from the officials of the "four districts" (*satar raḷa*).¹¹² It is not clear whether the monastery possessed any property rights over these areas, and the fragmentary nature

102. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 38-43; Vol. IV, pp. 59-67.

103. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 180-6.

104. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 34-8.

105. *EZ*, Vol. V, pp. 334-45.

106. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 4, *ll.* 4, 8-9.

107. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 200-7; Vol. II, pp. 14-9.

108. *EZ*, Vol. V, pp. 355-65.

109. See *supra* p. 67.

110. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 49, *ll.* 50-1.

111. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 44-9.

112. It is likely that this was an annual payment. It brought in more than 68 *kaḷand* of gold. *AIC*, No. 114. For an explanation of *kaḷand*, see *infra* p. 72.

of the record prevents us from obtaining any more details. According to the Mihintale Tablets¹¹³ this monastery possessed the village of Karandāgama and Gutāgama, land at Kiribaṅḍpavu, land around Pohonavil, the Porodeṇi tank, the *vāsara*¹¹⁴ land at Manu, and land on the upper and lower parts of Lihinipavu. The monastery also held rights to labor from the villages Vaḍudevāgama, Sunuboldevāgama and Dunumugama. The physician at the monastery was assigned *detisāseṇeniya pāḷiyāk* and the master craftsman *boṅḍvehera senāya* thus suggesting—if Parānavitana's interpretation of the various terms is correct¹¹⁵—that the Cetiyaḡiri monastery possessed arable high land at Boṅḍvehera and at Detisā.¹¹⁶ It is rather unfortunate that the inscription does not state the actual extent of the land. In certain other instances it is more specific. Land allotments amounting to eighteen *kiri* from Taḷolagama, two *kiri* from Sapugamiya, three *kiri* from Maṅḡulāva, two *kiri* from Āḷgamiya and a *payala* from Damgamiya occur among assignments set apart for employees' wages and repairs.

The evidence cited above stands in striking contrast to the solitary grant of ten *amuṇu* recorded in the *Cūlavamsa* and helps to provide us with some idea as to how much land the Cetiyaḡiri monastery possessed. Yet one cannot expect to obtain a comprehensive list of property from inscriptions such as these which are primarily administrative regulations, but a fair idea of the resources of the monastery may be formed by considering the various commitments of the institution. The Cetiyaḡiri monastery maintained more than a hundred and seventy employees. About a hundred and seven *kiri* and three *pā* of land were set apart as remuneration for their services. If we base our calculations on the conservative estimates of Codrington, this would amount to 431 acres.¹¹⁷ This did not include allotments made to the physician and the master craftsmen or the five villages—Karandāgama, Gutāgama, Dunumugama, Sunuboldevāgama and Vaḍudevāgama—assigned to various other employees. In a year of three hundred and sixty-five days, seventeen *amuṇu*, two *pāl*, five *kuruṇi*, one *nāḷi* and one *pat* of rice were given to employees alone as daily allowances; forty five *kaḷand* and one *aka* of gold were spent on special allowances. In addition to this twenty-nine "shares"¹¹⁸ were reserved for officials and workmen

113. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 75-113.

114. Parānavitana has translated the term as "irrigated land below a tank." See *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 124-6.

115. *EZ*, Vol. V, Pt. 1, pp. 130-2.

116. *Detisā* could also mean "thirty-two."

117. See *supra* p. 54, n. 3.

118. *vasag*. For an explanation of this term, see *infra* pp. 148-53.

employed in various capacities, and these constituted merely the payments made to employees.

One hundred *kaḷand* of gold, ten *yāl* (=two hundred *amuṇu*) of paddy and all the offerings received at the main shrines of the monastery together with the allotments from Āḷgamiya and Damgamiya, mentioned above, were set apart to meet the cost of repairs and maintenance of monastic buildings. In gold alone the annual expenditure of the monastery on these headings amounted to a hundred and forty-five *kaḷand* and one *aka*. According to the calculations of Codrington a *kaḷand* is equivalent to about 70 to 72 English grains.¹¹⁹ If this is accepted, the expenditure incurred by the monastery would amount to about 10,158.75 to 10,449 English grains of gold. Besides these expenses the monastery had to provide board for its resident staff and the considerable population of monks,¹²⁰ bear the cost of robes and pay special allowances to learned monks.¹²¹

This abstract of the finances of the Cetiyaḡiri monastery points to its ownership of extensive resources presumably based mainly on landed property. It is unfortunate that no such detailed information is available on the resources and commitments of the three major monasteries of Anurādhapura, but the fact that the Cetiyaḡiri monastery was an adjunct of the Abhayaḡiri *nikāya* reflects the extensive nature of the resources of this *nikāya*.

Agricultural Production in Monastic Estates

Our sources do not provide detailed information on agricultural production in monastic estates, but it is clear that certain monasteries possessed extensive tracts of land where coconut and areca were grown.¹²² Since the produce of such large estates would have certainly exceeded the consumption needs of the monastery, it is very likely that a good part of such produce was intended for sale.¹²³ Other crops such as sesame (*Sesamum indicum*), green gram (*Phaseolus aureus*) and *uṇḡu* (*Phaseolus mungo*) were raised on unirrigated land,¹²⁴ but rice was the major crop grown on irrigable land belonging to the monasteries. In a tenth-century inscription, a king, identified as Mahinda IV, stipulated

119. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, 1924, p. 9.

120. See *infra* pp. 144-6.

121. See *infra* pp. 146, 148.

122. See for instance *Cv.* 42. 15-6 and *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 202-18.

123. It is likely that coconut oil and areca nuts were important items in trade. The discussion of the problems of managing a coconut estate found in the *Samanta-pāsādikā* reflects an awareness of the commercial value of the produce of the estate. See *Smp.* Vol. VI, 1947, p. 1238.

124. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 33, l.27; Vol. III, p. 177, l.6.

that rice alone and not grains like green gram should be grown on the irrigable land belonging to a monastery.¹²⁵

Evidently it was the shortage of water which sometimes induced cultivators to raise other crops on land suitable for rice, hence many donors of rice land sought to ensure irrigation facilities. A tenth-century pillar inscription, which is now at the Colombo Museum, records the grant of a tract of land and also provides for the maintenance of the traditional water supply to the land from a nearby stream.¹²⁶ We have already had the occasion to refer to many donations of irrigation reservoirs and canals made to various monasteries. In some instances the monastery had rights over irrigation works in the vicinity. The Cetiya-giri monastery, which had extensive properties in land, was entitled to the *diyabedum* (share or income from water) from the Kaṇā reservoir at Mihintale, and one may presume that water for its fields was readily available.¹²⁷ In other instances fields belonging to monasteries were exempted from water dues. The Iripinniyāva and Rambāva inscriptions, dating respectively from the reigns of Udaya II and Kassapa IV, as well as the Buddhannehāla inscription cited earlier record the exemption of certain monastic fields from the payment of water dues.¹²⁸

Like some Hindu temples in India,¹²⁹ certain Buddhist monasteries in Sri Lanka enjoyed privileged access to irrigational facilities. When a dispute between the royal officials and the employees of the Isuramēnu monastery concerning the rights to water from the Tissa reservoir was brought to the notice of a king, identified as Mahinda IV, he decided in favor of the monastery and set up an edict for the future guidance of his men. The fields belonging to the monastery were to be given precedence in the distribution of water from the reservoir. Water from this reservoir was to be diverted to the monastic fields without interruption until the stone pillar set up in front of the sluice-gate at a depth of four cubits appeared above the water level. If the crop should be destroyed through the failure of royal officials to supply water, the damage was to be assessed and made good by the king.¹³⁰

125. *mevehera avatā had ket vatū(t) dāna vavākin diya tabā sihināṭi vapura(nu) misā muṅg āti novapurānu isā*. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 33, ll. 26-8.

126. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 246-52.

127. Probably the Kanadarā reservoir. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 97, l. B55.

128. See *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 163-71, 172-3, 191-200.

129. See for example *SI*, Vol. IV, Pt. 1, No. 18.

130. Vessagiri inscriptions, Slab A, *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 29-38. Commenting on this inscription, Wickremasinghe confessed that he could not make out the meaning of the phrase *a(ya) sama(nāra) dolen* in the passage *nāsuvanāṭa(ya) sama(nāra)dolen tabā denu koṭ*. ll. 29-30. Evidently this is one of Wickremasinghe's initial and less careful attempts in epigraphic studies. He deciphered the passage correctly but faltered in the separation of words. If this is done correctly, the phrase would read *nāsuvā ṇaṭ a(ya) sama(nā ra)dolen tabā denu koṭ*, "the income lost should be made good (*samanā* probably from *samay*, "to settle") by the state (lit, royal palace)."

A good portion of the land belonging to the monastery was assigned to its employees in remuneration for their services. A statement in the Mihintale Tablets helps to determine how the rest was managed. It stipulates that arrangements regarding the estates of the monastery should be made only on the basis of the *kārā* tenure and directs that they should not be given away on *pāṭṭa*.¹³¹ Wickremasinghe compared *kārā* with Skt. *kārikā* and held it to be a payment on a fixed rate like the "tithe."¹³² Codrington equated it with Tamil *karaiyidu*, a term which probably connoted "temporary allotments."¹³³ Paranavitana believed that it was synonymous with Skt. *kārya* and suggested that it referred to a service-tenure system.¹³⁴ Perera preferred the last interpretation commenting that it would have been a system similar to *divel*,¹³⁵ but with the difference that in addition to service the tenant would have had to pay a tithe as well.¹³⁶

More recently, in a fresh interpretation of the term, Paranavitana has compared the term with *kara*, derived from *kṛ* which has been used in both Sanskrit and Sinhalese in the sense of "dues, tax" or "revenue." "In the meaning of 'liable to revenue'," he maintains, "we should have the gerundive from this root, *kīrya*, from which the mediaeval Sinhalese form *kārā*, *kāra*, *kārā* can regularly develop in the analogy of Sinh. *vāra* from Skt. *vīrya*." Thus taking the term as connoting a tax, he has translated *kārā vādāruman* and *kārā-pākaruman* in the Koṇḍavaṭṭavan inscription as "inspectors of taxable land" and "assessors of taxable land."¹³⁷

The variety of derivations suggested for the term is in itself a clear indication of the difficulty of arriving at a definition through etymological considerations. It may be noted that Paranavitana tries to trace the derivation of the term to *kīrya*, a word which is not attested. Therefore it would seem more advisable to interpret this word on the basis of the contexts in which it occurs.

Kārā has been equated with *kara*, but in no example can *kārā* be definitely identified as a tax. If *kārā* were the gerundive of *kara*, it would be difficult to explain why *kārā* was preferred in some inscriptions,

131. *me veherā bad tuvāk gamhi kārāyehi bānda salasat mut pāṭṭa nodiyā yutu.* EZ, Vol. I, p. 92, ll. A43-4. For *pāṭṭa*, see *infra* pp. 107-9.

132. EZ, Vol. I, p. 103, n. 12.

133. Codrington, *Ancient Land Tenure*... pp. 14-6.

134. EZ, Vol. III, p. 191 n. 3

135. L. S. Perera, *Institutions*... p. 1274.

136. For a discussion on the term *divel*, see *infra* p. 122; see also EZ, Vol. III, p. 191, n. 9.

137. EZ, Vol. V, pp. 128-9.

while *kara* in the form of *karavuvāra* was used in the sense of tax in other contemporary inscriptions and literary works.¹³⁸ Moreover, if *kārā* denoted a tax, one would expect it to occur in immunity grants which list the various royal dues from which the respective properties had been exempted. But *kārā* is never found in any of the immunity grants.

On the other hand, when taken in context, the term points to an altogether different meaning. According to the Mihintale Tablets, though the *kārā* tenure was recommended as the means of organizing the cultivation of monastic estates, the monastic officials were prohibited from taking land belonging to the "inner monastery" on *kārā*.¹³⁹ The same inscription lays down that *kārā* fields held by *haskaru* were not to be taken by the monastery except in case of failure of their hereditary line.¹⁴⁰ The word *has* occurs in the sense of "crop" or "yield" in the *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya*,¹⁴¹ a contemporary literary work, and Sorata has interpreted the term *haskaru*, probably on the strength of this reference, as "cultivator."¹⁴² Hence it would appear that *kārā* was primarily a term used to denote the tenurial system according to which the land belonging to the monastery was given to tenants for cultivation. These tenants seem to have held a hereditary right to cultivate their respective plots. In a secondary sense, the term would have come to mean the share due to the landowner from the tenant cultivators. In another passage of the Mihintale Tablets, it is stated that the *kārā* collected from the monastic estates was to be taken to the monastery.¹⁴³ Further, in the Badulla inscription collectors of dues are instructed to turn over to the monasteries the *kārā* from religious benefactions.¹⁴⁴ It is evident from the preceding discussion that the land of the monastery was given to tenant cultivators on what was perhaps a "share cropping" basis. It is possible that Paranavitana and Perera are correct in surmising that the tenants, in addition to the share they paid, had to serve at the monastery as well.

138. The *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya* (p. 62) equates *karavuvāra* with Pāli *balī*. The *Jātaka Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya* (p. 91) explains the Pāli term *balikārakapuriso* as a "villager or a *kuḍi* who pays *karavuvāra*." The *Amāvatura* (ed. Nānāloka, p. 103) contains a passage in which a king is reminded that it is unjust to charge *karavuvāra* from people without discharging the reciprocal obligation of maintaining law and order. For inscriptional evidence, see *infra* p. 200.

139. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 93, ll. A 45-6

140. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 93, ll. A48-9.

141. *DAG*, p. 33.

142. *ŚSŚ*, p. 1113.

143. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 93, ll. A37-8.

144. *EZ*, Vol. V, p. 192.

B. Stein, who has made a study of the inscriptions at the Venkatesvara shrine of the Tirupati temple in South India,¹⁴⁵ has shown that the lands of this shrine were given out to tenants for cultivation and that the share of the temple from the produce of the land varied between fifty-one and seventy-one per cent. No such detailed information is available on the monasteries of Sri Lanka. The Mihintale Tablets, which specify that one third of the produce of the land should be given to the monastery,¹⁴⁶ remind one of the statement of I-tsing that a monastery which he visited in Eastern India gave out its land for cultivation in return for one third of the produce.¹⁴⁷ But it is not certain whether the Mihintale Tablets are referring specifically to the dues the monastery received from its tenants.

In cases where the proprietary rights over villages and large extents of land, particularly fields, were granted to monasteries, little change concerning tenure could have been made, since the land would already have been held by tenant cultivators with a hereditary right to till the land. But the cultivation and maintenance of smaller grants of fields and of plantations of coconut or areca could have been undertaken directly by the monastery. The *corvée* labor to which the monastery was entitled¹⁴⁸ could be profitably utilized in such enterprises.

An inscription from Buddhanehāla, which records a grant of land, carries the provision *me raṭ-hi yedunavun me kumburaṭ pet sama koṭ diya pānā koṭ*. This has been translated by Paranavitana as follows: "Employees in this district shall level the beds (of fields) and lead the water to these (aforesaid) fields."¹⁴⁹ If this rendering is accepted, it would mean that at times the labor due to the state was used to help the monasteries to cultivate their land. Monastic records refer to payments made for hired labor.¹⁵⁰ The use of hired labor to work on fields was not unknown in ancient Sri Lanka. The *Sahassa-vatthu-pakarāṇa* contains a story about a man who went in search of work and was hired to harvest a field owned by the governor of a district (*raṭṭhika*).¹⁵¹ It is possible that the monastery used labor from all these sources to cultivate a part of its land.

145. B. Stein, "The Economic Function of a Mediaeval South Indian Temple," *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XIX, 1959-60, pp. 163-77.

146. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 93, l. A38.

147. I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 62.

148. See *infra* pp. 121-2.

149. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 197, ll. B31-C2. See also p. 199.

150. See *infra* p. 123.

151. *Shsyp.* p. 54.

The growth of monastic property would have, from the earliest times, given rise to a need for draught animals—buffaloes for work in fields and cattle for carts and caravans. The Abhayagiri inscription of Kassapa V carries the warning that the officials who either gave out or took for themselves the oxen of the *karavaḥhala* of the monastery would be dismissed from service.¹⁵² The *Samantapāsādikā* prescribes the proper procedure for accepting grants of oxen, but it is only in the period of Coḷa rule that a grant of cattle is found for the first time in Sri Lanka. According to an inscription from the Velgam monastery, Atittappēraraiyan, a Tamil, granted eighty-four cows for the maintenance of perpetual lamps at this monastic shrine.¹⁵³ The Galpāta monastery also lists cattle and buffaloes among various types of property granted to the monastery and refers to cowherds (*eñḍera*) among its employees.¹⁵⁴

Changing Attitudes towards Wealth

It would appear that the monastery, assisted by its rules and regulations prohibiting the sale and mortgage of its property, became the locus for the concentration of wealth, particularly land, in the medieval economy of Sri Lanka. This brought about a notable change in the attitude of the *saṅgha* towards wealth. According to the *Samantapāsādikā*, the *saṅgha* was prohibited from accepting property, but this was permissible if the property in question was donated for the specific purpose of meeting the cost of "allowable articles"¹⁵⁵ or of maintaining monastic buildings in repair.¹⁵⁶ This was a convenient means of overcoming difficult rules to accommodate current practices. Buddhaghosa was dealing with a problem which was of practical importance to the *saṅgha*. A strict interpretation of the rules could not have been maintained against a practice which had been current for about five centuries, but, in fact, it also marks the development of a more positive attitude towards wealth based on the idea that it was permissible for the *saṅgha* to possess wealth if it served a purpose in accordance with the disciplinary rules.

152. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 48-9, ll. 45-6 The term *hala* could mean a "hall, shed," or "trader's stall." Wickremasinghe has left *karvaḥ* untranslated. Among various meanings of *kara*, connotations like "sea" and "salt" are well known. *Vala* is often used in ancient Sinhalese literature and modern parlance in the sense of "pit, cistern or low ground." Hence *karvaḥ* would mean a "salt pit" or "pit in the sea"—a saltern. This is reminiscent of the three hundred salterns granted to the three *nikāyas*. It is very tempting to suppose on this basis that the *karavaḥhala* was a place connected with the salterns where salt was stored or kept for sale, and that the passage referred to oxen used for transportation.

153. *EZ*, Vol. VI, p. 66.

154. *EZ*, Vol. IV, p. 207, ll. 19, 23.

155. See *supra* p. 58, n. 33.

156. *Smp.*, Vol. III, 1930, pp. 678-9.

Again the practice transcended the rule. Donations of cash and precious substances were not an unusual source of income to the monasteries in the latter part of the period under consideration. Mahinda IV, Vijayabāhu I and Nissaṅka Malla presented the *saṅgha* with quantities of precious substances equal to their own weight.¹⁵⁷ It is possible to surmise that the extensive resources in land possessed by monasteries like the Cetiyaḡiri brought in agricultural produce exceeding the requirements of internal consumption. Similarly, as pointed out earlier, a good part of the coconut and areca which were produced on large tracts of monastic land were meant for sale.

Although there is abundant evidence pointing to the active involvement of monasteries as well as individual monks in commercial enterprise and usury in both Central Asia and China, evidence on this subject is very rare in Sri Lanka. A Sanskrit record from the Abhayagiri monastery prohibits monks who indulged in agriculture and commerce from living there.¹⁵⁸ Similarly, the Mihintale Tablets stipulate that those monks who took part in buying and selling forfeited their right to live at the monastery.¹⁵⁹ This suggests that individual monks may have taken part in commercial activities though specific instances of such participation are not found on record.

Even if individual monks were discouraged from indulging in such profane activities, it does not seem likely that monasteries were completely averse to commerce or usury. An inscription from Anurādhapura, datable to the reign of Dappula IV (A.D. 924-935), records a deposit of two hundred *kaḡand* of gold at a monastery with specific instructions as to how the income from this endowment was to be utilized. It is clear from this record that the donor expected a return of fifteen per cent per annum.¹⁶⁰ The monastery, therefore, would have had to lend or invest the money on its own initiative in a manner which would enable the fulfilment of the conditions laid down by the donor.

According to the *Cūlavamsa*, Mahinda IV built a *tambūla-maṇḡapa* and assigned the income from it for the purchase of medicinal requirements of the monks of the Theravamsa.¹⁶¹ The Badulla inscription

157. *Cv.* 54. 27; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 336, ll. 11-2; *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 172, ll. 11-4.

158. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 5, ll. 16-7.

159. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 93, ll. A42-3.

160. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 23-9. Twenty *kaḡand* of gold were set apart so that the interest on this sum could be used for the provision of jaggery worth one *aka* and clarified butter worth one *aka* to one monk on the *uposatha* day in the middle of each month (ll. 20-2). From this it is clear that the donor expected a return of 24 *akas*=3 *kaḡand* on an outlay of 20 *kaḡand* (8 *akas*=1 *kaḡand*). Codrington, *Ceylon Coins*. p. 11. This would amount to a return of fifteen per cent.

161. *Cv.* 54. 46.

In this connection a verse which occurs in the *Cūlavamsa* with reference to the queen of Udaya I seems relevant:

*gāmā ye'sum purā kītā vihāre tattha sā dhanam
datvā te mocayitvāna vihārass'eva dāpayi.*¹⁶⁷

The passage in which this verse occurs, particularly the two verses which precede it, are suspect, but this particular verse yields a fairly satisfactory translation: "At that monastery she redeemed, by paying money, the estates which had been bought in the past and regranted them to the same monastery."¹⁶⁸ This passage seems to confirm the prevalence of the practice, referred to above, of monasteries acquiring land. The curious act of the queen in buying them back and regranting them to the monastery was, one may surmise, a gentle means of expressing her disapproval of the practice.

Another significant development noticeable during this period was the strengthening of the rights of individual monks over monastic property. The references in the *Cūlavamsa* to a category of monks called *lābhavāsins* are of particular interest in this context. The first reference occurs in the account of the reign of Mahinda IV. This king is said to have donated wealth to the *lābhavāsins* monks of all the three *nikāyas*.¹⁶⁹ Vijayabāhu I assigned the villages Antaraviṭṭhi, Saṅghātāgāmaka and Sirimaṇḍalagāma to *lābhavāsins* monks.¹⁷⁰ Nicholas has located the first and the last of these villages in the modern districts of Batticaloa and Kurunāgala respectively; he has also suggested that the second was in Rājaratṭha.¹⁷¹ Vijayabāhu I also restored to the monasteries the villages in Rohaṇa which had been granted by previous kings in order to provide food for monks and for *lābhavāsins* monks and in order to provide offerings for the *stūpas*.¹⁷² No explanation of the term *lābhavāsins* has been given so far. In this connection it is important to note that these monks were found in all the three *nikāyas*. It also seems that they were not limited to any particular area in the island. Further, in all three instances mentioned above they are associated with a grant of a village or of wealth. In the last instance cited, villages assigned to them are mentioned in association with others reserved to meet the expenditure for such

167. Cv. 49.26.

168. Geiger translates *kītā* as "sold." Obviously this is incorrect. Cf. Cv. trsl. Pt. 1, p. 129.

169. Cv. 54.27.

170. Cv. 60. 68.

171. JRASCBNS, Vol. VI, pp. 35, 99, 192.

172. Cv. 60. 72-3.

commitments as the provision of food for monks and payments to employees. These reasons, plus the fact that the term *lābhavāsin* appears in the chronicle in the same period as the term *lābhaladuvan* appears in the inscriptions, make it very tempting to suppose that both terms referred to the same group of monks. i.e., those who were entitled to stipends. The tendency to consider monks who enjoyed personal incomes as belonging to a separate category is noticeable also in the Burmese chronicle *Sāsanavaṃsa* which refers to three types of monks: forest-dwellers, village-dwellers and "recipients of the taxes on the fields and lands dedicated to a monastery."¹⁷³

The mention of villages and incomes assigned to the *lābhavāsins* raises the question of the possibility that members of the *saṅgha* owned personal property. Among the numerous inscriptions recording the pious donations of the patrons of the *saṅgha* are found some donations by monks themselves. An inscription from as far back as the third century A.D., found at Murutāṅge in the Northwestern Province, records a gift of three hundred *damakahavaṇu* made by a monk called Saṅghatissa.¹⁷⁴ The tenth-century Sanskrit record from the Kapārārāma mentions an endowment of two hundred *taṅkāś* by a certain *sthavira* Saṅghanandin "for the supply of drinkables" (*pānīyārtham*) to the monks of this institution.¹⁷⁵ The generosity of these religious indicates that they possessed fairly substantial means and suggests the possibility of their having had rights over property.

This possibility grows stronger when it is considered in the light of statements in inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries. A regulation in the Jetavanārāma Sanskrit inscription prohibits the monks of that particular monastery from owning even a *pāda* of land in the island.¹⁷⁶ It is very unlikely that such a regulation would have found its way into the short list of rules in this inscription if the question had not been of practical importance and relevance to those times. Further evidence is available in the Anurādhapura slab inscription of Kassapa V where reference is made to various types of property belonging to the *nikāya* including *saṅgsatu puṅgulsatu lābhayehi isā bajtuvāk gambimaṭ*. This passage has been translated as "the villages and land connected with the incomes (stipends) accruing to the clergy in common and to individual monks." The same inscription further decrees that residences made over to the clergy in common should not be converted into personal

173. *Sāsanavaṃsa*, p. 92.

174. *CJSG*, Vol. II, No. 381.

175. *EZ*, Vol. V, pp. 162-9.

176. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 4, ll. 11-2.

property.¹⁷⁷ These two statements are particularly noteworthy, for they reveal that a distinction was drawn between the property belonging to the monks in common and that which belonged to individuals. This distinction seems to have been strong enough to justify the provision of regulations prohibiting the conversion of "common property" into "personal property."

Though inscriptions do not provide sufficient evidence to help determine whether *puṅgulsatu* denoted ownership of property by individual monks or by laymen, the *Samantapāsādikā* greatly helps to clarify this issue. In the Cullavaggavaṇṇanā of the *Samantapāsādikā* Buddhaghosa lays down the procedure to be followed if the *saṅgha* found itself unable to maintain the buildings of the monasteries in good repair:

It has been said in the Kurundi that if there is no wealth held in common by the *saṅgha*, one monk should be asked to look after the building and take the space for a bed in return. If he desires more, the preservation of the building should be ensured even by giving a third or a half of it to him. And if he still pleads, "only the pillars remain; much work has to be done," the whole building may be given to him as his personal property (*puggalikam*) . . . Such a building would be his personal property during his lifetime, but would become the property of the *saṅgha* (*saṅghikam*) at his death. But if he wishes to leave it to his disciples, a third or a half may be given after examining the work done; it is permissible for him to leave this to his disciples.¹⁷⁸

Another passage from the same section of the *Samantapāsādikā* deals with the rights of monks who set up monastic dwellings:

If a monk builds a hermitage for his personal use, on land belonging to the *saṅgha* in common, but with his own materials, without taking even a grain of sand belonging to the *saṅgha*, half of the building belongs to the *saṅgha* and the other half is his personal property . . . If he builds it with material belonging to the *saṅgha*, collected at the monastery, he is entitled to only a third . . . But if he sets up a building after filling and levelling very rough and uneven ground and cutting steps where there were none, the *saṅgha* has no claims on it.¹⁷⁹

These passages suggest that the inability of the monasteries to maintain all their buildings in good repair as well as the initiative of individual monks in building activities gave rise to some form of

177. *saṅg kaḷa avas puṅgul nokaranu isā*. EZ, Vol. I, pp. 47-8, ll. 28-9

178. *Smp.* Vol. VI, 1947, p. 1246.

179. *Ibid.* pp. 1246-7.

personal ownership among monks. But it is difficult to determine whether these statements of Buddhaghosa were prompted by realities of the times or whether they were merely logical possibilities considered by a commentator. Perhaps they were a mixture of both. Even if it is conceded that they were mere logical possibilities, we can see that during the course of this discussion Buddhaghosa accepted the idea of ownership of property by individual monks. Secondly, the recurrence of these terms in the later inscriptions show that they had been translated into real terms at least by the tenth century. Buddhaghosa's discussion brings out the significance of the terms *saṅgsatu* and *puṅgulsatu* in the inscription and leaves little doubt that the latter was being used with reference to the personal property of monks.

However, the evidence cited above does not indicate actual instances of land being held by individual monks though they strongly suggest this possibility. The *Samantapāsādikā* discusses only the ownership of monastic buildings so perhaps the idea of ownership of land was not yet known. In this connection the Buddhanehāla inscription, dated in the third regnal year of a king identified as Kassapa V, is of considerable importance. According to this record, the rights to a certain allotment of land amounting to six *kiri* in extent were vested in the monk Harse, the incumbent of the hermitage of Nāgiriḡala, and not in the institution itself. After his demise these rights were to devolve upon Buddhamitra who is described as the "son by consecration" (*abhiṣekayen daru*) of the former, and on the death of the latter they were to be enjoyed by a person appointed by the abbot of the Cetiyaḡiri monastery.¹⁸⁰ The fact that this is the only inscription of its type found so far may suggest that this was an uncommon practice, but it does not appear so uncommon when considered in the light of the evidence of the *Samantapāsādikā* cited earlier. Further, it provides an actual instance of ownership of property by individual monks as also of "inheritance" by "spiritual sons" and hence is a remarkable corroboration of the evidence found in the *Samantapāsādikā*.

Further evidence is found in an inscription from Koṭṭaṅge, dating from about the early decades of the thirteenth century, according to which the *mahāthera* Abhaya... of Vilagamuḡa granted three pieces of land, including the *pamuṇu* of Kalam, to the *saṅgha*.¹⁸¹ An earlier inscription from the same place reveals that the *pamuṇu* of Kalam had been granted

180. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 191-200.

181. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 82-90, No. 2.

by Lokeśvara (1210-1211) to his general Loke Arakmēnā for valor shown in campaigns against the Coḷas.¹⁸² The land in question could have come to be possessed by the monk in any one of three different ways. First, he could have owned the land before he entered the Order. This would imply that the land had been in his possession for a long time, since he was a *mahāthera* by the time he made this grant. Second, the right could have devolved upon him through inheritance after he joined the Order. This explanation recognizes the right of a monk to inherit property. Third, he could have been offered the land. Even if it were so, it is significant that he refers to the land as "that which belonged to him" (*tamanvahansege*) and not as "that which he had recently received."

Corroborative evidence is found in a later passage of the *Cūlavaṃsa*. In order to restore the property of monasteries confiscated by his predecessors, it is said that Parākramabāhu II determined the villages which had been assigned for the provision of "priestly requisites" (*paccaya-gāmakā*) and those which belonged to monks in common (*gaṇasantakagāma*) and to individuals (*puggalikagāma*).¹⁸³ This reference to *puggalikagāma* reiterates the idea of individual ownership and also suggests that large tracts of land were involved. On the basis of this evidence it is not altogether unjustified to contend that a part of the property assigned to the community of monks was enjoyed by certain monks of this period as personal property.

The appearance of the practice of property ownership by individual monks would suggest that Buddhist monks, in spite of the ideal they set for themselves, were, by the period under consideration, drawn into very close association with the lay society so that some of the salient economic features of lay life were introduced into the life of monks. But it would be unwise to believe that monks had the same rights over their personal property as the laymen did. The use of the term "ownership" raises a number of difficult, and in some cases unanswerable, questions. It is not clear how far the rights of these "owners" extended. The property owned by the *mahāthera* Abhaya. of Vilgammuḷa, mentioned above, is termed *pamuṇu* and therefore involved "the most complete ownership possible within the tenure system."¹⁸⁴ Evidently, the right of alienation in the sense of transfer to the *saṅgha* was known, but it is not clear whether a monk could transfer his property to a layman as a sale or a gift.

182. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 82-90, No. 1.

183. *Cv.* 84. 3-4.

184. See *supra* p. 68.

“Ownership” did not involve personal management; it merely entitled the owner to the income from the property which would have been administered in the usual manner by monastic officials.¹⁸⁵ The right was limited also by residence qualifications. A tenth-century inscription from the Abhayagiri monastery states that monks were not entitled to their incomes if they left the Order.¹⁸⁶ Further, both this inscription and the Mihintale Tablets add that the income accruing from the villages and the land belonging to the monastery should be enjoyed only by the regular residents of the monastery.¹⁸⁷

As pointed out earlier, the personal property of a monk would normally revert to the *saṅgha* after his death. It is noteworthy, however, that he could leave his property to his disciples. This finds confirmation in the account of I-tsing where he discussed the procedures for handling the property of deceased monks which were followed in the Western regions he visited:

First of all an inquiry should be made as to whether there are any debts, whether the deceased left a will, and also if anyone nursed him while ill. If there be such, the property must be distributed in accordance with the Law. Any property remaining must be suitably divided...lands, houses, shops...village gardens, buildings which are immovable become the property of the assembly.¹⁸⁸

Though ownership of property was at times vested in individual monks all such sources of income were considered to be the property of the respective monasteries and ultimately of the *nikāyas*. Several inscriptions of this period refer to the “property of the three *nikāyas*.”¹⁸⁹ A tenth-century inscription from Diyurumvela refers to a village in the Malaya region owned by the Abhayagiri *nikāya*,¹⁹⁰ and the Anurādhapura slab inscription of Kassapa V records the grant of immunities made to all the lands and villages belonging to the whole Abhayagiri *nikāya*.¹⁹¹ Evidently, for administrative purposes, all the land belonging to a *nikāya* was considered to constitute one unit. Further, as will be discussed in the next chapter, the main monastery of the *nikāya* closely supervised the administration of the property of the hermitages belonging to the

185. See EZ, Vol. I, p. 239.

186. EZ, Vol. I, p. 235, l. 25; p. 236, ll. 37-8.

187. EZ, Vol. I, p. 91, ll. A15-6.

188. I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, pp. 189-90.

189. EZ, Vol. IV, p. 42, ll. C13-4.

190. CJSJG, Vol. II, No. 635.

191. EZ, Vol. I, pp. 41-57.

nikāyas; these hermitages had to submit their annual statements of accounts for approval by the monks of the main monastery.¹⁹² Hence, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the *nikāya* was not merely a fraternity of monks subscribing to a particular school of thought; it was also a body which owned a vast extent of land and had supervisory control over these lands through institutions representing the *nikāya* which were spread over many parts of the island.

Monastic Property and the Changing Environment

The seventy-eight years of Coḷa rule over Rājaraṭṭha which followed the fall of Aunrādhapura constituted a period of constant warfare between the Coḷas and the succession of petty rulers who rose to power in Rohaṇa and Dakkiṇadesa. In those years of political disorder monastic property would have been subjected to plunder and confiscation by war leaders who needed funds to replenish their treasuries, and whatever was left could easily lapse into the hands of monastic officials and tenants.

The author of the *Cūlavamsa* draws a picture of rapacious plunder and destruction wrought by the Coḷas: "They plundered many costly images of gold from the shrines of the three *nikāyas* in all Laṅkā, violently destroyed all monasteries in different parts of the land and like blood-sucking *yakkhas* pillaged Laṅkā of its wealth."¹⁹³ It is quite possible that the Coḷas plundered the wealth of the monasteries and that they transferred monastic property to the Śaiva temples which they built in Sri Lanka and in South India. However, apart from the vague statement in the chronicle quoted above, there is no concrete evidence to support either of these suppositions. Vijayabāhu I is said to have restored to the *saṅgha* property granted by previous kings.¹⁹⁴ This would imply that monastic property had been confiscated or that their ownership had lapsed during the preceding period; but this was a statement made with reference to Rohaṇa which was the center of the Sinhalese resistance to Coḷa rule.

More evidence on the fate of the property of monks in Rohaṇa is found in another strophe in the *Cūlavamsa*. Kassapa, son of Mahinda V, is said to have offered a boon to his generals after a victorious campaign against the Coḷas. In this connection, it is said,

*buddho so pavenigāmaṃ varaṃ yācittha, kittiko
saṅghikaṃ gahitaṃ bhāgaṃ vissajjetaṃ varaṃ vari.*¹⁹⁵

192. See *infra* pp. 131-2.

193. *Cv.* 55.20-1.

194. See *infra* p.87.

195. *Cv.* 55.31.

Geiger rendered this strophe into English as follows: "Buddha asked as wish for the village in which his family dwelt; Kittika chose as wish that the part of his revenue which the *bhikkhu* community had appropriated might be remitted." The second part of this passage is particularly striking. It seems rather strange that the monks had succeeded in appropriating the revenues of none other than one of the foremost military leaders of the Sinhalese at the time. Even if the Buddhist monks were audacious enough to think of an act which was so unworthy of their position, a general would be an unlikely victim. Secondly, even if this was what the chronicler meant, the phrase *saṅghikaṃ gahitaṃ* would have been a rather inappropriate grammatical form to convey this sense, hence, the second part of this strophe, it seems, demands a different interpretation. Both the words *saṅghikaṃ* and *gahitaṃ* in this *pāda* qualify the term *bhāgaṃ*. In view of this fact, this *pāda* can be translated without any strain on the meaning or the construction of the strophe as, "Kittika chose as wish that the incomes of the *saṅgha* which had been appropriated be restored." This evidently refers to the area which was under Kassapa's control. The "incomes of the *saṅgha*" mentioned in this strophe could have been confiscated by Kassapa or by the Coḷas who had occupied Rohaṇa for six months. One may surmise, on the basis of this evidence, that the *saṅgha* suffered from deprivation of their property even in the regions outside Rājaraṭṭha during this period of constant warfare and political disorder.

The accession of Vijayabāhu I to the throne of Sri Lanka and the establishment of peace and order ushered in a period of prosperity for the *saṅgha*. The *Cūlavamsa* devotes an entire chapter to the description of the work of the king for the welfare of the *saṅgha* and the laity. Restorations and fresh grants of villages to about twenty-one monasteries are mentioned in the chronicle. Of these, Bhallātaka, Jambukola, Kurundiya, Mahāsena, Maṅḍalagiri, Paragāmaka, Paṭṭiṇa and Sittala-gāma may be located in Rājaraṭṭha; Candanagiri, Devanagara, Kāsa-galla, Madhutthala, Mahiyaṅgaṇa, Rakkhacetiyaḥpabbata and Buddha-guṇa in Rohaṇa; Paṇḍuvāpi in Dakkhinadesa; and the Jambukola cave monastery in Malayadesa.¹⁹⁶

The shrine on the mount of Samanoḷa was another place which benefited from the generosity of Vijayabāhu. The *Cūlavamsa* mentions that the village Gilimalaya and its fields of *sāli* were donated in order to

196. Cv. 60. 58-63, 81; JRASCBNS, Vol. VI, pp. 48, 57, 61, 70, 71, 80, 83, 86, 104, 108, 183, 188, 191, 192.

provide alms for pilgrims visiting the shrine.¹⁹⁷ The Aṃbagamuva inscription records a grant, made to the same shrine, of a plantation of areca in Kehelgamuva, a grant of another such plantation in *uḍu-ho* (upper bank of the stream), and allotments of land in Tiniyagal, Soragoda, Liyavaḷa, and in the forests of Badulla, as well as in Makulmulla, Aṃbagamuva, Vāligampola and Ulapaṇā.¹⁹⁸

Yet, undoubtedly the most extensive donation of Vijayabāhu I was the endowment he made to the monastery he built for the monks of the three *nikāyas*.¹⁹⁹ According to Geiger's translation, "he granted to the community the whole district of Āḷisāra together with the canal diggers dwelling there." But the original strophe runs as follows:

*saṅghassa pākavaḷḷattham raṭṭham datvāḷisārakam
sakalam tam nivāsīhi nettikehi saheva ca*

It may be pointed out that the occurrence of *ca* in the last *pāda* precludes Geiger's assumption that the term *tam nivāsīhi* qualified *nettikehi*. The two terms will have to be taken as separate. *Nettika* occurs in the *Dhammapada*.²⁰⁰ The *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, commenting on this particular strophe, suggests that it denotes "a workman engaged in irrigational activities."²⁰¹ But it is quite possible, as Rhy Davids pointed out,²⁰² that the term also meant "a conduit for irrigation." In fact, Āḷisāraratṭha was an area with a number of irrigation works and was presumably named after the largest and the most important of them. If, therefore, the second meaning of the term is accepted, the translation will have to be modified to read as follows: "For the provision of food, he granted to the community the whole district of Āḷisāra together with its residents and canals."

It is interesting that the residents of the district were also given over to the monastery. (Several Indian inscriptions record similar grants.²⁰³) In practice this meant merely that the rights to labor and other dues usually enjoyed by the king were now transferred to the monastery, but the most noteworthy feature about this grant of Vijayabāhu is the vastness of the area which was involved. The account of the campaigns of Parākramabāhu I in the *Cūlavamsa* shows that the district of Āḷisāra comprised a number of villages including Taḷāthala, Āḷigāma, and

197. *Cv.* 60, 64-7.

198. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 214, ll. B38-43.

199. *Cv.* 60, 14.

200. *Dhammapada*, v. 80.

201. *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, PTS, Vol. II, p. 147.

202. *Pali-English Dictionary*, PTS.

203. For example, see the grant of a village together with its inhabitants (*sa-prath vivāsī-jana-sametam*) in the Nirmand Copper Plate. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 288, l. 10.

probably Kaddūragām, Kirāṭi, Vilāna, Mattikavāpi, Uddhakuraṃgāma, Adhokuraṃgāma and Nāsinna.²⁰⁴ In addition, the grant probably covered the right to the income from the great Āḷisāra canal with its branch canals. There is no evidence to show the exact extent of the rights of the monastery over the land granted to it, but there is little doubt that the income of the monastery was quite substantial. It is unfortunate that the identity of this monastery, which was held in such high esteem by Vijayabāhu I, has not been preserved in our sources.

On the strength of the foregoing account it is clear that during the reign of Vijayabāhu the Buddhist monasteries of the three main *nikāyas* were well endowed even though their prosperity did not equal the standards of the period prior to the Coḷa occupation.

With the death of Vijayabāhu the political unity of the island was lost, and there began a period of protracted warfare bringing widespread devastation to the three independent kingdoms which arose in Rājaratṭha, Rohaṇa and Dakkhiṇadesa. These diminutive kingdoms could not support such warfare and, in the words of the chronicler their rulers, "squeezed out the whole people as sugar-cane in a sugar mill, by levying excessive taxes."²⁰⁵ Under these strained circumstances it was natural that they would look at the wealth of monasteries with covetous eyes. Further, one of the rulers who ascended the throne of Polonnaruva, Vikramabāhu I (1111-1132), son of Vijayabāhu I, had reason to be disgruntled with the *saṅgha*. For, in selecting the king and the heir-apparent after the death of Vijayabāhu I, they had ignored his own claims.²⁰⁶

A posthumous inscription of Vijayabāhu from Polonnaruva records an agreement between a certain *mahāsthavira* Mugalan of the Uтуруламула and the Mahātantra, Valañjiyār and Nagarattār sections of the Velaikkāra army.²⁰⁷ In accordance with this agreement the Velaikkāras would assign men for the protection of the shrine of the Tooth relic. Further, they bound themselves to protect the villages, employees and the treasures of the shrine, to protect men seeking shelter in its immunity, to provide all its requirements and to maintain it in good repair. They even gave the shrine a new name: Mūṅru-kai-tiru-Velaikkāraṅ-Daḷadāypperumpalli (i.e. the great shrine of the Tooth relic of the Velaikkāras of the three divisions). It is clear from this passage that the Velaikkāras virtually took complete control of the shrine and its properties. This

204. *Cv.* 70. 106-12, 162-72.

205. *Cv.* 61. 53.

206. See *infra* p. 210.

207. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 338.

is the first instance in Sri Lanka of the *saṅgha* seeking the help of mercenary troops for the protection of its property and its rights, a fact which suggests the dire position in which the *saṅgha* must have found itself at the time.

In his edition of the inscription, Wickremasinghe comments,

“It is conceivable that between 1137 and 1153 A.D., that is to say either at the end of Vikkamabāhu’s reign, or at the beginning of that of his son Gajabāhu, both of whom were no friends of the Buddhist church, Moggallāna, fearing that the king might lay his devastating hands on the rich Tooth relic temple, then containing the Tooth- and Bowl- relics that were originally at Moggallāna’s own Uttarola vihāra at Abhayagiri, prevailed upon the powerful Velaikkāras to take over the full custody of the temple and fled southwards to Rohaṇa or the Yuvarāja’s country.”²⁰⁸

In dating this inscription, Wickremasinghe was partly guided by his identification of Mugalan of this inscription with Moggallana, the lexicographer who lived in the time of Parākramabāhu I. There are several difficulties which preclude such an identification which will be discussed in due course.²⁰⁹ Here it should suffice to cite certain facts which point to the improbability of this dating.

The *Cūlavamsa* states in very precise terms that it was Vikramabāhu who confiscated the wealth of the shrine of the Tooth relic. Hence this record has to be assigned to a period prior to that event; there is no basis for dating it to the reign of Gajabāhu II. Secondly, it appears rather unlikely that Vikramabāhu, considering his grievances against the *saṅgha*, would have waited till the end of his twenty-one year long reign to take measures against the monasteries. Further, if the record dates from so late a period it would be very strange for it to speak of the reign of Vijayabāhu in great detail and yet make no mention at all of Vikramabāhu. Certain facts in the inscription, also support this view. The Velaikkāra army, which bound itself to protect the property of the shrine, in all probability was in the service of the king. It is also stated that they were summoned by *mahāsthavira* Mugalan who was in the company of king’s ministers (*rājamātyaroduṅkūda*). It is very unlikely that the Velaikkāras would have entered into such an agreement if it was the king who intended to appropriate the wealth of the shrine. Even if they did so, it is more improbable that the king’s ministers would have taken part in the deliberations which led to this agreement and would have stated so in a public document. Moreover, if the mercenary

208. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 249-50.

209. See *infra* pp. 161-2.

army and the ministers were opposed to the idea of confiscating monastic property, it is not likely that Vikramābāhu would have succeeded in his attempt as he in fact did. On considering that only Vijayabāhu is referred to in this record, it appears that it probably belonged to the period between the death of Vijayabāhu and the accession of Vikramābāhu. It may be suggested that the monks were forced to take these unprecedented measures to ensure the protection of their property and of their rights during these unsettled times marked by constant warfare, particularly when they realized the possibility of Vikramābāhu, whose interests they had forsaken, emerging victorious. If the cogency of these arguments is accepted, this inscription can be precisely dated, for the period between the death of Vijayabāhu and the accession of Vikramābāhu lasted only about a year, i.e., ca. A.D. 1110-1111.²¹⁰

These precautions, however, proved to be of no avail. According to the *Cūlavamsa*, Vikramābāhu confiscated the precious stones and pearls offered to the Alms Bowl and the Tooth relic of the Buddha. He also appropriated the "maintenance villages," the golden images, and the offerings of sandalwood, aloes and camphor belonging to the *saṅgha*.²¹¹ But there is no mention of any opposition offered by the Velaikkāras placed in charge of the shrine of the Tooth relic. They may have belonged to the faction which was defeated by Vikramābāhu in the struggle for the throne. Even if they were by this time in the employ of Vikramābāhu, they had no reason to complain. According to the *Cūlavamsa*, the king distributed the "maintenance villages" of the *saṅgha* among his followers and converted the monasteries into barracks for his foreign soldiers.

The spoliation of monasteries was not entirely unprecedented, and foreign invaders were not the only people who had been responsible for such measures. The chronicles report that during the reigns of Kuñcanāga (A.D. 187-189) and Dāṭhopatissa I (639-650) participants in civil wars confiscated monastic property in order to raise funds for their campaigns.²¹² But it was only in the reign of Vikramābāhu that confiscation of monastic property was carried out by a Sinhalese king on a scale so large that it affected all of the major establishments of the *saṅgha*.

Unlike some confiscations of monastic property like the Hui Chang Suppression of Buddhism in China,²¹³ that undertaken by Vikramābāhu

210. This dating is based on Paranavitana's chronological tables. See *UCHC* Vol. I, p. 5, 843-7.

211. *Cv.* 61. 54-61.

212. *Shsvp.* pp. 21-2; *Cv.* 44. 131-4, 140.

213. See K. Chen "The Economic Background of the Hui Chang Suppression of Buddhism," *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XIX, 1956, pp. 67 ff. See also *infra* p. 179.

does not seem to have involved any attempt to control the number of monks or the extent of the wealth of the monasteries. Apparently no attempt was made to laicize monks. Though Vikramabāhu appears to have patronized the Śaiva faith,²¹⁴ there is no evidence which would lead to the belief that this action amounted to a persecution of Buddhism in favor of any other faith. It was partly a political vendetta, but mainly a measure prompted by pecuniary needs. There is little doubt, however, that the action of the king had profound implications for the organization of the *saṅgha*. The loss of their wealth brought together the various fraternities of the *saṅgha*; despite the traditional differences which divided them they took concerted action to censure the king. In the words of the chronicler,

... the ascetics in the eight chief *vihāras* looked up to as people worthy of honor, and the *pāmsukūlika bhikkhus* belonging to the two divisions, were wrath at the matter, and thinking it were better to remove themselves from the vicinity of people who, like those erring from the faith, wrought in this way so much evil against the Order, they took the sacred Tooth relic and the Alms Bowl relic, betook themselves to Rohaṇa and settled themselves here and there where it pleased them.²¹⁵

Perhaps they were thinking of an earlier instance during the reign of Udaya III when the monks of Tapovana successfully took similar action against the king.²¹⁶ Unlike on that occasion it was not a mere section of the *saṅgha* that had been affected this time. The account of the *Cūlavamsa* points to a mass exodus of monks from all of the main fraternities at the capital to Rohaṇa. They took with them two relics which were at the time gaining increasing prominence as symbols of sovereignty. This was indeed a situation fraught with calamitous potentialities which endangered the position and the security of the king.

Curiously enough, no uprising which embarrassed Vikramabāhu is recorded in the chronicles. It is not impossible that the growth of the wealth of the monasteries and the unwise participation in political affairs by monks had roused some resentment among the laity who, even if they did not acquiesce in the actions of the king, saw no reason to oppose him. It is also possible that, contrary to the statements in the chronicle, not all the monasteries were affected by this act. Some monks seem to have stayed in the capital and its vicinity. A fragmentary inscription of Sundaramahādevī, the queen of Vikramabāhu, refers to Ānanda,

214. See *infra* p. 204.

215. *Cv.* 61. 58-61.

216. See *infra* p. 208.

described as a monk of great renown, who was presumably patronized by her.²¹⁷ Another inscription of the same lady, dated in the sixth year of Gajabāhu II, shows that the Diṃbulāgala fraternity, a leading center of the Āraññika sect, continued to flourish during the reign of this king.²¹⁸ Probably the monastery was also occupied during the reign of Vikramabāhu. Thus the flight of monks to Rohaṇa failed to bring about the repercussions which one might have expected.

If the monks expected better treatment in Rohaṇa they were soon disappointed. Mānābharāṇa, who succeeded Sirivallabha as the ruler of Rohaṇa, was as much in need of funds as Vikramabāhu. According to the *Cūlavamsa* he seized the wealth assigned to the Tooth relic and the villages belonging to the monks.²¹⁹ His reign, however, was not entirely unmarked by generosity. In an inscription dated in ca. A.D. 1145, he granted a monastery called Talāmuhundgiri thirteen *amuṇu* of land.²²⁰

The reign of Vikramabāhu appears to be significant for two important reasons. Firstly, the major monasteries seem to have been shorn of a considerable part of their wealth. Secondly, this triggered concerted action on the part of the various fraternities within the *saṅgha* despite the differences which usually kept them apart. It is also noteworthy that the account of the reign of Gajabāhu in the *Cūlavamsa* contains no reference to any attempts by the king to grant land or to restore the property confiscated by his predecessors. An inscription from Nelubāva is the only record of a grant of land to a monastery made during his reign. It refers to the transfer of a tract of fields, one *amuṇa* in extent, to the Ruvanvāli *stūpa* at the Mahāvihāra.²²¹

The *Cūlavamsa* records that Parākramabāhu I accommodated the representatives of the eight *āyatana*s in the Jetavana monastery at Polonnaruva.²²² Even if their original possessions were not restored the king at least had to provide a source of income for this monastery and the seven other monasteries he built at Polonnaruva. The chronicle makes no mention of any such endowment, but according to the *Pūjāvaliya* he granted these monks *polonnaru varupetin vaṭanāpasa*.²²³ The

217. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 67-72.

218. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 194-202.

219. *Cv*. 72. 304-5.

220. *EZ*, Vol. V, pp. 142-6.

221. *EZ*, Vol. VI, pp. 95-101.

222. *Cv*. 78. 32-4.

223. *Pjv*. p. 106.

relevant meanings of the term *pasa* are "requisites, side and section." *Varupet* occurs in the *Saddharma-ratnāvalī* to denote "fields,"²²⁴ hence the phrase may be translated into English as "valuable allotments from the fields of Polonnaruva" or "costly requisites from (the income of) the fields of Polonnaruva." Further, if the dating of the Galpāta-vihāra inscription to the reign of Parākramabāhu I²²⁵ is accepted, it would appear that the fields and the coconut and areca palms of the allotments of Siyambalāpayā, Tīngavaṭu, Tiratanayāvatta, Dharmananda and Mānadūva islands, Bolutuḍāva and Beravāgoḍa were granted to the Galpāta monastery. But it is very likely that this record is of much later origin and if indeed Parākramabāhu I was responsible for the restoration of the wealth of the monasteries confiscated by his predecessors, the author of the *Cūlavamsa* who made a deliberate attempt to present his protagonist in truly heroic proportions, would hardly have missed the opportunity to describe this action in all its detail. The failure of Parākramabāhu I to bring about such a restoration is also implicit in the Bhagavālena inscription of his successor Nissanka Malla, in which this king claims to have restored to the shrine of Samanoḷa several villages including Aṃbagamuva which originally belonged to this shrine but had been confiscated by his predecessors.²²⁶ Evidently, he is referring to a confiscation which took place after the reign of Vijayabāhu I, who granted the village Aṃbagamuva to this shrine. Thus it would seem that the reign of Parākramabāhu I, though rightly renowned for the generous patronage of the *saṅgha*, did not witness the restoration of monastic wealth confiscated in the preceding reigns.

224. *Saddharma-ratnāvalī*, ed. D. B. Jayatilaka, pp. 393, 712.

225. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 196-200; 205-7, ll. 5-23.

226. *CJSG*, Vol. II, No. 376.

The Management of Monastic Property

“The paradox of all rational asceticism,” Weber observed, “which in an identical manner has made monks in all ages stumble, is that rational asceticism itself has created the very wealth it rejected. Temples and monasteries have everywhere become the very loci of all rational economies.”¹ The accumulation of wealth by the Sinhalese *saṅgha* which was the result of a long period of munificent patronage by all ranks of the society, confronted them with the same paradox that Weber so clearly outlined. The rules of discipline embodied in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* strictly directed monks to refrain from all profane activities including acceptance, management and enjoyment of material wealth. But the main monasteries at the capital, the minor hermitages which accepted their leadership, and even individual monks had come to own, in addition to movable property, a vast extent of land and many irrigation works.

The need to resolve this dichotomy between theory and practice had, by the time of Buddhaghosa, attracted the attention of the commentators on the *Vinaya*. The statements of Buddhaghosa reveal a liberal and compromising attitude in his approach to the problem: “It behoves the *bhikkhusaṅgha* not to administer, accept or consent to the acceptance of any immovable property like a field, landholding, irrigation reservoir or a canal. But it is permissible to accept ‘allowable’ articles² from the proceeds of such property, if they be administered by a *kāppiyakāraka*.”³ This statement is further illustrated and clarified by other passages,⁴

1. Max Weber, “Religious Rejections of the World and their Directions,” in *From Max Weber*, ed. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, 1961, p. 332. See also *Economy and Society*, Vol. II, 1968, p. 586.

2. See *supra* p. 58, n. 33.

3. *Smp.*, Vol. VI, 1947, p. 1238.

4. See *Smp.*, Vol. III, 1930, pp. 677, 678, 680, 681, 691.

which lay down that it was through a *kappiyakāraka*—a layman—that a monk should accept and manage property donated for the maintenance of the *saṅgha*. Thus the need to reconcile ownership of wealth with the pursuance of ascetic ideals as prescribed in the Vinaya necessitated the employment of a class of administrators for the management of monastic property.

Apart from these theoretical reasons there were other, equally important, practical considerations which made it essential for the *saṅgha* to employ a body of regular officials for the administration of the monasteries. The possessions of the monasteries covered a wide range including land, irrigation works, salterns and cattle. Some of the land grants were quite extensive and several of them were situated at considerable distances from the monasteries to which they were granted.

A college at the Mahāvihāra owned an allotment of land in Muhundaru in the Eastern Quarter, about fifty miles from Anurādhapura.⁵ The Sen Senevirad Pirivena owned some land in Suḷinnaru, one and a half miles to the east of Tittagonnāva in the Kuñcuṭṭu Korale as well as in Gālinduru Gomañḍala, three miles further away to the northeast.⁶ The latter was about forty miles from Anurādhapura. The Bahaduru Sen college, also of the Mahāvihāra, held rights to three villages by the coast, probably close to Mannar and more than fifty miles from the city.⁷ A tract of land in Moragoḍa, irrigated by the Padaviya reservoir and located more than forty miles away from Anurādhapura, belonged to the Maṅgul Piriya of the Abhayagiri monastery.⁸ Similarly, the Sirisaṅgabo college of the Jetavana monastery owned Velangama, a village situated eleven miles to the north of Mādhvacciya and therefore about twenty-five miles from the monastery.⁹ It is evident from this that the monastery of this period was faced with the difficult problem of administering possessions situated far away; the possessions of the Mahāvihāra were scattered over a wide area extending more than fifty miles to the east, forty to the northeast and fifty miles to the west.

The administrative problems of the monasteries became more complicated during the last three centuries of the first millennium which saw the profusion of grants of immunities exempting from taxation and official interference the villages and the land allotments of the monasteries.

5. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 59-67.

6. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 163-71, 171-3.

7. *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 100-13.

8. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 200-7.

9. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 44-9.

The consequent transfer of administrative authority to the monasteries brought the traditional officials of the village under the control of the monastery. On the other hand, the monastery itself had to adjust its administrative setup to carry out the new responsibilities it had assumed.

The Origins of the Administrative Organization

The practice of employing laymen in the monastic administration is mentioned in the later sections of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. The Mahāvagga contains a story about King Bimbisāra who, on seeing the monk Pilindavaccha levelling a slope to erect a dwelling, was moved to offer him five hundred men as *ārāmikas*. They formed a village alternatively called *ārāmikagāma* and Pilindagāma after the name of the monk.¹⁰ Similarly an incidental reference to *kappiyakārakas* is found in the Suttavibhaṅga where it is stated that monks should not make purchases by themselves but should have the transaction conducted through *kappiyakārakas*.¹¹ The Pāli chronicles of Sri Lanka record that local kings provided the *saṅgha* with attendants of both these types. The *Cūlavamsa* refers to *ārāmikas* for the first time in connection with the reign of Sirimeghavanna (A.D. 301-238).¹² Buddhādāsa (337-365) granted *kappiyakārakas* to monks who propounded the *dhamma*.¹³

Geiger held the view that the two terms *ārāmika* and *kappiyakāraka* are identical in meaning.¹⁴ The first occurs in several Buddhist Sanskrit texts.¹⁵ As Edgerton has suggested, the term *kalpikāra* found in the *Divyāvadāna* is probably the equivalent of *kappiyakāraka*.¹⁶ In none of these sources is there sufficient evidence to draw a clear distinction between the two terms; however, the context in which they occur in the Pāli works of Sri Lanka, especially the *Samantapāsādikā*, suggest that they had distinct meanings.

The *ārāmikas* that Aggabodhi IV granted to the monk Dāṭhāsiva are said to have been the king's own relatives,¹⁷ but this does not necessarily mean that they were expected to hold a high position. A passage in the *Ṭiṃsakavaṇṇanā* of the *Samantapāsādikā* shows that even slaves

10. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, PTS, Vol. I, pp. 206-9.

11. *Smp.* pp. 698-9.

12. *Cv.* 37.63.

13. *Cv.* 36. 173.

14. *Cv.* trsl., Vol. I, p. 16, n. 4.

15. Cf. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 104.

16. *Divy.* 343.15; Edgerton, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 173.

17. *Cv.* 46. 14.

and bondsmen belonging to the monasteries were called *ārāṃikas*. According to this passage, if a dyer-slave (*rajakadāsa*) or a weaver-slave (*pesakāradāsa*) were offered to the *saṅgha*, he could be accepted as an *ārāṃika*.¹⁸

In certain contexts *ārāṃikas* were found as minor employees and functionaries of the monastery. According to the *Dugga-titthiyā-vatthu* of the *Sahassa-vatthu-pakarāṇa*, a king sent for the chief *ārāṃika* of the monastery to question him about the decorations at the monastery.¹⁹ The *Sīhala-vatthu-pakarāṇa* contains two stories in which *ārāṃikas* figure as the employees in charge of the store of provisions and as those responsible for the preparation of meals.²⁰ There is an interesting story in the *Samantapāsādikā* about a monk who, being dissatisfied with the food he received, tried by means of signs to indicate to the *ārāṃikas* how large his cakes should be.²¹

In another story in the *Cūlavamsa*, the gods appeared before Aggabodhi II in a dream in the guise of *ārāṃikas* and threatened to take away the sacred relics of the Thūpārāma if the king did not expedite the work of restoring the *stūpa*.²² This could imply that the *ārāṃikas* were supposed to be placed in charge of the protection of the relics. If this were so, the guardians of relics and relic shrines that the kings appointed from time to time also belonged to this category. The *Sārattha-dīpanī* points out in a discussion of the comparative merits of various types of monastic dwellings that monks living at large monasteries were liable to be disturbed by *ārāṃikas* who brought ears of paddy to demonstrate the excellence of their achievements.²³ From this it would appear that even those who tilled the land of the monastery were called *ārāṃikas*.

It is clear from this discussion that *ārāṃika* was a comprehensive term which covered a wide variety of workmen and employees attached to the monastery. The fact that they were, at times, granted in large numbers also supports this observation. Aggabodhi I granted a hundred *ārāṃikas* to the Kandavīhāra,²⁴ and Jetthā, the queen of Aggabodhi IV, granted a hundred *ārāṃikas* to the Jetthārāma.²⁵ Kassapa IV granted *ārāṃikagāmas* to the hermitages he built.²⁶ Such grants, when considered in the light of the passage from the *Mahāvagga* cited earlier, would

18. *Smp.*, Vol. III, 1930, p. 683.

19. *Shsvp.* p. 63.

20. *Sihvp.* p. 63.

21. *Smp.*, Vol. III, p. 681.

22. *Cv.* 42. 54-5.

23. *Sārattha-dīpanī*, p. 562.

24. *Cv.* 42. 16.

25. *Cv.* 46. 20.

26. *Cv.* 52. 16.

imply that the inhabitants of these villages were expected to serve at the monasteries. Some of the *ārāmikas*, as evident from the *Samantapāsādikā*, worked daily, the whole day or half a day, some once in five days and others once in a fortnight; they were given food and allowances (*nivāpa*) accordingly.²⁷

The *kappiyakāraka* was the person whose primary duty was to procure the necessities of the *saṅgha* through purchase or barter and to make these articles "allowable" (*kappiya*) by formally offering them to the *saṅgha*. This was a function which could be performed by any lay employee as and when the need arose. Thus, in the early days, and at the smaller monasteries even in later times, the need to have a separate person as a *kappiyakāraka* did not arise and therefore the distinction between the *kappiyakāraka* and those employees who attended to lesser domestic duties was not very pronounced. But the services of a *kappiyakāraka* became more important and necessary when the *saṅgha* came to own such items of property as money, land and irrigation works which were not considered "allowable," and thus his duties as a "business employee" became more and more distinct from those of the domestic employees. According to the *Samantapāsādikā*, it was the *kappiyakāraka* who accepted donations of property, administered them on behalf of the *saṅgha*, and diverted the proceeds to the provision of "allowable articles."²⁸

That the *kappiyakārakas* were in the habit of diverting a disproportionate share of the produce of monastic lands to their own use seems to have been a common complaint against them.²⁹ Some of them were placed in charge of irrigation reservoirs belonging to monasteries, presumably to collect the water dues. In this context it may be noted that, according to the sole passage in the *Cūlavamsa* in which this term occurs, *kappiyakārakas* were allocated to monks who had received grants of *bhoga*, obviously because they were needed to administer the wealth or the revenues which were being transferred. Thus, in the context of the Pāli works, the *kappiyakāraka* appears as the official placed in charge of the wealth of the monastery. The importance of his position in the organization of the monastery as well as his specific responsibilities grew *pari passu* with the expansion of the possessions of the monastery.

The elaborate organization of monastic administration which is evident in the records of the ninth and tenth centuries undoubtedly

27. *Smp.*, Vol. III, p. 685; for an explanation of *nivāpa*, see *infra* p. 123.

28. *Smp.*, Vol. VI, p. 1238; see also *supra* p. 58, n. 33.

29. See *supra* pp. 57-8.

represents a later stage of a long process of evolution, and its origin probably lay in the simpler administrative arrangements represented by the *ārāmikās* and the *kappiyakāraḥas*. It is possible that some of these employees were appointed by monks.³⁰ Sometimes people with no means of livelihood found employment as *kappiyakāraḥas*;³¹ some were bondsmen donated by the lay patrons of the *saṅgha*. It is also significant that in many instances monastic employees were appointed by kings, thus leading to the introduction of certain features of the administrative institutions of the state into the organization of monasteries.

The utilization and the interpretation of the available epigraphic material concerning the administration of monasteries is beset with several difficulties. The most notable of these is the paucity of evidence concerning the organization of the Mahāvihāra and the Jetavana *nikāyas*. Almost all the records belong to the Abhayagiri monastery and the Ceti-yagiri monastery at Mihintale. The inscriptions from Mihintale are the most important since they provide a fairly detailed picture of the organization and the working of the administrative system of a monastery.

The similarity of the social and economic milieux and, therefore, of the problems with which the monasteries were confronted should have led, one might surmise, to the growth of basically similar administrative organizations at all these monasteries. However, various factors like the degree of evolution of each institution, divergence in attitude prompted by doctrinal inclination, and differences in specific outside influences resulted in the development of significantly different features. In this context, it is noteworthy that the Mihintale Tablets state that the list of rules and regulations they contain was selected after a comparison of those which had been current at the Abhayagiri and Ceti-yagiri monasteries.³² The dissimilarity of the two systems, vaguely implicit in this statement, becomes more credible when a comparative study of the administrative arrangements of these two monasteries is in fact made.³³ The dissimilarities which prevailed in the organization of these two monasteries, in spite of the similarity of doctrinal inclination and the administrative links which connected them, aptly illustrate the dangers which shadow attempts at generalization.

30. See e.g. *Smp.* p. 673.

31. *Smp.*, Vol. V, 1966, p. 1001.

32. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 91, l. A6.

33. See *infra* pp. 130 ff.

The Committee of Management

The Mihintale Tablets, which contain a list of the employees of the monastery together with the remuneration they received and detailed instructions on the management of administrative affairs, reveal an elaborate organization at the head of which was a committee of management called the *kamtān*. It was composed of eight members: (i) *nakā balana himiyan*, (ii) *veher pirivahanuvā*, (iii) *niyam, jeṭu*, (iv) *ā kāmīyā*, (v) *pasak kāmīyā*, (vi) *veher leyā*, (vii) *karañḍ leyā*, and (viii) *karañḍ atsamu*. This committee sometimes sat in session to administer the business of the monastery together with a group of monks who represented the "two fraternities" (*demuḷa*) of the Abhayagiri monastery.³⁴

The titles of the members of the committee perhaps reflect a clear definition of their individual functions. But since the inscription fails to provide any further information on the subject one must depend on interpretations of these terms in order to determine what these functions were. The first term was translated by Wickremasinghe as "the monk who looks after the *nakā*."³⁵ Although *nakā* is derived from the Pāli *nikāya*, it could, as Paranavitana pointed out,³⁶ carry the connotation of a "monastery." L. S. Perera questioned Wickremasinghe's translation pointing out that this official was entitled to remuneration for his services. This, he maintained, "is unlikely and unusual if he was a monk," and concluded that it is "most likely that he was a layman."³⁷

The fact that this official was paid an allowance need not deter us from identifying him as a monk. For, according to the same inscription, monks who had mastered the canonical texts were also paid stipends in accordance with their attainments.³⁸ It may be pointed out that he alone among the members of the committee bears the title *himiyan* and that, unlike the other officials, he did not hold a land allotment. The allowance in gold due to him was paid in two instalments at the "sermons delivered at the inauguration and the prorogation of the period of 'retreat' (*vassa*) for the monks."³⁹ These facts show that there is little reason to contest Wickremasinghe's translation, and thus it appears that the chief monk of the monastery had a place in the committee of management, presumably in a supervisory capacity.

34. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 92, ll. A21-3.

35. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 101.

36. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 224, n. 5.

37. L. S. Perera, *Institutions*... p. 1368.

38. See *infra* p. 148.

39. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 94, ll. B1-2.

The significance of the second term also seems to have been largely misunderstood. The *pirivahanuvā*, who is the first layman to be mentioned in the list of the members of the committee, was probably the premier lay official. But this term does not occur in the second part of the inscription which prescribes the payments to be made to each employee in return for his services. In this section a certain *pirivahanu vata kāmī* is referred to as an official who received an allotment of one *kiri* and two *paya* of land⁴⁰ — a meagre emolument compared with the five *kiri* granted to each of the last six members of the committee. Wickremasinghe believed that both these terms denoted the same official.⁴¹ Parānavitana and Perera, who seem to have accepted this identification, have gone further to conclude that the *niyam jeṭu*, the third in order in the list of the members of the committee, was the chief administrative official.⁴² It seems unlikely that one member of the committee should receive such a low stipend while all the other members received a higher and regular allowance, and thus one might question the validity of Wickremasinghe's identification of *pirivahanuvā* with *pirivahanuvata kāmī*.

The term *pirivahanuvā* occurs in its Sanskrit form, *parivahana*, in the ninth-century Sanskrit inscription found at a hermitage within the grounds of the Abhayagiri monastery.⁴³ In this record he is described as an official in charge of the protection of the "inside and the outside."⁴⁴ This term is not found in the Indian inscriptions and is not known in this form to Indian lexicographers. It is probably derived from the root *vah* connected with *ūh*, "to carry," with the secondary meaning "to lead" as in the term *sārthavāha*. The verbal form of the same root is found in the phrase *mā(haveher piri)vahana māḍabiyā* in a tenth-century inscription from nearby Basavakkulam, but the reading is doubtful.⁴⁵ The office was not restricted to the monastic administration. A variant form, *pirivahannā*, occurs in the Badulla inscription to denote a village official. It was his duty to direct the committees of local administration in such tasks as inquiring into and levying fines for offenses committed in the village.⁴⁶ In the Sanskrit inscription from Abhayagiri the *parivahana* was the official who received the highest emolument at

40. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 94, l. B5. For *kiri* and *paya*, see *supra* p. 54, n. 3; p. 69, n. 102.

41. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 108 n. 1.

42. Parānavitana, *Śigiri Graffiti*, Vol. II, p. 30, v. 49; L. S. Perera, *Institutions*, pp. 1538, 1556.

43. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 5, l. 32.

44. *antar-vahi-rakṣaṇa-kuśalasya*. See *infra* p. 131.

45. *AIC*, No. 111; the term *māḍabiyā* occurs as an official title in the Śigiri graffiti. See *Śigiri Graffiti*, Vol. II, vv. 221, 391, 464, 470, 570.

46. *EZ*, Vol. V, Pt. 2, pp. 194-5.

the hermitage. It has been pointed out that even in the Mihintale Tablets he occurs at the head of the list of lay officials.

The relationship between the terms *pirivahanuvā* and *pirivahanu vata kāmi* may be gleaned from an analogy in the Polonnaruva Rāja Māligāva inscription of Mahinda IV which speaks of a certain *kuḍasalā vat kūmi* Mihindim who was in the service of the *kuḍasalānāvan* Ramuk.⁴⁷ It may be suggested on this basis that the *pirivahanu vata kāmi* was a minor official subordinate to the *pirivahanuvā*.

The absence of any reference to the *pirivahanuvā* in the second part of the Mihintale record, if not the result of an omission on the part of the scribe, could be attributed to another possible cause, that is, he could have been an honorary official. It is possible that a high-ranking dignitary or a member of the royal family occupied this important post. The Puñiyankulam slab inscription gives an instance of a chief minister (*maha āmati*) being appointed to the stewardship of a hermitage.⁴⁸ The *parivahana* at the hermitage attached to the Abhayagiri monastery was paid at the rate of one *kiri* of land for each village that the hermitage possessed—if he executed his duties in a satisfactory manner.⁴⁹ Hence it seems reasonable to suggest that the *pirivahanuvā* or the *parivahana* was the chief administrative official at the monastery.

The next term, *niyam jeṭ*, was translated as “the administrator of the market place” by Müller who believed that it was derived from *nigama jyeṣṭha*.⁵⁰ Wickremasinghe associated *niyam* with *niyama* (also *niyāma*) used in the sense of rules in the Sanskrit inscription from the Abhayagiri monastery; he translated the term as “administrator of rules.”⁵¹ Among the graffiti at Sigiri is a scribbling dated to the first half of the ninth century which mentions a *niyam jeṭ* who was an employee of the Budgamu monastery.⁵² In another graffito *niyam* is used in the sense of “rules,”⁵³ and in the light of this evidence it seems probable that Wickremasinghe’s translation is correct. The larger monasteries which controlled extensive lands and even administered justice in these areas would have had to employ a person who was proficient in rules, regulations and laws to help them with this work.

47. EZ, Vol. II, p. 54, ll. B12-6; for the meaning of the term *varā*, see EZ, Vol. III, pp. 108-110. Here Paranavitana adduces strong arguments in support of his interpretation of the term as “in the service of.”

48. See *infra* p. 134.

49. EZ, Vol. I, p. 5, ll. 32-3.

50. AIC, p. 116.

51. EZ, Vol. I, p. 101, n. 5.

52. Paranavitana, *Sigiri Graffiti*, Vol. II, p. 30, r. 49.

53. *Ibid.* p. 261, v. 423.

Wickremasinghe traced the derivation of *ā kāmīyā* to *ādi kammika* and translated it as "principal workman."⁵⁴ However *ā* is also the Sinhalese derivative from Pāli *aya* and *āya* (Skt. *āya*) which mean "income." In fact, in the Mihintale Tablets it occurs in this sense in the combination *ā-kaḷa*, "receipt of income."⁵⁵ Therefore, the suggestion that *ā kāmīyā* was derived from *āya karmī* and its translation as "the collector of income"⁵⁶ seems more plausible.

The fifth term, *pasak kāmīyā*, occurs in a graffito from Sīgiri dated to the second half of the eighth century.⁵⁷ Wickremasinghe translated it as "almoner" believing that it was derived from *paccaya kammika*.⁵⁸ But the terms *pas* and *pasak* occur in the Mihintale inscription itself in the sense of records and accounts.⁵⁹ *Pasak* is most probably derived from Skt. *pañjikā* which occurs in the Abhayagiri inscription to denote the register in which the accounts and the records of administrative arrangements were entered.⁶⁰ Perhaps the *pasak kāmīyā* was the accountant who was placed in charge of this register of the monastery.

The interpretation of the significance of the next three terms seems to be more difficult than that of the first five. The term *leyā* could denote either a scribe or an administrative official. The *veher leyā* was thus the scribe or some other administrative official attached to the monastery; his exact functions are not known. As an element in the conjoint forms *karaṇḍ leyā* and *karaṇḍ atsamu*, the word *karaṇḍ* means "casket." It could refer to caskets of ceremonial significance used for keeping sacred relics, but it is more probable that in this case it connoted the casket in which the records and the gold of the monastery were stored. The same inscription further states that the daily statements of accounts were to be kept in a locked casket (*mundu karaṇḍu*) which was to be sealed and kept in the "relic shrine."⁶¹ The *karaṇḍ leyā* and the *karaṇḍ atsamu* were, presumably, two officials in charge of this casket. The first term has been translated by Wickremasinghe as "the registrar of caskets" and the second as "the keeper of caskets."⁶²

It is evident from the second part of the Mihintale record that the *nakā balana himiyan* was paid a *nāḷi*⁶³ of rice daily and an additional

54. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 101.

55. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 94, l. A54.

56. *ŚSS*, p. 114.

57. Paranavitana, *Sīgiri Graffiti*, Vol. I, p. 193, v. 315.

58. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 101.

59. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 94, l. A54.

60. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 5, l. 32.

61. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 94, ll. A53-60.

62. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 101.

63. For an explanation of this term, see *supra* p. 64, n. 70.

allowance of three *kaḷand*⁶⁴ of gold a year. The last six officials of the committee received allotments of land amounting to five *kiri* each. The *niyam jeṭu* received, in addition, a daily allowance of a *nāḷi* of rice and an annual grant of fifteen *kaḷand* of gold. The only other official to receive this allowance called *setuvamaṭ mal mila* was the *maṅgul jeṭ*⁶⁵ who was paid three *kaḷand* and two *aka*⁶⁶ of gold a year. Wickremasinghe followed Müller and Gunasekara in translating this phrase as "the cost of whitewashing and flowers."⁶⁷ It is clear from the context that this translation is unsatisfactory and inappropriate. However, it is not possible to establish the exact significance of the term at the present state of our knowledge. In all, the payments made to the committee amounted to thirty *kiri* of land, about four *amuṇu* and two *pāl* of rice and eighteen *kaḷand* of gold, not including the payments, if any, made to the *pirivahanuvā*.⁶⁸

The system of administering monasteries through committees of management is strongly reminiscent of the administrative organization of Hindu temples in South India. On considering various factors like the close relationship which prevailed between South India and Sri Lanka, the similarity of the administrative problems that these religious institutions would have had to face and the similarity of even some of the administrative arrangements, it is very tempting to postulate a common origin for the committee system. Unfortunately, apart from references to treasurers and accountants, no detailed list of the officials who constituted the committees of management is available in any of the many relevant South Indian inscriptions. Hence, a comparison of the administrative institutions of the temples of South India and of the monasteries of Sri Lanka yields little information more specific than their obvious similarity.

On the other hand, titles of certain officials of the *kamtān* (the committee of management of the Cetiyaḡiri monastery) like the *pirivahanuvā* and the *niyam jeṭu*, are known to occur in the records of the ninth century; *pasak kāmīyā* occurs in an inscription of the eighth century. Titles of lesser officials like the *veher atsama* can be traced back as far as the fifth century,⁶⁹ and the term *pirivahanuvā* was known in the field

64. For an explanation of this term, see *supra* p. 72.

65. See *infra* p. 114.

66. For an explanation of this term, see H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, Colombo, 1924, pp. 13,60.

67. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 107-8.

68. For an explanation of the terms *kiri*, *amuṇu*, *pāl*, see *supra* p. 54, n. 3, p. 64, n. 70.

69. See *EZ*, Vol. V, pp. 111-9.

of secular administration. In an inscription of a king entitled Sirisaṅgabo Mapurmukā, *mē pirivahannā* and *kābili pirivahannā* are mentioned among the officials engaged in the administration of a district (*raṭa*).⁷⁰ The incidence of this term in the Badulla inscription has already been cited.

The word *kamtān* itself occurs in the sense of a government institution in the term *deruvana-dekamtān*.⁷¹ It is also relevant that committees composed of eight members each were known in local administration. The Badulla inscription cited above mentions two groups called the *gamhi aṭadenā*, "eight of the village," and the *aḍaviye aṭadenā*, "eight of the forest tracts." These committees, which remind one of the *grāmāṣṭakula* mentioned in inscriptions in Bengal, seem to have been under the supervisory control of the *pirivahannā*.⁷² These facts tend to suggest that the committee system of administration which was known at the Cetiyaḡiri monastery represents the result of a fairly long process of evolution in association with, and perhaps under the influence of, the local institutions of secular administration.

It is not certain whether the committee system was current at the other monasteries too. The office of *parivahana* was known at a hermitage attached to the Abhayagiri monastery.⁷³ A graffito from Sigiri refers to the *niyam jeṭ* of a hermitage called Budgamu-vehera which, presumably, was in the Matale District in the central highlands.⁷⁴ It does not necessarily follow that the committee system as such was known at these monasteries, but if indeed this system was the result of a long process of evolution, there is no reason to presume that it was restricted to one monastery. In this context it is also interesting that the *Cūlavamsa* mentions that King Māna appointed seven *paṭihāras* to serve under the monk to whom he donated the Uttaromūla monastery.⁷⁵ Normally the term *pratihāra* occurs in Sanskrit literature in the sense of doorkeeper. But Geiger has drawn attention to the possibility of a connection with the seven lay officials of the *kamtān* mentioned above.⁷⁶ If this is accepted, it would imply that this system was known also at the Uttaromūla of the Abhayagiri monastery.

Duties of the Committee of Management

One of the most important duties of the committee of management was, as in the cases of its counterparts at the Hindu temples of South

70. AIC, No. 114.

71. See EZ, Vol. II, pp. 24, 31, 37, 47.

72. EZ, Vol. V, Pt. 2, pp. 194-5.

73. See *supra* p. 102.

74. Paranavitana, *Sigiri Graffiti*, Vol. II, p. 30, v. 49; JRASCBNS, Vol. VI, p. 111.

75. Cv. 57. 20-1.

76. Cv. trsl., Pt. 1, p. 194, n. 2; CCMT, p. 195.

India, the supervision of fiscal administration. The Mihintale Tablets prescribe that the committee should attend to the duties connected with the revenue and expenditure of the main monastery as well as the subsidiary institutions attached to it.⁷⁷ Of these, the collection of dues from the land belonging to the monastery would have been one of the most formidable tasks, and it has been suggested that at least part of this duty was passed over to a class of middlemen. There are several references in the inscriptions dealing with monastic property to the "practice of taking *kābāli*" as well as to the group of individuals called "recipients of *kābāli*." *Kābāli* has been interpreted by L. S. Perera as "a system by which the produce was collected and handed over to the *vihāra* and other responsibilities discharged for a part of the produce, or may be for the payment of a fixed sum to the *vihāra*."⁷⁸ It has been compared with the system of *pāṭṭa*.

Paranavitana suggests that *pāṭṭa* was derived from Skt. *pāṭhya* which denotes the instrument of lease and that *pāṭṭaladuvan* were "a class of middlemen who farmed the revenues due from the tenant on behalf of the lord of the village."⁷⁹ The Koṇḍavaṭṭavan inscription decrees that *pāṭṭaladuvan* were to enjoy the land without evicting the tenants and were to refrain from cultivating the land themselves.⁸⁰ The Mihintale Tablets categorically state that the land belonging to the monastery should not be given on *pāṭṭa* tenure,⁸¹ but conditions at the Abhayagiri monastery, according to Paranavitana, were different. This monastery, he maintains, "permitted its lands, at least some of them to be managed by revenue farmers."⁸²

The acceptance of both or either of these interpretations would imply that part of the income of at least some of the monasteries depended on a class of middlemen who made a profit by taking a share of the income for themselves. Apart from the obvious economic disadvantage (this would entail a loss of a part of the income) there were other factors which made such an arrangement undesirable. Difficulties could arise as a result of giving over land which enjoyed many immunities to private individuals for the administration of revenue. Further,

77. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 92, ll. A20-3.

78. L. S. Perera, *Institutions*... p. 1248.

79. The term *pāṭṭa* may be compared with the Indian term *patta* which has survived into modern times and was used in the sense of a document "showing terms of payment of revenue, area held etc." See Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste in South India*, Oxford, 1965, p. 17, n. 6; *EZ*, Vol. V, pp. 127-8.

80. *Ibid.* p. 140.

81. *Ibid.* p. 93, ll. 43-4.

82. *Ibid.* pp. 127-8.

the tenant was bound to suffer from extortion under such a system. It has already been noted that the Mihintale Tablets specifically prohibited this practice. Hence it would be worthwhile to re-examine the evidence basic to the interpretations given above in order to test their validity.

A tenth-century inscription from Anurādhapura refers both to the practice of "taking *kābāli*" and to individuals who held *kābāli*. In granting immunities to the Isurameṇu monastery, it states: "*kābāli* shall not be taken from the land around the monastery, on both sides of the stream, as also from the land of the eight hundred and seven who hold *kābāli* from the monastery."⁸³ It is very unlikely that the Isurameṇu monastery had as many as eight hundred and seven middlemen for the collection of its dues. The term *kābāli* is known to occur in the combination *demeḷ kābāli*,⁸⁴ which has been taken by most scholars as denoting the allotments made over to Tamil employees in remuneration for their services. According to many inscriptions, lands are exempted from "the taking of *kābāli*" (*kābāli nogannā*). This would amount to a decision by the king not to allocate land or revenue from the area to his retainers. In a general sense *kābāli* also could have denoted allotments of land given over to share-croppers for cultivation. Hence the eight hundred and seven people mentioned in this record may be those who held the land of the monastery in return for service or on a share-cropping basis.

This leaves us with the interpretation that the land of the monasteries were given away on the *pāṭṭa* tenure. Paranavitana's interpretation of the term stands to reason, but his contention that some villages of the Abhayagiri monastery were given out on this basis does not appear to be justified. The evidence basic to this conclusion is a statement in the inscription of Kassapa V at this monastery: "If officials and those who farmed the revenues of villages sought refuge with the *saṅgha*, any debts due from them may be recovered after investigation; but they should not be subjected to any other form of censure."⁸⁵ Paranavitana presumes that this refers to officials and revenue farmers who owed debts to the monastery. It would be rather strange, however, if those who owed debts to the monastery sought refuge with the

83. *veherā kābāli gannā aṭasiyū sat hā ūtulu koḷ hoyin eterā meterā vehera avāta kābāli nogannā isā*. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 33, ll. 23-4.

84. *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 143, 274; Vol. IV, p. 41.

85. *kāmikam kaḷavun gam pāṭṭa vālanduvan saṅgun karā vana vicāra koḷ gata yutu ṇayak ganut mut sesu nigā nokaranu isā*. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 47, ll. 26.7. *Vana* has been used in the sense of "sought refuge" in the preceding statements: *minī koḷā saṅgun van tānaṭ van kenekun. . . sesu biyen van keneku. . . ll. 24-5*.

saṅgha. The meaning of the passage becomes clearer if the context in which it occurs is taken into consideration. This particular portion of the record deals with immunities granted to the monastery, which included exemption from interference by state officials. Complications arose when men wanted by the law entered the precincts of a monastery, and the last few statements preceding the one in question deal with the procedure to be followed when criminals who had committed murder and other grave offenses sought refuge within monastic grounds. Taken in this context the officials and revenue farmers concerned seem to have been men who owed debts to the state and were, therefore, wanted by royal officials rather than those who owed debts to the monastery itself. Hence it would be wrong to conclude, on the strength of this statement, that some villages belonging to the Abhayagiri monastery had been farmed out for the collection of revenue.

On the other hand, the fact that the monastic officials were in close and direct contact with the tenants is implicit in the regulations given in the inscriptions which were intended to protect the tenant from unjust demands. It is tempting to suppose that the lands situated at a distance from the monastery were given out on *pāṭṭa*, but there are direct references, at least in the Mihintale Tablets, to officials going away from the monastery on administrative errands. The officials who went on tours were advised not to accept any food or presents from the tenants apart from the quota of rice that they were entitled to by tradition.⁸⁶ This would suggest that such tours were an established practice, and thus it is clear that there is no evidence to suggest that the collection of dues from monastic estates had been farmed out to a class of middlemen. It seems very likely that the monastic administration was directly involved in this task.

The many grants made to monasteries during the period under consideration which exempted their estates from interference by state officials indicate that the administrative functions hitherto carried out by state officials had become the responsibility of the monastic administration. The monastic administration had to adjust itself to these new functions which included the administration of justice in the settlements which came under its control. Evidence for the fact that cases concerning at least the less severe offenses came under the direct jurisdiction of monasteries is found in the Mihintale Tablet where it is stated that fines were to be levied for offenses committed by tenants. The guilty party was to be made to pay the fine in cash or in labor at the rate of an allotment of work at irrigation reservoirs (presumably dredging work), sixteen cubits in circumference and one in depth, for each *aka*

86. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 93, ll. A46-8. See also *infra* pp. 188-9.

of the levy.⁸⁷ The administration of justice, even if it was a demanding task, was also a profitable one and would have helped to increase the revenues of the monasteries.

In the Hindu temples of South India it was the committee of management which conducted festivals and feasts to Brāhmanas, purchased land and dealt with boundary disputes.⁸⁸ In Sri Lanka, the monastic administration supervised the administration of monastic estates and the collection of revenue, saw to the satisfaction of the wants of monks who dwelt at the monastery, and maintained the buildings. It is also likely that it invested whatever surplus income there was as it saw fit. In addition to these functions, the responsibility of protecting the property of the monastery was also vested in the committee of management. It was this committee which accepted the sureties and approved the guarantors that monastic employees had to provide to ensure the reimbursement of any loss that might be incurred by them.⁸⁹ No trees on monastic grounds could be felled without the permission of the committee, and any person who violated this regulation was liable to a fine.⁹⁰ The meetings of the committee were held at the "inner monastery" and it had a junior scribe (*le daru*) under its service presumably to attend to the clerical work arising from its proceedings.⁹¹

Minor Administrative Officials and Functionaries

The committee of management required the services of a large number of officials to carry out the many duties which were its responsibility. It is likely that these lesser functionaries were appointed by the committee since, as noted earlier, it accepted sureties and approved the guarantors of these employees. Of the many lesser officials listed in the Mihintale Tablets, three, namely the *pirivahanu vata kāmi*, *piṭassam* and the *rajge upāni kāmi*, received the highest emoluments in this category. Each was assigned one *kiri* and two *paya* of land and a daily food allowance of two *aḍmanā* of rice.⁹² The first, as suggested earlier, was most probably an assistant steward in the service of the *pirivahanuvā*.

The second term *piṭassam* has been translated as "one who throws away dead flowers" and "scavenger" by Müller and Gunasekara respectively.⁹³ But on account of the context in which this term is found

87. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 93, ll. A51-3.

88. See *MRE*, Nos. 327 of 1916, 393 of 1929/30, 38 of 1931/2, 113 of 1938/9.

89. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 92, ll. A23-4.

90. *AIC*, No. 113.

91. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 96-7, ll. B43-4.

92. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 94-5, ll. B5, 9.

93. *AIC*, p. 118; *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 108, n. 9.

and the emolument that he received, it is rather unlikely that he was a minor workman. It occurs, together with *kuḷassam*, after two other officials, an administrator of a territorial division (*bim lad*) and an agricultural official (*vel bādi*), in an inscription from Vīraṇḍagoḍa dated to a period "between the beginning of the eighth and the middle of the ninth century."⁹⁴ These two terms and their variant forms *piṭatsam* and *kuḷatsam* also serve as designations of royal officials in the Vihāre-gama and the Polonnaruva Council Chamber inscriptions of the tenth century.⁹⁵

The element *assam* and its variant *atsam* are found in a number of terms in the Mihintale Tablets such as *kamassam*, *dummalassam*, *karaṇḍ atsam*, *dāge atsam* and *veher atsam*. The last occurs in its earlier form *vahara atsama* in the Hiṅguregala inscription.⁹⁶ Paranavitana suggested the derivation of *at* from *artha* meaning "substance, wealth" and "property" and *samu* from *samudga* which means "box" or "casket." He defined *atasama* as "a functionary entrusted with the box or casket in which the valuables belonging to the monastery were kept."⁹⁷ But such a derivation seems unlikely as *atsamu* occurs in connection with *karaṇḍu* which also means "a casket." Paranavitana has also suggested an alternative derivation from *arthasvāmin* which would yield the translation "purser."⁹⁸

There is some evidence to support this interpretation. The *vahara atasama* of the Hiṅguregala inscription was one of the officials who paid out the money belonging to the *saṅgha* for purchases made in the name of the monastery.⁹⁹ Similarly, the context in which *veher atsam* occurs in the Mihintale Tablets suggests that he was an official attached to the storehouse of the monastery.¹⁰⁰ It has been mentioned before that the *karaṇḍ atsama* may have been the official in charge of the casket in which the records of accounts and perhaps the valuables of the monastery were kept.

On the other hand, not all the officials bearing the title *atsam* seem to have performed functions connected with the handling of money. The *dummalassam* were minor employees responsible most probably for the provision of incense (*dum*) and flowers (*mal*) to the relic shrines and

94. *EZ*, Vol. V, Pt. 1, p. 123, ll. 1-3.

95. *EZ*, Vol. IV, p. 41, ll. A10-3; p. 53, ll. A10-2.

96. *EZ*, Vol. V, Pt. 1, pp. 119-24, ll. 2, 6, 9, 13.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 118, n. 6.

98. *Ibid.*

99. See *EZ*, Vol. V, pp. 111-9.

100. See *infra* p. 114.

the image-houses.¹⁰¹ Hence the rendering of *atsam* as "purser" does not seem to be acceptable.

Perhaps the term was derived from *artha* and *śram*, "to exert" or "to toil," and, like *arthasādhaka*, it denoted an official "who exerted himself for the success of a given cause." *Atsam* always occurs in conjunction with another word like *piṭa*, *veher*, *dāge* or *karaṇḍ*, and thus the literal meaning of the term *piṭassam* approximates the translation given by Wickremasinghe, viz. "one who arranges outside affairs."¹⁰²

It has already been mentioned that the Sanskrit inscription at the Abhayagiri monastery speaks of the "protection of the inside and the outside." Similarly, while referring to the management of finance, the Mihintale Tablets also draw a distinction between "inside" and "outside."¹⁰³ Though the exact significance of these terms is not clear, it seems likely that a distinction was made between the day-to-day administration of the main monastery and such affairs as the management of property lying outside the immediate vicinity of the monastery. The latter, one may, postulate, fell within the duties of the *piṭassam*.

There is little doubt that the first word in the title *raje upāni kāmī* meant "the palace" or in a secondary sense "the government." Müller translated the title as "a workman born in the grounds of the king" and Gunasekara as "a workman in the king's house."¹⁰⁴ *Upā* occurs in Sinhalese literature in the sense of "birth" as well as "rise, ascent and upsurge;"¹⁰⁵ *upāni* may have meant "that which has arisen." On this basis, Wickremasinghe's translation of the term as the official who "attends to matters arising in (connexion with) the royal house" appears to be the most acceptable.¹⁰⁶

The possession of land and the control that the monastery came to wield over its tenants would have given rise to many occasions of contact with royal officials. While discussing the disadvantages of living at a large monastery, the *Sārattha-dīpanī* points out that a monk living there may have to constantly visit the palace or the residences of the ministers to attend to various matters.¹⁰⁷ A ninth-century inscription forbids monks to send betel leaves or other presents to the royal household for the sake of gain.¹⁰⁸ If the interpretation given above is

101. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 96, ll. B34, 38.

102. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 108.

103. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 92, ll. A22-3.

104. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 108, n. 20

105. *Amāvatura*, ed. V. Sorata, 1948, p. 145; *Māhabodhivaṃśa Gaṇṭhipada Viva-rāṇaya*, ed. R. Dharmārāma, 1910, p. 92.

106. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 108.

107. *Sārattha-dīpanī*, p. 562

108. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 4, l. 13.

accepted, it would follow that at Cetiyaḡiri a special official had been appointed to attend to relations between the monastery and the royal officials.

A similar title which occurs in the latter part of the Mihintale Tablets is *saṅgvāli upāni kāmī*. This title occurs among the titles of employees attached to the refectory, and hence, Perera has suggested that it also designates such a person.¹⁰⁹ But this is not necessarily so, and it is noteworthy that he received a much higher emolument than the other employees in this group. He was allotted a *kiri* of land and a daily allowance of one *aḡmanā* of rice.¹¹⁰ *Vāla* (Skt. *āvali*) may mean "a collection," *saṅgvāla*, therefore, would mean "a group of monks." A related term, *saṅgvālla*, occurs in another part of the same inscription where mention is made of certain dues (*gekuli*) received from the *saṅgvālla*.¹¹¹ Another inscription from the tenth century refers to the Viraṅkura-ārāma belonging to the *saṅgvālla* of the Mulasoveher.¹¹² The first seems to have been a hermitage which accepted the leadership of the second, a larger monastery. Thus, on the analogy of the *rajge upāni kāmī*, it may be suggested that the *saṅgvāli upāni kāmī* was an official who attended to matters arising from relations with hermitages under the leadership of the Cetiyaḡiri monastery.

With the growth of monastic property, the treasury or the store house (*koṣa*, Skt. *koṣa*) became an essential feature in the organization of a monastery. In the fifth century Fa-Hian mentions the treasury of the Abhayaḡiri monastery which contained "numerous gems and a *mani* jewel of inestimable value."¹¹³ It was suggested earlier that the valuables belonging to the Cetiyaḡiri monastery were kept in a locked casket called the *mundu karaṅḡu*.¹¹⁴ In addition to this, the monastery had to maintain a constant and extensive supply of grain for the provision of food to the monks and for the "payment" of the daily allowances. It was stipulated in the Mihintale Tablets that three officials had to be present, without fail, at the "pay office" when allowances were distributed, at the place where the raw rice was given for cooking, and in the refectory when the food was distributed to the monks.¹¹⁵ These were probably members of the committee of management rather than lesser officials.

109. L. S. Perera, *Institutions*... p. 1540.

110. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 95, l. B21.

111. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 93, ll. A39.

112. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 25, ll. 11-3.

113. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

114. See *supra* p. 104.

115. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 29, ll. A26-9; see also *infra* pp. 145-6.

At the Cetiyaḡiri monastery the employee most directly connected with the management of the storehouse was the *koṭarākinā*, "the chief caretaker of the storehouse." He received two *pā* of land and a daily allowance of one *aḡmanā* and two *pat* of rice. He had an assistant, the *koṭa rūki* who received the same amount of land but only one *aḡmanā* of rice per day.¹¹⁶ Probably the two *veher atsam* who occur along with these officials also were attached to the storehouse. It was pointed out earlier that officials who bore this title were connected with the finances of the monastery as early as the fifth century.¹¹⁷ They were allotted the same amount of land in addition to a daily allowance of one *aḡmanā* and one *pat* of rice. The four employees called *vaṭṇāvāri* who occur in the same section of the inscription are described as "goldsmiths" in Müller's translation,¹¹⁸ but this translation finds no justification. Gunasekara translated the phrase as "four energetic paymasters" and Wickremasinghe as "servants of the paymaster."¹¹⁹ It is also possible to render it into English as "employees who served in turn as paymasters." Their emolument amounted to two *pā* of land and a daily allowance of one *aḡmanā* of rice each. One may surmise that all these employees were under the control of the *ā kāmīyā* and, through him, of the committee of management.

Apart from the administrative officials enumerated above, there were certain functionaries who seem to have been concerned with the organization of the ceremonial and the ritualistic aspects of monastic life. The foremost of these was the *maṅgul jeṭ* who was allotted a *kiri* of land, one *vasag*¹²⁰ and an additional allowance of three *kaḡand* and two *aka* of gold a year.¹²¹ The Mihintale Tablets speak of festivals (*maṅgul*) held in honor of various sacred objects at the monastery, and the *maṅgul jeṭ* may have been the functionary in charge of their organization.

Immediately after this the inscription mentions a certain *vatsikā kāmī* who received a *kiri* of land and a *vasag*.¹²² Müller translated this

116. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 95, ll. B17-8. The term *pata* denoted a standard measure. Evidence concerning the value of this measure is vague. The *Jātaka Aḡuvā Gāṭapadaya* (p. 52) suggests that it was the equivalent of *nāli* (See *supra* p. 64. A commentary on the *Khaṅkāvitaraṇī* quoted by V. Sorata (*SSS* p. 509) equates it with an eighth of a *nāli*. Since in this particular context an employee is given an *aḡmanā* and 2 *pat* of rice, it seems likely that the *pat* was less than an eighth of a *nāli*. A *manā* was half a *nāli*.

117. See *supra* p. 102.

118. *AIC*, p. 118.

119. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 109.

120. For an explanation of the term *vasag*, see *infra* pp. 148-53.

121. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 94, ll. B6-7.

122. *Ibid.* ll. B7-8.

term as "one who prepares medicine" without offering reasons for his interpretation. Gunasekara's translation as "a servant of one year" is no more suitable.¹²³ Wickremasinghe has translated *vatsikā kāmī* as "a cowherd,"¹²⁴ but while *vatsikā* does mean "a calf" in Sanskrit *vatsikā kāmī* or anything equivalent is not known in either Sanskrit or Sinhalese usage as a term denoting "cowherd." The context of its occurrence also suggests that the person involved performed some ceremonial function. *Vat* can be derived from Skt. *vrata* and *sikā* from *śikṣā* and the *vatsikā kāmī* could, therefore, also have been an official connected with religious observances holding an office similar to that of the *upadhivārika* of the Mūla Sarvāstivāda Vinaya,¹²⁵ who announced the dates on which the monks had to practice religious observances.

An official called *oḷ kāmī*, who received two *paya* of land and one *aḍmanā* and two *pat* of rice as a daily allowance, seems to have been another employee of the same category. Müller and Gunasekara translated the term as "masker,"¹²⁶ and Sorata has suggested the rendering "maker of headdresses."¹²⁷ A graffito from Sigiri, dated to the second half of the eighth century, records a verse composed by three men who described themselves as the assistants or the apprentices (*atavāsi*) of the *oḷkamūṇa* of the Dunaturā-nā-vehera.¹²⁸ Paranavitana believed that the *oḷkamūṇa* was a master craftsman similar to a sculptor since he had "apprentices."¹²⁹ But if the *oḷkāmī* in the Mihintale Tablets was a craftsman, it is more than likely that he would have been listed in that section of the inscription which deals with the payments made to various craftsmen like carpenters, stoneworkers and blacksmiths. Secondly, the title *kāmī* (*karmī*) also suggests that he was probably a functionary. *Oḷkāmī* can be compared with *puda olakkam*, which occurs in the *Daḷadā-sirita*, in the sense of ritual pertaining to the worship of sacred objects,¹³⁰ and if the terms were indeed related, the *oḷkāmī* would have been a functionary who supervised the performance of daily ritual.

In his study of the Tirupati temple, Stein pointed out that the expansion of the temple led to the rise of new subsidiary institutions with separate endowments and administrative arrangements which enjoyed a

123. *AIC*, p. 118; *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 108, n. 1.

124. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 108.

125. See Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 136.

126. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 108, n. 11.

127. *ŚSŚ*, p. 198.

128. Paranavitana, *Sigiri Graffiti*, Vol. II, p. 233, v. 375.

129. *Ibid.* pp. 233, n. 4.

130. *Daḷadā-sirita*, ed. V. Sorata, 1955, p. 51.

certain degree of autonomy.¹³¹ It has already been noted in a previous chapter that signs of a similar development are evident in the tendency to make land grants to a particular institution within the monastery rather than to the monastery as a whole. Additional evidence is found in the Mihintale Tablets which refer to the prevalence of institutions like the "relic shrine" (*dāge*) and the "image-house" (*piḷimage*) with separate endowments and officials distinct from those of the main institution.

The "relic shrine" owned a village called Karandāgama while another village, Gutāgama, belonged to the "image-house."¹³² Six officials are listed in the service of the first, namely *dāge atsam*, *gaṇajetu*, *karaṅḍle* and three who bore the title *varjetu*. It is noteworthy that the first and the third bear titles similar to those of the committee of management. It is likely that the *dāge atsam* was the official in charge of the shrine and that the *karaṅḍle* was vested with the charge of the relic casket or the casket of valuables, if not both. Gunasekara has suggested that the *gaṇajetu* was the chief of a chapter of monks, a very unlikely supposition,¹³³ and Müller took it to mean "the overseer of tenantry."¹³⁴ Wickremasinghe's translation, "the chief of the retinue of attendants," seems to be the most appropriate since the term *gaṇanāyaka* is also used, at times with this meaning.¹³⁵ As to the last term, Wickremasinghe's translation as "superintendents of service by turns" is quite acceptable. This institution seems to have depended to a great extent on the *corvée* or "service in turn" as a source of labor.¹³⁶ All these six officials presumably received the dues from Karandāgama for their services.

At least two officials were employed at the shrine of the stone image. Both of these, the *pūṇākūmi* and the *kamassam*, received grants of two *pā* of land and a daily allowance of one *aḍmanā* and two *pat* of rice each.¹³⁷ While the first term is obscure,¹³⁸ the *kamassam* probably was the functionary who attended to the administrative affairs relating to the image-house.

131. B. Stein, "The Economic Functions of a Mediaeval South Indian Temple," *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XIX, 1959-60, pp. 163-7.

132. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 75-113, ll. A37-8, B34-9.

133. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 110, n. 5.

134. *AIC*, p. 119.

135. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 110.

136. See *infra* pp. 121-2.

137. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 96, ll. B41-2.

138. Wickremasinghe believed that *pūṇā* was a variant of *pūṇā*, a ceremonial vessel used in shrines for pouring water and considered to be vested with magical power. It was used in litigation and witnesses were made to swear on it. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 111, n. 7.

The Labor Force and Conditions of Service

The monastery maintained a considerable labor force to keep its buildings in good repair and to satisfy the needs of its monks. Some of these workers were domestic employees who attended to such chores as preparing food and ministering to the personal needs of the monks;¹³⁹ some were craftsmen, while others were laborers who were employed in irrigation work, in agriculture and in work connected with religious ceremonies. This labor force seems to have been recruited by three different means: some were employees who received land allotments and allowances of rice; some were slaves or bondsmen; and others were tenants of the monastery who performed *corvée* duty.

Certain monasteries maintained a permanent staff of craftsmen for renovation work. According to the ninth-century Sanskrit inscription from the Abhayagiri monastery, stone-cutters (*śilākuṭṭaka*) and carpenters (*takṣaka*) were to be each assigned one and a half *kiri* of fields from the villages set apart to finance renovation work at the monastery (*navakarmagrāme*). In addition, they were also given tracts of unirrigated land for growing "inferior grains" (*kudhānya*). A similar allotment was made to the functionary who supervised their work. They were given two months and five days to finish their work and were to be deprived of their allotments in cases of failure to abide by this stipulation.¹⁴⁰ Unfortunately, no information is available on the exact strength of this labor force.

In this context the Mihintale Tablets prove more useful as they furnish a detailed list of employees. The *kamanavāmā kābīli jeṭ* seems to have been the employee in charge of repairs. He was allotted a *kiri* of land and a daily allowance of an *aḍmanā* and one *pat* of rice. He had twelve men under him who were termed *kābīli* and received the same allowance but only two *pā* of land.¹⁴¹ It is not certain why they were termed *kābīli*; one possibility is that they were in charge of "sections" of the monastery.

At the head of the band of craftsmen was the chief master artisan (*vaḍu maha ādur*) who received the tract of unirrigated land at Boṅdvehera as his allotment and under him there were two other master artisans (*āduru vaḍu*). The largest group of workmen were the eight workers termed *sirvaḍu*. Gunasekara, who held that *sir* was equivalent to Skt. *sirā*, translated it as "basket-makers." Müller and Wickremasinghe

139. See e.g., *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 93, ll. 41, 45.

140. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 5, ll. 25-32.

141. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 97, ll. B48-50,

compared the term with *siriyaru* and took it to be derived from *chūrikāvardhaka*, thereby translating it as "carver."¹⁴² *Siriyaru* occurs in the *Ruvanmal-nighaṇḍu* as the term for "carpenter," which is inappropriate in this context since carpenters are mentioned separately.¹⁴³ A more acceptable explanation would be to compare it with Tamil *siṟpar* and to translate it as "stone-worker." There were two workmen called *uḷuvaḍu*. This term may be translated as "brickmakers," "brickmasons" or in a general sense as "builders." All these employees were entitled to a share from the income from Vaḍudevāgama (Devāgama of the artisans). In addition, there were two carpenters (*kaṭuvaḍu*) who received one *kiri* each, two master lapidaries (*miṇir maha ūduru*) who received three *kiri* each and two blacksmiths (*kambur*) who got one *kiri* each. The village, Sunuboḷdevāgama (Devāgama of the lime-burners) was allotted to the lime-burners. For its transport work the monastery employed six carters, and the village Damunugama was set apart for this purpose. It does not necessarily imply that these villages were in fact given to the employees concerned. It may be merely that the residents of these two villages were obliged to provide the lime required by the monastery and the carters for its transport work.¹⁴⁴

Substantial resources were set apart for repairs at the Cetiyaḡiri monastery. One *payala* from Damgamiya and two *kiri* from Āḷgamiya were to be used for repairs at Kaṭumahasāya and Kiribaḡḡpavudāgāba respectively, while all the offerings received at these two shrines as well as the shrines of the main monastery, in addition to ten *yāl* of paddy and one hundred *kaḷand* of gold, were set apart for repairs at the main monastery.¹⁴⁵ It is evident that every year the monastery employed a considerable labor force for this purpose. Such a system would have ensured the self-sufficiency of the monastery and its independence from the support of the king for its maintenance.

A tenth-century record from the Abhayaḡiri monastery states that the income from the villages and the land set apart for meeting the cost of repairs should be used for that purpose alone. If there were no such funds, whatever was left from funds set aside for food and clothing was to be used. And if there was no balance left from the funds set apart for food, half of the funds set apart for robes was to be used for repairs. Monks who failed to carry out these instructions were to be expelled from the monastery.¹⁴⁶ This passage suggests that some monasteries were not

142. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 112, n. 2.

143. *Ruvanmal-nighaṇḍu*, p. 77, No. 396.

144. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 97, ll. B44-8.

145. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 92-3, ll. A31-7.

146. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 236, ll. 40-4.

kept in good repair, and at the same time, it hints at the possible prevalence of monasteries which did not possess funds to meet the cost of renovation work.

The chronicles contain many instances of kings undertaking restoration work at monasteries. Even the larger and better endowed monasteries sometimes accepted their help in this respect. Nissanka Malla assigned an official, Loke *arakhmēnāvan*, to serve at the Ruvanvālisāya, charged him with the task of restoring the shrines of Anurādhapura and placed extensive funds at his disposal for this purpose.¹⁴⁷ The term *arakhmēnā* occurs in the *Pūjāvāliya*¹⁴⁸ as well as in the *Siṃhala Bodhivaṃśa* as the equivalent for Pali *ārakkhapāricariya*,¹⁴⁹ a post which carried the duty of guarding the Bo Tree. The help of the king in restoration work was most needed and generously given after foreign invasions, as in the reigns of Sena I and Udaya IV, and after the period of Coḷa occupation.¹⁵⁰

Some of the craftsmen mentioned in the preceding list, like blacksmiths and lapidaries, would also have been employed to produce equipment needed by the monastery. Apart from them, there was a group of craftsmen who catered specifically to these needs of the monastery. The Mihintale Tablets list five potters (*kumbal*) who were given one *kiri* of land each. They were to supply five vessels a day. Another potter was allowed two *kiri* of land and a daily allowance of two *aḍmanā* of rice in return for supplying ten bowls and ten water-pots every month. Lastly one *kiri* and two *paya* were allotted to an employee, most probably a weaver, who supplied the monastery with a water-strainer every month.¹⁵¹ It is also possible that weavers were employed to produce robes for monks. According to the *Samantapāsādikā*, it was possible for monks to accept weavers and dyers as *ārāmikas*.¹⁵² In fact, the Abhayagiri monastery owned a weavers' village.¹⁵³

The Sanskrit inscription from the Abhayagiri monastery speaks of the *pañcakaulikās* who worked on the grounds of the monastery. Their work was portioned out to them, and they were held responsible for the completion of their assignments within the stipulated period of two months and five days.¹⁵⁴ A similar term occurs in the chronicles.

147. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 80, ll. 29-32.

148. *Pjv.*, p. 15.

149. *Siṃhala Bodhivaṃśa*, ed. Dhammaratana, Matara, 1911, p. 194.

150. *Cv.* 51. 69, 77; 54. 44-5, 48.

151. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 75-113, ll. B27-9, 37.

152. *Smp.*, Vol. III, p. 683.

153. *Cv.* 41.96.

154. *EZ*. Vol. I, p. 5, ll. 29-30.

According to the *Cūlavamsa*, King Māna, who built the Uttaromūla, endowed it with *pañcapessavaggas*.¹⁵⁵ (*Pessa* and *pessiya* mean "servant."¹⁵⁶) Geiger translated the term as "five groups of servitors."¹⁵⁷ The term occurs in variant form in two later instances. Kittisirimegha, seeking a reconciliation with the young prince Parākramabāhu, is said to have sent the *pañcapessiyavaggas* to him, along with a letter and presents.¹⁵⁸ Also, Parākramabāhu II (1287-1293) is said to have assigned the five *pessiyavaggas* who served at the palace to work for the *saṅgha*.¹⁵⁹

This term is probably equivalent to *pañca-kammālār* and *añju-cāttiyār* in Tamil, but it is not possible to arrive at a definite conclusion on the constitution of these groups. One Tamil list gives goldsmiths, coppersmiths, stonemasons, carpenters and blacksmiths as forming the five groups.¹⁶⁰ Two lists from Sri Lanka found in the *Abhidhānappadīpikā Sannaya* and the *Mahārūpasiddhi Sannaya* agree in saying that the five *kulas* were constituted of carpenters, weavers, dyers or washermen (*rajaka*), barbers and leather-workers.¹⁶¹ The *Apannaka Jataka* refers to the "five low castes" (*pañcasu nīca kulesu*) and the *Jātaka Aṭuvā Gūṭapadaya* says that they are composed of musicians (*vena*), hunters, chariot-makers, scavengers and *caṇḍālas*.¹⁶² Though in the absence of conclusive evidence it is not possible to decide in favor of any of these lists, it may be pointed out that the *Jātaka Aṭuvā Gūṭapadaya* is the oldest among these works.

References to kings offering these craftsmen to monasteries suggest that slavery was a source of labor that the monasteries depended on. The *Samantapāsādikā* forbids the *saṅgha* to accept slaves, but in the same breath sanctions their acceptance if they were offered as *ārāmikas* and *kappiyakārakas*.¹⁶³ Some inscriptions of the seventh and eighth centuries which were found in monastic precincts refer to people releasing themselves or others from slavery by paying a fee which amounted at

155. *Cv.* 57. 21.

156. *Pāli-English Dictionary, PTS.* See *pessiya*.

157. *Cv.*, trsl., Pt. 1, p. 194.

158. *Cv.* 67.58.

159. *Cv.* 84.5. The *Pjv.* uses the term *mē tān* in place of *pessiya-vagga*.

160. *Tamil Lexicon*, p. 2403. *taṭṭan*, *kannān*, *ciṅpan*, *taccan*, *kollan*. *Ḥankatta-karādi*.

161. *Abhidhānappadīpikā Sannaya*, ed. Pañnamoli, 1895, p. 69; *Mahārūpasiddhi Sannaya*, ed. Dharmaratana, 1926, p. 418.

162. *The Jātaka*, ed. V. Fausböhl, Vol. I, p. 106; *JAG*, p. 53. The term *rathakāra* was also used to denote "leather-workers." See *Jātaka Sannaya*, ed. Dharmaratana, 1927, p. 511.

163. *Smp.*, Vol. III, p. 683.

times to a figure as high as one hundred *kahāpanas*.¹⁶⁴ Some scholars have cast doubt on the significance of the evidence from these inscriptions. They deny that the term *vaharala*, which occurs in these records, meant "slavery."¹⁶⁵ But, even if this evidence is disregarded, the prevalence of slavery at monasteries is beyond doubt. According to the *Cūlavamsa* Silāmeghavaṇṇa (A.D. 619-628) granted captives taken in battle as slaves to monasteries,¹⁶⁶ and Aggabodhi IV (667-683), Potthakuttā and Sena I (833-853) provided slaves for the various religious establishments which they founded.¹⁶⁷ The Galpāta-vihāra inscription is even more specific. It mentions two types of slaves—"hereditary slaves" (*anvayāgata*) and "bought slaves" (*ranvahalīn*). In fact, it records an actual instance in which slaves were purchased with gold belonging to a monastery. It also lists eighty-three slaves, in groups of families, as having been granted to serve the monastery in various capacities as cowherds, potters and tailors.¹⁶⁸

It would appear that the monastery was also entitled to the labor and services of tenants who occupied its lands. Most grants of immunities state that royal officials were not to take *vāriyan* from within the lands of the monastery. An inscription from Noccipotāna categorically lays down that *vāri* should not be taken for irrigation work.¹⁶⁹ Similarly, a record from Dorabāvila stipulates that *vāriyan* or buffaloes were not to be seized for irrigation work even if the twelve main reservoirs had been destroyed.¹⁷⁰ One may presume that these grants prevented royal officials from mustering men and cattle from these villages for irrigation work. In fact, *vāri* has been used in the *Kavsiḷumīna* in the sense of "servant."¹⁷¹

Grants of immunities from service due to the king would have implied that these rights were turned over to the monasteries. *Vārika*, which is probably the Sanskrit equivalent of *vāri*, occurs in the Sanskrit

164. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 135, 144, 285-96.

165. See D. J. Wijeratne, "Interpretation of *Vaharala*, etc. in Sinhalese Inscriptions," *UCR*, Vol. X, 1952, pp. 103-20. See also Paranavitana's reply: "Interpretation of *Vaharala*," *EZ*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 35-65.

166. *Cv.* 44, 73.

167. *Cv.* 46, 10, 20; 50, 64.

168. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 206-7, ll. 12-23.

169. *gaṅg kaḍaṭ vāri nogannā isā*. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 7, ll. 12-4.

170. *doḷos maha vā sunad vāriyan mivun nogannā isā*. Vol. V, Pt. 2, p. 295, ll. C8-12. *Vāriyan* has been generally translated as "laborers" and "workmen." But the editor of this particular inscription makes a curious suggestion: "Since the word (i.e. *vāriyan*) occurs with *gon* and *mivun*, can it not mean a kind of oxen?" (p. 298). Needless to say, such an interpretation is most inappropriate.

171. *Kavsiḷumīna*, v. 615.

inscription from Abhayagiri.¹⁷² In this record *vārikas* are mentioned in one instance along with *karmakāras* and in another instance with *kāraḥas* and *karmakāras* as one of the parties held responsible in cases where assignments are not completed according to stipulation. According to the *Samantapāsādikā*, *vihāravārikas* were to be employed to keep watch over the belongings of the monks.¹⁷³ The *Sārattha-dīpanī*, its commentary, explains that *vihāravārikas* were those who took turns in guarding the monasteries.¹⁷⁴ *Vārikas* need not necessarily have been laymen; but in the context of inscriptional evidence cited, there is hardly any doubt that they were laymen. Evidence in the Mihintale Tablets adds to the certainty of this supposition. Here it is stipulated that the monastery should avail itself of the "three-day turn of service" (*tundā var*) but should not levy other forms of *corvée* like service on *poya* days.¹⁷⁵ This not only confirms that the monastery enjoyed the right to free labor but also suggests by implication that this right was sometimes abused. The grant made by Vijayabāhu I to a monastery of the residents of the district of Āḷisara has already been discussed.¹⁷⁶ It may be cited as an indication that the right of the monasteries to *corvée* labor continued to be prevalent in the eleventh century.

The mechanisms for the exchange of goods and services in the monastic economy were not uniform and homogeneous; in fact, it seems that different types of mechanisms operated simultaneously. Some of the services that the monastery received were from groups like slaves and tenants, while almost all the other employees were given allotments of land in remuneration for their services. In the Mihintale and Kaludiya-pokuṇa inscriptions, these allotments are termed *divel* (var. *jivel*). The Sanskrit inscription from the Abhayagiri monastery uses the term *jivita-dāna*, which is presumably the Sanskrit equivalent of this term and has been translated as "maintenance." The inscription of Kassapa V at the same premises directs the officials of the monastery to hold land and the villages of the main monastery only on the basis of *dasakārā* tenure,¹⁷⁷ and another inscription at Abhayagiri reveals that other employees also

172. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 5, ll. 23-4, 30-1.

173. The reading *vihāracārika* has been preferred in the P.T.S. edition. It gives *vihāravārika* as a variant form. *Ca* and *va* are easily mistaken for each other in the Sinhalese script. There is no doubt that the original reading was *vihāravārika* since the *Sārattha-dīpanī*, the commentary on the *Smp.*, cites this term in its comments on this passage. *Smp.* p. 357.

174. *vihāravāriko. vāraṃ katvā vihārarakkhanako. Sārattha-dīpanī*, p. 516.

175. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 93, ll. A44. See also *infra* p. 200.

176. See *supra* pp. 88-9.

177. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 49, ll. 46-7.

held land on the basis of *dasakārā* tenure.¹⁷⁸ The term *divel* does not occur in any of these records.

Wickremasinghe has tried to explain *dasakārā* variously as "tenth part" and "servile tenure."¹⁷⁹ *Dasa* yields to either interpretation. The *Samantapāsādikā*, while commenting on the word *bhāgaṃ* in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, equates it with *dasamabhāgaṃ* and adds that the custom of paying a tenth of the yield to the owner of the land was known in ancient India.¹⁸⁰

On the other hand, if *dasa* is taken in the sense of "employees," the second meaning suggested by Wickremasinghe would be more appropriate. In both of its contexts *dasakārā* indicates a tenure of land as held by employees of the monastery. The fact that the term *jivel* does not occur in these records suggests that *dasakārā* had been used in its place, but, owing to the paucity of evidence, it is not possible to decide in favor of any of these interpretations.

In addition to land the employees at the Cetiyaḡiri monastery were allotted daily allowances of rice. The Abhayaḡiri inscription of Kassapa V refers to "wages" (*dāsan vaṭākaṃ*) being paid to the employees of the monastery.¹⁸¹ Another record from the Abhayaḡiri monastery and the Kaludiyapokuṇa inscriptions refer to employees receiving *nimi*,¹⁸² a term which Wickremasinghe interpreted as a type of land tenure. Paranaṡitana assumed that it was derived from Skt. *nivī* meaning "capital" or "stock."¹⁸³ *Nimi* probably carries the same meaning as *nima* which occurs in the *Dhampiyā Aṡuvā Gāṡapadaya*. In two instances *nima* is given as the Sinhalese term for *nivāpa*, and in another instance *vaṡṡa* ("wage") is translated as *nima* and *sēvābāṡa*.¹⁸⁴ Thus all four terms seem to have carried the meaning "wage." This "wage" must have been paid in grain since the term *nivāpa* itself originally meant "grain."

It has been pointed out elsewhere that some of the employees at the Cetiyaḡiri monastery received an allowance for clothing.¹⁸⁵ According to the Mihintale Tablets employees wore an upper garment, a lower garment and a headdress.¹⁸⁶ The *Daṡadā-sirita* stipulates that employees

178. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 236, l. 48.

179. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 56, p. 103, n. 2; p. 240, n. 1.

180. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. I, p. 250; *Smp.* Vol. VI, p. 1103.

181. *Saṡḡun dāsan vaṡākaṃ* here, most probably, refers to the payment made to the monks and the employees since separate provision is made in another part of the record for the provision of food. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 49, l. 53.

182. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 236, l. 48; Vol. III, p. 264, l. 30.

183. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 267, n. 2.

184. *Dhampiyā Aṡuvā Gāṡapadaya*, pp. 76, 161, 226.

185. See *infra* p. 146.

186. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 97, ll. B53-4.

who served at the shrine of the Tooth relic should be dressed in tunics (*sāṭṭa*) and headdresses (*mayilakaṭṭu*),¹⁸⁷ and it is possible that similar regulations about dress existed even in earlier times. The Cetiyaḡiri monastery had even set apart three *kiri* of land to be assigned to washermen for laundering the garments of its employees.¹⁸⁸

The Cetiyaḡiri monastery employed more than a hundred and seventy workers and functionaries in all. Apart from other allowances, a hundred and seven *kiri* and three *paya* of irrigated land, an allotment of unirrigated land and dues from five villages were assigned for their maintenance. The relatively high emoluments that the craftsmen received is one of the most noteworthy features to emerge from a study of the conditions of service at the monasteries. Each of the master lapidaries received a tract of land measuring three *kiri*, the highest remuneration received by any employee outside the committee of management. The potter, the painter, the florist and the astrologer¹⁸⁹ came next, with assignments of two *kiri* each. It is interesting to note that they received higher remunerations than the lesser administrative officials at Mihintale. In fact, the cooks and the washermen at this monastery received as much land as officials like the *pirivahanu vata kāmi* and the *rajge upāni kāmi*. It is likely that these rates of remuneration varied from monastery to monastery and from time to time. For instance, the ninth-century records from the Abhayaḡiri monastery reveal that one and a half *kiri* of fields and a plot of unirrigated land were set apart for a carpenter while, at Mihintale, a carpenter received an assignment of only one *kiri* of land during the tenth century.

Some of the craftsmen employed at the monastery, such as carpenters, brickmakers and stone-cutters, were organized under "chief master artisans" (*vaḡu maha ādur*) and "master artisans" (*vaḡu ādur*).¹⁹⁰ The names of these employees and the exact nature of the services they rendered were recorded in the monastic registers.¹⁹¹ It appears from the inscriptions at the Abhayaḡiri monastery that they had to serve the monastery sixty-five days a year. Each employee was given a specific assignment at the beginning of this period, and, if he failed to work according to these arrangements and to finish the work within the due time, the allotments of land made over to him were liable to be withdrawn.¹⁹²

187. *Daḡadā-siriṭa*, p. 51

188. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 97, ll. B53-4.

189. See *infra* p. 235.

190. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 97, ll. B44-7.

191. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 5, ll. 28-9.

192. *Ibid.* p. 5, l. 30-2.

Similarly, those craftsmen who supplied the monastery with goods were assigned specific quotas.¹⁹³ While the monastery could dismiss employees and withdraw the allowances and land allotments made over to them if they failed in their duties, these edicts also stipulate that no employee who had fulfilled his obligations should be harassed or dismissed.¹⁹⁴ Thus it would seem that the relationship between the monastery and its employees acquired what may be described as a contractual character.

Though kings sought to safeguard the rights of employees and tenants of the monasteries, the monastery could exercise strict control over them; for in addition to the frequently stated threat of depriving them of their land, it evidently owned the implements with which the agriculturists tilled the land and the artisans practiced their craft. A commentary on monastic discipline classifies all metal implements of craftsmen like carpenters, leather-workers, tinsmiths, blacksmiths and lapidaries, and agricultural implements like hoes, spades and axes as the "indivisible common property" of the monastery. Only a few specified cutting implements of small size were exempted from this rule; they were considered "divisible" and individual monks could lay claim to them.¹⁹⁵ This commentary is written in Pāli but its author claims that he based his work on original Sinhalese texts and that he strictly adhered to the traditions of the Mahāvihāra. Tradition has ascribed it to Buddhaghosa, but, as Buddhadatta has pointed out,¹⁹⁶ there is no internal evidence to confirm this. It probably dates from the fifth century or not long after. In a period of technological and social development, when metal tools were not easy to come by, the ownership of the means of production would have placed the monastery in a domineering position *vis à vis* the workers engaged in production. Hence, if some of the arrangement for the exchange of goods and services in the monastic economy seem to evince a contractual basis, it was certainly not a contract between two independent and equal parties.

Bookkeeping and Accounting at the Monastery

An important aspect of the system which was developed to manage the properties and the labor resources of the monastery was the tradition of accounting and maintaining records. The interest evinced by the monastery in bookkeeping and accounting was worthy of a business

193. See *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 96, ll. B27-30.

194. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 265, ll. 30-2.

195. See *Kaṅkhāyitarāṇī*, ed. D. Maskell, London, 1956, pp. 135-6.

196. A. P. Buddhadatta, *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Ambalangoḍa, 1960, Vol. I, p. 210.

house. The monastery maintained a register which is called *paspot* in the Sinhalese records and *pañjikā* in the Sanskrit inscription from the Abhayagiri monastery. According to I-tsing, registers containing the names of the resident monks were maintained at monasteries in North India.¹⁹⁷ Even if monastic registers in Sri Lanka contained this sort of information, they were certainly not limited to it. The ninth-century Sanskrit inscription from the Abhayagiri monastery stipulates that, upon the appointment of an employee, his name and the nature of his duties were to be entered in the register.¹⁹⁸ According to the Mihintale Tablets, all receipts from estates as well as all payments made for the supply of food, for repairs, and to those who were entitled to allowances were also recorded in the register.¹⁹⁹ The records of the Abhayagiri monastery mention certain functionaries called *pañjikāsthavira*, "the senior monks who maintain the register."²⁰⁰ But, as noted earlier, the official vested with this task at the Cetiya-giri monastery was a layman.

The committee of management prepared a daily statement of accounts from the entries in these registers, and this was duly signed and placed in a locked casket.²⁰¹ The committee had a seal of its own. The casket was stamped with this seal and placed in the "relic shrine."²⁰² It is important that this administrative procedure had to be attended to daily and thus it is clear that the committee of management was a permanent body of officials which had to meet regularly every day. Due to its regular system of accounting the committee of management had knowledge of the day-to-day state of finances and was therefore in a position to exert full control over financial matters and to lessen chances of misappropriation.

197. I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 65.

198. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 5, ll. 27-9.

199. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 94, ll. A53-6.

200. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 5, ll. 27-31.

201. *davas patā viyavū tāk paspot-hi liyavā kamtān sāmāṅgin atvatu karāy san otamanavun sanin paṭavay mundu karaṇḍuyehi tabā*. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 94, ll. A. 55-67. The phrase *san otamanavun sanin paṭavay* was translated by Wickremasinghe as "such entries as are found false shall be expunged from the accounts." He followed Clough's interpretation of *ota* as "falsehood" and Jayatilaka's translation of *paṭavay* as "having caused to disappear." *Ot* and *ota* occur in the *DAG* (p. 14) and *Muvadevdā* (vv. 56, 58) in the sense of "to place" and "to deposit." *Paṭavanu* and *paṭvay* are known to occur with the meanings of "to fill, to load, to impose and to maintain." *San* can mean "sign" and "name." Hence the translation of the passage as given above seems to be the most appropriate.

202. No seals which can be definitely identified as those belonging to monasteries have been found so far in Sri Lanka. But many seals of this nature have been recovered from monastic sites in North India, viz. Nālandā, Kasīa and Paharpūr. A. Ghosh, *Guide to Nālandā*, pl. X; Dikshīt, *Pahārpur Excavations*, *MASI*, No. 55, pl. iX; *ASIAR*, 1905-6, p. 58.

At the end of every month a monthly statement of accounts was prepared from the daily statements, and at the end of each year the twelve monthly statements were used to prepare the annual statement of accounts which was presented to the assembly of monks.²⁰³ Individual monks who enjoyed property belonging to the monastery also were required to show their accounts.²⁰⁴ Probably these, as well as the accounts of hermitages attached to the monastery, went into the annual statement.

The Sanskrit inscription at the Abhayagiri monastery directs the monks living in the hermitages at Lahasikā, Huṇāla and Sunagrāma to collect the income from the villages belonging to these hermitages and to make the officials (*karmi*) and the accountants (*gaṇaka*) submit, at the end of each year, a statement of income, expenditure and balance in hand for perusal by the monks nominated for the purpose by the *saṅgha* (presumably of the main monastery). If any dishonesty was detected, the offender was to be made to restore the property in question, and disputes were to be inquired into by the senior monks who kept the register.²⁰⁵ The inscriptions at the Abhayagiri monastery further specify that each year the officials of the monastery were to place before the monks the annual statement of income, expenditure and payments made to the employees of the establishments attached to the *nikāya* viz. the Naka . . . vihāra, Mahasalapiḷimage (the shrine of the stone image), Ruvanpahā, Abayaturāmahasā, . . . boge (the shrine of the Bo Tree), Batge (refectory), Sāgiri and Naṭagiri.²⁰⁶ The inscription of Kassapa V provides information on the keeping of accounts at the colleges of the Maha Kapārā fraternity. According to this text the monks, together with the *piriven laddan* (monks charged with the administration of colleges), appointed a committee of eight members to obtain the accounts and to prepare the statement presented to the general assembly of monks at the end of the year. This committee was to be composed of four *apīlisaraṇa* monks and four *gorokun*.²⁰⁷

Wickremasinghe's translation of the two terms as "destitute" and "decrepit" persons is obviously wrong. In the *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya*, the Pāli term *garukā* is translated as *gorok koṭa ātiyahu*,²⁰⁸ and

203. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 94, ll. A56-8.

204. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 91, ll. A15-6, see also *supra* pp. 81-6.

205. *varṣaparisaṃpātau tatra tatra samastamāyaṃ vyayaṃ śeṣaṅca karmibhirganakāiseca saṅghānuṇāteṣu bhikkūpadarāya, . . . pañjikāsthaviraireva padālāyikā nirūpanoyā. EZ*, Vol. I, p. 4, ll. 3-10

206. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 236, ll. 44-9

207. *piriven laddansaṅgun sāmāṅgin dāvā dun apīlisaraṇa satar denekun gorokun satar denuku ātulvā de-asānin aṭdeneku piriven illā havurudu nimiyatā lekam koṭ mahasaṅgā avayau isā. EZ*, Vol. I, p. 49, ll. 54-6.

208. *DAG*, p. 256.

the *Jātaka Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya* renders *garukato* as *gorok karana ladde*.²⁰⁹ On this basis *gorokun* would mean "those who were respected and honored." Further, in the *Ruvanmal-nighaṇḍu*, *gorok* is used as a synonym for *ādur* and *guru*,²¹⁰ while in the *Vinayārtha-samuccaya* the term *aṭuvā gorokun vahanse* is used in the sense of *aṭṭhakathācariya*.²¹¹ From this it appears that *gorok* was used in the sense of "teacher." Hence *gorokun* would be the senior monks who taught the *dhamma* and held positions of honor.

In an earlier section of the inscription under consideration *apiḷisaraṇa vat-himiyan* were distinguished from *lābhaladuvan* and *avasladuvan*.²¹² It is evident from this that the *apiḷisaraṇa* monks were distinct from those who were entitled to an income and from those who held office at a monastic residence. On considering this and the fact that they were contrasted with *gorokun*, one may reasonably assume that the *apiḷisaraṇa saṅgun* were the junior monks who neither held high office as administrators and teachers nor were favored with honors and stipends.

In this connection it is noteworthy that the Buddhist monk became a fully-fledged member of the *saṅgha* only after a period of probation (*nissaya*) spent under the supervision of a senior monk. Normally this lasted five years from the time of his Ordination. After the completion of this period he was called a *nissaya-samucchanaka* and could live independently.²¹³ The term *nissaya* also means "protection" and "help." Its Sinhalese equivalent *nisa* has been used in this sense in the *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya*.²¹⁴ It is, therefore, quite possible that *nisa* and *piḷisaraṇa* were interchangeable and that the term *apiḷisaraṇa saṅgun* was used to denote those monks who had completed their period of probation and had been released from the "protection" of their teachers. It is thus clear that the junior and the senior members of the *saṅgha*, or in other words the official and the non-official elements of the *saṅgha*, were equally represented in the committee which prepared the annual statement of accounts for submission to the members of the general assembly.

The practice of referring a difficult disciplinary problem to a committee (*ubbāhikā*) nominated by the general assembly of monks was recommended in the *Cullavagga* as a means of saving time and of avoiding the tedium of detailed open discussion. Subsequently, the

209. *JAG*, p. 135

210. *Ruvanmal-nighaṇḍu*, ed. D. P. de Alwis Wijesekara, 1914, p. 118

211. *Vinayārtha-samuccaya*, quoted by M. Vimalakitti, see *DAG*, p. 330.

212. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 48, ll. 29-30

213. See *infra* p. 140.

214. *DAG*, p. 67.

decision of the committee was considered by the general assembly.²¹⁵ The Cullavagga also cites an actual instance from the very early history of Buddhism when this method was supposedly used. It reports that an attempt was made to resolve the differences over the ten points of discipline which led to the Second Council by appointing a committee of eight monks, composed of four representing the East and four representing the Pāṭheyya faction, to inquire into it.²¹⁶ The similarity between this and the committee at the Maha Kapārā fraternity as far as numbers and representation are concerned, strongly suggests a close connection between the two and possibly the derivation of the latter from the former. If this possibility is accepted, it would seem that institutions which were originally used for the solution of disciplinary problems were, in a later time, adapted to meet administrative problems which became common with the growth of monastic property.

The ownership of all monastic property, whether held by individuals or by institutions, was, in theory, vested in the whole body of monks. Consequently, the general assembly of monks held supervisory control over the administration of its property, and the annual assembly which scrutinized the accounts gave the monks an opportunity to exercise their authority. The keen, sometimes too lively, interest they evinced in the proceedings of this meeting is clearly evident in a provision made in the inscription of Kassapa V cited earlier which directs royal officials to mediate and settle any disputes which might arise during the proceedings.²¹⁷

Further evidence on the annual settlement of accounts is available in an inscription from Kaludiyapokuna which directs the officials of the monastery to submit their accounts before the eighth day of the waning moon of the month of Vap (Skt. Aśvina, October/November).²¹⁸ Parānavitana has pointed out that the Dīpāvalī, the day on which the Hindu merchants settle their annual accounts, follows seven days after this—the *amāvāsyā* day of the same month. He has suggested that the monastery may have closed its accounts seven days earlier to facilitate the preparation of the annual statement in time for submission to the assembly of monks on this day.²¹⁹ It is probably this session of the committee of the Mihintale monastery which saw to the preparation of the annual statement of accounts that the representatives of the two *muḷas* of the

215. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. II, pp. 95-7.

216. *Ibid.*

217. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 237, ll. 50-1.

218. *vāpā aṭavakin membe lekam nokoṭṭ divel nogannā isā*. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 265, ll. 37-8.

219. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 268.

Abhayagiri monastery attended. Records from both Mihintale and Kaludiyapokuna also state that officials who failed to submit their accounts forfeited their rights to employment as well as to their "maintenance land."²²⁰

It is interesting to note that, despite such elaborate accounting procedure, most of the transactions seem to have been in kind. However, monasteries did have a cash income. For instance, the Cetiyaḡiri monastery was in a position to set apart one hundred and forty-five *kaḡanda* and one *aka* in gold for its expenses each year, a sum that amounted to more than ten thousand English grains in weight.²²¹ Money was used to purchase certain required items which were not manufactured by monastic employees such as robes for the monks and clothes for the employees as well as material for setting up and repairing monastic buildings.²²² In a few instances, as noted earlier, the allowances were paid in gold.²²³ But, on the whole, the role of money in the monastic economy was a limited one. It is likely that accounting was both "in gold" as well as "in kind" and that, as in Mycenae and Alalah,²²⁴ each type of commodity was totalled and accounted separately.

Participation of Monks in the Management of the Monastery

The information which is available on the Cetiyaḡiri monastery has given rise to the belief prevalent among certain scholars that the administration of monasteries in Sri Lanka was confined to lay officials.²²⁵ Though the monks in assembly must have wielded some influence over the administration, it is noteworthy that only one monk from this monastery—the *nakā balana himiyan*—is mentioned as having entered into direct participation in the actual administration. Such a system of management would have met the need to protect the monks from involvement in activities proscribed in the Vinaya rules.

Such a conclusion, however, does not accord with what little is known about the administrative organization of the Abhayagiri monastery. As at the Cetiyaḡiri monastery, a large body of laymen seems to have been

220. *EZ*, Vol. I. p. 94, *l.* A58; Vol. III. p. 265, *ll.* 37-8.

221. *EZ*, Vol. I pp. 92-5, *ll.* A33-7, B1-3, B12, B17, B20-1.

222. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 49, *l.* 50; p. 93, *l.* A38; p. 95, *ll.* B20-1.

223. See *supra*, pp. 104-5.

224. See K. Polanyi, "On the Comparative Treatment of Economic Institutions in Antiquity with Illustrations from Athens, Mycenae and Alalah," *City Invincible*, ed. C. H. Kraeling and Robert M. Adams, Chicago, 1960, pp. 329-49.

225. See for instance, the remarks of Jacques Gernet in his *Les aspects économiques du bouddhisme dans la société chinoise du Ve au Xe siècle*, 1956, p. 74.

employed in the administration of the Abhayagiri monastery. Of these, the *parivahana*, for one, was an official common to both. But it becomes clearly evident from the records of the Abhayagiri monastery that its residents, unlike the monks of the Cetiya-giri monastery, played a very important role in the administrative affairs of their monastery.

Certain administrative duties carried out by a lay official at the Cetiya-giri monastery, like the maintenance of the monastic register, were vested in members of the *saṅgha* at the Abhayagiri monastery. They seem to have possessed some control over the appointment of lay officials. The ninth-century Sanskrit inscription at this monastery states that the allowance paid to the *parivahana* varied according to the efficiency he showed in the execution of his duties.²²⁶ Presumably, it was the monks who exercised their discretion in the regulation of allowances implicit in this statement. This inference gains additional support from the Kaludiyapokuna inscription which decrees that those monks who, without justification, deprive monastic employees of their "maintenance lands" or of their "wages" forfeited their right to live at the monastery.²²⁷ It is clear from this that the monks at these monasteries were in a position to restrict or control the emoluments paid to their employees and that there were occasions when they exercised their authority without prudence.

It would appear that the monks living at the minor hermitages were held responsible to the main monastery for the supervision of their administrative arrangements. At the main monastery senior monks who kept the registers and representatives nominated by the assembly of monks controlled the hermitages attached to the monastery by auditing their accounts and inquiring into their disputes. It was the monks and not the lay officials who represented the two *mūlas*²²⁸ of the Abhayagiri monastery at the meeting of the committee of management of the Cetiya-giri monastery when the statement of accounts was prepared,²²⁹ and, at the end of each year, they forwarded it to the general assembly of monks of the Abhayagiri monastery for their approval.²³⁰ They thus helped the main monastery to keep a close check on the constituents of the *nikāya*. The monks of the two *mūlas* and the six *avasas* were also responsible for the administration

226. *parivahanasyāpi antaryahīṣca rakṣaṇākusalasya padālāṃ varjam pratyekam pratigrāmaṃ kiriksetraṃ dāvyaṃ samarthasya nānyasya. EZ, Vol. I, p. 5, ll. 32-3.*

227. *nokam bāḷa dasnaṅ nimi divel valahana vat-himiyanud. EZ, Vol. III, p. 265, ll. 30-1.*

228. See *infra* p. 295.

229. *EZ, Vol. I, p. 92, ll. A20-3.*

230. *EZ, Vol. I, p. 40, ll. 37-8.*

of the main institutions within the Abhayagiri monastery. According to a tenth-century inscription from the Abhayagiri monastery, the accounts of the image-house, the *stūpa*, the shrine of the Bo Tree, Ruvanpahā and Sāgiri were to be obtained from these monks and presented to the general assembly of monks at the end of each year.²³¹

Regulations laid down in the inscription of Kassapa V provide further clarification of the role of monks in monastic administration. According to this record, the *piriven laddan* of the Maha Kapārā fraternity were allotted one *amuṇa* of rice and four *aka* of gold a day for the provision of food and one thousand (*kaḷand*) of gold at the end of each year for the provision of robes.²³² Wickremasinghe has translated the term *piriven laddan* as "recipients of cells."²³³ *Piriven* which originally meant a "cell" had come, by this time, to mean one of the "colleges" of monks living in a monastery.²³⁴ In a later passage *piriven laddan* occurs in a context which suggests that the term denoted a special category of monks and not mere recipients of cells.²³⁵ The same record directs them to use all the income, apart from what had been personally allocated to them, to make the payments due to monks and employees, to pay for repairs and religious paintings, and to use the remainder to purchase land.²³⁶ This reveals that the *piriven laddan* enjoyed personal incomes and held responsible positions in the administration of the finances of the *piriven*.

It is not stated whether the *piriven laddan* were laymen or monks. However, the same inscription refers to a class of monks called *avas laduvan*.²³⁷ *Avas*, another term for a "residence," is, as Perera has shown,²³⁸ at times interchangeable with *piriven*. Thus it is possible to suggest, on this analogy, that *piriven laddan* also were monks.

In this context, it seems appropriate to examine another statement in the same inscription which deals with the organization of the administration of the monastery. It runs as follows: *abhiyukta batī himisuran pere sirit se vaḷanu isā*.²³⁹ Wickremasinghe suggested *vat* as the alternative reading for the second word. *Vat-himisuran* would be senior monks. But it is fairly clear from the photograph of the estampage that

231. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 48, ll. 35-8.

232. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 49, ll. 48-50.

233. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 57.

234. See *supra* p. 9, and also *Sāvattha-dīpanī*, p. 510.

235. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 49, l. 54.

236. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 496, ll. 54-6; see also *supra* pp. 79-80.

237. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 48, l. 29.

238. L. S. Perera, *Institutions*... p. 1216.

239. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 49, l. 45.

the first letter is *ba* and not *va*. In this context, *bati*, if derived from *bhṛta*, as Sorata has suggested,²⁴⁰ could mean "supported, hired" and "maintained." *Vaṭa* in *vaṭanu* could mean "pay" or "food." The most satisfactory of the various translations of this passage seems to be: "The senior monks engaged for pay should be paid according to former custom."²⁴¹ This would support the suggestion made earlier that monks were employed in the administration of the Abhayagiri monastery and that they received remuneration for their services. This does not mean that all the administrative functions were performed by monks; they had the assistance of lay officials. But the responsibility for the management of monastic residences lay primarily in their hands.

At Mihintale it was perhaps the committee of management which appointed the lesser officials. But monks seem to have had some control over the appointment of at least the senior officials. The Mihintale Tablets prohibit monks from giving positions of controlling authority over places belonging to the "inner monastery" (*āvehera*) to their relatives and add that all relatives of monks appointed to office at the monastery were to be dismissed.²⁴² The assembly of monks certainly had controlling powers over the officials, for it is specifically stated in the same inscription that officials were to be instructed or reproached only by monks in assembly and not by individual monks.²⁴³ In addition to this, the *nakā balana himiyan* would have served as a link between the officials and the assembly of monks. His presence in the committee of management should have facilitated the control of the administration in accordance with the wishes of the assembly. One may surmise that the monks of the Abhayagiri monastery would have wielded greater control over the administration through their participation in it as "keepers of the register" and as the members of the committees which scrutinized the accounts.

I-tsing noticed that at the Nālandā monastery monks congregated in a number of separate assemblies since the total number of monks at the monastery was too large for all of them to meet at the same place.²⁴⁴ One can envisage the prevalence of a similar system at the larger monasteries of Sri Lanka too. In fact, the evidence from the inscriptions seems to support such an inference. Authority over the main shrines and hermitages attached to the Abhayagiri monastery was vested in these bodies.

240. *SSS* p. 634.

241. Cf. Wickremasinghe's translation: "The appointed monks of religious ceremonies shall act according to former customs." *EZ*, Vol. I. p. 57.

242. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 92, ll. A18-9, A24-5; see also *infra* pp. 167-9.

243. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 91-2, ll. A16-7.

244. I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, pp. 154-5.

The Abhayagiri and the Cetiyagiri monasteries represent two different types as far as the extent of the influence that the *saṅgha* wielded in the administrative affairs of each monastery is concerned, but at both monasteries its influence was considerable. On the other hand, the Puḷiyankulam inscription reveals a situation in which the power of the *saṅgha* was reduced to a minimum.²⁴⁵ According to this record, Uda Mahaya, the heir-apparent under Dappula IV, built the Udā Kitagbopavu hermitage, made endowments for its maintenance and appointed a high dignitary —*Sak-maha-ūmati* Saṅgalnāvan—to the position of its steward, and it is by this appointment that the influence of the monks was curbed. Udā Mahayā stipulated in this edict that the position of the steward was to be held by Saṅgalnāvan's descendants by hereditary right, and should royal officials or the *saṅgha* oppose the steward, the thousand armed retainers of the heir-apparent were to intervene and settle the matter. Further, if there were any disputes caused by the clergy or laymen regarding the conditions laid down in the record, the thousand retainers were to help the officials of the hermitage to settle it without resort to arms. If they failed in this task, they were to seek the help of the armed retainers of the palace. This is the first known instance of provision being made for intervention by soldiers in case of a disturbance within a monastery. As a result, the steward was elevated to a position of importance and independence of the monks as well as of the state officials.

It is clear from this discussion that it is extremely difficult to discuss the administration of a monastery in terms that are universally applicable. Gernet's remark²⁴⁶ that the responsibility of administering the monastery was confined to the lay officials and the directly opposite view held by Rahula that "the administration of a monastery was entirely in the hands of the *saṅgha*"²⁴⁷ both exaggerate and misrepresent the actual conditions. The administrative organization evolved to divest the *saṅgha* of its responsibility of managing monastic property seems to have successfully met this need in some of the monasteries, but in monasteries like the Abhayagiri the monks were drawn into association with the very tasks that, as monks, they were trying to avoid.

245. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 182-91.

246. "Finalement, c'est le principe de la gestion directe de leur biens par les religieux et par les communautés qui a prévalu, non pas dans toutes les parties du monde bouddhique, puisque, de nos jours encore, à Ceylan et dans les pays de l'Asie du Sud-Est, ces biens restent confiés à des administrateurs laïcs, mais en Chine et sans doute aussi les communautés mahāyānistes d'Asie centrale." Jacques Gernet, *Les aspects économiques du bouddhisme dans la société chinoise du Ve au Xe siècle*, 1956, p. 74.

247. W. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 135.

Administrative Organization and the Nikāya

In the whole of South Asia it is only in Sri Lanka that such detailed evidence on the economic aspects of monastic life and the administrative organization of Buddhist monasteries is available. The records of the ninth and tenth centuries reveal the existence of monasteries which were endowed with extensive sources of income and labor and which possessed an elaborately organized system of administration. Thus the monasteries possessed an immense potentiality for economic activity. This was restrained to some extent by the fact that the administration had little independence in utilizing its resources; most of the endowments were made for specific purposes. There is one instance of an endowment being made at a monastery to finance the construction of a dam.²⁴⁸ The participation of the monasteries in such activities as the construction and the development of irrigation works is evident even in the Mihintale Tablets. For, according to this record, offenders from the villages of the monastery were to be made to work at dredging reservoirs if they were unable to pay the fines levied against them.²⁴⁹

The administrative needs arising from the growth of temporalities were met to some extent by the adaptation of institutions meant originally for disciplinary purposes such as the general assembly of monks and the committee of inquiry. At the same time, the attempt to exclude monks from actual participation in the management of property led to the rise of an organized lay administration. Certain similarities are noticeable between the administrative structures of the Buddhist monastery in Sri Lanka and the Hindu temple of South India both in general form and in some specific administrative practices and regulations. But these common features seem to be due more to the basic similarity in the social and political institutions of the two countries than to any direct influence in either direction.

Even if the administrative organization of the monasteries did not completely free the monks from involvement in the management of monastic property, it played an important role in strengthening the cohesive principle which bound together a number of monasteries to form a *nikāya*. It is evident that the minor monasteries belonging to the *nikāya* had to submit their annual statements of accounts for scrutiny to committees appointed by the main monastery. In the case of the Cetiya-giri monastery monks representing the two *muḥas* of the Abhaya-giri *nikāya* participated in the meeting which settled their annual

248. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 163-71.

249. See *supra* pp. 109-10.

accounts and submitted the annual statement for ratification by the general assembly of the Abhayagiri monastery. Monks from the main monastery settled disputes at the minor institutions. This contact on an administrative level helped to keep alive the relationship between the main monastery and the dependent institutions attached to the *nikāya*.

Obviously the origins as well as the functioning of this administrative organization were closely associated with and dependent on temporalities. Hence the spoliation of monastic property in the period of Coḷa rule and during the period between the death of Vijayabāhu I and the accession of Parākramabāhu I should have, one would expect, brought about the virtual collapse of the administrative organization. This in turn would have severely curtailed the main monastery's control over the other constituents of the *nikāya*. An inscription from the time of Kalyāṇavati (1202-1208), found near the Ruvanvālisāya, shows that the monastery had "high officials" (*samdaruvan*), clerks, appraisers and accountants (*pasakun*) in its employ.²⁵⁰ But there is no evidence to suggest that the elaborate administrative organization which existed in the tenth century at the Abhayagiri and Cetiyaḡiri monasteries was ever resuscitated in the time of Parākramabāhu I, or at any later time within the period under discussion.

250. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 243-60.

Monastic Life and Relations with the Laity

Monasticism constituted an essential aspect of religious life in early medieval Sri Lanka, and the development of the monastery into a highly organized institution controlling extensive resources had a decisive effect on the life and ideals of Buddhist monks. The monk's total dependence on voluntary donations by the laity was a characteristic feature of religious life in early Buddhism. In the early medieval period this was no longer so. The monastery provided the monk with the needs for his sustenance and the opportunity to lead a life devoted to scholarship and contemplation. Yet, in a sense, the monastery brought the *saṅgha* into closer contact with the laity, for it was not a mere residence for monks; it was also the venue for congregations of the lay community for educational purposes, for religious discussion and for the performance of ceremonial. Further, the monastery facilitated the regulation of clerical life. Monastic records dated in the period under review contain compilations of regulations selected by the *saṅgha*, sometimes at the instigation of the king. These compilations, called *sirit* or *katikū*, sought to regulate and systematize various aspects of clerical life as the recruitment and training of monks, their organization, payment of stipends and even their daily routine and the allowances of food. In return for the amenities it provided the monastery demanded strict adherence to its rules. Violation of the rules was an offense punishable with expulsion from the monastery.

Recruitment to the Saṅgha

A constant supply of recruits was necessary to maintain the monasteries at full strength. The ranks of the *saṅgha* were periodically depleted by "purifications" of the Order. In times of political turmoil monks were sometimes forced to leave the island or give up their robes. Kassapa V, who laicized monks for lapses in discipline, recruited young monks to

fill their places.¹ Vijayabāhu I held a ceremony of ordination after capturing Rājaratṭha from the Coḷas.² Each year Parākramabāhu I held a similar ceremony in a pavilion erected on boats anchored in the middle of the river Mahavāli,³ and Nissaṅka Malla also claims to have held an annual ceremony of ordination.⁴

Evidently there was no difficulty in attracting recruits, at least in times of peace. Apart from religious considerations, the ease and comfort of monastic life would have had a great attraction for the laity. The monks were provided with food, clothing and, in certain cases, even with a personal income. They were exempt from taxes and *corvée* duty, and, in addition to these benefits, the monk occupied a position of prestige and honor in society. While discoursing on the advantages of clerical life, the author of the *Pūjāvāliya*, himself a monk, refers to the immunity that the monk enjoyed from harassment by royal officials who toured the country to collect taxes. He also points out that a monk is not obliged to rise from his seat on seeing the king, the heir-apparent or a minister; he could remain seated without fear of punishment.⁵

In fact, it was the prospect of material advantages and prestige which attracted some men to monastic life. Men who were not suited to the disciplined life of the monastery were reluctant to leave it because they wanted to enjoy the worldly benefits it offered. Parākramabāhu I disrobed "many hundreds" of sinful monks "who would ruin the Order in their quest for gain," and offered them lucrative positions in lay life.⁶ This problem finds clearer expression in the Ruvanvālisāya inscription of Nissaṅka Malla where he speaks about his "purification" of the *saṅgha*:

His Majesty realized that those monks who lead impure lives and those who have lost interest in monastic life do not leave the Order through fear of the duties (i.e., duties to the government incumbent upon laymen). Hence he declared that those monks who leave the robes without defiling the Order would be exempted from their duties; they would also receive gold, clothes, food, iron, seed-paddy, cattle and other needs.⁷

1. Cv. 52. 44.

2. Cv. 60. 4-8.

3. Cv., 78. 28-30.

4. EZ, Vol. II, p. 111, l. A23.

5. *daḍa muḍa isran masran illā āvidunā rājapurūṣayangen piḍā novindīma sataravana suva viḍimaya... rāja yuvarāja maha-āmatīyan duṭṭu kala bhaya nātīva hunasnen non-āṅgī hiḍḍīma satvana suva viḍimaya.* Pjv., ed. Bentaṭa Saddhātissa. 1930. p. 22.

6. Cv. 78. 9, 26; EZ, Vol. II. p. 269, l. 12.

7. EZ, Vol. II, p. 79, ll. 15-8.

In another record Nissaṅka Malla reminds the monks that the enjoyment of amenities provided for them without practicing the prescribed virtues would certainly lead to birth in hell.⁸

The susceptibility of the *saṅgha* to corruption necessitated periodical laicizations. It underlined the need for the exercise of caution in recruitment and the institution of strict regulations designed to maintain a high standard of discipline among the *saṅgha*. The regulations in the Anurādhapura slab inscription of Kassapa V instruct the *saṅgha* not to admit very young youths into the Order and forbid them to accept presents from novices seeking ordination. Those monks who received such presents as well as those who gave them forfeited their right to live in the monastery.⁹ Nissaṅka Malla exhorts the *saṅgha* to admit new recruits only after thorough investigation to prevent "deceitful, crafty and sinful men" from entering the Order.¹⁰

The Novice, the Monk and the Monastery

According to the Anurādhapura slab inscription the knowledge of the *satarbaṇavar* section of the Canon was an essential prerequisite for the ordination; this was expected to take about three months to master.¹¹ The Polonnaru Katikāvata recommends the rehearsal of the *Herāṇasikha*, the *Sekhiyā* and the *Dasadhamma Sutta*, and the practice of contemplation in seclusion for the novice.¹² When the novices reached the correct age, they were ordained with the prior sanction of the assembly.

A newly-ordained monk was required to serve a period of apprenticeship (*nisa* = P. *nissaya*) under a senior monk. The Galvihāra inscription mentions monks called *gaṇadeṭutera* who were placed in charge of groups of such apprentices. These "group leaders," who were responsible to their superiors (*mahatera*) for the education and discipline of the monks in their duties, were instructed not to accept a monk from another group without first seeing a representative of the senior monk of that group or receiving a letter from him. It was the duty of the "group leader" to guide his charges to a career of scholarship (*granthadhura*) or a life of contemplation (*vidarśanādhura*) in accordance with their particular talents and inclinations.¹³

8. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 97, ll. 7-8.

9. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 48-9, ll. 38-9, 48.

10. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 97, ll. 5-7.

11. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 48, l. 38; Vol. III, p. 264, l. 21.

12. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 270, l. 23.

13. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 270-3, ll. 18-25, 29-30, 51.

Rahula has drawn attention to the three stages of scriptural scholarship mentioned in the *Samantapāsādikā*—*nissaya-samuccchanaka*, reached after five years from ordination; *parisupaṭṭhāpaka*, attained after another five years; and the final stage called *bhikkhuṇovādaka* when a monk was considered sufficiently qualified to act as an adviser to nuns.¹⁴ The *Samantapāsādikā* outlines in detail the texts that the monk had to master in each of these three stages, but no such detailed information is available from the sources of the period under consideration. The Galvihāra inscription seems to consider only the first of these three stages.

According to the *Samantapāsādikā* the monks of the first stage should commit to memory the two *mātikās* (i.e., the Pātimokkha section of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*), the four *Bhāṇavāras*, and the three *Anumodanās* which contain particulars about ecclesiastical acts like the *uposatha* and the *pavāraṇa*, as well as the *Ambaṭṭha*, *Mahā-Rāhulovāda* and *Andhakavinda Suttas*. According to the *Sārattha-dīpanī* the three *Anumodanās* are discourses dealing with the merits accruing to patrons of the *saṅgha* which are delivered when offerings are received. It also states that the *Maṅgala Sutta* is recited at monastic ceremonies and that the *Tirokuḍḍa Sutta* is recited at funerals. The text goes on to explain that the particulars regarding ecclesiastical acts mentioned in the *Samantapāsādikā* are identical to those given in the *Kammavagga* in the *Parivāra* section of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*.¹⁵ Of the three *Suttas* recommended for newly ordained monks, the *Mahā-Rāhulovāda*¹⁶ deals with the practice of the *ānāpānāsati*, the system of meditation based on concentration on the respiratory process. The *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*¹⁷ describes the victory of the Buddha in a dispute with a caste-conscious Brāhmaṇa youth. Five topics on which newly-ordained monks have to be instructed are outlined in the *Andhakavinda Sutta*.¹⁸

The laconic comments of Sāriputta on the passage in the *Samantapāsādikā* concerning the training of monks yield little information on the organization of education in his own period. Fortunately, there is some helpful evidence in the Galvihāra inscription. This record differs from the *Samantapāsādikā* in regard to the texts which it recommends for newly ordained monks. They were to rehearse at least the *Khuddasikkhā*, the Pātimokkha of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, and the *Dasadhamma* and the *Anumāna Suttas* of the *Sutta Piṭaka*.¹⁹ The *Dasadhamma Sutta* is

14. W. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, pp. 294-6; *Smp.* Vol. IV, pp. 788-90.

15. *Sārattha-dīpanī*, pp. 819-20.

16. *Majjhima Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. I, 1948, pp. 420-6.

17. *Dīgha Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. I, 1949, pp. 87-110.

18. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. III, 1958, pp. 138-9.

19. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 270, ll. 19-20.

probably the same as the Dhamma Sutta in the Akkosavagga of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.²⁰ It outlines ten points of which the monks had to be constantly mindful. In the Anumāna Sutta²¹ Mogglalāna enjoins the *saṅgha* to follow the regular practice of introspection with a view to correcting false ideas. It may be surmised that this initiation into the study of canonical texts was followed up by specialization in one of the three branches of the Canon—the Abhidhamma, the Sutta or the Vinaya. At the Cetiyaḡiri monastery monks who studied the Canon were rewarded with emoluments which varied according to the branch in which they specialized.²²

Special importance was attached to the study of the Abhidhamma, and thus monks who specialized in this field received the highest emoluments. Provision was made at the Abhayagiri monastery for the study of the treatises of both Theravada and non-Theravāda schools.²³ Buddhaghosa points out that no particular texts were recommended in the ancient commentaries for the study of the Abhidhamma.²⁴ While explaining Buddhaghosa's statements on the teaching of the Abhidhamma, Sāriputta substitutes the term *nāmarūpa-pariccheda* for Abhidhamma.²⁵ If we identify this as a reference to the work of Anuruddha known by this name, it is possible to suggest that the *Nāmarūpa-pariccheda* was a popular text used for the study of the Abhidhamma during the time of Sāriputta. References in other commentaries of this period suggest that the *Mūlatīkā* of Ānanda was another popular text.²⁶

In the period under consideration texts on the Abhidhamma were held in such high regard that festivals were held in their honor.²⁷ The chronicle records special recitals of the Abhidhamma held at the request of kings; one such recital took place in the reign of Sena II.²⁸ Mahinda IV had the Abhidhamma recited by the *thera* Dāṭhanāga of the Āraṅṅika fraternity. At the request of the same king, another scholar, Dhammamitta of the Sitthagāma-pariveṇa, wrote a commentary on the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*.²⁹ The emphasis laid on the study of the Abhidhamma does not necessarily imply that other branches of the Canon were

20. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. V, 1958, pp. 87-8.

21. *Majjhima Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. I, pp. 95-100.

22. See *infra* p. 148.

23. See *infra* p. 256.

24. *Smp.*, Vol. IV, 1934, p. 789.

25. *Sārattha-dīpanī* p. 820.

26. See *infra* p. 154.

27. See *infra* p. 230.

28. *Cv.* 51. 79.

29. *Cv.* 54. 35-6.

neglected. Mahinda IV also arranged a recital of the Vinaya by learned monks,³⁰ and Vijayabāhu I had the entire Canon copied and presented to the *saṅgha*.³¹ Monks like Kassapa of Diṃbulāgala were versed in all three parts of the Canon, and the exegetical works produced during this period deal with all three sections.

Apparently a career of studies in the scriptures was considered preferable to a life of contemplation. According to the Galvihāra inscription,³² the monks who were directed to a life of meditation were those who failed to meet the demands of a career of scholarship. But even those monks had to devote some time to the scriptures. They were advised to constantly meditate upon the Dasadhmma Sutta. They had to commit the Mūlasikkhā and the Sekhiyā to memory and had to thoroughly rehearse the *Sikha-valaṇḍa-vinisa* so that they would be able to repeat any section of the text on being questioned at biannual intervals. Despite the emphasis on scholarship, the advantages of meditation were not forgotten. Every monk was advised to practice meditation on a topic (*kamaṭahana*) selected to suit the needs of his character.

After this initial period of "apprenticeship" (*nissaya*) a monk could live independently, and presumably he was assigned to a hermitage or monastery. It was the duty of the *saṅgha* of the main monastery of a *nikāya* to maintain the number of monks at hermitages attached to it at the strength prescribed by the patrons.³³ A ninth-century Sanskrit inscription at the Abhayagiri monastery specifies that the strength of the Lahasikā hermitage should be maintained at three senior monks and two novices. The incumbents of a monastery or hermitage seem to have been vested with the "care" of a prescribed area. The monks of the Lahasikā hermitage, for instance, had to "look after" Lahasikā, Uruḷḡoṇu and the villages set apart for repairs and the provision of robes.³⁴ The Anuradhapura slab inscription lays down that seniority was to be taken into consideration in the selection of monks for appointment to vacant positions in monasteries, but monks who had a satisfactory knowledge of the scriptures could be appointed despite lack of seniority.³⁵

The monastery demanded the undivided allegiance of its incumbents, and monks were specifically forbidden to render assistance to any monastery but their own. A monk who had received his ordination in one monastery had to forgo all benefit provided by that monastery and

30. *CV*, 54, 34.

31. *CV*, 60, 22.

32. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 270, ll. 22-3.

33. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 48, ll. 40-1. Wickremasinghe's translation is inaccurate.

34. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 4, ll. 3-5.

35. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 48, ll. 40-2.

relinquish all duties connected with it before he could be a resident of another.³⁶ Regular residence was an essential prerequisite for the enjoyment of benefits provided by a monastery, and the Mihintale Tablets specify that a monk is entitled to the income of a monastery only if he lives there.³⁷ The regulations in the Galvihāra inscription forbid monks to give publicity to disputes within the monastery and specify that they should not be subject to the jurisdiction of another monastery.³⁸ Violation of some of these regulations was punishable with expulsion from the monastery.

The Daily Routine and the Basic Elements of Monastic Life

The Mihintale and the Galvihāra inscriptions contain guidance for the regulation of a monk's daily routine. They seem to have been based on practices current at the time and may be considered reliable sources of information on the life of monks. The Mihintale Tablets yield some information. According to this record, the monks were expected to rise early and practice the four-fold meditation—contemplation on the virtues of the Buddha, wishing for the deliverance of all beings, reflecting on the impurities of the body, and contemplation on death. Then they attended to their toilet and, wearing robes in the manner prescribed in the *Sikhakaraṇī*, proceeded to the refectory where they recited the *Metta-paritta* and partook of the morning meal.³⁹

The directions in the Galvihāra inscription, set up under the influence of the ascetic monks of the Āraṇṇika sect, prescribed a more detailed and rigorous schedule. The monks who rose at the break of dawn spent the early hours of the morning meditating on their respective topics and pacing along the promenades. This was followed by the rehearsal of the texts they had learned. After putting on their robes and attending to their toilet, they had to perform such chores as sweeping the compounds of the Bo Tree and the *stūpa*, keeping the dwellings tidy and attending to the needs of the teachers, senior monks and the sick. "If they found it necessary," they were to go to the refectory and partake of the gruel. After breakfast those with pressing business such as consulting books and documents, sewing and washing clothes, and the distribution of priestly requisites engaged themselves in those tasks, while others devoted their time to meditation. After the mid-day meal the monks continued to engage themselves in meditation or in study of the scriptures. The

36. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 4, // 10-1, 13-4.

37. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 91, // A15-6.

38. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 272, l. 42.

39. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 91, // A9-11.

evening was spent preaching or reading the *dharmā*, listening to it, discussing it, or committing it to memory. It was only in the middle watch of the night that the monks were permitted to sleep.⁴⁰

The life of monks as prescribed in the Galvihāra inscription was one of rigorous application to meditation and to study of the scriptures. The monks were obliged to perform some domestic chores and the burden this placed on monks devoted to the practice of asceticisms is a common complaint found in many texts.⁴¹ Some would shirk their responsibilities leaving the conscientious few to do all the work, and as a result these monks had little time for their religious practices. Evidently, in the more organized monasteries, the monks were relieved of most of these chores. The Cetiyaḡiri monastery at Mihintale employed three keepers to maintain its *stūpas* and an attendant to keep the premises clean.⁴² In addition to them a group of employees called *pahāvāsi* are mentioned in the Mihintale Tablets.⁴³ In the inscription mention of them follows the reference to the servants who worked in the kitchen. Wickremasinghe agreed with Müller and Gunasekara, who translated the term as "thatcher."⁴⁴ On the basis of a consideration of terms like *vehervāsi* and *velvāsi*,⁴⁵ it seems preferable to trace its derivation from P. *pāsādavāsi*, a term which probably connoted "an attendant attached to a monastic residence." There were eleven such attendants, and they received two *paya* of land and a daily allowance of one *aḡmanā* of rice each, while their supervisor received an additional *pat* of rice.⁴⁶ It is possible that they were expected to perform personal services for the *saḡgha* and to keep the dwellings in good order.

In the early days the Buddhist monk depended on voluntary donations for his food and necessities, but this was not an adequate means of support for the large number of monks concentrated at the capital. Fa-Hian, who visited Sri Lanka at the beginning of the fifth century, recorded that he found about ten thousand monks living at Anurādhapura—five thousand at the Abhayagiri monastery, three thousand at the Mahāvihāra and two thousand at the Cetiyaḡiri.⁴⁷ The provision of an alms-hall, the Mahāpāli, where a large number of monks were fed at the king's expense, was probably an attempt to improve this situation.

40. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 271, ll. A30-7.

41. *Visuddhimagga*, ed. Warren and Kosambi, 1950, pp. 96-9; *Sārattha-dīpanī*, pp. 560-2.

42. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 97, ll. B51-2.

43. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 95-6, ll. B26-7.

44. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 110, n. 1.

45. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 195; Vol. II, p. 170; Vol. IV, p. 52.

46. For these units of measurement, see *infra* p. 69, n. 101; p. 114, n. 116.

47. S. Beal, *Chinese Accounts of India*, pp. 46, 48-9.

Fa-Hian noted that five to six thousand monks were fed at this place⁴⁸. Hiuen-tsang at a later period placed the figure at eight thousand.⁴⁹ Presumably this practice was continued after the capital was moved to Polonnarua; according to the *Pūjāvāliya*, Parākramabāhu I regularly provided alms for about three thousand five hundred monks.⁵⁰

Evidently this did not completely solve the problem. During the period under consideration provision of food became a major function of the monastic organization. Gruel and boiled rice were important items in the monastic diet,⁵¹ and on occasion monks would be treated to delicacies like sweetmeats and molasses.⁵² A ninth-century inscription at the Abhayagiri monastery fixes the daily fare of monks at five *upamaśas* (cakes?), half a *prastha* of curd and a twentieth of a *prastha* of ghee.⁵³ Residents of certain hermitages, monks engaged in repairs to their dwellings, and those entrusted with certain special responsibilities were allowed a double-share. No monk, even if he received a personal income, was entitled to a food allowance above the fixed limit. A tenth-century inscription provides more information on the diet of monks. It records an endowment made to a monastery for the provision of rice, pulse, *uñdu* (*Phaseolus mungo*), sesame, red pepper, salt, betel, areca nuts and lime.⁵⁴ Monks were treated to sumptuous feasts when they were invited to alms at the houses of their wealthy patrons. Mahinda IV fed the monks of the Āraññika sect with "abundant and costly food with various kinds of curries (*vyañjana*)" and provided them with sugar cooked in ghee, juice of garlic and betel as dessert. Among all monks he distributed ghee, oil and honey.⁵⁵ Normally the food was served in the refectory; it was only a sick monk who could have the food brought to his bed.⁵⁶

The Mihintale Tablets reveal in detail the arrangements made for the provision of food to the *saṅgha*. Officials of the monastic administration were, as would be expected, entrusted with the task of overall supervision. Three of them had to be present when the raw rice was being issued from the stores and when the food was being served.⁵⁷ Twelve

48. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

49. *Ibid.* p. 445.

50. *Pjv.* p. 106.

51. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 91, l. A11.

52. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 25, ll. 15, 21-2.

53. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp 4-5, ll. 1-3, 19. *Prastha* appears to be synonymous with *pata*.
See

54. *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 188-94.

55. *Cv.* 54, 20, 22, 24.

56. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 91, ll. A11-2.

57. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 92, ll. B19-23.

cooks were employed; each of them received an allotment of one *kiri* and two *paya* of land. They also received a daily allowance of rice which varied according to the functions they performed: the chief cook received an *aḍmanā* and one *pata* of rice; a servant who procured firewood and cooked the rice, three *aḍmanā*; a servant who procured firewood or went on errands, two *aḍmanā*; and one who merely cooked the rice received only one *aḍmanā* of rice. Probably the twenty-four female servants mentioned in the list were also connected with the provision of food. Each of them was assigned a *paya* of land, and the one who supervised their work received two *paya*. They were also entitled to an annual clothing allowance of one *kaḷand* of gold each. Two more employees, the *jeṭmava* (lit. "the chief mother") and the *batge lādi* ("warder of the refectory"), are mentioned in this connection in the inscription; it is not possible to ascertain what the duties of the former were.⁵⁸

Robes were distributed at the end of the year. According to the Mihintale Tablets, the officials who attended to the task of the distribution of robes were entitled to one monk's share (probably the value thereof) in recompense.⁵⁹ It is evident from a tenth-century inscription at Anurādhapura that the robes for a monk were expected to cost three *kaḷand* of gold a year.⁶⁰ This, it may be noted, was thrice the amount spent on the clothes of a female servant. The cost of robes would, of course, vary with the type of material used to make them. The *Samantapāsādikā*⁶¹ refers to robes which cost ten pieces of money and to some which cost twenty. However, it is not clear whether it is referring to *kaḷand* or some other unit of currency. The information available is not sufficient to justify any estimate of the cost of maintaining a monk. At the Mahākapārārāma one *amuṇa* of raw rice and four *aka* of gold were set apart daily for the provision of meals for its incumbents; a thousand *kaḷand* of gold were spent each year on their robes.⁶²

An employee termed *nāvi* who received a *vasag* and a land allotment of one *kiri* is mentioned in the list of the Mihintale Tablets.⁶³ Presumably *nāvi* is the same as *nāvi*, "barber," which occurs in the South Indian temple inscriptions of the same period. In the *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gūṭapadaya*, *nāvi* is equated with the Pāli *kappaka* which like *nāvi* denoted

58. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 95, ll. B19-23.

59. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 95, ll. B15-6.

60. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 25, ll. 17-9. Twenty *kaḷand* of gold were set apart as a permanent endowment for the provision of robes to one monk. It is evident from the inscription that the donor expected a return of fifteen per cent on his outlay. For an explanation of *kaḷand*, see *supra* p. 72.

61. *Smp.*, Vol. II, 1947, p. 358.

62. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 49, ll. 48-51.

63. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 96, ll. B32-3. For an explanation of *vasag*, see *infra* pp. 148-53.

"a barber."⁶⁴ It is not possible to ascertain whether the barber attached to the monastery was expected to serve the monks or the monastic officials. The practice of employing barbers to attend on monks was not unknown in India. Hiuen-tsang refers to "Manorhita, the doctor of the *śāstras*" from Gandhāra who gave a hundred thousand pieces of gold to his barber in a fit of generosity.⁶⁵

Some of the larger monasteries had hospitals to attend to the medical needs of the monks. An inscription from Mādirigiriya, dated in the tenth century, mentions a hospital (*veher ved-hal*) attached to the monastery at the site.⁶⁶ According to the *Cūlavamsa*, the Sakkasenāpati, a courtier of Mahinda IV, built a hospital outside the city for the use of the monks.⁶⁷ A group of ruins situated at the foot of the Cetiya-giri hill at Mihintale has been identified as a hospital on basis of evidence from an inscription found at the site.⁶⁸ It is probably the same as the hospital which, according to the *Cūlavamsa*, Sena II built at Cetiya-giri.⁶⁹ Presumably it was attached to the Cetiya-giri monastery. The Mihintale Tablets list a physician (*veda*) among the employees of the monastery; he received a *vasag* and an allotment of unirrigated land from Detisā. Another, "a physician who applied leeches" (*puhuñḍā veda*), received a *vasag* and two *paya* of land. A third, called *mañḍovvak*, received one *vasag* and an allotment of one *kiri* and two *paya* of land.⁷⁰ Eduard Müller's translation of the last term as "flower gardener" does not seem to be appropriate;⁷¹ arrangements made for the supply of flowers find mention elsewhere in the inscription. Wickremasinghe⁷² suggested the rendering "one who prepares medical decoctions." The derivation of the word may be traced back to *maṇḍ*, "to dress," "to adorn," or to *mṛd* which among other things means "to rub." A traditional physician who attends to ailments of the bones and the muscles by applying ointments and massage is known in the Sinhalese villages even in modern times. It may be suggested that the *mañḍovvak* was a physician who falls into this category.

It appears that, at the wealthier monasteries, resident monks were entitled not only to lodgings and meals, but also to a share of the income

64. *DAG*, p. 81.

65. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

66. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 25-33.

67. *Cv.* 54. 53.

68. *ASCAR*, 1910-11, pp. 19-20; 1952, p. 40, n. 1.

69. *Cv.* 51.73.

70. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 96, II. B.30-2.

71. *AIC*, p. 119.

72. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 110, n.4.

left over after meeting the usual expenses. In his description of Buddhist practices in India, Fa-Hian mentions that Indian monks received "yearly dues".⁷³ I-tsing is more specific: "The produce of the farms and the gardens, and the profits arising from trees and fruits," he states in his account of Indian monastic life, "are distributed annually in shares to meet the cost of clothing."⁷⁴ It is likely that this practice was known in Sri Lanka too. At least those monks who shouldered special responsibilities and monks of scholarly attainments seem to have received an additional income. Moggallāna III assigned "high incomes" to scholars among monks.⁷⁵ According to the Mihintale Tablets, scholars who specialized in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* were entitled to five *vasag* and those versed in the *Sutta Piṭaka* to seven *vasag*, while specialists in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* received the highest emolument—twelve *vasag*.⁷⁶ A similar system of remuneration, graduated according to the field of study in which a teacher specialized, was current at the Hindu temples in South India.⁷⁷

In his translation of the Mihintale Tablets, Eduard Müller rendered the term *vasag* into English as "farm;"⁷⁸ James de Alwis suggested "meal" as a translation of the same term.⁷⁹ Gunasekara put forward two interpretations—"residence or cell of monk" and "a *pingo* load of boiled rice and curry."⁸⁰ Wickremasinghe, who considered the incidence of this term in the Vessagiriya inscriptions, suggested several alternative explanations. Comparing it with Pāli *vassaggena*, he suggested that it could be translated as "seniority, fixed quantity of alms for the *vassa* season" or "a person receiving such alms." Secondly, he considered the possibility that it was derived from Skt. *varṣāgāra* and proposed "a house for the season of retreat" as another possible interpretation. A third source of derivation was sought in Pāli *vāsāgāra* and, on this basis, another possible meaning, "a cell or sleeping apartment," was suggested.⁸¹ However, Wickremasinghe does not seem to have been satisfied with this multitude of interpretations which he had put forward. Later on, in the same note, he suggested three more possible interpretations: "permanent

73. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

74. I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 193.

75. *Cv.* 44.49.

76. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 91, ll. A12-4.

77. *MRE*, 1918, p. 146.

78. *AIC*, p. 115.

79. James de Alwis, *A Survey of Sinhala Literature, being the Introduction to the Translation of the Sidat Saṅgarāva*, Colombo, 1966, pp. cxlviii-cxlix.

80. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 100, n. 4.

81. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 28, n. 5.

residence with fixed board," "a house with land adjoining it for one's maintenance," and "the receiver of such board and lodging." In another context he translated *vasag* as "a measured quantity of provisions" and in yet another instance (the text of the slab inscription of Udā Mahayā) he rendered it as "allowance."⁸² Elsewhere, he has also translated the term as "the end of the *vassa* season."⁸³ In his edition of the Eppāvala inscription Parānavitana translated *vasag* as "end of the year," but more recently, in the course of editing the Kalkulam Rock inscription, he has adopted the rendering "dwelling house."⁸⁴

Certain mistakes are clearly evident in these early attempts of scholars to explain the term *vasag* which have brought forth not a clarification of the term but a bewildering plethora of variant interpretations. One was the confusion of *vasag* with *vasāgin*, a phonetically similar term which occurs in the inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries. The latter was evidently considered to be the Instrumental Case Singular form of the former. The ancient Sinhalese *sanne* on the *Khuddasikkhā* where the term *vasag* occurs helps us to distinguish this term from another word, *vasegini*, which is most probably the same as *vasāgin* in the inscriptions.⁸⁵ *Vasegini* occurs in a passage which is a quotation from a gloss on the *Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī*.⁸⁶ Both *vasegini* and *vasāgin* seem to be Sinhalese equivalents of the Pāli term *vassaggena* which occurs in the *Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī* and other Pāli commentaries, and it may be translated as "at the end of the year, at the end of the *vassa* season" or as "in accordance with seniority." The contexts in which these terms occur suit these interpretations.⁸⁷ The undue emphasis that these scholars placed on etymological explanation and their failure to consider the contexts in which this term and its equivalents occur in Sinhalese and Pāli literary works were further shortcomings in these pioneer studies. In the following paragraphs an attempt will be made to arrive at a clearer interpretation of the term by avoiding these mistakes.

It appears that at the wealthier Buddhist monasteries resident monks were entitled not only to lodgings and meals, but also to share of the income left over after meeting the usual expenses. The Sinhalese *sanne* on the *Khuddasikkhā* quoted above not only alludes to this practice but also uses the term *vasag* when it speaks of the distribution of produce

82. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 83, 196.

83. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 56, n. 2.

84. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 191; Vol. V. Pt. 2, p. 165.

85. *Kudusika hā Purātana Vistara Sannoya*, ed. Moragalle Siri Ñānobhāsa Tissa, Colombo, 1954, pp. 142, 150.

86. *Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī*, pp. 61, 92.

87. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 48, ll. 40-1; Vol. III, p. 265, ll. 28-30; *Kudusika hā* . . . p. 150.

belonging to monasteries. It states that any monk who arrives at a monastery at the time of the distribution was entitled to half of a *vasag* that would normally be given to a resident of that monastery.⁸⁸ The context of the incidence of *vasag* in the *sanne* is noteworthy, for here it is used in the sense of a share of produce. Furthermore, the same passage occurs in the *Vinaya-vinicchaya-saṅgaha-ṭīkā* of Sāriputta, and in this work the Pāli term *bhāga*, also meaning "share," is used in place of *vasag*.⁸⁹ The *Sumaṅgala-pasādanī*, a Pāli commentary on the *Khuddasikkhā*, also uses the term *bhāga* in this context but states that the "non-resident" who arrives at the time of the distribution is entitled to only a fourth part of a "share."⁹⁰ Another work in which the term *vasag* occurs is the *Sikhavalaṅda-vinisa*, a Sinhalese commentary on monastic discipline which has been assigned to the tenth century on the basis of its style.⁹¹ It defines the term *samānāsika*, "monks entitled to equal seats," as those who were colleagues of equal years and were of sufficient seniority to be entitled to one or two *vasag*.⁹² It is possible to suggest on the basis of the preceding discussion that the practice of distributing the net income from the common property of the monastery among the inmates in "shares" called *vasag* prevailed in Sri Lanka and that there were certain monks who were entitled to more than one *vasag*. However, only the senior monks seem to have enjoyed the benefit of receiving one or more "shares." It is possible that others were entitled to "part-shares" but unfortunately this cannot be verified.

The term *vasag* is also known to occur in seven epigraphic records. However, the contexts of its incidence in the Puliyankulam, Eppāvala and Kalkulam inscriptions yield hardly any information which would help to explain its meaning. In comparison, the Mihintale Tablets and the slab inscription from Vessagiriya mentioned earlier are more useful.

While outlining the allowances enjoyed by the resident monks and the employees of the Cetiyaḡiri monastery, the Mihintale Tablets mention both monks and laymen among those entitled to *vasag*. Among the laymen were an astrologer, physicians, administrative officials and various types of workmen. Wickramasinghe and L. S. Perera have pointed out that certain employees received allotments of land and daily allowances of uncooked rice while others received land and *vasag*; *vasag* and rice were

88. *Kudusika hā* . . . p. 142.

89. *Vinaya-vinicchaya-saṅgaha-ṭīkā*, ed. Koṭṭegoda Dhammānanda, Colombo, 1907, p. 16.

90. *Saṅkha Khuddasikkhā*, ed. Sumanajoti, 1897, p. 131.

91. *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 395.

92. *samavas āttevijek vasagekin devasagekin evū mahalu vūyeij saga vūyeyij samānāsika nam. Sikhavalaṅda-vinisa*, ed. D. B. Jayatilaka, 1924, pp. 63-4.

never allotted to the same individual. From this it has been inferred that in this context *vasag* denoted "a fixed quantity of provisions."⁹³ The interpretation "share of cooked food" seems to be more appropriate when considered in the light of the incidence of *vasag* in an earlier line of the same inscription where it is said that monks who are bedridden and too ill to come to the refectory should be served with *vasag* at times specified by the physicians.⁹⁴

The *vasag* granted to specialists in the scriptures are distinguished from those granted to lay employees by the qualifying term *kañḍin piñḍin*. The terms *kaṇḍa* (*khaṇḍa*) and *piṇḍa* occur in connection with *vasag* in the Vesagiriya inscription too. Wickremasinghe compared *piṇḍa* and *piṇḍapāta* and interpreted it as "food." He thought that *kaṇḍa*, which literally meant "piece" or "fragment," was an allusion to the "robes of rags" recommended for monks and interpreted it as "clothing."⁹⁵ However, the word *siṅgur*, the usual term for "robes," occurs in a later line of the Mihintale Tablets. The two types of *vasag* mentioned in inscription No. 1 from Mādirigiriya are *bat vasag* and *piṇḍin vasag*. Obviously the first refers to the share of food that the record goes on to outline. Hence the type of share described as *piṇḍin* or *piṇḍa* also will have to be given a different interpretation.

In Sanskrit the term *piṇḍa* had a wide variety of meanings. Perhaps the most common of these was "lump." In arithmetic it was used to denote "sum" or "total amount."⁹⁶ It occurs in the *Arthaśāstra* in the compound form *piṇḍakara* to denote a tax. This has been interpreted by Kangle as an "aggregate tax" collected from the village as a whole, as distinct from the tax collected from individual villagers.⁹⁷ One may be justified in suggesting that *piñḍin vasagak* similarly denoted an "aggregate share" from the net income of the monastery which was annually distributed among the resident monks in the manner described in the commentary on the *Khuddasikkhā* as well as in the *Sumaṅgala-pasādanī* and the *Vinaya-vinicchaya-saṅgaha-ṭīkā*. On the other hand, the term *kañḍin vasag* ("share in fragments, share in instalments") or *bat vasag* probably denoted a monk's daily shares of requisites like food and betel leaves. It would seem from the evidence in the *Sikha-valaṇḍa-vinisa* that only monks of a certain seniority were entitled to *vasag*, while the Mihintale Tablets make it clear that certain monks received emoluments as high as twelve *vasag*. The award of *kañḍin piñḍin vasag* would mean

93. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 83; L. S. Perera, *The Institutions* . . . pp. 1477-8.

94. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 91, II. A11-2.

95. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 39, n. 3.

96. Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 573.

97. *The Kautilya Arthaśāstra*, ed. R. P. Kangle, Bombay, 1963, p. 140, n. 3.

either that the recipients could choose between "aggregate shares" and "shares in instalments" or that they were entitled to both of these. If the monks had the choice between an "aggregate share" and a "share in instalments," it would imply that the former probably amounted to the annual value of the latter.

Evidence in South Indian inscriptions suggests that a similar and comparative system of "shares" (Tamil *paṅgu*) was known at South Indian temples too. The Additional Tañjāvūr Inscription No. 66 of Rājārāja gives a list of temple employees who were entitled to "shares" and places the annual value of a "share" at a hundred *kalam*⁹⁸ of paddy or the produce of one *vēli*⁹⁹ of land. The remuneration that the employees of this famous temple were entitled to receive varied from two shares to eight-twentieths of a "share." Superintendents of temple women, superintendents of musicians and senior accountants received two "shares" each. Certain teachers of dancing received two "shares" while others received only one and a half. All dancing girls received one "share" each. There were four grades of payment for singers and musicians; some received one and a half "shares" while others were given one, three-fourths or half a "share" each. The lowest scale of eight-twentieths of a "share" was the remuneration made over to parasol-bearers.¹⁰⁰

Two slab inscriptions from Mādirigiriya and the Vessagiriya inscription yield valuable additional information concerning the operation of the *vasag* system at monasteries by revealing that these "shares" had a cash value and that they could be bought. At Mādirigiriya the purchaser who bought an "aggregate share" stipulated that it was to be operative as a "food-share." Since the value of a "share" would depend on the extent of the properties of the monastery and the number of its resident monks, it is to be expected that its price would vary from time to time and from monastery to monastery. According to the Mādirigiriya slab inscription No. 1, a "share" was bought for only fifty *kaḷand* of gold while at Vessagiriya a "share" cost as much as two hundred *kaḷand* of gold. The prevalence of the practice of the sale of "shares" may imply that the monks were entitled to the right of alienating their additional "shares." On the other hand, it is also possible that the purchase of a "share" merely amounted to the creation of a new endowment to maintain an additional monk or to enable the grant of an extra "share" to an inmate. In both the Vessagiriya

98. 1 *kalam* = 12 *marakkala* = 96 *sēru* measures. The author is indebted to Professor S. Vithyanandan for this information. See also, G. U. Pope, *A Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language*, Oxford, 1905, p. 30.

99. One *vēli* is about 6.74 acres. *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. VI, p. 3839.

100. *SII*, Vol. II, pp. 278-303.

and the Mādirigiriya inscriptions, the purchasers of "shares" make the payments to the monastery and not to individual monks. Evidence from other inscriptions of this period suggest that at least at certain monasteries the number of resident monks was fixed.¹⁰¹ Further, the "share" system would have made the inmates of a monastery hesitant about adding to their numbers unless there was a corresponding increase in the income of the monastery. Hence, though the evidence is inadequate for one to arrive at a definite conclusion, it seems more likely that the purchase of a "share" amounted to the creation of an endowment and that the monastery invested the proceeds from such "sales" in enterprises that would augment its income. It would thus seem that while membership in the monastic community entitled all monks to supplies of daily requisites like food and clothing, some of the employees and monks of a certain seniority had been assigned shares of the net income from the common property of the monastery. The mode of allocating shares among members of the monastic community was not on a strictly egalitarian basis and was variable. The seniority of the monk and his knowledge of the scriptures seem to have determined the number of shares he was assigned. It is most likely, though this cannot be verified, that the shares held by a monk returned to the common pool at his death.

It seems reasonable to suggest that the life of monks at some of the larger monasteries was one of comfort; at times, even one of luxury. The equipment provided at the monastery of Ariṭṭhapabbata was "fit for royalty."¹⁰² It is doubtful, however that all monks had the benefits of the highly organized life that the larger monasteries provided. Aggabodhi IX (A.D. 831-833) found that monks from the smaller monasteries had to go to the Mahāvihāra for their gruel and medicine.¹⁰³ Mahinda IV was obliged sometimes to send his own physicians to attend on sick monks, and he is also said to have provided the Pamsukūlika monks with garlic, black pepper (*marica*), long pepper (*pippali*), ginger, sugar and the three kinds of myrobalan.¹⁰⁴ Presumably these were for medical use. Monasteries usually had fixed endowments set apart for the provision of robes, but these funds were sometimes used to meet the cost of repairs.¹⁰⁵ Thus not all the monks were fortunate enough to get new robes at the end of the year. Kassapa IV distributed pieces of clothes for use in patching up and strengthening old robes.¹⁰⁶

101. See for instance, *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 48, ll. 40-1 and p. 187, ll. 28-32; *CJHSS*, 1972, pp. 60-74.

102. *Cv.* 50. 63-4.

103. *Cv.* 49. 88-90.

104. *Cv.* 54. 21, 23.

105. See *supra* p. 118.

106. *Cv.* 52. 23.

Monks as Scholars

The ample opportunities for study that the well-endowed monasteries provided, the contact with Indian centers of Buddhist scholarship, and the patronage and encouragement extended by kings (some of whom were themselves scholars) stimulated scholarly activity among monks during this period. Dāṭhānāga and Dhammamitta are the only scholars of the tenth century to find mention in the *Cūlavam̐sa*. Unfortunately the commentary that Dhammamitta wrote at the request of Mahinda IV has not been preserved. Ānanda, the author of the *Mūlaṭīkā* whose opinions are quoted with obvious respect by later commentators, claims that his work was written at the request of a certain Dhammamitta.¹⁰⁷ The *Mūlaṭīkā* is a sub-commentary on Buddhaghosa's writings on the Abhidhamma. The *Sāsanavam̐sa* explains that it came to be known as the *Mūlaṭīkā* since it was the first in the series of subcommentaries (*ṭīkā*) written on the Pāli Canon.¹⁰⁸ It is certain that the *Mūlaṭīkā* was written before the time of Sumaṅgala, the disciple of Sāriputta; Ānanda finds mention in the *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvinī* of Sumaṅgala.¹⁰⁹ Malalasekera has dated Ānanda's lifetime in the "eighth or ninth century,"¹¹⁰ and he is listed as an Indian monk in the *Gandhavam̐sa*, an account of Pāli literature written by a Burmese monk.¹¹¹ Though it is not possible to assign an exact date to the *Gandhavam̐sa*, it is a work of late origin. It is evident from the discussion in the *Mūlaṭīkā* on the opinions of the Abhayagirivāsins that Ānanda was a follower of the Mahāvihāra School. It is possible that his exposition of the "orthodox" point of view was based on commentarial sources which were available at the Mahāvihāra. If the Dhammamitta who requested him to write this commentary on the Abhidhamma lived in the time of Mahinda IV, Ānanda should have lived during the tenth century. It is reasonable to expect that the *Mūlaṭīkā* was written during the tenth century when both the *saṅgha* and the laity seem to have evinced a particular interest in works on the Abhidhamma.¹¹²

The statement of the *Sāsanavam̐sa* that the *Mūlaṭīkā* was the first subcommentary would imply that the *Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā* and the subcommentary on the first three *nikāyas* of the *Sutta Piṭaka* were written

107. *Abhidhammamūlaṭīkā*, Burmese edition, Burmese Buddhist Society, Rangoon, 1960, Vol. I, p. 203.

108. *Sāsanavam̐sa*, trsl. B. C. Law, London, 1932, p. 36.

109. See *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvinī*, ed. Paññāsāra and Vimaladhamma, 1933, pp. 81, 108, 118.

110. G. P. Malalasekera, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 210.

111. I. P. Minaev, *Recherche sur le bouddhisme*, p. 240. (Minaev reproduces the text of the *Gandhavam̐sa* in this work).

112. See *supra* p. 148 and *infra* pp. 230-1.

after the time of Ānanda. The colophons of these works ascribe their authorship to a scholar or scholars by the name of Dhammapāla. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* ascribes them to the same author and distinguishes him from the commentator of the same name who lived at Badaratiṭṭha.¹¹³ According to its colophon the *Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā* was written at the request of the *thera* Dāṭhānāga who lived at the Siddhagāma-parivena.¹¹⁴ No hermitage by the name of Siddhagāma is mentioned in the chronicles. Buddhadatta has suggested that the Siddhagāma-parivena was the same as the Sitthagāma-parivena built by Sena IV (A.D. 954-956). He further suggests that Dāṭhānāga should be identified with the monk of the same name who preached the Abhidhamma at the request of Mahinda IV.¹¹⁵ Apart from the orthographic differences between the names of the two hermitages, the fact that the *thera* Dāṭhānāga is not mentioned in the *Cūlavāṃsa* as a monk of the Siddhagāma-parivena may be cited against this identification. He is referred to as a monk of the "forest-dwelling" fraternity in the chronicle. This is particularly striking since Dhammamitta is mentioned as a monk of the Sitthagāma-parivena in the preceding strophe.¹¹⁶ However, these are not strong objections against the identification; for it is possible that the chronicler made an orthographic error. Thus the possibility that Dhammapāla, the author of the *Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā* and the subcommentary on the first three *nikāyas* of the Canon, lived during the tenth century cannot be ruled out.

According to the *Gandhavaṃsa*, "Culla Dhammapāla, the senior disciple of the *thera* Ānanda, composed the *Saccasaṅkhepa*."¹¹⁷ The only monk bearing the name Ānanda in the passage which precedes this statement is the author of the *Mūlaṭīkā*. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* attributes the minor commentary (*anuṭīkā*) on the *Mūlaṭīkā* to a monk called Dhammapāla.¹¹⁸ However, it is not clear whether they are identical or whether any one of them (or both) should be identified with the author of the *Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā*.

One of the most notable scholars of the period under consideration was Anuruddha, the author of the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* which is perhaps the best known compendium of the Abhidhamma. The origins and the identity of the author have been subjects of much speculation. The brief colophon of the work comprises a benedictory verse wishing for

113. *Sāsanavaṃsa*, pp. 36-7.

114. *Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā*, Burmese edition, ed. Û Hpye, Rangoon, 1910, Vol. II, p. 909.

115. A. P. Buddhadatta, *Theravādi Baudhācāryayo*, 1960, pp. 54-5.

116. *Cv.* 54, 35-6.

117. Minaev, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

118. *Sāsanavaṃsa*, p. 37.

the prosperity of a monastery called Mūlasoma;¹¹⁹ presumably, it was his residence. A commentary on the *Khuddasikkhā*, known at present only in Burma, mentions a monastery called Mūlasoma which was in Sri Lanka.¹²⁰ The Talaing records quoted by Gray place Anuruddha among scholars from South India.¹²¹ The *Gandhavaṃsa* lists him as an author from Sri Lanka and attributes the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* as well as the *Nāmarūpa-pariccheda* and the *Paramattha-ṅicchaya* to his authorship.¹²² In doing so the *Gandhavaṃsa* contradicts evidence from the *Paramattha-ṅicchaya* which was written, as is evident from its colophon, by a monk from the city of Kāveri, who was living at the time of writing at Tañja in Tambaraṭṭha.¹²³ The colophon of the *Nāmarūpa-pariccheda* gives little information on the author but suggests that he was from the Mahāvihāra. Even early commentators like Sumaṅgala believed that all the three works were by the same author. However, as Buddhadatta has shown, the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* agrees with the *Nāmarūpa-pariccheda*; it differs from the *Paramattha-ṅicchaya* on some of the views it expresses.¹²⁴ It is possible that the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* and the *Nāmarūpa-pariccheda* were written by the same person; it is also possible, however, that the authors of the three works were distinct from each other. Using stylistic criteria, Malalasekera has assigned the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* to the tenth or the eleventh century; others have assigned it to the twelfth century.¹²⁵

The reforming activities of Parākramabāhu I and the revival of the *saṅgha* under his patronage ushered in an era of fruitful scholarly activity. Kassapa of Udumbaraḡiri who took a leading part in reforming the *saṅgha* is described as a scholar who was thoroughly versed in all the three sections of the Canon and particularly in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. His disciple Sāriputta calls him "the father of the *saṅgha* and a specialist in

119. *Abhidhammattha-saṅgrahaya*, ed. Nandārāma Tissa and M. Dhammaratana, Colombo, 1938, p. 152.

120. See A. P. Buddhadatta, *Pāli Sahityaya*, Vol. II, p. 324. The prologues and the colophons of the known Pāli literary works have been published together with the author's comments in the two volumes of the *Pāli Sāhityaya*. A tenth-century inscription from Anurādhapura mentions "the Viraṅkurārāma monastery attached to the Mūlaso monastery." It is possible that Mūlasoma was the same as Mūlaso, but the only monastery by the name Viraṅkurārāma mentioned in the sources of Sri Lanka was part of the Abhayagiri complex. See *infra* p. 247.

121. J. Gray, *Buddhaghosuppatti*, 1892, p. 26.

122. Minaev, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

123. *Paramattha-ṅicchaya*, ed. Devānanda, Colombo, 1926, p. 337. For the identification of Tambaraṭṭha, see *infra* pp. 266-71.

124. *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvinī*, pp. 57, 81, 88; Buddhadatta, *Theravādi Bauddhā-cāryayo*, p. 79.

125. Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, p. 168. See also *CHJ*, Vol. IV, p. 91; *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 585.

the Vinaya.¹²⁶ He was an ideal leader during this period when a revival in the standards of discipline was urgently needed.

Sāriputta was the leading light among the scholars of the time of Parākramabāhu I. As a grammarian he was compared with Candra and Pāṇinī and as a poet with Kālidāsa.¹²⁷ He gathered round him a galaxy of capable students. Under his leadership the Jetavana monastery at Polonnaruva became a great center of learning. In the *Dāḥāvamsa*, composed by his disciple Dhammakitti, he is credited with the authorship of a compendium of rules of discipline called the *Vinaya-saṅgaha* and subcommentaries on the *Pañcīkā* of the grammar of Candra, the *Samantapāsādikā*, and the *Manoratha-pūraṇī*, the commentary on the *Aṅuttara Nikāya*.¹²⁸ The *Vinaya-saṅgaha* is also known as the *Pālimuttaka-vinaya-vinicchaya-saṅgaha*. His second work is not extant. Paranavitana has expressed doubts on the attribution of the *Sārattha-mañjūsā*, the commentary on the *Manoratha-pūraṇī*, to Sāriputta.¹²⁹ But it is noteworthy that, apart from Dhammakitti, the author of the *Vinaya-sārattha-dīpanī* who was another disciple of Sāriputta credits him with the authorship of this work.¹³⁰ Further, six of the verses which appear in the prologue of the *Sārattha-mañjūsā* are also found in the prologue of the *Sārattha-dīpanī*, the commentary on the *Samantapāsādikā*. Both were written at the Jetavana monastery at the request of Parākramabāhu, and in both the author claims that he was a disciple of the *mahāthera* Kassapa and the *anuthera* Sumedha. Hence there is little reason to doubt that these two works were written by the same author. In addition to the four works mentioned above Sāriputta seems to have written a commentary on his *Vinaya-saṅgaha* and a Sinhalese gloss on the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*. In the colophon of the last work he claims to have written four other works, the *Visuddhipatha-saṅgaha*, *Kammaṭṭhāna-saṅgaha*, *Maṅgala-sutta-ṭīkā* and the *Tilaka*, a work on astrology for Parākramabāhu I.

In this connection it is interesting that the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*, a work of a monk of Yodayapura (probably Ayuth'ya) who is dated to the end of the thirteenth century, records a tradition which speaks of a council of monks convened by Kassapa at the Jetavana monastery to undertake the compilation of subcommentaries on the Canon. The author attributes the *Sārattha-dīpanī*, the *Sārattha-mañjūsā* and the *Paramattha-pakāsaṇī*, the subcommentaries on the *Vinaya*, the *Sutta* and the *Abhidhamma Piṭakas* respectively, to this council of monks headed

126. Cv. 78.7; *Sārattha-dīpanī*, p. 1.

127. Buddhadatta, *Theravādi Buddhācāryayo*, p. 79.

128. *Dāḥāvamsa*, ed. B. C. Law, Lahore, 1925, pp. 49-50.

129. UCHC, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 285.

130. Buddhadatta, *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. II, p. 287.

by Kassapa.¹³¹ If indeed such a council was held, it is rather strange that it is not mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa* or in any other literary source in Sri Lanka. Moreover, the colophons of the *Sārattha-dīpanī* and the *Sārattha-mañjūsā* as well as other contemporary sources state, as pointed out earlier, that these two works were composed by Sāriputta. However, the tradition in the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha* may not be completely rejected, for it is possible that Sāriputta had the help of other scholars of this period in the writing of his commentaries.

Buddhanāga, the author of the *Vinayattha-mañjūsā*, refers to Sāriputta as his teacher and states that he wrote this work at the request of Sumedha.¹³² It is possible that Sumedha is the teacher of Sāriputta mentioned earlier. As evident from the reference to Parākramabāhu I in the colophon, the *Vinayattha-mañjūsā* seems to have been written during this reign; probably Buddhanāga was one of the senior disciples of Sāriputta.

A list of scholars who were probably junior contemporaries of Sāriputta or representatives of the generation which followed his is found in the *Vinaya-sārattha-dīpanī*, a work written by one of his disciples. The identity of the author is withheld in the colophon, but the Āraññika monk Sumaṅgala, the Coḷa monks Buddhamitta and Kassapa, and the lay-scholar Dhammakitti are mentioned as contemporaries who requested him to write this work.¹³⁴

Sumaṅgala is probably the same as the Āraññika monk of this name who requested Saṅgharakkita to write the commentary on the *Khudda-sikkhā* significantly named the *Sumaṅgala-pasādanī*, "that which pleases Sumaṅgala."¹³⁵ It may also be suggested that he should be identified with Sumaṅgala, the brilliant exegetist who specialized in the Abhidhamma. This monk, another disciple of Sāriputta, wrote the *Abhidhammattha-vikāsinī* and the *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvinī* as commentaries on the *Abhidhammāvātāra* of Buddhadatta and the *Abhidhammatha-saṅgaha* of Anuruddha, respectively. The only drawback to this identification is that the former was a monk who "constantly lived in the woods" while the latter claims to have lived at the Nandiparivena of the

131. *Vinaya-vinicchaya-saṅgaha-tikā*, ed. Kēṭṭēgoḍa Dhammānanda, Colombo, 1907, p. 151; *Abhidhammārtha-saṅgraha-sanyaya*, ed. Toṭagamuve Paññāmoli, Pāliya-goḍa, 1897, p. 195. See also Minaev, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

132. *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*, ed. Nedimāle Saddhānanda, *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1890, pp. 58-61.

133. *Vinayattha-mañjūsā*, ed. U. P. Ekanayake, 1912, p. 296.

134. *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. II, pp. 238-9.

135. *Sumaṅgala-pasādanī*, ed. Dangedara Sumanajoti, Colombo, 1898, p. 1.

Jetavanārāma.¹³⁶ Even if they were not identical, both seem to have been contemporaries of Sāriputta.

Saṅgharakkhita, yet another disciple of Sāriputta, lived at a place called Damiḷasoci(?) when he wrote the *Sumaṅgala-pasādanī*. In the colophon of this work he claims to have written four other books: *Susaddasiddhi*, *Yogavinicchaya*, *Subodhālaṅkāra*, and the *Vuttodaya*. Later he wrote the *Sambandhacintā*—a work on syntax. In the *Vuttodaya*, a work on prosody, he refers to the *thera* Sila of the Selantarāyatana as his teacher,¹³⁷ and presumably it was from this monk that he learned prosody. In the colophons of both the *Sumaṅgala-pasādanī* and the *Sambandhacintā*, Saṅgharakkhita speaks with affection of his disciple Medhaṅkara of the Āraṅṅavāsī sect who had become a famous teacher and the hierarch of the monastic fraternity of Udumbaragiri (Diṃbulāgala). Both teacher and disciple, it is claimed, took part in a “purification” of the *saṅgha*.¹³⁸ This information is helpful in identifying and dating the two works since, according to the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya*,¹³⁹ a monk called Saṅgharakkhita who was a disciple of Sāriputta, and another called Medhaṅkara who was from Diṃbulāgala, took the leading part in reforming the *saṅgha* in the time of Vijayabāhu of Daṃbadeṇiya (A.D. 1232-1236). It also becomes evident from this discussion that at least the *Sumaṅgala-pasādanī* and the *Sambandhacintā* were written during the period of the Daṃbadeṇiya kingdom.

The *Vinayārtha-samuccaya*, a commentary on the Vinaya, was written, according to its colophon, by a disciple of Sāriputta and of Moggallāna the grammarian.¹⁴⁰ It has been attributed to Medhaṅkara.¹⁴¹ The *Saddhamma-saṅgaha* records that a commentary on the *Saccasaṅkhepa* was written by a disciple of Sāriputta.¹⁴² The *Sāsana-vaṃsa* attributes the *Nāmarūpa-pariccheda*, *Khema*, *Abhidhammāvatāra*, and the old subcommentary on the *Saccasaṅkhepa* to a certain *mahāsāmi* Vācissara.¹⁴³ Evidently Sāriputta had a disciple called Vācissara. Dhammakitti, disciple of Sāriputta and author of the *Dāḥāvaṃsa*, composed a poem on the Tooth relic during the reign of Līlāvati.¹⁴⁴

136. *Abhidhammattha-vikāsinī*, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, Colombo, 1961, p. 456.

137. *Vuttodaya*, Burmese edition, 1898, p. 123.

138. *Sumaṅgala-pasādanī*, p. 329; *Sambandhacintā*, Burmese edition, Rangoon, 1898-1900, p. 95.

139. *Niks.* p. 26.

140. *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. II, pp. 528-9.

141. *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*, p. 64.

142. *Ibid.*

143. *Sāsana-vaṃsa*, p. 37.

144. *Dāḥāvaṃsa*, p. 4, v. 6.

It is possible that Kassapa, who is mentioned along with another Coḷa monk named Buddhhamitta in the *Vinaya-sārattha-dīpanī*, is identical with the monk of this name who wrote the *Moha-vicchedanī*. This work, together with *Abhidhammatha-vikāsinī* and the *Abhidhammatha-vibhāvinī* represents the final stage of the development of the Abhidhamma in South India and Sri Lanka. At the time the *Moha-vicchedanī* was written, Kassapa was residing at the Nāganāna monastery in Coḷā-dhināthaputa.¹⁴⁵ A monk from the Damiḷa country called Kassapa is mentioned in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* as one who wrote the *Vimati-vinodanī*.¹⁴⁶ His name occurs after that of Sāriputta. The *Gandhavaṃsa* attributes four works—the *Moha-vicchedanī*, *Vimaticchedanī*, *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Anāgatavaṃsa*—to a monk named Kassapa.¹⁴⁷ It is possible that *Vimaticchedanī* is a corrupt form of *Vimati-vinodanī*. Probably the *Vimati-vinodanī* and the *Moha-vicchedanī* are works of the same author. No information is available on Buddhhamitta, the other Coḷa monk. The lay scholar Dhammakitti, who is also mentioned in the *Vinaya-sārattha-dīpanī* could be the same as the *paṇḍita* Dhammakitti who was one of the Sinhalese envoys at the Burmese court in the time of Parākramabāhu I.¹⁴⁸ A lay scholar by the same name is also mentioned in the *Nikāyā-saṅgrahaya*.¹⁴⁹

It is evident from the preceding discussion that the literary activities of the period under consideration were dominated by exegetic scholarship. The role of the scholars was one of explaining the scriptures and their commentaries, critically examining the interpretations given by their predecessors, and systematically presenting the teachings of the Theravāda school. Yet, there is reason to believe that the knowledge of at least some of the monks was not restricted to the teachings of the Theravāda school. It has been pointed out elsewhere that special provision was made at the Abhayagiri monastery for the study of treatises of the non-Theravāda schools.¹⁵⁰ Mugalan, who was the chief incumbent of the Uttaromūla in the time of Vijayabāhu I, is described as a scholar versed in the *āgamas* and the *śāstras*.¹⁵¹ In his inscription at Dambulla, Nissaṅka Malla claims to have promoted the study of the scriptures and "other extraneous *śāstras*" among monks.¹⁵² Kassapa,

145. *Moha-vicchedanī*, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, and A. K. Warder, PTS, London, 1961, p. 359.

146. *Sāsanavaṃsa*, p. 37.

147. Minaev, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

148. *Cv.* 76. 32.

149. *Niks.* p. 28.

150. See *infra* p. 256.

151. *El*, Vol. XVIII, p. 337, ll. 25.6.

152. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 131-2, ll. 21-2.

the Coḷa monk who wrote the *Moha-vicchedanī*, describes himself as a man versed in the *satthantara* (*śāstrantara*).¹⁵³ Presumably this is synonymous with "the extraneous *śāstras*" (*bāhiraśāstra*) mentioned above. Together they could refer either to non-Theravāda teachings or to the secular branches of knowledge, though it is more probable that it connoted the latter. In the *Dāḥāvamsa* Sāriputta is described as a teacher of all the *śāstras* and a scholar thoroughly versed in the non-Theravāda doctrine.¹⁵⁴ The *Vinaya-sārattha-dīpanī* refers to him as a monk learned in astrology (*joṭisattha*) and the *satthantara*.¹⁵⁵ As mentioned earlier, Sāriputta claims to have written a work on astrology.

The Widening Intellectual Horizon

A broad liberal education was considered as an essential requisite for Buddhist monks during the medieval period. It was hoped that such a training would equip them intellectually to defeat their rivals in debate and also that it would help them to secure broad-based support among the laity. This idea occurs in the chronicle of Bu-ston where he comments on a verse from the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*.¹⁵⁶

In order to vanquish and to help others as well as to obtain knowledge through knowledge of himself, he (the good monk) is earnestly applied to study. . . . Accordingly the science of logic (*hetuvidyā*) and of Grammar and literature are studied in order to vanquish adversaries (in controversy); the science of Medicine (*cikitsāvidyā*) and Arts (*śilpakarmavidyā*) for administering help to others, and that of Metaphysics (*adhyātmavidyā*) to acquire knowledge of himself.

It is possible that similar intentions encouraged the Sinhalese monk to acquire a knowledge in the secular fields of study. One field of interest was grammar. The commentary of Sāriputta on the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa* and the *Sambandhacintā* of Saṅgharakkhita have already been mentioned. The *Rūpasiddhi* was written by Buddhappiya, a Coḷa monk who studied under a Sinhalese monk.¹⁵⁷ Moggallāna, a monk from Anurādhapura who wrote the *Moggallāyana-vyākaraṇa*, lived in the time of Parākramabāhu I.¹⁵⁸ In the *Vinayārtha-samuccaya*¹⁵⁹ Medhaṅkara

153. *Moha-vicchedanī*, p. 359.

154. *Dāḥāvamsa*, pp. 49-50.

155. *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. II, p. 287.

156. *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, ed. E. Huber, 1908, pp. 311-2; Bu-ston, *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*, trsl. E. O. Obermiller, Heidelberg, 1931, Vol. I, p. 44.

157. *Mahārūpasiddhi-sannaya*, ed. M. Sumaṅgala and B. Dhammaratana, Colombo, 1891, p. 444.

158. *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. II, p. 512.

159. *Ibid.*, pp. 528-9.

refers to Moggallāna and Sāriputta as his teachers. Piyadassi, who composed the *Padasādhana* based on the *Moggallāyana-vyākaraṇa*, was another student of Moggallāna.¹⁶⁰ These two works started a new school of Pāli grammar. The grammarian seems to have been different from Moggallāna of the Sarogāmamūla who composed the lexicon titled *Abhidhānappadīpikā* during the reign of Parākramabāhu I.¹⁶¹

The *Vuttodaya* and the *Subodhālankāra* of Saṅgharakkhita are works on prosody and poetics. It would be natural to expect that monks who were interested in literary activities would not confine their efforts to purely technical studies and would attempt to compose poetry themselves. Due to the dictates of the disciplinary rules they had to deal with "approved" subjects like the personality of the Buddha. Exercises in metrical construction in praise of the Buddha such as the *Jinālaṅkāra* of Buddhārakkhita and the *Pajjamadhū* of Buddhappiya are typical results of this situation. Yet it was not always that the poetic talents of monks were restrained by disciplinary rules. Parānavitana's comments on the graffiti scribbled by monks who visited Sīgiri are revealing: "... it is very rarely that the subject-matter of their verses proclaims them to be the compositions of those who adopted the religious life. Most of the clerics had entered into the spirit of the occasion and addressed the ladies in a manner far from sermonizing. One of them, for instance, addressing a lady in the painting, expounds the doctrine that an occasional lapse from virtue in one who is generally of good conduct may be condoned."¹⁶²

The widening of the intellectual horizon of monks is reflected in their interest in the study of Sanskrit. During the earlier periods, though the knowledge of Sanskrit would not have been uncommon, Sanskrit does not seem to have occupied an important place in monastic education. Sinhalese and particularly Pāli were the media of intellectual activity. The interest in the teachings of the non-Theravāda schools of Buddhism was one of the factors which induced monks to study Sanskrit. Most of the inscriptions which testify to the prevalence of Mahāyāna and Tantric practices in Sri Lanka are in Sanskrit. These records, which are in the Pallava Grantha, Kuṭiḷa or the Sinhalese script, reveal a close acquaintance with the language, a high standard of learning and a remarkable ability at metrical construction.¹⁶³ As a result Sanskrit studies seem to have become popular in Sri Lanka at a time when Sanskrit literature was in decadence in India.

160. *Padasādhana*, ed. Dharmānanda, pp. 302-3.

161. *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, ed. Toṭagamuve Paññātissa, 1895, p. 161.

162. S. Parānavitana, *Sīgiri Graffiti*, Vol. I, p. ccciv.

163. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 157-64, 219-35; Vol. V, Pt. 1, pp. 168-9.

The interest that the monks took in the study of Sanskrit is evident from the grammatical works written during this period. In addition to the *Bālāvabodhana*, a work attributed to Kassapa of Udumbaragiri, the commentary that Sāriputta wrote on the *Pañcikālaṅkāra* dates from this period. Paranavitana has suggested that Buddhanāga, the author of another exegetical work on Sanskrit grammar, should be identified with the disciple of Sāriputta who bore this name.¹⁶⁴ The *Cūlavamsa*, in the course of describing the network of espionage organized by Parākramabāhu I, refers to spies versed in the *Itihāsa*, the *Purāṇas* and the *Āgamas* who went about in the guise of monks.¹⁶⁵ This may give an idea of the knowledge that the monks were expected to possess. In his narrative of the reign of Parākramabāhu I the author of the *Cūlavamsa* himself reveals his knowledge of the epics by recounting the legends about persons like Dusyanta and Cānakya.¹⁶⁶

The progress that the monks made in literary activity during the period owed much to the patronage extended by the kings. The *Cūlavamsa* records that Udaya I gave bronze alms bowls to monks who studied hard.¹⁶⁷ Many of the literary works of the "Polonnaruva Period" make grateful mention of the generous patronage extended by Parākramabāhu I; some of them were written at his special request. This patronage was continued by Nissaṅka Malla who, according to his inscriptions, provided facilities for the expansion of learning.¹⁶⁸

It was Sāriputta and the many scholars who studied at his feet who brought about a revival in Buddhist scholastic activity and produced the great majority of Pāli literary works of the period under review. But the Pāli literature of this period was not the exclusive contribution of the inhabitants of Sri Lanka; nor had it been so in the period which preceded. The names of many monks from South India, and in later times from Burma, are found in the lists of Pāli scholars. In fact, some of the most eminent writers came from South India and some of them studied under Sinhalese monks and even persuaded Sinhalese monks to write new works. Together, they seem to have worked in fruitful collaboration to annotate and systematically present the teachings of the Theravāda, particularly of the Māhavihāra school.

The Monastery as a Center of Education and Culture

The acquaintance of the clerics with the *belles lettres* and their interest in scholarly pursuits in the secular branches of knowledge turned

164. *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 588.

165. *Cv.* 66. 143-5.

166. *Cv.* 64. 42-5.

167. *Cv.* 49.34.

168. See *supra* p. 160.

the monastery into a center of literary education. The monks, as the literati of the society, were in a position to impart knowledge in various fields to the layman. I-tsing, who visited India in the seventh century, noted that the Indian monks of the time performed this function: "In the monasteries of India, there are many students who are entrusted to the Bhikṣus and instructed by them in secular literature."¹⁶⁹

If the testimony of the *Cūlavamsa* is to be accepted, the education of the young prince Parākramabāhu included the study of the Buddhist scriptures, grammar (*saddasattha*), poetics (*kāveyya*), lexicography (*nighaṇḍu*), works on ritual (*keṭubha*),¹⁷⁰ and writings on statecraft (*nīti*) such as the treatise of Koṭalla (Skt. Kāuṭilya), in addition to training in dance and song, the use of weapons like the bow and the sword, and the handling of elephants.¹⁷¹ Even if this account is not strictly accurate, it does represent the ideal, and it is noteworthy that in this list the study of the Buddhist teachings is given a prominent place. Apart from this, the monks of this period would have been in a position to teach such subjects as grammar, poetics and lexicography. In an earlier instance the *Cūlavamsa* mentions that Dhātusena learned statecraft (*nīti*) from a monk who was his uncle.¹⁷² The monasteries of Sri Lanka, like the Hindu temples of South India, employed laymen as teachers, possibly to teach those secular subjects which the monks were required by their disciplinary rules to refrain from learning or teaching. The Cetiyaḡiri monastery at Mihintale had lay teachers (*ādura damin*) on its pay-roll. Six men, some of whom were teachers and some preachers (*banavajārana damin*), were allotted the dues from the village Gutāgama.¹⁷³

It would be an exaggeration, however, to maintain, as Rahula has done, that "the whole system of education, both ecclesiastical and lay, was in the hands of the *saṅgha*" and that the monks of Sri Lanka "took into their hands the education of the whole nation."¹⁷⁴ The concepts of education current at this time covered a wide field to include the cultivation of a variety of skills, in addition to the acquisition of literary learning. It is most unlikely that the monks or the teachers employed at

169. I-tsing, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-6.

170. Buddhaghosa defined *keṭubha* as "the science which assists the officiating priests by laying down rules for the rites, or by leaving them to their direction." *Sumaṅgala-vilāsini*, PTS, Vol. I, p. 247. See also the *PTS Pali-English Dictionary*.

171. *Cv.* 64, 3-4.

172. *Cv.* 38.21. This passage, however is not very reliable; it is merely a conjectural reading.

173. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 96, ll. B38-9.

174. Rahula, *op. cit.* p. 287.

the monasteries taught such skills as the handling of weapons; even literary learning would not have been the monopoly of monks. The *Cūlavamsa* refers to men who taught youths the art of writing and the skill in handling weapons.¹⁷⁵ It is reasonable to expect that the Brāhmanas also occupied an important place as teachers at a time when the study of Sanskrit and subjects like *keṭubha* were popular.

This is not to deny that the monastery played a prominent role in education. The monk's role in education gave him an opportunity to come into contact with and to influence royalty, the official classes and the literati. The cultured laity showed an interest in learning the Buddhist scriptures, and laymen versed in the Buddhist teachings were sometimes employed by monasteries to work as preachers.¹⁷⁶ Its contact with the gentry won for the *saṅgha* an influential body of patrons, and during the reign of Kassapa IV, the high officials of the court surpassed the king in their munificent patronage of the *saṅgha*.¹⁷⁷

These contacts also resulted in the percolation of Buddhist influence into the secular fields of intellectual activity. For example Buddhism had a discouraging influence on the study of the Sanskrit epics. Several of the Buddhist texts state that the study of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Sitāharaṇa* (*Rāmāyaṇa*) is a fruitless waste of time.¹⁷⁸ Though works like *Cūlavamsa* reveal a knowledge of the epics, it is noteworthy that, in contrast to other countries influenced by Indian culture, the influence of the epics on Sinhalese culture is hardly discernible: literary works, paintings and sculptures draw their inspiration almost exclusively from Buddhist sources.¹⁷⁹ In fact, this is one of the significant characteristics which have given the island a cultural individuality which is quite distinct from the other subcultures of South Asia.

A detailed assessment of the influence of Buddhism on Sinhalese society is a task fraught with many difficulties, for Buddhism existed side by side and was to some extent intermixed with other religions and cults. Sometimes more than one religion can work in collaboration to propagate certain common ideas. The idea of *ahiṃsā* may be cited as one such example. Aggabodhi VIII forbade the bringing of fish, meat or intoxicating drinks to the city centre on the *uposatha* days which are of religious significance to the Buddhists.¹⁸⁰ Nissaṅka Malla went so far as to order

175. Cv. 66. 138.

176. See *supra* p. 164.

177. Cv. 52. 16-34.

178. *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, Vol. I, p. 76; *Papañcasūdanī*, ed. J. H. Woods and D. Kosambi, PTS, Vol. I, 1922, p. 163; *Amāvatura*, ed. Nānāloka, 1959, p. 93.

179. See *supra* p. 163. The view that the author of the *Jānakīharaṇa* was a Sri Lankan is controversial. Even if he was, it is likely that the poem was written in India since no manuscripts have been found in Sri Lanka. A Sinhalese gloss on it is known but, evidently, its author did not have access to a complete text of the poem.

180. Cv. 49. 48.

that no animals should be killed within a distance of seven *gavu* from the capital. The "twelve great irrigation reservoirs" were turned into sanctuaries for the fish, and fowlers were persuaded with gifts to give up killing of birds. This is recorded in an inscription found at a Buddhist shrine, the Ruvanvālisāya.¹⁸¹ Ostensibly it would appear that it was the influence of Buddhism which persuaded these kings to enforce the practice of *ahimsā*, but it is also noteworthy that in Sinhalese society the eating of beef was considered particularly repugnant. The *Jātaka Aṭuvā Gāṭa-padaya* explains the term *bherivādaka-kula* as denoting a caste of people who beat the drums and were accustomed to eating beef.¹⁸² Presumably eating beef was considered to be an abominable practice which was confined to the "low" castes. Certain Sinhalese edicts of this period carry the warning that a person who violates the rules laid down therein will bring upon himself the sins committed by the *eḷumaruvā* of Mahavoṭiya (Māntai). The word *eḷu* normally means "goats", and *eḷumaruvā*, "killer of goats." A well-known Śaiva shrine was found at this time at Māntai.¹⁸³ One possible interpretation of this passage is as an allusion to the practice of killing goats at Māntai to cater to the Śaiva population who did not eat beef. However, Paranavitana prefers to read *eḷu* as *eḷa* and translates the word *eḷamaruvā* as "killer of cows."¹⁸⁴ If this interpretation is accepted, it would seem that the killing of cows at Māntai was considered to be a grievous sin, even by the Buddhists.

The sanctions against the eating of beef which existed in Sinhalese society would suggest that the idea of *ahimsā* was not the sole contribution of Buddhism; it reflects the influence of Hinduism particularly of the Śaiva variety. This clearly illustrates the collaboration of Buddhist and Hindu influences in the propagation of common ideas within Sinhalese society.

Changing Relations between Monks and Laymen

The growth of monastic wealth discussed in some of the previous chapters meant that a new relationship between the *saṅgha* and the laity came to play an increasingly important role. Monks were not only spiritual leaders and teachers in Sinhalese society; they were also the "landlords" for many villagers living in the area surrounding the monas-

181. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 80, ll. 26-8; p. 140, ll. A23-33.

182. *bherivādakakulehi, beravākulehi, gerimas kat nam bera gasat nam ū beravāyoyi. JAG*, p. 74.

183. See. e.g. *Tiruñāna-ṣampantar Tēvārattiruppataikāṅkal*, Tiru-murai-2, Patikam-243, Kalakam pp. 518-520.

184. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 225, n. 8.

tery. Several laymen were employed at each monastery as craftsmen and functionaries. If the monk had originally been totally dependent upon lay society for his sustenance, in early medieval times many laymen became dependent on the monastery for their living.

The lot of the tenant in monastic estates does not seem to have been happier than that of tenants living in estates of the laity. For example the hold they had on their allotments was a tenuous one. Deprivation of the tenantry living under the control of religious establishments due to the acquisitive tendencies of their officials was a phenomenon known in South India. An eleventh century Vaṭṭeḷuṭṭu inscription from Tirukkāḍittānam issued by Bhāskara Raviṅarman forbids temple officials to accept on mortgage or to cultivate land allotments held by the drummers of the Viṣṇu temple at the site.¹⁸⁵ Tenants and employees of the Buddhist monasteries in Sri Lanka faced the same problem. The Mihintale Tablets decree that no allotments held by cultivators on terms of hereditary succession were to be seized by the monastery except when the succession failed,¹⁸⁶ but more latitude was allowed in the case of allocations to employees. The property of "good employees" was not to be confiscated by the officials unless it was meant for the use of the monastery.¹⁸⁷ If our interpretation is correct, this would imply that an allotment assigned to any employee could be withdrawn on the plea that it was "needed by the monastery" or that the conduct of the employee concerned was "unsatisfactory."

The Kaludiyapokuṇa inscription orders that taxes higher or lower than the customary rates were not to be levied by the monastic administration.¹⁸⁸ Tenants of monastic estates could also be vexed by demands for extra services during religious festivals. The Mihintale Tablets specify that apart from the "three day turn of service" no *corvée* was to be levied on *uposatha* days or during religious festivals.¹⁸⁹ These instances reveal that the king tried to defend the rights of tenants living in monastic estates who were vexed by such problems as insecurity of tenancy and over-exaction, but how far the monastic administrators did in fact abide by these stipulations is another matter.

Apart from the religious and economic ties which linked the monastery with the lay society kinship ties also brought the individual monk

185. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. V, pp. 178-80.

186. *haskaru papapuren vāṭena kārā kumbur novāṭiyā hot mut hārā nogatā yutu*. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 93, ll. 48-9.

187. *sudasun vat veheraṭ mut kāmiyan nogatā yutu*. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 93, l. A43.

188. *pere siritin vaḍā kīna karavuvāra nobandanā isā*. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 265, l. 39.

189. *tun dā var mut poho maṅgul āy sesu var nogatā yutu*. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 93, ll. A44-5.

close to lay families. The responsibility of a monk towards his parents is acknowledged even in the Vinaya.¹⁹⁰ Enthusiastic patrons went to the extent of patronizing the kinsmen of the monks they admired. Kassapa V distributed rice and clothing among the mothers of the Pamsukūlika monks.¹⁹¹ Vijayabāhu I granted "maintenance villages" to the relatives of monks who practiced asceticism.¹⁹² These instances may indicate that the admission of a person into the order of monks brought social recognition to his family. Perhaps it also reflects the failure of monks to sever completely the ties and obligations which bound them to their kinship groups. Sometimes these obligations proved to be burdens which hindered the monks in their pursuit of a religious life. Nissaṅka Malla bestowed wealth on the kinsmen of monks to relieve "the reverend and virtuous monks" of such obligations.¹⁹³ It is possible that some monks tried to secure posts in the monastic administration for their kinsmen. The Mihintale Tablets forbid monks, on pain of expulsion from the monastery, to give control over monastic property to their kinsmen. If any relative of a monk were to be found occupying a post in the administration, he was to be dismissed forthwith.¹⁹⁴ According to a ninth-century inscription from the Abhayagiri monastery no monk whose relatives lived in a monastic village was to be allowed to live at the monastery concerned.¹⁹⁵ Presumably, kinship ties prevailed even between monks. Probably, it was to discourage this that the Anurādhapura slab inscription of Kassapa V decreed that four or more monks who were kinsmen should not live together at the same monastic residence.¹⁹⁶

The close relations the monks maintained with their kin would have made it difficult for them to dissociate themselves from their former social station in lay life. At least the monks from the upper rungs of the caste system would have been less inclined to forget their status. The Coḷa monk Kassapa mentions in his *Moha-vicchedanī* that he was a Brāhmaṇa by caste.¹⁹⁷ In works by Sinhalese monks of the period under consideration no specific mention of caste is found, though they do claim "purity" of lineage,¹⁹⁸ and thus it is possible that in Sri Lanka caste

190. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. I, pp. 147-8, 297-8.

191. *Cv.* 52. 27.

192. *Cv.* 60.69.

193. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 79, ll. 18-9.

194. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 91-2, ll. A18-9, A24-5.

195. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 5, ll. 26-7.

196. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 48, ll. 39-40.

197. *Moha-vicchedanī*, p. 359.

198. *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. II, pp. 379, 509.

stratification was not as rigid as it was in South India. Yet, as pointed out elsewhere, it is important to note that distinctions of birth and office were recognized and given expression in the organization of Buddhist ritual and even in the administration of monasteries.¹⁹⁹ In an early thirteenth-century inscription from Koṭṭaṅge a monk refers to his descent from a person who was "like unto an ornament of the Lāmāni (Lambakaṇṇa) clan."²⁰⁰ More definite references to the caste and clan identities of monks are found in subsequent times.²⁰¹ It is significant that the author of the *Pūjāvāliya*, who states in the earlier part of the book that monks lose their caste identity on entering the Order, lays claim in the colophon to "unmixed descent on both sides from the Mahāpaṇḍivaṃsa of the Gaṇavāsikula."²⁰²

199. See *infra* pp. 240-41.

200. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 89-90, ll. 4-5.

201. *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. II, pp. 547, 382.

202. *Pūjāvāliya*, ed. B. Saddhātissa, pp. 6, 754.

The Saṅgha and the King

The Buddhist tradition placed great emphasis on the importance of the king as a leader of men. People follow their king, one of the stories in the Jātaka collection states, just as naturally as a herd of kine would follow the leading bull along paths devious or direct.¹ The stability of the social system as well as the proper functioning of the whole universe depend on the conduct of the king.² Like the Buddha himself, the Cakkavatti, the ideal Buddhist king, possessed the thirty-two physical characteristics of a "great man" (*mahāpurisa*). Similar rites were to be performed at the funerals of a Cakkavatti and a Buddha, and it was proper to build a *stūpa* to commemorate a Cakkavatti.³ Some of these ideas are found in the chronicles of Sri Lanka: "Many people besides erected these and other monasteries, emulating the king: for it is the rule with living creatures: what he who is master does, evil or good, the same is done by his subjects."⁴ The *Cūlavamsa* also mentions that during the reign of the just king Sena IV the gods always sent rain in the correct season.⁵

An attitude favorable to close cooperation with the temporal authorities is evident among the *saṅgha* from the earliest days of its history. The Buddha advised the monks to obey the king.⁶ The rules in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, which forbid admission into the Order of the employees of the king and men wanted by the law, also reflect the deference shown

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1. Ummadantī Jātaka, *The Jātaka*, ed. V. Fausböll, Vol. V, 1891, p. 222, vv. 48-51.
 2. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. II, 1888, pp. 74-6.
 3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 1885, pp. 76-7; *Dīgha Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. II, 1903, pp. 142-3; Vol. III, pp. 58-80.
 4. *Cv.* 46. 25-6.
 5. *Cv.* 54.3.
 6. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. I, 1879, p. 138.

by the community of monks for the interests of the state.⁷ The kings were equally considerate. Bimbisāra for example, declared that monks were immune from punishment.⁸

Buddhist Political Ideas in Sri Lanka

In Sri Lanka a very close relationship between the king and the *saṅgha* developed though it would seem that the excesses committed by Mahāsenā in his persecution of the Mahāvihāra brought about a change of attitude on the part of the *saṅgha*. In the course of commenting upon the Buddha's injunction to obey the king, Buddhaghosa introduces a proviso: "The king may be obeyed as regards righteous acts; but in cases of unrighteousness, no one, whoever it may be, should be obeyed."⁹ With few exceptions kings of Sri Lanka from the time of Devānampiyatissa were ardent patrons of the *saṅgha*. It is not unlikely that kings considered the influence the monks wielded over the people as a factor which could be utilized to help consolidate their political positions.

The belief that Sri Lanka was a land favored with a special relationship to Buddhism is evident in the legends from the earliest chronicles of the island such as the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvāṃsa*. According to these chronicles the Buddha visited the island three times. It was he who made it fit for human habitation by driving its former inhabitants, the *yakkhas*, away. His very presence sanctified the places where the important shrines of the island were later to be built, and even his last thoughts were concerned with the welfare of the island. This idea is further developed in later records. According to the inscriptions of Nissaṅka Malla, the establishment of Buddhism in Sri Lanka made it a noble land; in fact, the island belonged to the Buddhist *sāsana*.¹⁰

A natural development from these beliefs was the idea that the king of the island should be a Buddhist. The *Pūjāvāliya* and the *Saddharmā-lāṅkāra*, dating respectively from the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, maintain that the island is suited only for kings of the true faith. The power of the Buddha is such, they add, that no non-Buddhist dynasty would be able to consolidate their authority even if they were to usurp the throne by force.¹¹ There is strong evidence which suggests

7. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. I, pp. 73-6.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

9. *aññasmimca dhammike kamme anuvattitabbaṃ, adhammike pana na kassaci anuvattitabbanti*. *Smp.*, Vol. VI, p. 1068.

10. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 113, ll. C. 3-4; p. 161, ll. 8-10.

11. *Pjv.* p. 49; *Saddharmā-lāṅkāra*, ed. Bantoṭa Saddhātissa, 1934, p. 393.

that this idea was known in earlier times. The ceremony of the consecration of the king evinces a distinctly Buddhist character.¹² The association of the king with the cult of Buddhist relics—particularly the Tooth and the Bowl relics—also points to the same conclusion.¹³ When the Tooth relic was brought to Sri Lanka during the reign of Sirimeghavanna (A. D. 301-328) it was housed in a shrine close to the palace. Fa-Hian reports that it was kept in a shrine within the city,¹⁴ and, according to Hiuen-tsang, the shrine was by the side of the palace.¹⁵ An inscription found within the citadel of Anurādhapura helps to identify the site of the shrine.¹⁶ When the capital was shifted to Polonnaruva, Vijayabāhu I built a Temple of the Tooth within the citadel of the new capital.¹⁷ Mānābharana took the two relics—the Tooth and the Bowl—from Rohana to Polonnaruva after his capture of the capital.¹⁸ Perhaps he expected it would help him to win popular support for his cause. In the campaigns of Parākramabāhu I against Sugalā great importance was attached to the capture of these relics. Immediately after their capture they were sent to the capital to be housed in a shrine in the center of the city.¹⁹ As Geiger pointed out,²⁰ these relics had by this time come to constitute the national palladium—the symbols of legitimate kingship.

Clearer evidence is found in an inscription from the precincts of the Abhayagiri monastery, dated in the reign of a king identified as Mahinda IV (A.D. 956-972). In this record, the king speaks of the rulers of his dynasty as “the *kṣatriya* lords devoted to the Buddha, who of yore have received the assurance made by the Omniscient Lord of Sages, the pinnacle of the Sākya clan, that none but Bodhisattvas would become kings of prosperous Laṅkā.”²¹

It would thus seem that kings of Sri Lanka not only had to be Buddhists; they had to be Bodhisattvas—men destined to be Buddhas.

It would also follow from this statement in the inscription that all those who became king indeed were Bodhisattvas. The elevation of

12. See *infra* p. 176.

13. See also *infra* pp. 227-9.

14. Beal, *Chinese Accounts of India*, p. 48.

15. *Ibid.* p. 443.

16. *EZ*, Vol. I pp. 113-20. The identification suggested by Wickremasinghe is wrong. See *ASCAR*, 1897, p. 3.

17. *Cv.* 60. 16; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 337, ll. 17-22.

18. *Cv.* 70. 265-6.

19. *Cv.* 74.83 *et seq.*

20. *CCMT*, p. 314.

21. *nobōsat-hu norajvanhayi sākūla kot savaniya muniraj-hu (viyāraṇ) lad. EZ*, Vol. I, p. 237, ll. 52-3. See also p. 240.

the king to the highest position that a layman could aspire to in the Buddhist social order represents an advanced stage in the development of the concept of kingship in Sri Lanka. It is noteworthy that this inscription was found within the grounds of a monastery. By acquiescing in this idea the *saṅgha* recognized the king as the leader of the laity in the political as well as in the religious arena. This, of course, does not mean that all kings of this period were considered to be Bodhisattvas during their reigns. It is not possible to ascertain to which period the statements in this inscription are applicable, though it is clear that this idea, in its germinal form, goes back to very early times.

The term *mahāsattva* used as an epithet of Bodhisattvas, is applied in the *Mahāvamsa*²² to Sirisaṅghabodhi who ruled during the third century and was considered to be a paragon of virtue and a zealous patron of the faith. This name was used alternatively with Salamevan Abhaya as a title by the kings of our period. Buddhādāsa (337-365) led the life of a Bodhisattva,²³ and Upatissa II (517-518) practiced the ten *pāramitās*.²⁴ Similarly, both Aggabodhi I (571-604) and Sena I (833-853) are said to have aspired to Buddhahood.²⁵ Aggabodhi IV (667-683) was considered such a "holy" man that his superstitious subjects used ashes from his pyre as medicine.²⁶ Mahinda IV claims in an inscription to have "secured for himself the way to Nirvāṇa."²⁷ It is true that the evidence in these sources refers to a few individual kings being called Bodhisattvas and that this does not necessarily amount to an enhancement of the position of kingship. These "holy kings," however, would have made the elevation of kingship to the highest position among the laity in the Buddhist social order an easier task.

In addition to this, the dynasty which ruled the island during the period under consideration laid claim to a close personal relationship with the Buddha. The tradition which was basic to this claim is found in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvamsa* which trace back the genealogy of King Paṇḍukābhaya to the Śākya Amitodana, a brother of Suddhodana. Yet no evidence of a king actually claiming to be a descendant of the Śākya clan is found before the tenth century. Such a claim occurs for the first time in a record dated in the third year of the reign of Kassapa V, who was one of the most prominent scholars of his time. In this record

22. *Mv.* 36. 90.

23. *Cv.* 37. 109.

24. *Cv.* 37. 180.

25. *aggabodhiḡatāsayo. Cv.* 42.1: *buddhabhūmiḡatāsayo. Cv.* 50. 65.

26. *Cv.* 46. 37.

27. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 32-3, ll. 3-4; p. 34.

Kassapa claims descent from the line of Okāvas (Pāli Okkāka).²⁸ There is little doubt that this ancestor is the same as Okkāka who occurs in the *Mahāvamsa* as a king of the Śākya clan.²⁹ This claim occurs in stereotyped form in the records of the successors of Kassapa V. In the reign of Dappula IV (924-935) a certain Lāmāni Mihindu claims to be a descendant of King Paḍu Abhā (Paṇḍukābhaya) and to be "the incomparable ornament of the Sāhā clan."³⁰ It occurs in greater detail in a fragmentary slab inscription from the Jetavana monastery issued during the seventh regnal year of a king identified as Mahinda IV (A.D. 956-972). In this record Mahinda is described as "the pinnacle of the illustrious Sāhā clan, who is descended from the lineage of Okāvas, who has come down in the succession of the great king Sudovun and who is descended from the lineage of the great king Paṇḍuvasdev Abhā."³¹ Descent from Suddhodana is claimed in two more records—the Polonnaruva pillar inscription of Mahinda V and the Diṃbulāgala inscription of the queen of Vikramabāhu I.³² This was not a claim which strictly conformed to the traditions in the chronicles which maintained that Paṇḍukābhaya was a descendant of the line of Amitodana. Yet, it was a claim which legitimized the rights of the Sinhalese kings by presenting them as the direct descendants of the line of the Buddha. It was but fit and proper that "the descendants of the line of the Buddha" should rule the land which "belonged to the *sāsana*."

In the Badulla inscription of Udaya IV (946-954), a predecessor of the king (Kassapa IV?) is referred to as *sataḷosa pirinivīyan vahanse*, "the lord who entered the *parinirvāṇa* in the seventeenth (regnal) year."³³ Under normal circumstances the word *pirinivī* was strictly reserved to denote the demise of a Buddha or an Arahant—beings in their last birth. It is significant that the phrase bears a striking similarity to the posthumous title of Sūryavarman I (1002-1050), and it is quite probable that the Cambodian king was called *nirvāṇapada* after his death in accordance with the traditions of "apotheosis" known in his country.³⁴ It is tempting to suggest that the similarity of these titles indicate a parallel attempt to

28. Mādirigiriya pillar inscription, *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 25-33.

29. *Mv.* 2. 11-2.

30. *paḍu abhā naranind-hu parapuren ā...sāhā kulaḷ ektalā ṭikva sīti.* *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 222-3, ll. A 17-B1, B15-7.

31. *siribar sāhākulaḷ kot okāvas [parapure]n baḷ sudovun maharaj-hu anva[ye]n ā paḍuvasdev abhā maharaj-hu parapuren baḷ.* *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 227, ll. 1-4. Parānavitana uses the phrase "Sāhā race" in place of "Sāhā clan."

32. *EZ*, Vol. IV, p. 64, ll. A12-4; Vol. II, p. 95, ll. 1.

33. *EZ*, Vol. V, Pt. 2, p. 185, ll. A23-4.

34. Coedès, *Les états hindouisés*. . . . pp. 224, 249.

elevate the institution of kingship to a position of equality with the highest ranks of the Buddhist Order. On the other hand, it is also possible, as Paranavitana has suggested, that this was merely the most respectful way the scribe knew of referring to the death of the king.³⁵ It is remarkable, however, that a term which was usually reserved for Buddhas and Arahants was used, in this case, to refer to a king.

Evidence of a similar nature is found in an inscription from the Abhayagiri monastery, datable on palaeographic considerations to the tenth century.³⁶ The king who set up this record claims that he erected a golden image of the Buddha at the Bu| Atuḷā monastery, and the image is described as *tamā palaṅgi*.³⁷ The word *palaṅga* occurs in the sense of "proportion" or "size" in the *Vesaturudā Sanne* and the *Butsaraṇa*,³⁸ and it occurs three times in the *Siyabaslakara*, a work contemporaneous with the inscription. In one of these contexts the word means "similar."³⁹ In the other two it seems to carry a stronger shade of meaning and may be translated as "resembling" or even "identical."⁴⁰ If the passage in our inscription is interpreted on this basis it seems to reveal that the king in question erected a Buddha image which bore his own physical features or which conformed to his proportions. The practice of erecting portrait statues of kings in the form of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas was common in Southeast Asia.⁴¹ It was a means of identifying the king with the higher divinities of the Buddhist pantheon or with the Buddhas themselves.

The idea that the king was almost an equal of the Buddha is quite consistent with the Theravāda tradition. Possibly it is a claim for such recognition that is found in the Northern Gateway inscription of Nissanka Malla which states that "to get an impartial king is like getting a Buddha."⁴² The obsequies performed at the death of Vijayabāhu III (1232-1236) also suggest that the king was treated like a religious dignitary; the cremation of his body was carried out within the precincts of a monastery and a *stūpa* was erected on the site of the pyre.⁴³

35. EZ, Vol. III, pp. 86-7.

36. Wickremasinghe identified the king mentioned in this record with Mahinda IV, but this is not quite certain.

37. (*bu*)| *atuḷā veherhī suvan muvā tamā p(laṅgi) munind piḷibib karā*. EZ, Vol. I, p. 223, l. 35.

38. *Vesaturudā Sanne*, ed. Hettiaracci, p. 415; *Butsaraṇa*, ed. Sorata, p. 270.

39. *Siyabaslakara*, ed. Ñānatiloka and Ñānasīha, 1933, p. 7, v. 81.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 8, v. 87.

41. Coedès, "Note sur l'apothéose au Cambodge," *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine*, Paris, 1911, pp. 38-50; *Les états hindouisés*... pp. 315, 333, 386.

42. EZ, Vol. II, p. 109, ll. C5-7.

43. *Hatthavanagalla - vihāra-vaṃsa*, PTS, p. 32.

The claim that it was the *saṅgha* which vested the king with his authority added religious sanction to political authority. The rulers of the island, according to the inscription from the Abhayagiri monastery cited above, were "wont to don the white turban to serve and attend the great community of monks on the very day they celebrate the coronation festival after attaining to the dignity of kingship bestowed by the great community of monks for the purpose of defending their bowls and robes."⁴⁴ Two facts emerge from this statement: First, it becomes clear that kingship was supposed to have been "given by the *saṅgha*." As mentioned earlier, the ceremony of the consecration of the king described in the *Vamsatthappakāsini* evinces a distinctly Buddhist character. It is stated in this work that the vessels used for the ceremony were made from clay obtained from seven places, five of which were certainly of religious significance.⁴⁵ It appears from the inscription quoted above that, apart from the coronation, there was another rite connected with the investiture of the king—the donning of the white turban—which was performed on the same day. Second, this passage indicates that the protection of the *saṅgha* and their possessions was considered to be the express duty of the king. The king was the defender of the Buddhist order. A similar idea is found in the Velaikkāra inscription at Polonnaruva, and, according to this record, Vijayabāhu I put on the crown at the request of the *saṅgha* in order to defend the *sāsana*.⁴⁶ In his Hāṭadāge inscription Nissaṅka Malla states that the protection of the *sāsana* was the duty of the kings of Sri Lanka.⁴⁷

Undoubtedly these ideas of kingship and the attendant ceremonial would have added a religious aura to the power of the king. The king's claims that they were Bodhisattvas and descendants of the line of the

44. *tumā pay sivur rak(nuvas) mahasaṅg-hu piḷivāyū rajsiri pāminā sāṅā bisev vindna (da)vas saṅg-ḥaṭ meheyaṭ uvasarvas (sevel) bandna*. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 237, ll. 53-5. Wickremasinghe translates *tumā pay sivur* as "the bowl and robe of the Buddha." *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 240. This is inaccurate.

45. The clay for the ceremony was obtained from beneath the northern flights of steps of the Mahābodhighara, Nila pond, Lohapāsāda, Pagonupamālaka, and the Mahācetiya and from beneath the northern doorways of the Catussālā and the Cīvarapārūpanatṭhāna-samujjanasālā. *Vap.*, Vol I, p. 307. Rahula states that Sena II received his coronation at the Mahācetiya (*History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 71). This seems to be based on a misunderstanding of the word *abhiseke* in *Cv.* 51.82. If we take this word as referring to a coronation, as Rahula has done, it involves the implication that the coronation was held annually. Obviously this is not a likely possibility. *Abhiseka* in this strophe seems to be the same as *udakaseka* in the preceding strophe. *Cv.* 51.81. Evidently it was a part of the rites pertaining to the image of Ānanda, performed to ward off illness. For a discussion of these rites, see *infra* p. 227.

46. *buddhaśāsanam rakshikka vēṇḍi saṅgha-niyogattāl tirumuḍi sūḍi*. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 336, ll. 8-9.

47. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 97, ll. 3-4.

Buddha holding an office conferred by the *saṅgha* should have greatly helped to strengthen their position among the lay population of a land which was predominantly Buddhist. The ideas that the king of the island should always be a Buddhist and that the Sinhalese dynasty was directly descended from the line of the Buddha seem to reveal the influence of Buddhism as much as the threat that the Sinhalese kings had to face from the rising power of the Hindu kingdoms of South India. These ideas would have been used by the Sinhalese kings to strengthen and legitimize their claims to kingship over the island and to mobilize the people in support of their dynasty.

Such political ideas could be particularly useful during the time when the Sinhalese were struggling against the Coḷa occupation of the northern provinces. However, there is no specific evidence of their being put to such use until the reign of Nissaṅka Malla who was perhaps the most adept of all local rulers in the use of propaganda for political purposes. His was an insecure throne threatened by claimants of South Indian origin and local chiefs who rose in revolt. In a statement obviously directed against the latter, he says that it would be as ludicrous for a man of the Govi caste to aspire to kingship as for a firefly to try to emulate the sun. Similarly, he states, no non-Buddhist such as a prince of Coḷa or Keraḷa origin was fit to rule the island which belonged to the Buddhist *sāsana*.⁴⁸

The concept of kingship as an office bestowed by the *saṅgha* was also a factor which could weaken the power of the king by making him dependent on the *saṅgha*. Upon comparison with the later Buddhist kings of Southeast Asia, it seems remarkable that the Sinhalese kings did not claim to be the reincarnation of Buddhist divinities or Buddhas who had a natural right to rule. Theoretically the power and the position of kingship seem to have depended upon the concurrence of the *saṅgha* and the king. However, it is significant that the position of the *saṅgha* did not and could not rival that of kingship. For one, the absence of a single leader and the division of the *saṅgha* into three main rival factions were factors which weakened its authority. The Vinaya rules which governed the life of monks prevented them from directly assuming political authority. Even if the monks chose to ignore these regulations, the king, as the "protector of the *sāsana*," was in a position to enforce them. One might also suggest that the possibility of confiscation of monastic wealth and withdrawal of monastic privileges would have deterred the *saṅgha* from openly challenging the position of kingship. Hence the

48. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 114, l. 22.

only means by which they could obtain controlling authority over affairs of state was by appointing their nominees to the throne. They tried this twice, but in both these attempts they were unsuccessful.⁴⁹ Further, the monks were themselves dependent upon the king's patronage for maintenance and for protection of their possessions. This interdependence of the *saṅgha* and the king seems to have been an important factor in maintaining the balance of power in the Sinhalese society in that it prevented both of these institutions from extending their authority or hegemony unduly over each other.

The King and the Saṅgha Hierarchy

It was pointed out earlier that this concept of kingship placed great emphasis on the role of the king as the benefactor and defender of the *saṅgha*. Buddhist kings, even as early as the time of Asoka, have assumed the role of protecting the *saṅgha* from schism and disunity. Asoka, in his Minor Pillar Edicts erected at Sārnāth, Kosambi and Sānchi, not only orders the expulsion of all monks and nuns who attempt to cause schism and bring disunity but also instructs the *mahāmātras* throughout his domains to enforce this order.⁵⁰ It is not known what effect this attitude had on the sectarian divisions which had already split the *saṅgha*. Kings of Sri Lanka, though they acquiesced in the division of the *saṅgha* into *nikāyas*, seem to have considered themselves to be the defenders of the "true faith."⁵¹

It was also the king who lent the force of political authority necessary for the execution of the ecclesiastical acts of the *saṅgha*. The "purifications" and the ceremonies of Admission and Ordination were all carried out under his patronage. From the time the *saṅgha* was divided into *nikāyas*, his participation was essential for carrying out any reforms which affected the whole Order. Chronicles record reforms of the *saṅgha* during the reigns of Moggallāna I (491-508), Kumāradhātusena, Moggallāna III, Silāmeghavaṇṇa and Aggabodhi VII (772-777), as well as the reigns of Sena II (853-887), Kassapa IV (898-914) and Kassapa V (914-923).⁵² Presumably these "purifications by regulative acts" were concerned with discipline rather than matters of doctrine. It is specifically stated with regard to the reign of Kassapa IV that it was the monks of questionable discipline who were expelled from

49. See *infra* pp. 209-10

50. *CII*, Vol. I, pp. 159-64.

51. *Mv.* 36. 41, 111-2.

52. *Cv.* 39. 57; 41.2; 44.46; 44.75-9; 48.71; 51.64; 52.10; 52.44.

the Order. Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186) was following this tradition when he worked in collaboration with Kassapa of the Diṃbulāgala fraternity to expel monks who lacked discipline and to bring about the unification of the *saṅgha*.⁵³ In China the continuous growth of the clerical population and the consequent loss of revenue and dues of the state prompted kings to carry out periodical laicizations.⁵⁴ The "purifications" held in Sri Lanka should have helped Sinhalese kings to achieve the same ends and should also have given them a means of controlling the *saṅgha*.

Kassapa IV and Kassapa V are said to have made arrangements for the admission of monks after the "purifications" they held. In his inscription at the Abhayagiri monastery Kassapa V also claims to have gained adherents to Buddhism from among men of varied birth.⁵⁵ This seems to find corroboration in the *Cūlavamsa* which states that the king "made poor people recite the formula of the (threefold) refuge and the nine qualities of the Buddha and then gave them food and clothing."⁵⁶ Another king, identified as Mahinda IV, claims in his inscription at the Abhayagiri monastery that he induced people to enter the Order.⁵⁷ Vijayabāhu I revived the ceremony of ordination which had fallen into abeyance.⁵⁸ Nissaṅka Malla appears to have taken upon himself the role of the spiritual mentor of the monks. In the Hāṭadage and Rankotvehera inscriptions he advises them on the question of the recruitment of new monks and enjoins them to diligently practice the precepts.⁵⁹

It is evident from the preceding discussion that kings played a prominent and essential role in the ecclesiastical routine of the *saṅgha*. Apart from this a considerable portion of the wealth of the state was used for the patronage of the Order and for the performance of religious rites. The *Cūlavamsa* mentions that the amount spent in this way by Udaya II (887-898) during the eleven years of his rule was 1,300,000 pieces of gold.⁶⁰ It has been pointed out elsewhere that Nissaṅka Malla claims to have spent 4,700,000 pieces of gold on two festivals alone.⁶¹ Only

53. See *infra* p. 315.

54. See K. Chen, "The Economic Background of the Hui Chang Suppression of Buddhism," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. IX, 1956, pp. 67 ff.

55. *nan jāyin nan seyin budband karay*. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 46, l. 9. Wickremasinghe's translation is inaccurate.

56. *Cv.* 54.29.

57. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 235, l. 14.

58. *Cv.* 60. 4-8; see also *infra* pp. 271-4.

59. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 96-8; Vol. V, pp. 266-9.

60. *Cv.* 51. 135.

61. See *infra* pp. 239-40

occasionally, as for example during the reign of Kassapa IV, was the patronage of the king exceeded by that of the courtiers and other high officials.⁶²

By the ninth century the relationship between the king and the *saṅgha* had become rather complex owing to changes which had appeared in the constitution and in the organization of monasteries. The monastery of this period was not merely a group of monks living together; it also represented an institution which possessed considerable landholdings and an administrative organization to control its property and its tenants.

Royal officials were sometimes appointed to positions of ecclesiastical significance. For example, during the reign of Moggallāna I (491-508), Silākāla, who later became king, was placed in charge of the Hair relic.⁶³ But in later times the title *kesadhātunāyaka*, "the protector of the Hair relic," seems to have become merely honorific in meaning. During the period of Coḷa rule, Kassapa, a ruler of Rohaṇa, bore this title,⁶⁵ and Parākramabāhu I had two generals who had the same title. There were also three others who bore the title *kesadhātu* during the reign of Parākramabāhu; these titles were conferred by the king.⁶⁶

Two instances of royal officials being appointed to posts in the monastic administration are known from the inscriptions. In a tenth-century inscription an heir-apparent called Udaya records that he appointed a certain Grand Minister (*maha-āmati*) called Saṅgalnāvan to the position of the chief lay official at the Udā-kitagbo hermitage which he built near the Puvaram monastery.⁶⁷ The relic shrine of the Cetiyaḡiri monastery at Mihintale was placed in charge of an official who bore the title *raṭladu*, "district headman" (lit. one who received a district). Unlike the other employees, he did not receive remuneration in land or in gold. He was given only a subsistence allowance of a daily portion of a *nāḷi* of rice.⁶⁸ It seems likely that he was a state official who had been placed in a position of responsibility in the monastic organization. The practice of appointing princes and dignitaries of high rank to similar positions in the temple administration was known in South India too. According to an inscription from the Rāmnāḡ district of Tamilnāḡu, Parākrama Pāḡḡya, son of the Pāḡḡya king Kulaśekhara, was appointed guardian of the inner

62. Cv. 52. 10-36.

63. Cv. 39. 54.

64. Cv. 52. 52.

65. Cv. 57. 65.

66. Cv. 70. 19, 279, 283; 72. 6, 59.

67. Puḷiyankulam Inscription. EZ, Vol. I, pp. 182-90.

68. EZ, Vol. I, p. 96, ll. B37-8.

entrance (*ullil-vāśal*) of the Āṇḍāl temple. He was assigned two *mā* of land and the right to a portion of the *prasāda*.⁶⁹ At the Mihintale monastery there was another official whose title seems to imply⁷⁰ that he had the duty of maintaining liaison with the state officials. Such administrative arrangements would have facilitated close and easy relations between the state and monastic administration.

However, the statement of Rahula that "the *sāsana* constituted a full fledged state department"⁷¹ is an exaggeration. "There were full and permanent staffs paid by the State," he maintains, "to look after the business of the larger monasteries such as Mihintale and Abhayagiri." Our survey of the administration of monasteries reveals that the officials who managed monastic property at both Cetiyaḡiri and Abhayagiri were employed and maintained by the monastery concerned rather than by the state.⁷² There is certainly no evidence to show that they were paid from the royal treasury.

Royal Intervention and Monastic Immunity

Kings showed considerable interest in the regulation of the affairs of monasteries. The Pāli commentaries on monastic discipline, especially the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Khuddasikkhā-tīkā*, contain detailed rules, regulations and directions for the administration of monasteries and monastic property. In certain instances, however, kings and other patrons took the initiative in laying down *sirit* (= *P. cāritta*, "traditions," "customs," in a secondary sense "regulations") for the guidance of monks and their employees. It is not surprising that Kassapa V, a king deeply versed in the teachings of Buddhism,⁷³ took the initiative to issue (in the sixth year of his reign) the Anurādhapura slab inscription recording immunities that the monasteries belonging to the Abhayagiri *nikāya* were to enjoy, detailed regulations pertaining to the administration of the monastery and its property, and even directions on the recruitment and discipline of monks.⁷⁴ It is possible, however, that the inmates of the Abhayagiri monastery were consulted in the preparation of the draft of

69. *MRE*, No. 564 of 1926.

70. *raḡe upāni kāmīyak. EZ*, Vol. I, p. 95, l. B9; See *supra* pp. 112-3.

71. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, 1956, p. 72. A recent writer speaks of a "Ministry:" "On several occasions in Sinhalese history, a special Ministry of Religion was established." There is no factual basis for this statement. As evident from his footnotes, he seems to have depended on Rahula's work for his information. See *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXIII, June 1964, p. 45.

72. See *supra* pp. 101 ff.

73. See *infra* p. 324.

74. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 41-51.

those regulations. In the regulations instituted for the Udā Kitagbo hermitage, the heir-apparent Udaya, who built the hermitage, fixed the number of monks who were to live there, the immunities it was to enjoy, the arrangements for its administration and the means for settling disputes.⁷⁵

Another instance of a king taking the initiative to lay down *sirit* for a monastery is found in a slab inscription of the sixteenth regnal year of Mahinda IV which was erected within the precincts of the Cetiyaḡiri monastery at Mihintale.⁷⁶ It mentions that an earlier king who was his brother, presumably Sena IV (954-956), had also instituted a set of regulations for the same monastery.⁷⁷ The scope of the regulations is outlined early in the record: "Thus in respect of the great community of monks living in this monastery, as well as in respect of functionaries and servitors, their respective duties, and the receipts and disbursements, His Majesty passed these following regulations rendering them explicit by means of comments."⁷⁸ This is the most extensive record available on the administrative organization of monasteries. It gives a list of officials and other employees maintained by the monastery, fixes the rates of their remuneration and sets down administrative procedure regarding the management of finances. It attempts to regulate the conduct of the employees in their relations with the monastery and the tenants and even deals with matters such as the discipline and daily routine of monks. Though the king took the initiative in this matter, it is significant that he convened an assembly of monks from both the Abhayagiri and the Cetiyaḡiri monasteries for consultation. This set of regulations, the Mihintale Tablets claim, was selected by the king in collaboration with competent persons from among the regulations which were in use at those two monasteries. It is clear that the kings thought it was their duty to ensure the proper management of monasteries.

These inscriptions provided for enforcement of the regulations by royal officials and for their intervention in disputes among members of the *saṅgha*. According to the Anurādhapura slab inscription of Kassapa V, monks responsible for violation of the regulations and their accomplices were to be expelled from their residence.⁷⁹ This injunction is repeated in the Mihintale Tablets.⁸⁰ In cases of misconduct such as

75. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 182-90.

76. *EZ*, Vol. I pp. 75-113.

77. *EZ*, Vol. I p. 91, ll. A5-6.

78. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 99

79. *no samaṅgva vasana pamaṅin vadā vat sirit ikmā van vat-himiyanuj eyaḡ pasavā vat-himiyanuj e avasa novasavanu isā.* *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 48, ll. 42-3.

80. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 92, ll. A19-20.

quarrels among monks, the members of the fraternity (*mūla*) were to settle them; if they did not succeed in settling a dispute they were to sit with royal officials to investigate the matter and, where necessary, prescribe punishment. Royal officials were to be sent to mediate if, as a result of a dispute, monks refused to partake of their gruel. They were to be discreetly persuaded to take the gruel, but no force was to be used. If an official was found guilty of imprudently using force contrary to the orders of the palace, he was to be dismissed from office. But if such an act was committed at the instigation of the palace authorities, the monastery was to be given a *payala* (of land or rice?) in recompense.⁸¹ All cases of misappropriation of monastic wealth were also referred to committees of investigation composed of both monks and royal officials. Monks who were found guilty were to be expelled from the monastery.⁸²

Further reference to expulsion of monks occurs in an inscription of Kassapa V which lays down that monks who had been banished to India after incurring the displeasure of the king, and those who had been expelled from monastic life, were not to be readmitted to the monastery. This record also stipulated that even those monks who created a disturbance by trying to bring them back would themselves lose their right to live at the monastery.⁸³ It is clear from this that the kings did in fact have the authority to banish monks. The *Mahāvamsa* account of the reign of Goṭṭhābhaya reveals an instance when this authority was exercised.⁸⁴ L. S. Perera draws a distinction between "expulsion" from a monastery and the act of "disrobing." He remarks that there is no known instance of a monk being disrobed for any offense.⁸⁵ Though Perera may be correct in suggesting that expulsion from a monastery does not necessarily imply expulsion from the Order, there are instances recorded in the chronicles of monks having been expelled from the Order.⁸⁶ It is evident from the many instances cited earlier⁸⁷ that the king lent the force of his authority to the regulation of monastic affairs. Evidently a show of force was sometimes necessary even in such matters. It has already been pointed out that at the Puḷiyankulam hermitage the task

81. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 48, ll. 29-35.

82. *avasin paḥa karanu isā*. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 49, ll. 51-2.

83. *udahasin dambdī yāvū vat-himīyanud avasa vatīn pahakāla vat-himīyanud ovun pahakāla avasaṭa vaṭālū no vādā denu isā ovun gena vadnaṭ viyo kaḷa vat-himīyanud e avas-hi no vasavanu isā*. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 48, ll. 43-5.

84. *Mv*. 36. 111-2.

85. L. S. Perera, *Institutions*... p. 1440.

86. See *supra*. pp. 178-9.

87. *Ibid*.

of ensuring adherence to the rules governing monastic life was entrusted to the personal militia of the heir-apparent.⁸⁸

The ninth and tenth centuries saw the proliferation of immunity grants which sought to ensure for the monastery a source of income unencumbered by taxation and other demands of the state. A large number of these inscriptions are fragmentary, and it is impossible to determine the exact extent of the immunities granted. There is much variation in the extent and the number of immunities among the well-preserved grants, though their phraseology is stereotyped.

In about forty published grants of immunities made to monasteries the most common clause was the exemption of *vāriyan*,⁸⁹ milk and draught cattle, and buffaloes and carts from liability to being drafted for service to the king. Such immunities were not restricted to monastic lands alone. There are instances of similar grants being made to land belonging to private individuals, dispensaries and villages in general.

The mention of *vāriyan*, "those who served in turn," is significant as it probably represents the right to *corvée* labor that the king enjoyed. In the Noccipotāna inscription, dated to the reign of Udaya II (887-898), it is specifically stated that the workers in the estate in question were not to be drafted for irrigation work.⁹⁰ The Mannar Kacceri inscription of Kassapa IV and the Kataragama inscription of Dapulla IV (924-935) state that *vāriyan* as well as *kuḍin*⁹¹ were not to be commandeered from these monastic villages.⁹² This, of course, did not amount to the exemption of the tenants from *corvée* duty, but merely implied the transfer of this royal prerogative to the monastery. However not all the monasteries enjoyed the privilege. Certain immunity grants like those made in the Puḷiyankulam inscription of the heir-apparent Udaya and the Vessagiri inscription of Mahinda IV did not carry this provision.⁹³ The Polonnaruva Rājamāligāva inscription of the latter permits officials to employ men from monastic estates who had volunteered to serve their turn at the *corvée*, but they were not to enter the monastic village to recruit laborers.⁹⁴

It is very likely that the term *var*, which occurs in some inscriptions, is related to *vāri*, and presumably the latter was derived from the former.

88. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 187, ll. 33-9; see *supra* p. 134.

89. See *supra* pp. 121-2.

90. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 5-8; see *supra* p. 121.

91. For a discussion on the term, see *supra* p. 75, n. 138.

92. *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 100-13, 219-25.

93. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 29-38, 182-90.

94. The line is not very clear: (*ā vāriyan misa a)seḷi(n) gamaṭ vāda vāriyan nogannā isā*. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 54, ll. C1-4.

Var (Skt. and P. *vāra*) normally means, among other things, "turn" or "opportunity in alternating order,"⁹⁵ but has also been used in the sense of "turn of service." Its occurrence in the Mihintale slab inscription, which is of particular interest, illustrates its meaning. The record mentions the *tundāvar*, "the three day turn of service," to which the monastery was entitled.⁹⁶ Certain records like the Tāmraṅga inscription of Sena II and the Gonnāva Devale inscription of Dappula IV do not refer to *vāriyan* in granting immunities but state that no demands be made for "turns of service" like *suvar* and *mahavar* from the lands of the respective monasteries.⁹⁷ The Mihintale slabs turn over the *maṅg mahavar* to the monastery.⁹⁸ In the light of the remarks made above the terms *suvar* and *mahavar* may be rendered into English as "the lesser turn of service" and "the principal turn of service" and *maṅg mahavar* as "the principal turn of service on roads." It is also possible that these connoted taxes or payments made in commutation of these services.

Inscriptions also mention a considerable number of dues and imposts like *melāṭsi* (var. *melāssi*, *melācci*), *maṅgiv pegiv* (var. *maṅgdiv piyadiv*, *maṅgiva piyagiva*, *peṅgiva*, *pediv*), *kulī*, *demeḷ kulī*, *heḷ kulī* and *sutvat* (tolls) from which the monastic lands were exempted.⁹⁹ No clarifying evidence is available, however, to determine the exact nature of these dues.

An important aspect that some of these grants covered was the right to irrigation.¹⁰⁰ According to the Polonnaruva Rājamāligāva inscription Mahinda IV ordered the royal functionaries who supervised agriculture (*velvāssan* and *velkāmiyan*) to refrain from interfering with the irrigation rights of a monastery.¹⁰¹ Codrington has suggested that the

95. See its use in *Sigiri Graffiti*, Vol. II, vv. 305, 330.

96. *tun dā var mut poho maṅgul āy sesu var nogatā yutu*. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 67, ll. A44-5.

97. *EZ*, Vol. V, pp. 280-88; Vol. IV, pp. 184-91.

98. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 97, ll. B54-5.

99. Paranavitana equates *melāṭsi* with Skt. *uparikara*, pointing out that the two words are synonymous (*upari*=T. *mēl*, "above"; *kara*=*āṭsi*, "tax". *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 110-11.) The present writer could not find an instance of the use of the word *āṭsi* in Tamil in the sense of "tax." But it is apparent in many inscriptions that *melāṭsi* connoted dues or a tax. Wickremasinghe rendered *maṅgiv pegiv* as "tramps and vagrants" (*EZ*, Vol. II, p. 5). Paranavitana believed they were royal officials (*EZ*, Vol. III, p. 146). In a large number of inscriptions the *maṅgiv pegiv* are instructed not to enter the lands to which immunities had been granted. In one inscription the phrase *maṅgiv pediv no vadnā isā* is followed by *sesu radkolkāmiyan no vadnā isā*, "other royal officials are not to enter" (*AIC*, No. 113). Hence Paranavitana's explanation is plausible. Yet, it is important that in certain immunity grants officials are requested not to take *maṅgiv pediv* (*EZ*, Vol. I p. 205, ll. C18-21; Vol. II, p. 37, ll. C. 15-6). Here it seems to also refer to a due. No satisfactory explanation of *kulī* is possible.

100. See *supra* p. 73.

101. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 53, ll. B33-41.

piyovadāraṇan, who are forbidden to enter monastic property in six of the published records, were also irrigation officials.¹⁰²

A detailed examination of the inscriptions dealing with immunity grants show that the great majority of them exempt the land concerned from interference by officials called *melāṭsi*, *maṅgiva pegiva* and *perenāṭṭu* (var. *perenāṭṭi*, *perenāṭṭiyam*, *perenāṣṭiyam*).¹⁰³ There appears to have been a few different types of *melāṭsi*. Some are called *dunumaṅḍula melāṭsi*, some *kulī melāṭsi* and others *maṅgamahavar melāṭsi*, while in certain instances the term *melāṭsi* occurs on its own. In certain contexts the terms *melaṭsi* and *maṅgiva pegiva* probably were used to denote the officials who dealt with the dues known by these names.

In his explanation of the term *perenāṭṭu*, Paranavitana¹⁰⁴ selected the variant form *parenāṭṭiyam* and examined it along with *ulvāḍu*. He equated *ulvāḍu* with *ulpāḍu* and took *ul* and *pāḍu* to mean "interior" and "to sing," *pere* in *perenāṭṭiyam* to mean "front" or "outside," and *nāṭṭiyam* to mean "dancing." He also compared these two terms with the phrase *antaraṅga bahiraṅga kārya* in the *Butsaraṇa*.¹⁰⁵ The *Cūlavamsa* mentions an official who held the *antaraṅgadhura* under Parākramabāhu I.¹⁰⁶ Paranavitana interpreted *antaraṅga* as "inner theatre" and *bahiraṅga* as "outer theater" and, based upon this analogy, adduces the following explanation:

Ulvāḍu, most probably, were a class of functionaries who had the right of entry to the inner music hall of the royal palace, and *perenāṭṭu* a lower grade who were not permitted to proceed further than the dancing hall in the outer precincts of the palace.'

Unfortunately the evidence offered for this highly imaginative explanation is neither convincing nor authentic. Paranavitana's rendering of the terms *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* is questionable. His interpretation would suggest that there were two music halls—"the inner singing" and "the outer dancing"—which were of considerable significance in the daily routine of the palace administration, but this conjecture has no established basis. On the other hand, the phrase *antaraṅgabahiraṅga kārya*, if used in an administrative sense, could be more easily rendered in English as "business concerning the inside and the outside." A division of administrative business into "inside" and "outside" affairs is noticeable

102. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 110.

103. Change of medial *u* to *i* is not uncommon in both Sinhalese and Tamil. Cf. *cumbati* > *simbiyi*; *vāḍuka* > *vāḍikai*.

104. *EZ*, Vol. V, p. 140, n. 2.

105. *Butsaraṇa*, ed. V. Sorata, 1953, p. 154.

106. *Cv.* 69, 32, 35.

even in the administrative organization of monasteries.¹⁰⁷ *Antaraṅgadhura* could denote the office vested with the charge of affairs which came directly under the control of the king and the central administration as opposed to the affairs of the provinces. Parākramabāhu I placed the most valuable land under the control of the *antaraṅgadhura*. In fact, in this passage the minister of the *antaraṅgadhura* is distinguished from the officials of the provinces (*vijita*).¹⁰⁸

It is significant that in most cases *perenāṭṭu* occurs in conjunction with *vāri*. *Nāṭṭu* should be derived from *nāṭu*, "province." *Perenāṭṭu* could indicate an official in charge of a province and *vāriperenāṭṭu* may denote a provincial official in charge of *corvée* labor. As a verbal root *nāṭu* also has the meaning of "to inspect, examine or inquire." If this derivation is accepted, *vāriperenāṭṭu* should be translated as "inspectors of outside affairs in charge of the *corvée*."¹⁰⁹

After *melāṭṭi*, the term *deruvana dekamtān* occurs most frequently in inscriptions, but it does not occur in any literary work. *Kamtān*, it has been pointed out elsewhere,¹¹⁰ carries the connotation of an "office" or "officials." Parānavitana¹¹¹ has made the plausible suggestion that *deruvana* may refer to "two treasuries." (Two treasury establishments were known in both state and temple administrations of South India.) If this interpretation is accepted, this immunity would amount to the exemption of the property concerned from interference by the treasury officials.

It is noteworthy that almost all the official titles cited so far seem to be connected with the collection of dues and fiscal administration. The higher incidence of these terms clearly reveals that the primary consideration which motivated the grants of immunities was the wish to exempt monasteries from payment of regular taxes due to the king.

It is also evident that the need to protect the monasteries from the burdensome demands and disruptive interference of the kings' officials and retainers was another motive for instituting these immunity grants. Many records prohibit the entry of mercenaries and other men bearing

107. *ātul bāhāri*. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 92, ll. A22-3. See also *supra* p. 112. Cf. *antovalāṅja* and *bahivalāṅja*. In the Mahāsāra Jātaka the terms are used to distinguish the precincts of the palace from the outside. *The Jātaka*, Vol. 1, pp. 382, 385; in the Telapatta Jātaka a king gives the power over *antovalāṅja* to an ogress who charmed him. *The Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 398.

108. *Cv*. 69. 32-5.

109. For *ulvāḍu*, see *infra* pp. 191-2.

110. See *supra* pp. 101 ff.

111. *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 143-4.

arms into monastic lands.¹¹² In certain inscriptions soldiers and officials are specifically advised to desist from "creating trouble" or "committing misdeeds" within those lands.¹¹³ Trouble sometimes ensued when a king's retainers attempted to fell trees on monastic grounds, an act which was forbidden in the Anurādhapura slab inscription of Mahinda V.¹¹⁴ The Puḷiyankulam inscription of *Mahādīpāda* Udaya forbids royal officials to fell palmyra and *mī* (*Madhuka longifolia sapotacea*) trees within monastic precincts. Similarly, the Polonnaruva Rājamāligāva inscription of Mahinda IV forbids royal functionaries in charge of agricultural affairs to fell palmyra and coconut palms in estates belonging to the monastery concerned.¹¹⁵ An inscription at Mihintale instructs the management committee of the monastery to sit in judgment and to punish any offenders who were guilty of violating the property rights of the monastery.¹¹⁶

In the Gonnāva inscription of Dappula IV and the Aṃbagamuva inscription of Vijayabāhu I officials are forbidden to accept presents.¹¹⁷ Most grants of immunities carry the provision that the lands concerned were exempted from supplying *bilibat*, *bilisāl* and *vārisāl*. In certain cases the exemption was extended to include the supply of milk, sour milk (*dīhi*) and oil. The Mihintale Tablets specify that monastic functionaries who went on official tours were not to demand any provisions other than the customary *bilisāl* from the tenants of the villages they visited.¹¹⁸ Further evidence on this practice is found in the *Sahassa-vatthu-pakarāṇa*. It contains a story which refers to a royal official who visited a village on official business and was provided with *balibhatta* at lunch time.¹¹⁹ Another story in the same collection speaks of a royal official who visited a village and was treated to chicken curry, ghee and rice, and liquor to go with it.¹²⁰ Hence there is little doubt that *bilibat* (Pāli *balibhatta*) was boiled rice and *bilisāl* was raw rice which the villagers had to supply for visiting officials. One cannot be certain, however, whether *vārisāl* meant rice supplied to feed the *corvée* workers

112. These include men bearing staves (*dañḍu murañḍu gatuvan, dāti gutavan*), iron clubs, (*yamaguru gatuvan*), swords (*kolpāṭṭin*), and nooses or canes (*vālgattan, daṇḍapāsika*).

113. *ākul nokaranu. EZ, Vol. I, p. 33, l. 35; aniyā nokaranu. EZ, Vol. I, p. 93, l. A49.*

114. *EZ, Vol. I, p. 187, ll. 27-8.*

115. *velvāssan, EZ, Vol. II, p. 54, ll. 66-7.* As Paranavitana pointed out, the term *vāssan* has been used in the sense of employees. (*EZ, Vol. III, p. 113*). Cf. *vehera vāsan (EZ, Vol. III, p. 104, ll. C19-20)* and *ved-hal vāssan (EZ, Vol. II, p. 31, ll. 9-10)*.

116. Müller, *AIC*, No. 113.

117. *EZ, Vol. IV, p. 189, l. C1; Vol. II, p. 214, l. B46.*

118. *veheraḥ kāmīn giya kāmīyan haskaruvan dena peresirit bilisāl mut raṭṭin vā-ṭum no gatā yutu. EZ, Vol. I, p. 93, ll. A46-7.*

119. *Shsvp.*, p. 40.

120. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

or whether it meant rice supplied by villagers in turn to the local officials. The Anurādhapura slab inscription of Kassapa V instructs officials not to seek lodgings in monastic villages.¹²¹

Exemption of the tenant from his customary obligations towards the royal officials does not necessarily imply an improvement of his condition. As is evident from the Mihintale Tablets, it probably indicates the transfer of these rights to the monastic officials. Their demands, the same record implies, were hardly less severe.¹²²

About nine inscriptions from the tenth century carry the provision that laymen entering monastic premises should not do so to musical accompaniment. The Mayilagastoṭa pillar inscription prohibits laughing and "gleeful singing" within monastic lands.¹²³ The custom of suspending musical accompaniment in order to observe a respectful silence while passing a sacred place or monument was known from very early times. The *Mahāvamsa* records that the practice of stopping all music while passing the grave of Eḷāra, in accordance with the privileges granted to it by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, was continued by royalty up to the time of the chroniclers.¹²⁴ The instruments mentioned in the inscriptions are *tuḍi*, *solī* and *balat rāhān*. Paranavitana has remarked that the first two terms probably denote types of drums while the third may refer to whip cracking.¹²⁵

The advantages which accrued to monasteries from grants of immunities were by no means restricted to financial gain and ceremonial privileges, and there are reasons to believe that they restricted the controlling authority of the royal officials over monastic estates. According to the Anurādhapura slab inscription of Kassapa V, royal officials were not to enter monastic property to fell trees, to recruit workmen, or to appropriate carts, oxen or buffaloes. The Puḷiyankulam inscription orders them not to attempt to fell trees.¹²⁶ A similar injunction against the levy of workmen, carts and buffaloes is found in the Kataragama inscription of Dappula IV.¹²⁷ The Kaludiyapokuṇa record decrees that no officials of any of the "three royal establishments"

121. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 47, ll. 27-8.

122. See *infra* pp. 199-200.

123. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 197, ll. C18-9; Vol. III, p. 140, ll. C26-7; Vol. IV, p. 159, ll. 3-5; Vol V, p. 389, ll. B18-20, p. 361, ll. C13-8, p. 377, ll. C18-21; *EZ*, Vol. VI, p. 37, ll. B18-20.

124. *Mv.* 25. 73-4.

125. Cf. *tuḍi solī bera* in the Itāva inscription and *solī bera tuḍi gattan* in the Palakāgama inscription; *tuḍi* occurs in this sense in the *Śilappadikāram*, Canto VI, 1, 51. See also *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 146-7.

126. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 47, ll. 17-8; p. 187, ll. 27-8.

127. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 223, ll. C8-14.

(*tun radola*) could enter to levy these dues.¹²⁸ It is evident from the grants cited above that though the authority of the royal officials to carry out their administrative functions was limited, it was not completely withdrawn. It is significant, however, that in about fourteen of the published records royal officials are categorically forbidden to enter monastic property.¹²⁹

Apparently these restrictions were extended to include the administrative officials at provincial and district levels. They are ordered not to collect dues from monastic property in the Iripinniyāva inscription of Kassapa IV,¹³⁰ and according to the Moragoḍa inscription of the same king and the Mādirigiriya inscription of Kassapa V, these officials—the *raṭṭadu* and the *paṣladu*—were not to “enjoy the land” or “exercise authority” therein.¹³¹ In certain other instances they are categorically forbidden to enter monastic lands.¹³² This particular immunity, however, is not mentioned in records after the time of Dappula IV (924-935). In some cases the rights of *velkāmiyan*, *velvāssan*, and *velbūdiyan* and *velāyut pasdenā*, who were probably concerned with irrigation and agriculture, were withdrawn; but those terms are found only in a few of the published grants.¹³³

Judicial Immunities

It becomes quite evident from an examination of the immunity grants of this period that considerable powers were transferred to the monastic administration by withholding the authority of the government officials to intervene in their affairs. The most important immunity granted to the monastery, from an administrative point of view, was perhaps that which dealt with judicial rights.

The immunity of monks from punishment, which according to the *Mahāvagga* was accepted even in the time of Bimbisāra, was undoubtedly known in Sri Lanka; but it is not certain whether it was always respected. As early as the first century A.D., Kaṇirajānutissa, because he was incensed at the high treason contemplated by some clerics, had sixty

128. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 26, ll. 40-1; for *tun radola*, see *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 367.

129. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 163-71, 172-3, 200-7; Vol. II, pp. 14-9, 19-25, 34-8, 38-43, 44-9, 64-70; Vol. III, pp. 100-13; Vol. IV, pp. 246-52; Vol. V, pp. 323, 377.

130. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 168-9, ll. C7-17.

131. *novalandanu koṭṭ isā*. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 204-5, ll. B19-C1; *isir no karanu isā*. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 31, ll. B21-4.

132. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 42, ll. B18-C3; p. 24, ll. C1-4; p. 37, ll. B18-C1; p. 47, ll. C5-7; Vol. III, pp. 104, ll. 18-21; p. 274, ll. C21-4, p. 290, ll. 7-9; Vol. V, p. 377, ll. C15-6.

133. Others like *yahangovvan* (chamberlains), *mahapūtiladdan* (administrators of ports), *kūbili laddan* (recipients of land allotments) and *sadāladan* (?) are occasionally mentioned in the grants.

suspects thrown into the "dungeon of Kaṇira."¹³⁴ In the seventh century, Saṅghatissa, who had lost his campaigns against Moggallāna III with whom he had been contending for power, donned the yellow robe in order to escape to Rohaṇa.¹³⁵ It is not certain whether the garb of the monk was supposed to be a mere disguise or whether Saṅghatissa thought that it would render him immune to capture. Nonetheless, he was recognized, captured and executed. These two examples, however, represent two extraordinary incidents, and it is probably inadvisable to draw any conclusions from this evidence. The inscription of Kassapa V shows that the king had the power to banish monks from the island, but it is not clear that this punishment was used in cases other than belief in "false views" and violations of regulations and rules of discipline.¹³⁶

Judicial immunities of varied types are found in the grants of this period. The most far-reaching were those which ensured complete immunity for offenders seeking refuge in monastic lands. The Iripinniyāva and Rambāva inscriptions of Kassapa IV, which record immunities granted to land held by the Sen Senevirad College of the Mahāvihāra, explicitly state that "thieves and those who entered after committing assault" were not to be arrested.¹³⁷ In the Kukurmahandamana inscription, Kassapa IV stated that no one who sought refuge within the village Kerelāgama belonging to the Mihind-aram nunnery was to be arrested.¹³⁸ The Ayitigevāva inscription, which records a similar grant concerning a piece of land belonging to the Tisaram nunnery, states that "those who entered after committing assault" were not to be arrested.¹³⁹ The Mahanāpavu monastery at Sīgiri was accorded extensive privileges in an inscription issued in the reign of Kassapa IV. This record stipulates that not even those who entered the monastic grounds after committing "the five grave crimes" were to be arrested.¹⁴⁰ Similar privileges were accorded to a preaching hall built during the reign of Nissaṅka Malla.¹⁴¹

Immunities which accrued to the precincts of a preaching hall are of little practical significance since, obviously, a criminal could not enjoy this immunity for very long. Judicial immunities in such cases would have been considered an honor rather than a privilege. The privileges in the Rambāva and Ayitigevāva inscriptions concerned relatively small

134. *Mv.* 35. 10-1.

135. *Cv.* 44. 29-36.

136. See *supra* pp. 178-9

137. *sorun koṭāvan nogannā koṭ.* *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 169, ll. C19-23; p. 174, ll. B14-7.

138. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 19-25.

139. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 34-8.

140. *EZ*, Vol. V, p. 352, ll. C10-3.

141. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 165-78.

tracts of land, but the Sigiri inscription pertains to all the lands belonging to a monastery (*vehersaraṭ* = *vihārasaraṭṭha*). The Iripinniyāva grant covered a fairly extensive area and the Nāgama inscription covered an entire village. No evidence whatsoever is available in contemporary literary works concerning the attitude of monastic administrators towards criminals who sought refuge on their land. The absence of detail and specification in this type of grant leaves many questions unanswered. The kings probably did not expect that they would complicate the process of justice by conferring these "honors" upon monasteries. It is possible, however, that the ambiguity of the grants in certain instances led to friction between temporal and monastic authorities.¹⁴²

The second type of immunity grant is even more laconic and ambiguous. A number of inscriptions direct royal officials not to enter monastic land to arrest offenders responsible for assault. According to the Tāmraṅga inscription of Sena II, officials were not to enter the village Suḷinnaru which belonged to the Sen Senevirad college even to arrest thieves who entered it after committing murder.¹⁴³ It may be pointed out that this privilege is confirmed in the Iripinniyāva inscription which concerns the same property.¹⁴⁴ A similar privilege was granted to the village Mahagāpiyova of the Kasub Senevirad college of the Mahāvihāra; the authority of the royal officials to enter the village and arrest offenders who had committed assault was withdrawn.¹⁴⁵ In the Ellevāva inscriptions of Dappula IV, royal officials are ordered not to enter Kuḷaviṭṭiya, a village or district under monastic control, even to arrest those who had entered it after committing manslaughter.¹⁴⁶ In the Aturupolayagama inscription of the same king, immunities granted concerning a village which belonged to the Senaram monastery cover both those who had committed murder within the village and those who had entered the village after committing murder elsewhere.¹⁴⁷

It appears that the restrictions which prevented two types of officials—the *perelākkān* (var. *piralākkān*) and the *ulvāḍu* (var. *ulvāḍi*, *ulpāḍu*, *ulpāḍi*)—from entering certain monastic lands amounted to an award of a judicial immunity to the property in question. In the Tiṃbiriya inscription of Kassapa IV the *perelākkān* are directed to return to the Mādabiyān Pirivena all the income from the fines they levied in the

142. See *infra* pp. 208 *et seq.*

143. *EZ*, Vol. V, Pt. 2, p. 285, ll. D3-9.

144. See *supra* p. 191.

145. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 38-43; see also *supra* p. 191.

146. *EZ*, Vol. V, p. 377, ll. C21-3.

147. *EZ*, Vol. V, p. 389, ll. B. 20-4.

Mibāligama village belonging to this hermitage.¹⁴⁸ According to the Koṇḍavaṭṭavan inscription criminals guilty of homicide were to be handed over to the *ulvādu*.¹⁴⁹ Evidently both *perelākkān* and *ulvādu* were employees associated with the execution of justice.

Though restrictions were imposed on royal officials which prevented them from entering monastic property to make arrests, this does not necessarily imply that the criminals concerned escaped punishment. Unfortunately these records do not explain the procedure followed in such cases. Only a few details are found in certain of the grants. The Mādirigiriya inscription of Kassapa V and the Polonnaruva Rājamaḷigāva inscription of Mahinda IV which award similar immunities specify that offenders who had entered the village after committing assault were to be arrested after they were made to quit the village; a tenth-century inscription in the Colombo Museum¹⁵⁰ adds that the assistance of the villagers was to be sought in order to evict them. It is significant that all the inscriptions cited in this paragraph are concerned with the apprehension of only those offenders who were responsible for assault. The Aṃbagamuva inscription of Vijayabāhu I, which deals with immunities granted to an extensive area comprising four villages apart from other property, further provides for the apprehension of criminals responsible for offenses falling within the purview of the "five grave crimes."¹⁵¹

148. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 9-14. For comments on *perelāki* see *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 145.

149. *EZ*, Vol. V; Pt. 1, p. 138, ll. C31-5. The term *ulpādan* occurs in a Tamil inscription as the title of a temple official, but his functions are not clearly evident. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, p. 164. See also *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 145.

150. *gama va(n ke)nekun āta gamvā(ssan) lavā (piṭar) karā (ganut) misa (gamat) vāda no(gannā) isā*. *EZ*, Vol. IV, p. 251, ll. D 3-10.

151. An exact definition of the "five grave crimes" (*pañcamahāparādha*) seems to be an almost impossible task. Manu (xi. 55) gives killing a Brāhmana, drinking liquor, theft, committing adultery with the wife of the spiritual teacher, and associating with one who had committed any of these as the *pañcamahāpātakas*, "the five grave lapses." Other works like *Vaśiṣṭha* (I. 19-22) and *Āpastambha* (I. 7.21.8) do not completely agree with this list. The *Toḍuṅkeyal*, a Tamil work, enumerates killing, lying, stealing, drinking liquor and abusing one's *guru* as the *pañcamahāpātakam* (TL, p. 2409). The Buddhist sources speak of the *pañcānantariyakamma*. In their explanations they enumerate five of the six *abhīthānas* (viz. matricide, parricide, killing an *arahant*, causing a schism, wounding a Buddha and following other teachers) or the offenses mentioned in the five *silas*—killing, theft, sexual misconduct, lying and intemperance. (*Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā*, 1915, p. 189; *Milindapañha*, 1880, p. 25; *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. II, p. 193; *Saddharmāṅkāra*, ed. Benṭota Saddhātissa, 1931, p. 774). It is doubtful that the five grievous sins were considered to be the five grave crimes in a legal sense. The *Vevālkāṭiya* inscription lists seven major crimes which carried heavy punishment: (1) assault resulting in murder (*marā keṭuva*), (2) assault and plunder (*kaṇḍa palā sarakam kaḷa*), (3) assault not resulting in murder (*nomarā keṭuva*), (4) *atpāvahalaṭ giyāku* (interpretation doubtful), (5) killing of buffaloes, cattle and goats (*mīyun geri eluvan māruva*), (6) stealing without killing (*no marā sorā giya*), and (7) violating orders (*avaṃmākuva*, Wickremasinghe translates this to mean defacing brand-marks). This does not enable a precise definition of the "five grave offenses" though some of the offenses listed above may have been among them. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 242-51.

All these records refer to offenders who had "entered" villages or estates under monastic control. They do not prescribe the measures for the arrest of offenders among the regular residents of monastic lands. Furthermore, the successful working of the arrangements made for the apprehension of criminals who sought refuge in lands which enjoyed judicial immunity depended entirely on the cooperation of the tenants and the monastic officials. The inscriptions considered so far do not state that tenants were obliged to hand over the offenders. Neither do the grants specify measures to be taken in the event of non-compliance on their part.

The Moragoda inscription of Kassapa IV and the Kaludiyapokuna inscription of Sena IV represent two attempts to overcome those difficulties. Both award grants of extensive immunities, but only subject to an important condition. The first record directs the monastic officials to evict offenders guilty of assault from the village in question.¹⁵² The second contains a strict exhortation to monastic officials not to admit any outsiders who had committed assault or murder. Nor was any resident who had committed such an offense to be harboured within the precincts of the monastic lands; they were to be evicted after their *gedaṇḍ* was taken.¹⁵³ No satisfactory explanation of the term *gedaṇḍ* is available though the context of its occurrence suggests that it was some form of penalty.¹⁵⁴ It is evident from the ninth-century Sanskrit record from the Abhayagiri monastery that the practice of confiscating the property of offenders was known.¹⁵⁵ *Gedaṇḍ* (Skt. *grhadanḍa*) may denote such confiscation.

The slab inscription from the Abhaygiri monastery dated in the sixth regnal year of Kassapa V¹⁵⁶ is perhaps the most remarkable grant of immunities since, unlike the others, it covers the entire area which came under a *nikāya*. It is also a highly detailed and comprehensive grant which seems to represent an attempt of the king to obtain greater control over the punishment of criminals by curtailing the judicial privileges enjoyed by monasteries to some extent. It significantly departs

152. *me gamhi koṭā van (ke)nekun āta gāmin piṭat karanu isā.* EZ, Vol. I, p. 205, ll. D2-6. Wickrēmasinghe's translation of the next line...*koṭā vannavun vāda no (gan)nā isā.*... as "Those who have entered the villages after committing a murder shall not be harboured" (p. 207) is inaccurate. The rendering of *vāda* is questionable in view of its occurrence in EZ, Vol. III, p. 76, l. B23; p. 140, l. C29.

153. *bāhārā minī koṭā no vādda denu isā raṭā hinda minī keṭuva kāmiyan unge gedaḍ gena piṭat karanu isā.* EZ, Vol. III, p. 265, ll. 32-3.

154. See for example EZ, Vol. I, p. 47, l. p. 25; p. 93, l. A37; p. 247, l. 19.

155. EZ, Vol. I, p. 5, ll. 23-4.

156. EZ, Vol. I, pp. 41-57.

from normal practice and retains the right of officials to enter monastic estates and punish criminals:

If there be any persons in a village held to be guilty of murder, the king's employees may enter that village and demand them, but only them; no wrong shall be done to other villagers who had not abetted these offenders. . . . If there be any who, after committing murder, have taken refuge in the premises of the *saṅgha*, these offenders and those who abetted them shall be tried and sentenced to be exiled to Daṃbdiv (Indi).¹⁵⁷

The inscription further stipulated that the authority of the royal officials extended also to cases other than murder. Once in every two years, the officials of the central administration¹⁵⁸ who went on tours of investigation were to demand the surrender of all offenders guilty of the "five grave crimes;" it was specified that they were not to interfere with less severe cases which did not fall under this category. Further, in levying punishments for offenses other than murder, the penalty of *gedaṇḍ* was to be avoided; nor should the offenders be banished. Another clause states that king's officials who sought refuge with the *saṅgha* to escape repayment of debts due to the treasury were to be apprehended and made to pay the money they owed; but they were to be spared other indignities.¹⁵⁹ The list of "immunities" in the Abhayagiri inscription makes it abundantly clear that criminals who sought refuge within monastic estates as well as the tenants of these lands guilty of the "five grave crimes" were brought under the jurisdiction of the royal officials. It was made possible for royal officials not only to enter monastic estates but to levy punishments on offenders living or hiding therein.¹⁶⁰ Provision was made for high government officials in charge of judicial affairs and other dignitaries to review disputed judgments and to reduce fines imposed by lower officials.

This does not imply that the monastic administration was completely divested of its judicial authority. Evidently all cases that did not fall under the "five grave crimes" came under their control. This is also implied in the instructions to the royal officials not to impose additional fines in cases in which fines had already been levied, presumably, by the monastic officials. This gives precedence to the rights of the monastic

157. *minī ketū kenekun āta gamaṭ vāda ovun mā illat mut sesu ehi no pahāla sesu kuḍḍinaṭ aniyā nokaranu isā. . . minī koṭā saṅgun van tānaṭ van kenekun āta ehi pahāla vanud evunuj vicāra koṭ daṃbdiv yavanaṭ harnā isā. EZ, Vol. I, p. 47, ll. 18-9, 24-5.*

158. *rajkol samdaruvan.* Wickremasinghe translated this as "the princes of the royal family."

159. For a discussion on the interpretation of the passage, see *supra* pp. 108-9.

160. Cf. punishments prescribed in the Vevālkāṭiya record. *EZ, Vol. I, pp. 241-51.*

officials in such areas of judicial administration where the limits had not been clearly defined.

The grant of Kassapa V was in certain respects a withdrawal of immunities, for some of the villages of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* had been enjoying much more extensive immunities. In a sense it was a reasonable definition of the relative rights of the king and the monastery. This grant took the necessary steps to safeguard the pecuniary interests the monastery would have in judicial immunities. All the fines collected on the estates of the main monastery were to be set apart for its use. A similar arrangement was in force in Mibālīgama, a village attached to the Mādabīyan college.¹⁶¹ Such an arrangement ensured the income accruing from judicial proceedings for the monastery but at the same time curtailed those privileges which hindered the normal and efficient administration of justice.

The Brahmadeya Tenure

Two recently discovered inscriptions from Mādirigiriya are particularly relevant for an examination of a type of immunity that the monastery enjoyed during the ninth and tenth centuries.¹⁶² One of these, refers to *bambadeya* or *brahmadeya* holdings of the monastery. The other inscription probably had a similar reference as is evident from the letters at the end of the twelfth line and the beginning of the thirteenth. The Buddhist canonical texts are the earliest sources to speak of *brahmadeya* grants. The Ambaṭṭha Sutta, the Lohicca Sutta and the Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, and the Caṅki Sutta of the *Majjhima Nikāya* mention Brāhmaṇas who had received villages and towns on *brahmadeya* tenure from the kings of Kosala and Magadha. These sources state that the grants carried with them rights over "grain, wood, grass, and water."¹⁶³ According to the definition in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, *brahmadeya* grants involved the transfer of rights of exemption from taxes and fines. Such property was heritable, but alienation by sale was possible only if the purchaser was entitled to similar rights.¹⁶⁴ More details on the *brahmadeya* tenure are found in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, the work of Buddhaghosa based on the Sinhalese exegetical tradition preserved at the Mahāvihāra. It explains that a *brahmadeya* grant was a transfer of rights over land which entitled the grantee to

161. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 9-14.

162. *CJHSS*, New Series, Vol. II, No. 1, 1972, pp. 60-74.

163. *satīnakatthodakam sadhaññam...rājadāyam brahmadeyyam. Dīgha Nikāya*, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter, London, 1890, Vol. I, pp. 87; Vol. III, p. 224; *Majjhima Nikāya*, ed. R. Chalmers, London, 1951, Vol. II, p. 164.

164. *The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, pp. 63, 257.

“raise the parasol” and enjoy it in royal manner (*chattaṃ ussāpetvā rāja-saṅkhepe bhūñjitabbaṃ*). He collected the taxes and tolls and administered justice within this area (*sabbaṃ chejjabhejjaṃ anusāsayan-tena nadī-tittha-pabbādisu suṅke gaṇhantena*). This grant was final and irrevocable (*na puna gahetabbaṃ hoti nissaṭṭhaṃ pariccattaṃ*).¹⁶⁵ The *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā Līnatthavaṇṇanā*, a subcommentary from the later “Anurādhapura Period,” further explains that those judicial powers vested the grantee with the authority to levy all types of penalties including both fines and corporal punishments.¹⁶⁶ The information cited above, drawn from the Buddhist exegetical works of Sri Lanka, probably reflect local conditions and hence help to clarify the nature of *brahmadeya* tenure in the island.

Apart from the two inscriptions from Mādirigiriya, the term *bambadeya* is said to occur in a ninth-century inscription from the Vaṇḍurppe Vihāra while its variant form *bambadesa* is found in an inscription from Eppāvala for which Paranavitana has suggested a date in the tenth century.¹⁶⁷ The Vaṇḍurppe Vihāra inscription has not been published to date. The inscription from Eppāvala, though it deals with an endowment made at a monastery, yields no information on tenurial rights. The Polonnaruva pillar inscription of Mahinda V, which records the grant of *brahmadeya* tenurial rights concerning an allotment of land belonging to the Tisaram monastery, contains more details. It specifies certain officials who were forbidden to enter this property and states that draught cattle and buffaloes were not to be impressed within its precincts.¹⁶⁸ Unfortunately the usefulness of this record is impaired by the fact that about twenty-two of its lines, which probably outlined the other immunities granted to this monastery, are damaged and illegible.

It is evident from the preceding discussion that certain monastic estates, including some of the properties of the Mādirigiriya monastery, enjoyed such extensive tenurial rights that the authority of the royal officials was virtually excluded from them. It appears that these instances

165. *Sumaṅgala-vilāsīnī*, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter, London, 1886. Vol. I, p. 246.

166. *sabbaṃ chejja-bhejjanti sarīra-danda-dhana-dandaḍḍi bhedam sabbaṃ danda-māha*. *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā Līnatthavaṇṇanā*, ed. Lily de Silva, London, 1970, Vol. I, p. 376.

167. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 190. l. 17. As Paranavitana pointed out (*EZ*, Vol. III, p. 191, n. 12), certain manuscripts of the *Amāvatura*, a Sinhalese literary work from about the twelfth century A.D., have the variant form *bambadesa* in place of *bambadeya* (*Amāvatura*, ed. Kosgoda Nānavimala, Colombo, 1959, p. 95, n. 12). The form *brahmadesa* occurs with the meaning of *brahmadeya* in certain South Indian inscriptions too. (*MRE* No. 241 of 1927).

168. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 59-67.

represent the most complete property rights known in early medieval Sri Lanka. It is noteworthy, however, that in the Mādirigiriya pillar inscription immunity rights are granted to only one of the villages held by the monastery.^{168a} It suggests by implication that perhaps not all the estates of the monastery enjoyed such immunities. Inscription No. 2 from Mādirigiriya also implies that some of the properties belonging to this monastery did not enjoy *brahmadeya* tenurial status, for the donor of this grant stipulates that, if his endowment were to be destroyed in times of strife, the "food share" which he instituted should be maintained with the income from the *brahmadeya* properties. While this statement underlines the confidence that the donor had in the inviolability of the *brahmadeya* holdings of the monastery, it would seem that the income from which the "food share" was to be maintained came from a source which did not enjoy the privileges of *brahmadeya* status.

The immunity grants of the period under consideration reveal a great deal of variation in the extent and types of the immunities granted. This variation does not fit into a coherent chronological pattern, nor can it be maintained that the variation is related to the importance of the monastery concerned. Perhaps it was regulated by factors such as the personal relations of the king with the abbots of these monasteries and internal political conditions, for which no evidence has been preserved.

In his discussion on monastic property Rahula apparently considered only some of these immunity grants. "If anyone entered these lands and villages for protection or asylum," he maintains, "he could not be arrested there. Should there be any unworthy of protection, they could be arrested only after they had been made to quit the temple lands."¹⁶⁹ It is evident from our discussion that this statement is not true of all the immunity grants. Moreover, it is noteworthy that not all the monastic estates enjoyed judicial immunities. The Puḷiyankulam inscription of Udaya and the Mayilagastoṭa inscription of Mahinda do not mention judicial immunities. Yet in almost all the instances where immunities were granted, there is reason to believe that the monastery enjoyed jurisdiction over at least the cases concerning minor offenses. This kept the monastery involved in the maintenance of order and the administration of justice.

If the association of the king with the *saṅgha* helped to legitimize his position through religious sanction, it also led to a gradual abdication of his economic rights and political authority over a section of the people. Monasteries were no longer mere centers of religious activity; they had

168a. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 25-33.

169. Rahula, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

developed into institutions which wielded economic and administrative control over the residents of their considerable landholdings. It is evident from our study of immunity grants that in most cases the control that the king retained over monastic lands amounted to the right to intervene in cases of disputes within monasteries and the right to apprehend and punish criminals guilty of grave offenses. Such delegation of administrative powers, judicial powers and political authority within the monastic estates invites comparison with conditions in medieval Europe; it certainly seems to have introduced a "feudal" element into the body politic.

Rights of Tenantry in Monastic Estates

While the kings had to safeguard the interests of the *saṅgha*, it was also incumbent upon them to ensure the rights of the tenants to their land and to protect them from harsh treatment and the undue exactions of monastic officials. These duties necessitated a close supervisory control over the monastic administration. The interest that the kings showed in these matters is reflected in some of the regulations in the Kaludiya-pokuṇa inscription of Sena III and the Mihintale Tablets of Mahinda IV.

Deprivations suffered by the tenantry living under the control of religious establishments due to the acquisitive tendencies of their officials was a phenomenon known in South India. An eleventh-century Vaṭṭe-luṭṭu inscription from Tirukkāḍittānam issued by Bhāskara Ravivarman forbids temple officials to take on mortgages or to cultivate the land allotments held by the drummers of the Viṣṇu temple at the site.¹⁷⁰ Tenants and employees of the Buddhist monasteries in Sri Lanka faced the same problem. The Mihintale Tablets decree that no allotments held by cultivators on terms of hereditary succession were to be seized by the monastery except upon the occasion of failure of the succession.¹⁷¹ But monastic officials seem to have enjoyed great control over lands allocated to minor employees. According to the Mihintale Tablets, tracts of land held by "good employees" were not to be confiscated by the officials unless it was meant for the use of the monastery.¹⁷² This implies that, unlike the cultivators, the employees, even if their conduct was satisfactory, could have their allotments confiscated if it was decided that the monastery needed them. The Kaludiya-pokuṇa inscription orders that taxes higher or lower than the customary rates

170. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. V, pp. 178-80.

171. *haskaru parapuren vātena kāra kumbur novāṭiya hot mut hāra nogatā yutu. EZ*, Vol. I, p. 93, ll. 48-9.

172. *sudasun vat veheraṭ mut kāmiyan nogatā yutu. EZ*, Vol. I, p. 93, l. A43.

should not be levied by the monastic administration.¹⁷³ However, tenants of monastic estates could also be vexed by demands for extra services during religious festivals. Thus the Mihintale Tablets specify that apart from the "three day turn of service," no other *corvée* should be levied on *uposatha* days or during religious festivals.¹⁷⁴

Kings devoted much attention to the problem of controlling the activities of monastic officials. Apart from instances of officials abusing their authority to get their land cultivated by the tenants of the monastery, officials also tended to acquire monastic lands by purchase or mortgage. The Kaludiyapokuna inscription set apart two villages as remuneration for officials; they were instructed not to seize cattle, buffaloes or serfs from other villages for their own use. Nor were they to take monastic lands on mortgage, on *pamuṇu*¹⁷⁵ tenure, or "for cultivation," presumably on a share-cropping basis. The statements in the Mihintale Tablets amount almost to a reiteration of these regulations. In this context the officials were forbidden to acquire the land of the monastery on mortgage, or on *pamuṇu*, *pāṭṭa* and *kārā* tenure; they were also forbidden to use the draught oxen of the monastic villages to cultivate their own lands. Nothing untoward was to be committed within private holdings; for instance, trees could be felled only if prior permission had been obtained from the committee of management.¹⁷⁶ Officials who went on tour were enjoined not to demand from the tenants anything other than the portion of rice to which they are entitled by custom and not to accept any presents.¹⁷⁷

It would thus appear that tenants on monastic estates who were freed from interference by royal officials were confronted with the possibility of maltreatment by monastic officials. In such cases royal intervention would, no doubt, have been beneficial. It is not at all clear, however, whether this supervisory control was adequately regular and effectual.

The Buddhist Saṅgha under Hindu Rule

The close relationship which prevailed between the *saṅgha* and the state was bound to be shaken in times of foreign invasion and foreign rule. The Pāṇḍya invasion during the reign of Sena II was disastrous in

173. *pere siritin vaḍā kīṇa karavuvāra nobandanā īsā*. EZ, Vol. III, p. 265.

174. *tun dā var mut poho maṅgul āy sesu var no gatā yutu*. EZ, Vol. I, p. 93, ll. A44-5.

175. For explanation of this term see *supra* p. 68.

176. See *supra* p. 110.

177. EZ, Vol. I, p. 93, ll. A45-51.

its effects on the main monasteries of Anurādhapura. The golden image of the Buddha at the Ratanapāsāda, the jewel-eyes of the stone image (at Abhayagiri?), gold plates from the Thūpārāma *stūpa* and golden images from other shrines were plundered.¹⁷⁸ During the Coḷa invasion in the reign of Udaya IV, the Maṇipāsāda, the hall of the four *cetiya*s at the Padalañchana and the shrine of the Tooth relic were burnt down. Presumably the Dhammasaṅgānī house and the Mahāpāli alms hall were also destroyed.¹⁷⁹ The campaigns that the Coḷas led into Rohaṇa during their occupation of Rājaraṭṭha were marked by similar instances of destruction. The author of the *Cūlavamsa* complains that many monasteries were destroyed and plundered.¹⁸⁰ Further, he specifically mentions that the relic shrines at Mahāgāma which had been destroyed by the Coḷas were rebuilt by Vijayabāhu I.¹⁸¹ His *uparāja*, Virabāhu, restored the Buddhagaṇa *cetiya* which had been ransacked by the Coḷas.¹⁸² It is likely that the shrines at Mahiyaṅgaṇa and Mādirigiriya were also despoiled during these campaigns.¹⁸³

In its account of the reign of Parākramabāhu I, the *Cūlavamsa* records that the king repaired the Ratnavāluka (Mahāthūpa), Abhayagiri, Jetavana and Mariccavaṭṭi *stūpas* and the Lohapāsāda, all of which had been destroyed by the Coḷas.¹⁸⁴ The *Pūjāvaliya* corroborates this statement with regard to the first three *stūpas*, and it also adds Thūpārāma to the list. Though it is not included in this list, the text also mentions that a shrine called the Lohapāsāda was repaired during the reign of this king.¹⁸⁵ It is rather difficult to believe, however, that Vijayabāhu I, who ruled for forty years after winning back Rājaraṭṭha from the Coḷas and who built many new monasteries at Polonnaruva and restored some religious establishments in the outlying provinces, had made no attempt to repair these shrines which were the most sacred to the Buddhists. The *Cūlavamsa* tries to explain this by saying that they had not been restored by previous kings "because it was so difficult."¹⁸⁶ In spite of the testimony of the chronicles, the possibility cannot be ruled

178. Cv. 50. 33-36. The golden image was later brought back.
Cv. 51. 48-9.

179. Cv. 54. 44-5.

180. Cv. 55. 20-1.

181. Cv. 60.56.

182. Cv. 60.81.

183. ASCAR, 1946, p. 15; 1951, p. 17.

184. Cv. 78. 96-104; Archaeological evidence suggests that the Lohapāsāda was rebuilt after a long period of desolation. ASCAR, 1949, p. 11.

185. Pjv., p. 166.

186. Cv. 78. 96-7; Cv., trsl. Vol. II, p. 113.

out that the decay of some of these shrines was the result of neglect during the troubled period preceding the accession of Parākramabāhu I rather than of willful destruction by the Coḷa troops. It would, therefore, be rash to contend that the restoration of shrines and monasteries undertaken by Parākramabāhu I reflects the extent of the destruction wrought by militant Hindus who had followed a policy of persecution of Buddhism. Though examples of conversion of Buddhist monasteries into Hindu religious establishments can be found, as at Buddhannehāla,¹⁸⁷ it does not necessarily follow that these conversions represent the work of the Coḷas. It is possible that they date from the reign of Māgha who, as the *Cūlavamsa* and the *Pūjāvaliya* claim, made a determined attempt to convert Buddhists to an alien faith.¹⁸⁸

In his description of the ruins at Padaviya, Godakumbura remarks that "the occurrence of remains of Śiva temples among the Buddhist monuments or above their foundations has to be attributed to the Coḷa invasion of the eleventh century (sic)."¹⁸⁹ A number of Tamil inscriptions datable to the tenth and eleventh centuries, among them two from the reign of Rājarāja, were found near a Śiva Devale at the site. Yet, even if the Śiva temples were built over the foundations of "Buddhist monuments," as Godakumbura has suggested, it seems advisable to refrain from hastily concluding that they represent evidence of suppression of Buddhism by the Coḷas. It is quite possible that the Hindu shrines were located on abandoned and dilapidated Buddhist shrines. Secondly, it is not possible to identify the exact character of a building from the remains of its foundations. On the other hand, the ruins at Padaviya which are still available for examination reveal that both Buddhist and Hindu shrines existed side by side. A slab found near the *stūpa* of the Buddhist shrine bears a Sanskrit inscription of the twelfth or thirteenth century which records that a Buddhist monastery named Lan̄kātilaka received the protection of the Velaikkāras, Tamil mercenaries.¹⁹⁰ Hence no definite evidence is available which would support the suggestion that the Buddhist monastery at Padaviya was destroyed by the Coḷas.

In this context it is very important to note that there were Buddhists among the Tamils. There are also some, though rare, instances of patronage of Buddhist shrines by even the Coḷa kings who, avowedly, were devoted Hindus.¹⁹¹ Instances of patronage of Buddhist institutions by Tamils in Sri Lanka are found in a number of inscriptions spread

187. *ASC, Seventh Progress Report, Sessional Papers*, 1896, p. 30.

188. *Cv.* 80. 65-8, 75-9; *Pjv.*, pp. 108-9.

189. *ASCAR*, 1963, p. 67.

190. *ASCAR*, 1953, No. 19.

191. See the Leiden plates, *El*, Vol. XXII, pp. 213-84.

over a wide area from Velgama, Anurādhapura, Polonnaruva, Hiṅgurakoḍa, Moragahavela, Paṇḍuvasnuvara and Paraṃgiviḍiya to Miyan-kaṇḍura.¹⁹² A Tamil inscription dating from the reign of a certain Senavarman records that certain Sri Lankan Tamils extended patronage to a Buddhist shrine called Mākkoḍaipalli.¹⁹³ The record probably dates from the ninth or the tenth century. Of all these inscriptions those from Velgama are of particular interest since they reveal that Buddhist institutions were actively patronized by members of the Tamil community even during the period of the Coḷa occupation. It is possible that this Buddhist monastery was named Rājarājaperumpaḷli because it was patronized by the Coḷa king, but no donations made by the Coḷa royalty occur in the inscriptions at the site. This is the only known instance of a Buddhist monastery being patronized during the period of Coḷa rule. It is not impossible that patronage was extended because Tamil-speaking monks, who could cater to the religious needs of the Buddhists among the Tamil community, were present at the institution.¹⁹⁴ In this connection it is noteworthy that the *Cūlavamsa* mentions a certain Velagāmi monastery as one of the shrines repaired by Vijayabāhu I.¹⁹⁵ If this is identified with the Velgam Vehera, as Nicholas has suggested,¹⁹⁶ it would also exemplify the dangers involved in drawing conclusions concerning the religious policy of the Coḷas based upon evidence of restorative work undertaken by Vijayabāhu I.

Nevertheless, the deposal of the Sinhalese dynasty by the Coḷas and the loss of power and position that the Sinhalese nobility probably suffered removed important sources of patronage that had sustained the *saṅgha*. Buddhist monasteries also suffered from neglect, and some of them were plundered during military campaigns. One could surmise that the estates of the *saṅgha* were also affected, but there is no specific evidence of confiscation.¹⁹⁷ There is reason to believe that these conditions led to the emigration of monks to foreign lands.¹⁹⁸ Under such circumstances it is but natural that the *saṅgha* would have welcomed the restitution of Sinhalese power over Rājaratṭha, but there is no evidence

192. *ASC, Seventh Progress Report, Sessional Papers 1896*, p. 57; *ASCAR*, 1909, p. 26; 1951, No. 19; 1952, No. 17; 1953, Nos. 6, 19-21; *CJSG*, Vol. II, p. 199, No. 596; *UCR*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 46-9; *SII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1405, 1410; *EZ*, Vol. VI, pp. 65-79, 70-2, 88-92.

193. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, No. 1405.

194. See also *infra* pp. 305-6.

195. *Cv.* 60, 62.

196. *JRASCBS*, Vol. VI, p. 45.

197. See *supra* pp. 86-7.

198. See *infra* pp. 271-3.

for the contention that the *saṅgha* became "a potent nationalist and political power" during the struggle against the Coḷas.¹⁹⁹

The influence of Śaivism lingered on after the period of Coḷa rule. The *Cūlavamsa* mentions that Vijayabāhu I did not withdraw the grants which had been formerly made to shrines of gods (*devakula*).²⁰⁰ He seems to have even patronized a Śaiva shrine, for a temple in the Kantale region bore his name.²⁰¹ Presumably his son Vikramabāhu was more devoted to the Śaiva faith. An inscription from Budumuttāva, dated in his reign, implies that he patronized Śaivism since it mentions a Śaiva shrine named after him.²⁰² This policy of extending patronage to Śaivism was continued by Gajabāhu II who, according to the *Cūlavamsa*, fetched nobles of heretical faith (*pāpaditṭhino*) from abroad and had Rājaraṭṭha "filled with the briers (of heresy)."²⁰³ Tamil tradition claims that he was converted to Śaivism.²⁰⁴ The partiality of these last two kings towards Śaivism naturally vitiated the traditional relationship between the *saṅgha* and the king. It was only during the reign of Parākramabāhu I that the patronage of the *saṅgha* was resumed on a generous scale.

Monastic Influence and Political Affairs

The close relationship which generally prevailed between the *saṅgha* and the king not only enhanced the king's position in the eyes of the people but also elevated the position of the *saṅgha*. The *saṅgha*'s support was important for the king. As religious preceptors and men of letters the monks held a prominent and influential position in society. This very role gave some monks access to the royal family and influence over the king. It is evident from the *Mahāvamsa* that Goṭṭābhaya (A.D. 249-262), who was impressed by the erudition and wisdom of Saṅghamitta, entrusted him with the education of his two sons.²⁰⁵ Mahāsena, who later became king, was a devoted follower of this monk. Aggabodhi VIII (804-815) built the Bhūta college for his teacher (*sakācariya*) and his retinue of three hundred monks.²⁰⁶ During the period

199. D. T. Devendra, *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, fascicule A-Aca, p. 22. Cf. W. M. K. Wijetunga, *The Rise and Decline of Coḷa Power in Ceylon*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1962, p. 322.

200. *Cv.* 60. 77.

201. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 191-6.

202. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 302-12. See also *Supra* pp. 89-93.

203. *Cv.* 70. 53-4.

204. *Śri Dakṣiṇa Purāṇam*, ed. Vaittialīṅga Deçihar, 1916, Pt. II, p. 20; *Trikoṇasala Purāṇam*, ed. Çanmugaratna Aiyar, 1909, pp. 170, 178. I am indebted to Prof. K. Indrapala for this information.

205. *Mv.* 36. 114-7.

206. *Cv.* 49. 46.

under consideration at least two kings were deeply versed in the teachings of Theravāda Buddhism. Kassapa V (914-923) wrote the *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya*, a Sinhalese commentary on the *Dhammapadaṭṭhā-kathā*.²⁰⁷ In his slab inscription at the Abhayagiri monastery, he claims to have expounded the works on Abhidhamma in the presence of his teacher and "extolled the virtues of the Buddha in the Sinhalese language."²⁰⁸ According to the *Cūlavamsa* he often read the Canon and used to preach the Abhidhamma "in the manner of a Buddha (*buddhali-lāya*)" to the monks of the Mariccavāṭṭi monastery.²⁰⁹ Similarly, Sena IV (954-956) was wont to explain the canonical texts to the monks of the three *nikāyas* who came to listen to him at the Lohapāsāda.²¹⁰ Presumably Kassapa's teacher was a monk. The profound knowledge of the Theravāda that these kings possessed and the esteem in which their learning was held even by the monks suggest that they may have undergone a long period of training in scriptures at monastic schools. In the Polonnaruva inscription of Vijayabāhu I, Mugalan of the Uttaromūla fraternity is described as *rājaguru*.²¹¹ This may imply that he was either the teacher or the personal preceptor of the king.

The influential position that monks held as preceptors and teachers gained them access to the king and could be put to important political use. Monks were sometimes counsellors of kings,²¹² but it was in the role of mediators that they were most profitably employed. Not only did they have easy access to both parties in a dispute, they could also be certain of getting a respectful hearing. This gave the *saṅgha* considerable influence in political affairs, particularly in times when the island was divided. The monks of the three *nikāyas* accompanied *yucarāja* Mahinda, who had been forced to flee to the central highlands after incurring the displeasure of Sena II, when he came back to seek reconciliation with the king.²¹³ They intervened with success again in the time of Kassapa IV. *Ādipāda* Mahinda, the ruler of Rohaṇa, had rebelled against the king and defeated the royal army. However, his father, *yucarāja* Kassapa, persuaded him to give up his intentions to capture the throne. Later on Mahinda was faced with a rebellion within his own province and was forced to solicit the support of the king. The monks

207. *DAG*, p. 295.

208. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 47, ll. 11-2.

209. *Cv.* 52.48, 82.

210. *Cv.* 54. 4.

211. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 337, l.26.

212. *Cv.* 57. 23.

213. *Cv.* 51.14.

interceded on his behalf and it was through their mediation that friendly relations between him and the king, which led to his marriage to the king's daughter, were restored.²¹⁴ After the incident at Tapovana²¹⁵ Udaya III (A.D. 935-938) faced a critical situation when he found himself powerless to control the army and the citizens of Anurādhapura who had risen in revolt. Here again it was the monks who pacified the troops and saved the situation for the king. Mānābharaṇa of Rohaṇa, who fought a series of campaigns against Gajabāhu II during the course of his struggle for the throne of Polonnaruva, went to see the latter in the company of monks after he decided to give up hostilities and enter into a friendly pact with his erstwhile adversary.²¹⁶

In certain instances monks served the king as emissaries. When the rebel prince Parākramabāhu returned to the kingdom of his stepfather Kittisirimegha after his sojourns in the neighboring kingdom, the latter sent the head of the *kūṭhārasabhā* and Abhaya, the abbot of the Pañcaparivenamūla, as emissaries to persuade him to come back to the capital.²¹⁷ Gajabāhu II, desperate in his losing struggle against Parākramabāhu who had defeated his troops in several engagements, saw no alternative but to solicit the intervention of the monks of the three *nikāyas*. According to the *Cūlavamsa*,²¹⁸ the monks visited Parākramabāhu in his camp at Giritāṭāka and prevailed upon him to cease hostilities. They convinced him that before long he could claim the kingdom on the death of Gajabāhu who was without offspring and advanced in age. Apparently Parākramabāhu also realized the advantages of biding his time "at the request of the *saṅgha*." For this assurance would strengthen his claims to the throne of Polonnaruva against the rival claims of Mānābharaṇa of Rohaṇa. The rival princes agreed on a treaty of friendship in which the kingdom was bequeathed to Parākramabāhu, and a copy of this treaty was indited at the Maṇḍalagiri monastery. This record has not been found. Nevertheless, the historicity of this important incident is attested to by another copy of this treaty which is found at a monastery in Saṃgamuva in the Hāṭahaya Korale of the Kurunāgala District.²¹⁹ According to this edict Gajabāhu and Pārakramabāhu entered into a pact of friendship and non-aggression. Each nominated the other as successor and heir to his kingdom. Obviously this arrangement worked

214. *Cv.* 52. 4-9.

215. See *infra* p. 208.

216. *Cv.* 70. 179-81.

217. *Cv.* 67. 60-1.

218. *Cv.* 70. 328-36; 71. 1-5.

219. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 1-8.

in favor of Parākramabāhu, the younger ruler. At the end of the document they solemnly state that if either of them were to violate these conditions, it would be tantamount to a breach of the orders of the *saṅgha*. It is significant that the edicts were placed within the premises of monasteries. Perhaps the location was expected to sanctify the solemn decision which had been taken by the princes. It is also possible that this reflects the important role the monks played in accomplishing this delicate political mission.

The diplomatic skill of the monks would have been most useful in maintaining relations with other Buddhist rulers in countries like Burma. It is not possible to determine on the basis of available evidence whether the envoys and emissaries exchanged between the two countries included monks. Of the emissaries sent by Parākramabāhu to the Burmese court it is possible that *ācariya* Vācissara was a monk.²²⁰ It is noteworthy that the Burmese envoy was called Tapassin,²²¹ which means "ascetic," and it is not unlikely that he too was a monk. It is more certain that monks played an active part in restoring friendly relations between the two countries after the outbreak of hostilities in the time of Parākramabāhu. According to the chronicles it was to the *saṅgha* that the Burmese wrote requesting intercession, and the monks succeeded in persuading Parākramabāhu to cease hostilities.²²²

Areas of Conflict

It is evident from the preceding discussion that the power and the influence of the king and the *saṅgha* were complementary and were used to serve their mutual interests. Geiger rightly pointed out that the interests of the *saṅgha* and the king were closely interwoven: "The kingship by which the state was represented was the firmest support of the Buddhist church and the latter that of kingship."²²³ However, it would be an over-simplification and a distortion of facts to state that there was no friction between the state and the *saṅgha* over non-religious matters.²²⁴ Concern for their property and privileges was one of the important considerations which guided monastic establishments when formulating relations with the king. The grants of immunity made during this period left the boundary between monastic and temporal authority largely indeterminate. This was a situation which could easily lead to friction.

220. *Cv.* 76.32.

221. *Cv.* 76. 23.

222. *Cv.* 76. 59-75.

223. *CCMT*, p. 203.

224. Rahula, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

In the tenth century the rights of the Isuramēnu monastery to water from the Tissa reservoir led to a dispute between the employees of the monastery and the royal officials. As mentioned earlier, the monks appealed to the king (identified as Mahinda IV) who, in an edict issued in his ninth regnal year, decided in favor of the monastery.²²⁵ A more serious confrontation with the king himself took place during the reign of Udaya III when the rights of the monastery to give asylum (*abhaya*) to men wanted by the law seem to have been challenged. Certain ministers of the king fled from his court and sought refuge in the Tapovana where the Paṃsukūlikas lived. The king went to the Tapovana with his *uparāja* and had the fugitives executed. The fact that the king took a personal interest in the affair and the fact that the offenders were put to death suggest that they had committed a rather grave offense. Yet the monks resented the conduct of the king which they presumably considered to be a breach of privilege and left for Rohaṇa in protest. This roused the army and the citizens of Anurādhapura and they arose in revolt. They killed the officials responsible for the incident, threatened the king and forced the *yuvārāja* and the *ādipāda* to implore the monks to return. Ironically, it was by seeking refuge in a monastic residence that the king himself escaped the wrath of the rebels, and it was only after the monks intervened that the rebels were pacified.²²⁶ The king was humiliated before his people and forced to beg the Paṃsukūlikas to pardon him, and thus the rights of the *saṅgha* were vindicated in a most dramatic manner. The incident not only shows that the monks were conscious of their "secular" rights and ready to defend them, but also reveals that the people were convinced that this was right and proper. Above all it demonstrated that the good will of the king was not always necessary to preserve the privileges and the position of the *saṅgha*.

When examined in the context of this incident, immunities granted in an inscription from Giritale, dated in the first regnal year of this king, acquire a new significance. It declares that officials were not to enter the tract of land concerned to arrest offenders but also a new provision is added. It specifically mentions that traitors to the royal family were not to be given the right to asylum.²²⁷

Perhaps it is a similar incident that is referred to in two strophes in the account of the reign of Vijayabāhu I in the *Cūlavamsa*:

225. Vessagiri Inscriptions, Slab A, EZ, Vol. I, pp. 29-38; see *supra* p. 73.

226. Cv. 53. 14-27.

227. *radolaṭ piṭatun gama lā noraknā isā*. EZ, Vol. III, p. 140, ll. C30-2.

*vihārābhayacārittabhediniṃ mahisiṃ sakam
parihāre sabbaso chijja gāhayitvā galamhi taṃ
puraṃhā bahi kāretvā mahāsaṅghaṃ khamāpayi
pakāsesi ca lokassa saṅghagāravaṃ attano.*²²⁸

These strophes can be translated as follows:

His own queen who had violated the immunity rights of the monasteries, he divested her of her privileges and had her led by the neck and evicted from the city. Thus he conciliated the *mahāsaṅgha* and demonstrated to the world his reverence for the *saṅgha*.²²⁹

It was an unprecedented step that the king took in imposing such a severe penalty on his own queen. In fact, it is unique in the annals of Sri Lanka. There is no indication of the exact nature of the offense which she had committed, but there is no doubt that she was considered to be guilty of violating monastic privileges. Vijayabāhu I had two queens, both of whom were foreigners. Tilokasundarī was from Kaliṅga, and Līlavatī, who had lived in the Coḷa country, was a daughter of Jagatipāla, a prince from Ayojjhā. It is possible that they were not Buddhists. The public disgrace of the queen for interfering with the rights of the *saṅgha* is a graphic illustration of the power and the influence of the *saṅgha* and the king's dependence upon their good will.

The Abhayagiri inscription of Kassapa V, as pointed out earlier, claims that kingship was an office conferred by the *saṅgha*. Sometimes kingship or the royal insignia were offered to the *saṅgha* by the kings as a token of their submission.²³⁰ The *saṅgha* was consulted in certain instances in the selection of heirs and successors, but we cannot be certain that this was a customary procedure. It is possible that, at least in some of these cases, the monks were invited to these deliberations because their support in cases of disputes over succession was highly valued. Upon the death of Saddhātissa (137-119 B.C.) the courtiers convened an assembly of monks and obtained their assent to the appointment of Thūlatthana to the throne. In doing so they overlooked the rights of the eldest son, Laṅjatissa.²³¹ When *uparāja* Virabāhu died

228. Cv. 60. 54-6.

229. Geiger translated *vihārābhayacārīta* as "peaceful life of the *vihāras*;" *abhayacārīta* (Cf. *sirit* in inscriptions *supra* pp.180-1) seems to carry a more specialized sense in this context. He is inaccurate in translating *puraṃhā bahi kāretvā* as "had her led out into the town." Also, no mention of an "iron collar" as given in his translation is evident in this passage. See Cv. trsl., Vol. I, p. 219. Nicholas follows Geiger's translation. *UHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 431.

230. *Mv.* 32.36; 31.90-111; *Cv.*, 39.31; 42.61; 82.30; 85.109.

231. *Mv.* 33. 17-8.

Vijayabāhu I consulted the monks and followed their advice by appointing Jayabāhu to fill the position.²³²

The most significant convention for choosing a successor in which the monks participated took place after the death of Vijayabāhu I. The news of the death of the king was not conveyed to his son Vikramabāhu, who was the governor of Rohaṇa. The monks of the leading fraternities (*āyatana*) and the high dignitaries of the kingdom took counsel with Mittā, the sister of the king, and her three sons and decided to consecrate Jayabāhu as king. They further ignored the rights of Vikramabāhu in nominating Mānābharāṇa, a son of Mittā, as the *uparāja*. It is significant that the author of the *Cūṭavamsa*, though a monk himself, criticizes this act for which the *saṅgha* was partly responsible as a violation of customary procedure.²³³ The monks probably had their own reasons for the decision; nevertheless, their injudicious association with a highly disputable decision proved to be disastrous both for the *saṅgha* and for the kingdom. It led to a protracted struggle for the throne and resulted in the division of the island into three rival kingdoms, and after the capture of the throne of Polonnaruva by Vikramabāhu the influence the *saṅgha* had traditionally wielded over the king was severely curtailed. Faced with these circumstances, the *saṅgha* turned to a new source of protection. Mugalan, the abbot of the Uttaro-mūla, handed over the protection of his fraternity and its property to the Velaikkāra mercenaries,²³⁴ but these precautions proved to be of no avail since Vikramabāhu confiscated monastic property. In a concerted act of protest the inmates of all the major monasteries of Polonnaruva left the capital for Rohaṇa, carrying with them the most sacred relics in the island—the Tooth relic and the Alms Bowl of the Buddha.²³⁵ But this time they were not popular enough to rouse the people to revolt in sympathy.

The long period of contiguous existence of the *saṅgha* and the state led to the development of a close relationship between the two institutions and the evolution of many ideas conducive to their mutual benefit. One of the most politically potent ideas to emerge from this relationship was the notion that only a Buddhist, nay a Bodhisattva, could become king of Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese kings who occupied the throne during

232. *Cv.* 60.87.

233. *pubbacārittamaggam laṅghitvā. Cv.*, 61.1-4. The phrase *yatayo tathāyatana-vāsino* was translated by Geiger as "the ascetics dwelling in the district." *Cv. trsl.*, Vol. I, p. 225.

234. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 330-8; see *supra* p. 89.

235. *Cv.* 61.54-61; see also *supra* p. 92.

the period under discussion not only claimed to be Buddhists; they traced back their descent to the family of the Buddha. The position of the king was "legitimized" and strengthened by the support of the *saṅgha*. In practice, the king was chief patron of the *saṅgha*. He could and did intervene to settle disputes among members of the *saṅgha*, set up regulations for the administration of monasteries, and initiate "purifications" in times of lapses in discipline. On the other hand, it was held that the island belonged to the *sāsana* and that it was the *saṅgha* who invested the king with authority. From about the ninth century wide administrative powers over monastic estates were transferred to the monasteries. It is notable that there was some hesitation over the transfer of judicial rights; the attempts of the kings to assert their authority in this field sometimes led to disputes. But on the whole the monastery had extensive authority and controlling power over the inhabitants of its estates. Members of the *saṅgha* wielded considerable political influence through their personal contact with kings, particularly in times of political disunity and in cases of disputed successions. Outside China it was only in Sri Lanka that the Buddhist *saṅgha* had sufficient power and influence to challenge the king in defence of their privileges, and they did challenge him successfully at least once during the period under review.

Cults and Ritual

Buddhism offered a path to salvation through personal endeavour and, originally, it had no cultus to cater to the "specific plebian religious needs"¹ of society at large. Hence it did not demand that its followers completely reject non-Buddhist cultic practices. Even during the early years of its history, Buddhism came to terms with popular cults like the propitiation of *yakkhas* and *nāgas* and the worship of Brāhmanical gods. Buddhist texts merely claim that the *yakkhas*, *nāgas* and the *devas* accepted the supremacy of the Buddha. In Sri Lanka some of the pre-Buddhist cults had been appended to Buddhism by the beginning of the period under consideration, and this did not necessitate any change in its fundamental principles. In some cases "Buddhist" rites were introduced to perform the functions of pre-Buddhist practices. On the other hand, the contact with the Mahāyāna, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava faiths stimulated the development of cultic practices and elaborate ceremonial in Sinhalese Buddhism. Together, these trends represent the development of Sinhalese Buddhism into a comprehensive religious system capable of serving the varied religious needs of society.

The Yakkha Cult

Myths and legends concerning the early history of the island reveal the influence that the cult of the *yakkhas* had on the life and thought of the people.² *Yakkhas*, both benevolent and malevolent, are mentioned in the chronicles and other literary works. The *Mahāvamsa* speaks of the twenty-eight chief *yakkhas* who stood guard at the ceremony of enshrining relics at the Mahāthūpa to ward off malevolent (*duṭṭha*) *yakkhas*.

1. I have borrowed the term from Weber. See *The Religions of India*, 1958, p. 237.
2. *Mv.* chs. 1 and 7.

And in the account of the reign of Paṇḍukābhaya, the chronicle refers to the cult of the *yakkhas* Citta, Kāvela and Maheja and the *yakkhinīs* Cittā and Cetiā.³

Jayasena, the *yakkha* mentioned in a story in the *Sahassa-vatthupakarāṇa*,⁴ belonged to the malevolent type. According to this story, which clearly reflects the belief in the maleficent influence of the *yakkhas*, a concubine of Goṭhayimbara, the general of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, was "possessed" by Jayasena. She fell on the ground unconscious; white froth formed at her mouth, and she began to roll on the ground with her eyes swivelling in their sockets. It is natural to expect that these beliefs would persist within a community of monks who were drawn from a society which believed in the influence of *yakkhas*. This is evident in the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsini* which prescribes measures to be taken if a monk were to be "possessed" by a *yakkha*.⁵ Goṭhayimbara cured his concubine by challenging Jayasena and killing him in a duel. But lesser mortals preferred to propitiate such malevolent spirits with sacrifices. The *Butsaraṇa* makes an incidental reference to the practice of sacrificing cocks to *yakkhas* to cure the afflictions of the ailing.⁶ The *Saddharma-ratnāvalī*, a later work, also speaks of rituals which were performed to propitiate the *yakkhas*.⁷

One means of reconciling Buddhism with the *yakkha* cult was to claim that some of the *yakkhas* were followers of the faith. As pointed out earlier, the twenty-eight chiefs of the *yakkhas* stood guard at the Mahāthūpa. A slab inscription of Mahinda IV (A.D. 956-972) found in the Issarasamaṇa area speaks of the *rākṣasa* of the Tissa tank who had been "disciplined" by the *thera* Mahinda and "employed in the service of the Order and the World."⁸ On the other hand, an attempt was made to present Buddhism as a potent magical force which could overcome the power of the malevolent *yakkhas*. This attitude finds precedents in the Pāli canonical literature. The Ālavaka Sutta,⁹ for instance, deals with the subjugation and conversion of a powerful *yakkha* by the Buddha.

3. *Mv.* 9.23; 10. 53-63, 66-9, 84-7, 90. See also Paranavitana, "Pre-Buddhist Religious Beliefs in Ceylon," *JRASCB*, Vol. XXXI, 1929, pp. 302-28.

4. *Shsvp.*, p. 97.

5. *Sumaṅgala-vilāsini*, PTS, Vol III, pp. 969-70.

6. *leḍa tenāttavūṭa śānti pinisa yak-haṭa dun kukūlu billak sē. Butsaraṇa*, ed. V. Sorata, 1931, p. 264.

7. *Saddharma-ratnāvalī*, ed. D. B. Jayatilaka, 1936, pp. 80, 89.

8. *anubuddu maha mihindu himiyan visin vinoyā sasun vāḍa lovāḍ-hi yedū rakus. EZ*, Vol. I, p. 33, ll. 9-10.

9. *Samyutta Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. I, pp. 212-5; *Sārattha-pakāsini*, PTS, Vol. I, pp. 316-37. See also J. Masson, *La religion populaire dans le canon bouddhique pāli*, Louvain, 1942, pp. 126-9.

According to the chronicles, the island had been the home of *yakkhas* in the past. It was the Buddha who, with his miraculous powers, defeated them and drove them away to make it suitable for human habitation.¹⁰ Devotion to the Buddha and the assiduous practice of his teachings made people immune from harm caused by *yakkhas*. In a story from the *Sahaṣṣa-vatthu-pakarāṇa*,¹¹ a royal official and a sorcerer, who tried to kill a merchant who was a pious Buddhist, were themselves killed by the very evil spirit they invoked.

Further, "Buddhist" rites were developed to replace the normal rites connected with the *yakkha* cult. Transfer of "merit" took the place of sacrifice and the *buddhamanta* replaced incantation. According to the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, a man "possessed" by an evil spirit could be cured by reciting the Metta Sutta, the Dhajagga Sutta and the Ratana Sutta for seven days. If this should fail the demoniac was to be escorted to the monastery and made to perform such "merit-producing" functions as worshipping the *āsana*, lighting lamps and sweeping the courtyard of the *stūpa*. After this the Maṅgala Sutta was to be recited for the benefit of the spirit; then the spirit was to be addressed in an assembly to which the tree-deity of the monastery was also invited. Here he should be informed of the merit transferred to his credit and requested to release the demoniac from his hold. If the *yakkha* was obstinate and refused to listen to the *saṅgha*, the *Āṭānāṭiya Sutta* was to be recited and appeals were to be made to the chief *yakkhas* and the deities informing them of his obstinacy. This Sutta was to be recited by a monk, who observed the rules of ceremonial purity by abstaining from both meat and food made from flour, behind closed doors guarded by men bearing arms.¹²

The magical potentialities of the *Āṭānāṭiya Sutta* were recognized even in the Pāli Canon.¹³ Yet it was an incantation meant for the individual "protection" of the monks, nuns and devotees. In the commentary it took the form of an elaborate rite which accords an exorcizing function to the Buddhist monk, a development which should perhaps be interpreted as an attempt to absorb the *yakkha* cult into the fold of Buddhist ritual. However, the evidence from the *Butsaraṇa* cited above testifies to the persistence of the parallel practice of propitiating *yakkhas* with sacrifices. Moreover, it is possible that even monks sometimes

10. *Mv.* ch. 1.

11. *Shsvp.*, p. 145.

12. *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, Vol. III, pp. 969-70.

13. *Dīgha Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. III, pp. 194-207. For studies on this Sutta, see Przyluski and Lalou, "Notes de mythologie bouddhique," *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies*, 1938, pp. 40-6.

offered sacrifices since the Daṃbadeni Katikāvata specifically forbids monks to offer sacrifices to *yakkhas* or to take part in exorcism.¹⁴

The Propitiation of Nāgas

In the Pāli Buddhist canon *nāgas* occur as powerful beings who were, nevertheless, subservient to the Buddha. At Uruvelā and later in the Cedi country the Buddha is said to have subdued hostile *nāgas*.¹⁵ Reference to the *nāgas* occur prominently in the early legends about the visit of the Buddha to the island in the *Dīpaṃsa* and the *Mahāvamsa*.¹⁶ A legend in the *Cūlavamsa* mentions a rite connected with the *nāga* cult performed at Gokaṇṇa by a certain Mahānāga who lived in the sixth century in order to ensure his accession to the throne.¹⁷

It is natural to expect that in an agricultural society the cult of spirits connected with water would acquire the important magical function of making rain. The *nāga* cult seems to have been closely connected with water. According to the *Mahābhārata* one of the blessings that Maṇināga conferred on Magadha where he was worshipped was to attract rain-clouds to this area.¹⁸ Hiuen-tsang speaks of the shrine of the Nāgarāja Elapātra at Taxila where people used to pray for rain or fine weather.¹⁹ In Sri Lanka many sculptures of *nāgas* have been found near ponds and reservoirs. A figure of a *nāga* was found by the Vannamaḍuva reservoir, for example. Close to the reservoir is a semi-circular pond by which another figure of a *nāga* and a "single figure of a goddess" are cut on the rock.²⁰ At Morakanda a *nāga* carved in the round is placed in such a manner that it seems to emerge from the stream where it is found.²¹ Perhaps the most elaborate specimen of this type of sculpture is the anthropomorphic representation of a *nāga* on a slab found on the bund of an irrigation reservoir at Gal Oya. He wears a crown which is shielded by a seven-headed hood; to his right is a diminutive *nāgini* with a prominent *śaṅkha* symbol above her. Another feminine figure, who stands on his left, holds a *śaṅkha* with her right hand and is attended by a child.

14. *upan rōgaya nisā yakun kelavīm balitibīm balibat kiyavīm ādī nosarup dā nokaṭa yutu. Katikāvat Saṅgara*, ed. D. B. Jayatilaka, 1955, p. 19.

15. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. I, pp. 24-5; Vol. IV, pp. 108-10.

16. *Dv.* ch. 2; *Mv.* ch. 2.

17. *Cv.* 41.79-82.

18. See *infra* p. 218.

19. Beal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 180. For further discussion on the connection of the Nāga-cult with water and rain, see J. Ph. Vogel, *Indian Serpent-lore or the Nāgas in Hindu Legend and Art*, 1926, pp. 240-2, 251-6.

20. *ASCAR*, 1897, p. 8.

21. *ASCAR*, 1897, p. 7.

On either side of his head there is an attendant figure in a "flying posture."²² The location of the sculpture and the *śaṅkha* symbol which appear on it strengthen the probability of its connection with water. One may surmise that by erecting figures of *nāgas* by reservoirs and honoring them the devotees of this cult expected to ensure their supply of water.

Apart from their association with water, *nāgas* are known in Indian literature as guardians of treasures, particularly jewels.²³ It is probably in this role that they frequently occur in monastic precincts. Figures of *nāgas*, both anthropomorphic and theriomorphic, occur on the stelae of the *stūpas* at Jetavana and Cetiyaḡiri.²⁴ They occur more often on the guardstones of the "late-Anurādhapura" and "Polonnaruva" periods. A rather unusual figurine of a twenty-one-headed *nāga* was found in the relic chamber of a *stūpa* near Tōpāvāva; beneath the relic chamber was a *yantragala* which contained forty-five figurines of *nāgas* in nine "family groups."²⁵ None of these sculptures appears to have served a cultic purpose.

Nāgas are given more importance in certain sculptured slabs found near Buddhist shrines. One of the most striking examples is a slab about four feet in height found at Jetavana. On it is an imposing figure of a seven-headed *nāga* who wears a band below his head and lies coiled beneath a *chatra*. He is flanked by pilasters which support a band decorated with "Buddhist windows." A similar slab from Polonnaruva has a five-headed *nāga* who is seated under a *chatra* and attended by two figures seated on short pillar-like supports on either side.²⁶ These slabs give the impression that they were used for a cultic purpose. An instance of the reconciliation of Indian Buddhism with the *nāga* cult was recorded by Sung-yun who saw at Udyāna a Buddhist monastery situated by a lake which was "occupied" by a *nāga* king: "The king of the country propitiates him with gold and jewels and other precious offerings which he casts into the middle of the tank; such of these which find their way through a back exit, the priests are permitted to retain." The monastery depended on this income for its expenses.²⁷ It is possible

22. *ASCAR*, 1953, p. ix.

23. Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-2, 173-4.

24. *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, pls. VIII, IX, X.

25. *ASCAR*, 1909, p. 29, pl. LXVI; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Bronzes from Ceylon*, 1914, pl. XX, fig. 87. For the more recent discoveries at Padaviya see also *ASCAR*, 1954, pp. 16-20.

26. *UCHC* Vol. I, Pt. 1, pl. VIIIb; *ASC*, *Eleventh Report* pl. X; *ASCAR*, 1894, p. vii; *CJSG*, Vol. II, p. 98, pl. LVII.

27. Beal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 64.

to imagine that, in a similar manner, the *nāga* cult found a place in the Buddhist shrines of Sri Lanka.

An inscription found at a group of ruins to the east of the Abhayagiri monastery seems to support this supposition.²⁸ This record is dated in the reign of a certain Senavarman. There were five kings who bore the name Sena and all reigned during the ninth and tenth centuries. The record is written partly in Tamil and partly in Sanskrit and contains an endowment made to a Buddhist shrine by a group of Tamils to meet the cost of a religious festival. It is interesting that the reference to the main image of the shrine is followed by a respectful reference to a *nāga* — *śiṣṭanāga-nārayum*. Presumably it refers to a second image at the shrine, though the fragmentary nature of the record precludes a definite conclusion. The present writer is not aware of any other reference to a *nāga* by the name of Śiṣṭa. However, *śiṣṭa* is a title applicable to a *nāga* who had been “disciplined” or “converted” to the faith.

A pond which is situated within the grounds of the Cetiya-giri monastery at Mihintale is of particular interest in this connection. This pond, known as Nāgapokuna today, is presumably identical with the Nāga-sonḍi built by Aggabodhi I.²⁹ It is notable for the prominent figure of a polycephalic *nāga* carved in such a manner that it seems to rise from the water.³⁰ It is possible that this pond, like the lakes described in Chinese accounts, was used for a cultic purpose.

A statement in the Mihintale Tablets of Mahinda IV seems to support this inference. It contains an account of the allocation of resources for the maintenance of monastic buildings which includes a list of the income from offerings made by devotees to the *dāge* (relic shrine), *maṅgul mahasala piḷimage* (shrine of the Stone Image), *mahaboy ge* (shrine of the Bo tree), *nayinda* and the *Minināl devdūn ge* (the shrine of the goddess Minināl).³¹

Paranavitana³² has suggested that *nayinda* is derived from Skt. *Nāthendra*, an epithet of the Bodhisattva Lokanātha. He believed that *Minināl* is derived from *Maṇinālā*. This word, which is similar in meaning to *Maṇipadma*, is considered to be another name of Tārā. But the term *nayinda* does not occur in Sinhalese literature as an epithet of Lokanātha. The usual Sinhalese derivative from *Nāthendra* is *Natiṅdu*.³³

28. *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 1405.

29. *Cv*. 42.28.

30. *ASCAR*, 1962, pls. II, III.

31. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 92-3, II. A33-7.

32. *CJSG*, Vol. II, p. 57.

33. *Tisara Sandeśaya*, vv. 62, 128; *Kāvyaśekhara*, vv. 15-24.

The term *nayī* is a common derivative from *nāga* and occurs in this sense in *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya*,³⁴ a work contemporaneous with the inscriptions; *nayinda* is the Sinhalese equivalent of Skt. *nāgendra*. It is also noteworthy that in referring to other shrines the inscription uses the term *ge* (house), while it is significantly absent in the reference to *nayinda*.

Similarly, *Maṇinālā* is not known to occur in any Buddhist work as an epithet of *Tārā*. On the other hand, *Nāl* was a common name among Sinhalese women in the eighth and ninth centuries.³⁵ The suffixes *-la* and *-l* were, according to Paranavitana, "frequently added to proper names, evidently to indicate respect, e.g. *Mihidala* (*Mihida* = *Pāli Mahinda*), *Nāl* (*Nā* = Skt. *Nāgā*), *Deval* (*Deva* = Skt. *Deva*) . . ."³⁶ It is thus evident that in this case Paranavitana considers *Nāl* a derivative from the Skt. *Nāga*.³⁷ It thus seems to be more plausible to trace the derivation of *Minināl* to Skt. *Maṇināga*. A hill in *Rohaṇa* was named after *Maṇināga*.³⁸ The cult of a *Maṇināga* finds mention in the *Mahābhārata*.³⁹ In the description of *Rājagṛha* in the *Sabhāparvan* of the epic, *Kṛṣṇa* refers to him: ". . . here is the excellent abode of *Svastika* and of *Maṇināga*. *Manu* (*Maṇi*?) hath made *Magadha* such that clouds cannot keep aloof from it." He is again mentioned in the *Vanaparvan* in association with the city of *Rājagṛha*: "Going thence to *Maṇināga*, one will reap a benefit equal to a gift of a thousand kine. Whosoever partakes of the water of the *tīrtha* of *Maṇināga*, had he been bitten even by a venomous snake, the poison will have no effect on him." The excavations carried out by *Marshall* and *Bloch*⁴⁰ at the shrine of *Maniār Maṭh* in *Rājagṛha* revealed a circular structure decorated with stucco figures datable, on stylistic grounds, to the *Gupta* period. They include five figures of *nāgas* and one of a *nāginī*. This points to the possibility of a *nāginī* associated with the cult of *Maṇi* and strengthens the probability that a *nāginī* who bore the name *Maṇi* found devotees in *Sri Lanka*.

Two figurines from the *Leslie de Saram* Collection in the *Colombo Museum* probably represent the cult of a *nāginī*. They were listed by *Coomaraswamy* as figures of *Pattini*, but he was not certain about these

34. *DAG*, p. 249.

35. *Paranavitana*, *Sigiri Graffiti*, Vol. II, vv. 93, 95, 165, 543, 608, 627.

36. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. cxxiii.

37. *Maṇināga* > *Mininā*. The use of the title *devdū* is not unusual; *nāgas* were known as *bhummadevatā*. In *Bengal* the cult of the *nāgī* was absorbed into *Buddhism* in the worship of *Jāṅguli*. See *N. K. Bhattasali*, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanic Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, 1929, p. 224; *B. Bhattacharya*, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 1924, pp. 78-80.

38. *Mv.* 34, 89.

39. *Mbh.*, *Sabhāp.* 21. 9-10; *Vanap.* 84. 106-7.

40. *ASCAR*, 1905-6, pp. 103-6.

identifications. Neither of the figures has any of the attributes of Pat-tini.⁴¹ One is an erect figure which measures 22.5 cm.⁴² Its upper body is bare except for the ornaments and the *upavīta*, and on the whole the dress and ornaments are comparable to those worn by the *nāga* figures on the guardstones. The figure holds a flower in either hand and has a conical headdress ornamented with cobra-hoods. A figure of a *stūpa* is found slightly above the forehead, and a large hood of a cobra shields the head. The second figure is 13.3 cm. in height.⁴³ It represents a female figure sitting cross-legged on what appears to be the coils of a cobra which holds its hood over her head. The dress and ornaments are similar to those of the first figure though the *stūpa* symbol is missing. Both her hands are poised in the *katāka mudrā*. The two figures have been dated, on stylistic grounds, to the ninth or the tenth century.

The continuance of this association of the *nāga* cult with Buddhism in the "Polonnaruva Period" is reflected in the title of one of the senior monks invited by Parākramabāhu I to participate in the "purification" of the *saṅgha*. Among those who came from the province of the *yuvarāja* was *thera nāgindapalli*.⁴⁴ It does not seem likely that Nāgindapalli was a name. On the other hand, the whole phrase could be rendered into English as "the chief incumbent of the shrine of the *nāga* king." It is evident from this passage that there was a well-known shrine of the *nāgas* in the Dakṣiṇadesa and that its incumbent at the time ranked high in the order of the *saṅgha*.

Brāhmaṇas and Brāhmanic Ritual

Evidence from both the chronicle and the inscriptions testify to the popularity of the Brāhmaṇas and Brāhmanic ritual during this period. Mahinda II (777-797) and Sena I (833-853) donated food to Brāhmaṇas.⁴⁵ In the reign of Sena II (853-887) their influence was strong enough to win royal patronage on a grand scale. At a festival held in their honor Sena fed a thousand Brāhmaṇas with milk-rice in jewelled bowls, clothed them in new garments and presented each with a golden vessel filled with pearls capped by a costly jewel.⁴⁶ An inscription from

41. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Bronzes from Ceylon*, p. 12.

42. *Ibid.*, p. xvi, fig. 43.

43. *Ibid.*, pl. XVI, fig. 42.

44. *Cv.* 78. 9. See *infra* p. 316.

45. *Cv.* 48. 143-5; 50.5.

46. *Cv.* 51. 65-7.

the reign of Gajabāhu II reveals that Kantale was called Vijayarājacaturvedi-maṅgalam;⁴⁷ presumably, there was a large number of Brāhmaṇas living there. It was probably named after Vijayabāhu I, and this may suggest that the settlement was patronized by him. Another inscription from the same reign records the establishment of sacrificial boundaries by a royal official.⁴⁸ Parākramabāhu I gave alms to Brāhmaṇas.⁴⁹ The Brāhmaṇa village at Kantale received royal patronage again in the time of Nissaṅka Malla. In an inscription found there he records that he sat at that spot watching the distribution of alms in the alms hall he built in the Caturveda Brahmapura.⁵⁰ It is significant that the chronicle records instances of kings patronizing Brāhmaṇas without any apparent resentment. In fact, in this connection Sena II is called *puññavā*, "one who accumulated merit."

The *Cūlavamsa* reveals that the kings of Polonnaruva employed Brāhmaṇas to perform rites prescribed by the *Gṛhyasūtras* and to interpret dreams and bodily marks.⁵¹ According to the account of the early life of Parākramabāhu I, rites like Jātakamma, Kaṇṇavedha, Annapāsana, Medhajanana, Nāmakaraṇa and Upanayana were held strictly according to Brāhmanic rules.⁵² Parākramabāhu I built a hall called Hemamandira for the ceremonies to dispense blessings performed by Brāhmaṇas.⁵³ The *navagrahaśānti* that Nissaṅka Malla attended was probably a similar ceremony connected with the cult of planetary gods.⁵⁴

However, these rites appear to have acquired "Buddhist" characteristics and to have undergone modifications to suit local needs. The ceremony of the first offering of food described in the story Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in the *Mahāvamsa* has few Brāhmanical characteristics.⁵⁵ It was preceded by the giving of alms, and the food offerings which the monks did not consume themselves were given to children. Similarly, the Upanayana rite of Parākramabāhu was preceded by a Buddhist ceremony lasting three days during which the "three jewels" were honored with offerings of lamps and flowers.⁵⁶

47. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 191-6.

48. *SII*, Vol. IV, p. 492, No. 1397.

49. *Cv.* 73.32

50. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 283-90.

51. *Cv.* 62. 28, 46-7.

52. *Cv.* 62.42, 45, 53; 64. 13-7.

53. *Cv.* 73. 71.

54. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 146-8.

55. *Mv.* 24.74-7.

56. *Cv.* 64. 15-7.

It is possible to suggest that Brāhmaṇas were employed at Buddhist shrines for the performance of ritual functions. Fa-Hian mentions in his reference to the ceremonial concerning the Tooth relic that the king "purified" himself "according to the strictest Brāhmanical rules."⁵⁷ In the Ruvanvālisāya inscription of Kalyānavatī, Brāhmaṇas are mentioned in a listing of the shrines' employees.⁵⁸ Presumably their presence was necessitated by ceremonial requirements. According to the Srei Santhor inscription of the Cambodian king Jayavarman V (968-1001), the *purohita* had to bathe an image of the Buddha and recite Buddhist "prayers" on festival days.⁵⁹ A Burmese inscription from Pagan, dated in the twelfth century, mentions Brāhmaṇa astrologers as the functionaries who drew water at an auspicious time for the performance of the *paritta* ceremony.⁶⁰ It is likely that the Brāhmaṇas employed at the Ruvanvālisāya performed similar ceremonial functions.

The Cults of Gods and Bodhisattvas

Evidence of the rapprochement of Buddhism with the cults of Brāhmanic gods is found even in the Pāli canon. In the Mahāsamaya Sutta they are presented as followers of the Buddha who flocked to listen to his discourses.⁶¹ In Sri Lanka the cult of gods persisted side by side with Buddhism. Mahinda II restored decayed temples of gods and made images for them.⁶² Parākramabāhu I restored seventy-nine dilapidated shrines of gods and built thirteen new ones in Rājaratṭha; in Rohaṇa he repaired twenty-four shrines.⁶³ There is no evidence to determine the identity of these gods, however.⁶⁴ It has been suggested that the cults of Agni and Parjanya were prevalent in the tenth century.⁶⁵ Other Brāhmanic gods like Brahma, Sūrya and the Guardians of the Four Quarters also were honored in Sri Lanka, and the cults of tree-deities and local gods like Sumana and Vibhīšana seem to have occupied a fairly important place in the religious life of the people.⁶⁶

57. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

58. *EZ*, Vol. IV, p. 257, l. 15.

59. L. P. Briggs, "The Syncretism of Religions in South East Asia," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. LXXI, 1951, Pt. 4, p. 241.

60. *Epigraphia Birmanica.*, Vol. III, p. 36.

61. *Dīgha Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. II, pp. 253-63.

62. *Cv.* 48. 143-5.

63. *Cv.* 79. 19, 22, 80.

64. *Cv.* 57. 5-8.

65. *Art. As.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 167-190.

66. *Mv.* 1.33-6. See also the *Mahmāyūrī*, *JA.*, 1915, p. 40.

Buddhism did not discourage the worship of gods. When the author of the *Cūlavamsa* says that Vijayabāhu I took nothing from the property of the shrines of gods, he is illustrating the good qualities of the king.⁶⁷ In an inscription placed at a Buddhist shrine Nissaṅka Malla records that he built a *devāla* at Ramēśvaram.⁶⁸ The syncretic attitude of Buddhism led to the absorption of some of these cults into the fold of Buddhist ritual. Brāhmanic gods adorn the stelae of the early *stūpas* at Anurādhapura; they also occur in the relic-chambers of *stūpas* and the *yantragala* receptacles found beneath the pedestals of images. A *stūpa* from Topāvāva yielded figures of Brahma, Varuṇa, Yama, Indra, Naisrita, Agni and Viṣṇu.⁶⁹

With the reconciliation of these cults with Buddhism it came to be believed that these gods were followers of the Buddha. In fact Sumana, the god of Sumanakūṭa, was supposed to be a *sotāpanna*, one who had reached the initial stage of the path to salvation.⁷⁰ He became closely associated with Buddhism as the "guardian of the Footprint of the Buddha." A strophe in the *Cūlavamsa*, which states that Kassapa of Rohaṇa "built the Khadirāḷi monastery and honored the god," suggests a possible connection between the cult of Khadirāḷi Uppalavaṇṇa and this monastery.⁷¹ The Uttaromūla fraternity of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* seems to have had connections with the cult of Skanda.⁷² But the most significant piece of evidence concerning the close association of Buddhism with the cult of gods came from the account of the origin of the Selantara fraternity. The prospective chief incumbent of this fraternity was made to prove that his appointment had the approval of gods by spending a night in a *devapalli*. It is evident from the *Cūlavamsa* that this practice was known even at the time the chronicle came to be written.⁷³

The influence of the Mahāyāna encouraged the practice of worshipping Bodhisattvas within Sinhalese Buddhist ritual. Reference to this cult occurs in the *Cūlavamsa* as early as in the time of Jeṭṭhatissa II (A.D. 328-337), a sculptor who is said to have carved a figure of a Bodhisattva.⁷⁴ Dhātusena had a complete set of regalia made for a figure of a Bodhisattva he had erected at a special shrine,⁷⁵ and Sena II (833-853) placed a Bodhisattva figure in the Maṇimekhalā *pāsāda* at the Jetavana

67. Cv. 60. 77.

68. EZ, Vol. II, pp. 98-123.

69. ASCAR, 1909, pp. 17-8.

70. Mv. 1. 33.

71. *khadirāḷivihāraṃ katvā devaṃ ca apūjayī*. Cv. 45.55.

72. See *infra* p. 290.

73. See *infra* p. 302.

74. Cv. 37. 102.

75. Cv. 38.67-8.

monastery.⁷⁶ In a tenth-century inscription from the Abhayagiri monastery a king claims to have gilded the image of the Bodhisattva of the Blue Shrine at the monastery.⁷⁷

The popularity of the cult of Bodhisattvas is evident also from the sculptures found in different parts of the island. The specimens from Buduruvegala, which Paranavitana dates to about the ninth century, are of particular interest. Here the colossal statue of the Buddha is flanked by large figures of the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī. Avalokiteśvara is attended by his *śakti* and a male figure while Mañjuśrī is attended by two male figures.⁷⁸ Another large figure in kingly attire from Vāligama has been identified by Nell and Paranavitana as a representation of Avalokiteśvara.⁷⁹ Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw has suggested that it represents Samantabhadra.⁸⁰ Two more life-size figures of this divinity, dated by Mode to the latter half of the seventh century, have been found at Situlpavva and Kurukkalmāḍam.⁸¹

Three bronze figures in the Nevill collection of the British Museum and one in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts also attest to the popularity of Avalokiteśvara.⁸² Almost equally frequent in occurrence are sculptures of Tārā. A large bronze figure in the British Museum measuring 143.75 cm. in height, a small figurine in the same collection which measures 13.3 cm., and two small figurines from the Anurādhapura Museum have been identified as representations of this deity.⁸³ Apart from these, bronze figures of Vajrasattva (?),⁸⁴ Vajrapānī, Jambhala and

76. *Cv.* 51. 77.

77. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 222, l. 22.

78. *CJSG*, Vol. II, pp. 50-1; *ASCAR*, 1955, p. 24.

79. *CJSG*, Vol. II, pp. 49-50.

80. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Kustarājagala Image—an Identification," *Paranavitana Felicitation Volume*, Colombo, 1965, pp. 389-416.

81. Heinz Mode, *Die Buddhistische Plastik auf Ceylon*, 1963, pp. 100-1, pls. 161, 162, 163. Mode's dating is not based on clear evidence. The sculptures could be considerably later.

82. For the dating and the description of the characteristics of these images see A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Mahāyāna Buddhist Images from Ceylon and Java," *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 283-97 pls. I, figs. 1, 2; II, figs. 1, 3; *Memoirs of the Colombo Museum*, Series A, No. 1, 1914, pp. 20-1; *Catalogue of the Indian Collection in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, 1923, Pt. I, p. 81.

83. Coomaraswamy wrongly identified the figures at the British Museum as representations of the goddess Pattini. See *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 292-3, pl. III, figs. 2, 3. They have been more recently identified as representations of Tārā. See e.g. P. L. Prematilleke, *Religious Architecture and Sculpture of Ceylon*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University London, Vol. I, pp. 240-2. See also *ASCAR*, 1957, pl. VI, fig. 1.

84. D. T. Devendra, *The Buddha Image and Ceylon*, 1957, p. 239. Prematilleke, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 239, Vol. II, pl. XCIV. It is difficult to determine whether this is a representation of Vajrasattva or of Vajrapānī. The figure wears a tall headdress and sits in the *virāsana*, a pose unusual for Vajrapānī. The *virāsana* is usually associated with the Buddha. On the other hand, it carries the *vajra* in the right hand but not the *ghaṇṭā*; Vajrasattva usually carries both the *ghaṇṭā* and the *vajra*.

Cuṇḍā have been found in Sri Lanka.⁸⁵ Except for the figure of Vajrasattva(?) which has been dated to the fifth-sixth centuries,⁸⁶ all the other bronze figures have been assigned, on considerations of style, to a period extending from the eighth to the tenth century. They seem to represent the wave of Mahāyāna influence which, as evident from the other sources, spread over Sri Lanka during this period.⁸⁷

The cult of Bodhisattvas was not confined to those *nikāyas* which overtly acquiesced in Mahāyāna influences. The Bodhisattva Maitreya seems to have found favor with the followers of the Mahāvihāra. A figure of Maitreya was unearthed among the ruins of the Thūpārāma monastery at Anurādhapura.⁸⁸ Though not many figures of Maitreya have been found, the wide popularity of his cult is evident from certain records of this period which carry the warning that those who violated the regulations embodied therein would not be able to raise their hands in adoration even if Maitreya Buddha were to pass by their doors.⁸⁹ An account of Maitreya is found in the *Dharmapradīpikā*, a commentary on the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, written during this period.⁹⁰ The prevalence of the Bodhisattva-worship at the Mahāvihāra does not necessarily mean that the Mahāyāna concept of the Bodhisattva was accepted by this *nikāya*. It is more likely that the Bodhisattvas were worshipped as "Buddhist gods" by the followers of the Theravāda.

The parallel trends of "borrowing" gods from the Mahāyāna and of "converting" Brāhmanic and local deities to Buddhism seem to have led to the formation of a Sinhalese Buddhist pantheon. Here the term pantheon can be used only in a limited sense since it is not clear that the relative positions of all these gods had been worked out by this time. But even so, the concept of "Buddhist deities" (*bauddha devatāvan*) appears in the Ruvanvālisāya inscription of Nissaṅka Malla. These "Buddhist deities" afforded protection to those who regularly performed Buddhist rituals. Once they came to converse with Nissaṅka Malla while he was engaged in worshipping relics.⁹¹ It seems to have become part of popular belief that these deities would protect the island in times of calamity. According to the *Mahāvāṃsa*, the Buddha

85. *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 285, 288-90, 291-2, Pl. I, figs. 3, 4; Pl. II, fig. 1; *Catalogue of Indian Collection in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, pp. 82-4.

86. Prematilleke, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 239-40.

87. See *infra* p. 281.

88. *Memoirs of the Colombo Museum*, Ser. A, No. 1, p. 20, pl. V, fig 9. The figure was assigned by Coomaraswamy to the seventh century. Prematilleke prefers a date in the 8th-10th centuries. Prematilleke, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-6.

89. See e.g. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 258, ll. B7-13, see also p. 190, ll. 20-1; p. 265, l. 46.

90. *Dharmapradīpikā*, ed. Dharmārāma, 1951, p. 206-8.

91. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 80, ll. 28-32.

charged Sakka with the protection of the island when he was on his death bed. Sakka entrusted this task to Uppalavaṇṇa.⁹² The *Pūjāvāliya* and the *Cūlavamsa* explain that the invasion of Māgha took place at a time when the powerful deities who protected the island had lost interest in their task owing to the many misdeeds committed by its inhabitants.⁹³

By the time of the Polonnaruva kingdom Śaivism had become an important force in Sri Lanka. It is possible that the rivalry which prevailed between Buddhists and the followers of Śiva in South India spread to Sri Lanka. Śaiva *nāyaṇārs* like Tiruñāṇaṇṇampantar and Mānikavāṇṇakar, who were particularly associated with the militant attitude that Śaivism adopted towards Buddhism and Jainism, were also worshipped in Sri Lanka.⁹⁴ It is likely that the cult of the *nāyaṇārs* fostered a certain amount of enmity between the Buddhists and the Śaivites. Śiva is found among the gods attending on the Buddha in the murals of the relic chamber of the Mahiyaṅgaṇa *stūpa*,⁹⁵ but it is not very likely that there was a rapprochement between Buddhism and the worship of Śiva.

Rites, Ceremonies and Festivals

In addition to the cultic practices which were brought within the folds of its ritual, Buddhism evolved ceremonial and even magical practices to meet the religious needs of the people. The power of the Buddha and Buddhist rites were considered to be potent magical forces which could even counter the adverse effects of calamities like plague, famine and drought. Legends claimed that, in the past, the Buddha Kakusandha visited Sri Lanka and through his miraculous powers⁹⁶ cured the inhabitants of a plague and that Konāgamana came to the island in a time of drought and famine and caused rain.⁹⁷

Perhaps the most popular Buddhist rite was the recitation of the *paritta*. The *paritta* was supposed to be a charm which could be used for the personal protection of the individual. It was also an efficacious and potent rite which could serve the whole community by warding off danger of drought, bad harvest, illness and the malevolent influence of

92. *Mv.* 7. 1-5.

93. *Pjv.* p. 108; *Cv.* 80.54-5.

94. P. Arunachalam, "Polonnaruva Bronzes and Siva Worship and Symbolism," *JRASCBS*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 221-2; C. Godakumbura, "Bronzes from Polonnaruva," *JRASCBS*, Vol. VII, Pt. 2, p. 244.

95. *ASCAR*, 1951, p. 17-8.

96. *Pjv.* p. 50.

97. *Pjv.* p. 52.

evil spirits. In Burma it was believed that even the worst crimes could be mitigated by the recitation of the *paritta*,⁹⁸ and thus it became an important rite in the life of the people. The knowledge of the section of the scriptures which contained the *paritta* was considered an essential prerequisite for admission to the Order.⁹⁹

The rite consisted of the recitation of prescribed *suttas* in order to infuse thread and water with magical power. When used as a charm for personal protection the water was sprinkled on the body and the thread was worn. The Telapatta Jātaka refers to the use of charmed sand and thread as a protection against demons.¹⁰⁰ According to the *Mahāvamsa*, the god Uppalavanna came to meet Vijaya and his followers when they landed on the island. He sprinkled them with water from his vessel and tied a charmed thread round their arms. Later on, the chronicle says, one of them was caught by a female demon, "but because of the power of the magic thread (*parittā sutta*) she could not devour him, and though he was entreated by the female demon, the man would not yield up the thread."¹⁰¹ The *Sumaṅgala-vilāsini*, as mentioned earlier, commends the *paritta* as a charm against evil spirits. Mānābharaṇa held a *paritta* recital when he heard that his queen had conceived,¹⁰² and Parākramabāhu I built a mansion called Pañcasattati specifically for the purpose of sacralizing the thread and water through the recitation of *paritta*.¹⁰³

Kings held *paritta* recitals on a grand scale in times of grave calamity. The *Cūlavamsa* describes a performance of this rite during the reign of Upatissa I (A.D. 365-406) when the land was ravaged by famine and plague. Monks walked around the wall of the inner city throughout the night chanting the Ratana Sutta and sprinkling water. This was done in the manner in which the Buddha is said to have originally recited the *paritta* in order to protect the city of Vesāli against famine and illness. This combination of incantations and sympathetic magic is said to have produced the desired result. "When morning dawned," the chronicle states, "a great cloud poured rain on the earth. Those who suffered from disease, being well, held a festival."¹⁰⁴ The rite was performed again during the reign of Sena II who had the Ratana

98. M. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 12.

99. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 48, l. 38; Vol. III, p. 264, l. 21.

100. *The Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 39.

101. *Mv.* 7.6-9, 14.

102. *Cv.* 62.31, 34.

103. *Cv.* 73. 73.

104. *Cv.* 37.189-98.

Sutta engraved on gold plates. The image of Ānanda was taken around the city in procession while monks chanted the *paritta* and sprinkled water to charm people against illness. He himself was anointed with it at the Mahāthūpa and had procedure written down so that annual performances could be held in the same manner.¹⁰⁵ Kassapa V had the rite performed to ward off the plague and to ensure a good harvest.¹⁰⁶

Due to the influence of Tantric Buddhism the use of *dhāraṇīs*, Tantric incantations, was introduced to Sri Lanka. Invocations addressed to Vairocana, Śikhi, Gaganabuddha, Ākāśagarbha and Tārā are found on copper tablets at the Vijayārāma. These devotees expected a variety of favors. Some of them asked for salvation and freedom from sorrow while others were concerned with much more mundane matters such as securing help to "overcome fatigue" and "removal of obstructions in the vital organs." They have been assigned, on palaeographic grounds to the ninth century.¹⁰⁷ Evidently their use was popular even in the twelfth century, for a building called the *dhāraṇīghara* was erected by Parākramabāhu I for the recitation of these incantations.¹⁰⁸

Apart from these rites which were supposed to be magically potent, festivals and ceremonies which grew round many cult objects played an important part in the religious life of the Buddhists. The scale of a festival was determined by the importance and the prestige enjoyed by the cult object for which it was performed. One may surmise that the importance of cult objects that a monastery possessed and the scope it offered for cultic activity would, to a large extent, determine the following that the monastery commanded. Monasteries employed special officials to attend to the organization of these festivals.¹⁰⁹ The popularity of these cult objects is reflected in the extensive literature which grew round them which includes works like the *Kesadhātuvam̐sa*, *Dāṭṭhāvam̐sa*, *Dhātuvam̐sa*, *Mahābodhivam̐sa*, *Thūpavam̐sa* and their commentaries.

The *Cūlavam̐sa* speaks of relic festivals (*dhātupūjā*) held by Kassapa IV, Sena III and Mahinda IV.¹¹⁰ The Anurādhapura slab inscription of Kassapa V and the Kaludiyapokuna inscription of Sena III also refer to "relic festivals" and "relic processions."¹¹¹ The Hair relic was

105. *Cv.* 51.79-82; see also *supra* p. 176, n. 45.

106. *Cv.* 52. 80.

107. *ASC, Sixth Progress Report*, July to September 1891, Appendix A, pp. 12-4.

108. *Cv.* 73. 71.

109. See *supra* p. 114.

110. *Cv.* 52.36; 53.37; 54. 54-5.

111. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 46, ll. 9-10; Vol. III, p. 265, l. 36.

at the Mariccavāṭṭi monastery,¹¹² and Sena I held a festival for it.¹¹³ Another relic, the *chiṇṇapaṭadhātuka*, is mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa* in connection with the reign of Mahinda V.¹¹⁴ Wijesinha believed that this was a "forehead band." Geiger surmised that it was a strip of cloth from the Buddha's robe.¹¹⁵

The festival held in honor of the Tooth relic was perhaps the most popular and elaborate ceremony of its kind. One of the important reasons for the popularity of the Abhayagiri monastery was its association with this relic. Fa-Hian¹¹⁶ who visited Sri Lanka in the fifth century reports that every year in the middle of the third month the Tooth relic was taken in procession from the shrine in the center of the city to the Abhayagiri monastery. It was kept there for three months after which it was brought back to the city. If Fa-Hian was following the Chinese calendar, this ceremony was held in about the early part of April. According to the *Cūlavamsa*¹¹⁷ Sena II held a festival in honor of this relic. We can surmise that even at this time the celebrations were held at the Abhayagiri monastery since Sena is said to have gone into the Ratanapāsāda at this monastery during the course of the festival. After the period of the Coḷa occupation Vijayabāhu I built a new shrine for the relic and regularly held festivals in its honor.¹¹⁸

During the reign of Parākramabāhu I the Tooth relic was taken in procession round the city. The *Cūlavamsa*¹¹⁹ gives a detailed description of this festival. The relic was inserted into a hollowed-out jewel filled with scented paste. The jewel was deposited inside a reliquary of precious stones, and this in turn was placed in a casket of gold. This casket, together with the Bowl relic, was placed on a seat inside a wheeled pavilion made of gold. The pavilion was guarded by Lambakaṇṇas and other men of high rank who carried whisks, parasols and swords and was accompanied by hundreds of vehicles carrying dancing girls and musicians. The king himself, attended by his dignitaries, accompanied the relics on an elephant, honoring them all the while. After the relics were brought back to their shrine a festival of lamps

112. Cv. 54.40-1.

113. Cv. 50.71.

114. Cv. 55. 17.

115. Cv. trsl., Vol. I, p. 187, see also n. 3. A *stūpa* in which the robe of the Buddha had been enshrined is mentioned in the *Sihvp.* p. 7.

116. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

117. Cv. 51.22

118. Cv. 60.16.

119. Cv. 74. 198-248.

was held in their honor for seven days. As evident from the *Daḷadā-sirita*, the procession of the Tooth relic became more elaborate by the fourteenth century. An important development was its association with the *paritta*. The *Daḷadā-sirita* prescribes that seven or at least five monks should continuously recite the *paritta* before the relic. During the procession the monks held the charmed thread attached to the festival car and chanted the *paritta* as they followed it.¹²⁰

Fa-Hian makes an interesting statement in his description of the honors paid to the Tooth relic. As a result of the regular performance of these rites, he maintains, the kingdom suffered "neither from famine, calamity nor revolution."¹²¹ The *Cūlavamsa* also speaks of the special powers of the relic. Heavy rain poured forth when the relic was taken in procession, yet no one in the procession experienced any difficulty since the cloud moved ahead of the procession.¹²² During the reign of Parākrāmabāhu II, when the country was ravaged by a drought "caused by evil planetary influence," the Tooth relic was taken in procession around the city, and this brought abundant rain.¹²³ The *Daḷadā-sirita* prescribes that the relic should be taken in procession in times of drought.¹²⁴ It is thus evident that the recitation of the *paritta* and the rituals connected with the Tooth relic were associated with important magical functions such as the curing of illness, exorcism and particularly rain-making.

The reigns of Parākrāmabāhu I and Nissanka Malla saw a profusion of *stūpa* building, the most important being the ones at Polonnaruva, such as the Damiḷathūpa, the Rankotvehera and the Kiri-vehera.¹²⁵ This period rivals the *stūpa*-building phase of the "early Anurādhapura Period" in both the size and the number of *stūpas* built. The popularity of the *stūpas* at Anurādhapura remained undiminished even after the change of capital to Polonnaruva and the erection of new *stūpas* at this city. Literary works like the *Thūpavamsa* and the costly festivals that were held in honor of the Mahāthūpa reflect the esteem in which this *stūpa* was held.¹²⁶

A more developed concept of "relics" appears in two Sinhalese works, the *Pūjāvaliya* and *Saddharmālaṅkāra*, dated to the thirteenth

120. *Daḷadā-sirita*, p. 51.

121. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

122. *Cv.* 74.239-40.

123. *Cv.* 87.3-9.

124. *Daḷadā-sirita*, p. 53.

125. *ASCAR*, 1909, p. 6; 1910-11, pp. 28-9; 1911-2, pp. 86-9; *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, pp. 593-95.

126. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 70-83; Vol. IV, pp. 253-60; see also *infra* p. 240

and fourteenth centuries respectively. They speak of the Bo Tree and the *dharmadhātu* as "foundations of the Buddhist order" (*sāsanapratisthā*) which prevent the establishment of the authority of non-Buddhist rulers over the island. Moreover, the *Saddharmālaṅkāra* mentions a type of *stūpa*, the *dharmacāitya*, where scriptural works like the *Dhamsaṅḡunu* (Pāli *Dhammasaṅḡani*) and the *Pratītyasamutpāda* were enshrined.¹²⁷

The practice of enshrining fragments of scriptures in *stūpas* was widely spread throughout the Buddhist world. Traditions of Buddhist kings depositing canonical and commentarial works in *stūpas* are found in the accounts of Chinese pilgrims who visited India.¹²⁸ Plates bearing excerpts from the *Pratītyasamutpāda* were found at Kasia,¹²⁹ and similar tablets containing the formula *ye dharmā* etc., inscribed in the so-called pre-Nāgarī script, have been found in Central Java.¹³⁰ According to A. Stein, the practice of depositing manuscripts in *stūpas* is illustrated in the paintings of Tunhuang.¹³¹ These deposits were known as *dharmadhātu*. Grünwedel has pointed out that they were also known as *pratiṣṭhā*.¹³²

There is strong reason to believe that the practice of honoring the *dharmadhātu* was known for a long time before the thirteenth century. It is recorded in both the *Cūlavamsa* and the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* that the *dharmadhātu* containing the writings of the Vaitulya *nikāya* brought by a merchant from India during the reign of Silākāla (A.D. 530) were housed by the king in a shrine close to the palace. He instituted the practice of taking them each year to the Jetavana monastery where a festival was held in their honor.¹³³

By the reign of Kasappa V this rite had been adapted to suit the requirements of the Theravāda.¹³⁴ The *Dhammasaṅḡani* was inscribed on gold plates adorned with jewels and was placed in a shrine in the center of the city. The king appointed his own son to guard it. This shrine is mentioned in a tenth-century inscription of a person who describes himself as the guardian of relics at the shrine of Dhamsaṅḡunu.¹³⁵

127. Pjv. p. 49; *Saddharmālaṅkāra*, ed. Bentota Saddhātissa, 1934, p. 388; *Saddharmaratnākaraya*, ed. Kosgoda Nānavimala, 1931, p. 298.

128. See e.g., I-tsing, p. 150; Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

129. *ASIAR*, 1910-11, p. 74.

130. F. D. K. Bosch, *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, The Hague, 1961, pp. 171-97.

131. *JRAS*, 1931, pp. 863-5.

132. Grünwedel, *Mythologie* . . . p. 110.

133. *Cv.* 41. 37-40; *Niks.*, pp. 19-20; see also *supra* pp. 33-4.

134. *Cv.*, 52.48-56; *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 46-7, *ll.* 10-1.

135. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 133.

Every year the king carried these "relics," riding his elephant at the head of his army through streets decorated with great pomp, to the "relic shrine" of a monastery which may be identified with the Mariccavattī-vihāra.¹³⁶ Here a great festival was held in their honor.

It is clear from this that the idea of *dharmadhātu* found acceptance among the Theravādins of the "orthodox" school. However evidence for the prevalence of the practice of enshrining *dharmadhātu* in *stūpas* has been found so far only at monasteries which came within the Abhayagiri *nikāya*. According to a tradition preserved in the *Saddharma-ratnākaraya*, a certain king Kassapa enshrined *dharmadhātu* in the Abhayagiri *stūpa* which he rebuilt, raising it to a height of 140 cubits.¹³⁷ The only Kassapa who is known from other sources to have repaired this *stūpa* is the fourth king of that name. A number of copper plaques bearing inscriptions in the Sinhalese script of the eighth or the ninth century were found at the Iṅdikatuṣāya at Mihintale. They contain excerpts from Sanskrit Buddhist works like the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Kāśyapaparivartta*.¹³⁸ Evidently the worship of the *dharmadhātu* was introduced to Sri Lanka and practiced by the Mahāyānists, and the idea was borrowed by the Theravādins to develop a ritual which would suit their particular requirements.

The worship of the Bo Tree associated with the Enlightenment of the Buddha was an essential part of Buddhist ceremonial. The *Mahā-bodhivaṃsa*, an ornate poem of a certain *thera* Upatissa, which testifies to the popularity of this cult, has been dated to the tenth century. Gurūgomi, who is thought by most scholars to have lived during the twelfth century, wrote a Sinhalese commentary on this work called the *Dharmapradīpikā*. According to the *Cūlavāṃsa* it was customary to hold a festival in honor of the Bo Tree at the Mahāvihāra in the twelfth year of each reign.¹³⁹ The festival held by Sena II is mentioned in the chronicle.¹⁴⁰ The Mihintale Tablets allocate two *kaḷand* of gold to cover the cost of festivals for the two Bo Trees at the monastery—the Somnas Mahabo and the Ruvanāsun Mahabo.¹⁴¹

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the wide popularity of image worship. Apart from images of the Buddha, statues of other important

136. This occurs soon after reference to the Mariccavattīvihāra. The monastery in question is described as one built or renovated by the king. The Mariccavattīvihāra is the only one which fits the description.

137. *Saddharma-ratnākaraya*, p. 333; *Pjv.* p. 103.

138. *ASCAR*, 1911-2, pp. 44-6; *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 199-212; Vol. IV, pp. 238-42.

139. *Cv.* 38, 57.

140. *Cv.* 51.78.

141. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 94-5, II. B8, B12.

personages like Mahinda and of Bodhisattvas and their *śaktis* were used as cult objects. The colossal image of the Buddha had already come into vogue by the beginning of the period under consideration. The image at Māligāvela, which measures thirty-four feet in height, has been dated to the early seventh century.¹⁴² The thirty-eight foot colossus at Avukana probably dates from the eighth or the ninth century.¹⁴³ Images of colossal proportions found at sites in Sāsseruva, Tantrimalai, Ālahāra, Ataragallāva and Buduruvegala have been dated to the "late Anurādhapura Period;" no specific evidence is available which would facilitate a more precise dating. As evident from the images at Galvihāra and the three main image-houses at Polonnaruva—the Thūpārāma, The Tivaṅkapaṭimāghara and the Laṅkātilaka—the colossal image retained its popularity in the "Polonnaruva Period." The Tivaṅkapaṭimāghara is of special interest owing to its unusual image which is in the *tribhaṅga*, the "triple-bent," pose.

The colossal image of this period is obviously a representation of the "superhuman" aspect of the Buddha's personality. This is in accord with ideas that underlie the treatment of the Buddha in literary works like the *Butsaraṇa*. In these works he is presented as a powerful and heroic figure who overcomes and subdues both human and superhuman foes. Such a concept would have suited the demands of a period of intense rivalry between the Buddhist and Hindu faiths.

Early image-houses were built of materials that were greatly susceptible to decay, and hence only their foundations remain. A later type, built of brick, is found at Jetavana.¹⁴⁴ It is surmounted by a vaulted roof, from which it receives the name *gedige*. This type of image-house followed a ground plan which incorporated a circumbulatory path (*pradakṣiṇāpatha*) which perhaps was included to meet a new need of Buddhist ceremonial. It is a development of this type that is represented by the three image-houses at Polonnaruva mentioned above. The Laṅkātilaka,¹⁴⁵ built by Parākramabāhu I, is the tallest and perhaps the most impressive of these buildings. It measures one hundred and twenty-four feet by sixty-six feet and six inches at its full length and greatest breadth. The preserved portions of its walls rise to a height of fifty-five feet, and its doorposts measure forty feet in height. The interiors of the image-houses are arranged like the South Indian Hindu temples in the *maṇḍapa-antarāla-garbhagrha* order; but it is not clear that this similarity reflects similarities in ritual.

142. *ASCAR*, 1954, p. 27.

143. *ASCAR*, 1934, pp. 21-2.

144. *ASCAR*, 1892, pp. 1-3; 1893, pp. 1-5; 1895, pp. 1-2; *ASC*, Tenth Report, pl. VII.

145. *ASCAR*, 1910-11, pp. 30-8.

As in the case of relics, elaborate festivals were held in honor of images. The author of the *Cūlavamsa* states that the annual festival of the image of Mahinda was held right up to his own day in the manner specified by Sirimeghavanna in the fourth century. Then he goes on to give what appears to be an eye-witness' account of the festival in great detail. It began on the eighth day of the month of Pubbakattika (October-November) when the gold image of Mahinda was brought to the Cetiyaḡiri monastery at Mihintale. The following day it was taken in a procession led by the king to the Soththiyākara monastery near the eastern gate of the city. On the twelfth day it was taken to the Mahāvihāra where a festival was held in its honor for three months, then it was taken to be housed in a shrine close to the palace. Another ceremony was held in its honor on the last day of the season of Retreat (*vassa*).¹⁴⁶ Ceremonies connected with images of Mahinda were also sponsored by Dhātusena and Aggabodhi I on the embankment of the Mahinda reservoir.¹⁴⁷

The concentration of many important cult objects at the capital attracted a large number of pilgrims from the provinces, and pilgrimages to worship at the important shrines scattered over the island became a common practice. After his capture of Polonnaruva, Vijayabāhu I left on a pilgrimage lasting three months.¹⁴⁸

The Sumanakūṭa, where according to popular tradition the "Footprint relic" (*padalasdā*)¹⁴⁹ of the four Buddhas of the present *kaipa* were preserved, became a popular center of pilgrimage during this period. Evidently this shrine was known and revered even at the time when the *Mahāvamsa* was written. The *Cūlavamsa* mentions routes which led to this place from Rājaratṭha through Kadaligāma and from the province of Hūva. The king built and endowed rest houses for pilgrims who came along these routes.¹⁵⁰ It is possible that there was another route from the province of Māyā through Gilimalaya.¹⁵¹ Confirmation of the evidence in the *Cūlavamsa* is found in an inscription from Aṃbagamuva which records the erection of rest houses at intervals of five

146. *Cv.* 37.66-90.

147. *Cv.*, 38.58; 42. 29-30.

148. *Cv.* 59.3

149. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 213, l. 26.

150. *Cv.* 60. 64-6.

151. Giltmalaya is identified by Geiger as the village of same name in the Kuruvīṭi Korale in the Ratnapura District. *Cv. trsl.*, Pt. 1, p. 221, n. 2. The discovery at Gilimale of a duplicate of the Aṃbagamuva inscription seems to confirm this suggestion. *CJSG*, Vol. II, p. 185.

gavu on the way from Rājaraṭṭha, the grant of lands for their maintenance, and the provision of necessities for pilgrims.¹⁵² Later Nisānka Malla went with his whole entourage to pay homage to the shrine and restored the property of the shrine which had been confiscated by his predecessors.¹⁵³ He also visited shrines at Anurādhapura, Velgama, Mādirigiri, Daṃbulla, Kālaṇi, Devundara and Mahāgāma.¹⁵⁴ The popularity enjoyed by the Sumanakūṭa is reflected in an ornate Pāli poem on the shrine, the *Samantakūṭa-vaṇṇanā*, which has been assigned to the "Polonnaruva Period" by some scholars.

The Place of Ritual, Ceremonial and the Arts

The growth of the popularity and the importance of ritual in Buddhism is reflected in a ninth-century inscription from the Abhayagiri monastery. According to this record offerings (*satra*) were to be performed without fail even if it involved the disruption of the ecclesiastical acts of the Order (*saṅghakārya*), and those responsible for disruption of offerings were to be expelled from the monastery.¹⁵⁵ Monasteries seem to have employed special officials to look after the performance of these rites.¹⁵⁶

We have already mentioned that certain days of the year were set apart for annual religious festivals. Apart from those mentioned above the full moon day of the month of Vesākha, traditionally connected with the main events in the life of the Buddha, was considered particularly suitable for religious activity. Sena II celebrated this festival with the poor and treated them to food and clothing.¹⁵⁷ Parākramabāhu I celebrated it annually.¹⁵⁸ The *uposatha* days of the month were traditionally set apart for alms-giving, the observance of the higher precepts, and ritual activity. The second and third kings who took the name Sena gave alms to the poor on *uposatha* days.¹⁵⁹ Vijayabāhu I and Parākramabāhu I observed the precepts of higher discipline on the days of the *uposatha*.¹⁶⁰ The Mihintale Tablets mention festivals held

152. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 202-18.

153. *Cv.* 80.24; *CJSG*, Vol. II, No. 378.

154. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 111, ll. B. 10; p. 173, ll. 29-31.

155. *satravighātam kurvatāpi na vastavyam saṅghakāryavighātepi satravighāto na kartavyaḥ*. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 5 ll, 18-9.

156. See the interpretation of *olkāmi* in *supra* p. 115.

157. *Cv.* 51. 84.

158. *Pjv.* p. 106.

159. *Ibid.*

160. *Cv.* 60.21; 73. 40.

on *uposatha* days.¹⁶¹ Such ceremonies provided occasions for the community to come together. The monastery probably derived an income from the stalls which were set up for trade on these days.¹⁶² Presumably ceremonies and festivals were fixed for astrologically auspicious hours. The festival held by Vijayanāvan at the Mahāthūpa was fixed for the asterism of Visā.¹⁶³ An astrologer was in the pay of the Cetiyaḡiri monastery at Mihintale.¹⁶⁴

The rituals concerning cult objects, especially the images, seem to have been based on the idea that they should be treated like living persons. As such they were bathed, dressed and served with food. Hiuen-tsang records that the Tooth relic was bathed thrice a day.¹⁶⁵ The *Daḡadā-sirita* also refers to the preparation of unguents to be used for the bathing of the Tooth relic.¹⁶⁶ The *Saddharma-ratnākaraya* gives a more detailed account of the rites performed at Dhānyakaḡaka by a Sinhalese monk.¹⁶⁷ The stone image was bathed daily. The marble image was covered with a layer of scented paste two inches in thickness. *Sevvanṇiya*¹⁶⁸ flowers were fixed on the paste so that the image looked like a figure made of flowers. The following day it was first bathed in perfumed water, then in sesame oil and thirdly in milk. Subsequently it was rubbed with unguents and finally bathed in clear water.

The Velaikkāra inscription mentions an annual ceremony of applying collyrium to the eyes of a Buddha image.¹⁶⁹ Images were sometimes adorned in an extravagant manner. Dhātusena is said to have presented the stone image of the Abhayagiri monastery with a robe made of gold, a wig made of dark blue gems and a net of gold for the feet.¹⁷⁰ Kassapa IV presented ornaments for the images (*paḡimābharana*) he built.¹⁷¹ Devā, the queen of Kassapa V, offered a crest jewel (*cūḡāmaṇi*), a robe, a parasol, and a net to cover the feet of the Buddha image at the Mariccavaḡḡi monastery.¹⁷² Arrangements made for the provision of food are evident from a tenth-century inscription from

161. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 93, ll. A44-5.

162. See *supra* p. 97.

163. *EZ*, Vol. IV, p. 256, l. 1.

164. See *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 96, l. B32.

165. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

166. *Daḡadā-sirita*, p. 51.

167. *Saddharma-ratnākaraya*, pp. 500-1.

168. *Rosa centifolia*, *Rosa damascena*. *ŚŚŚ*, p. 1084.

169. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 338.

170. *Cv*. 38. 62-3. The net was probably an ornament for the feet.

171. *Cv*. 52.26.

172. *Cv*. 52.65.

Eppāvāla which records the deposit of four *kaḷand* of gold to pay for curd, honey and two *pat* of rice to be offered daily to the Bo Tree and the Buddha image at the site.¹⁷³

Similarly, the popularity of the practice of honoring cult objects with lamps, flowers and incense necessitated arrangements at monasteries for the regular provision of these items. A number of inscriptions from this period record endowments made for the supply of oil and wicks for lamps at various shrines.¹⁷⁴ The Cetiyagiri monastery employed two florists to supply white flowers and one to supply a hundred and twenty blue lotuses each month to the relic shrine, and another florist was attached to the shrine of the stone image.¹⁷⁵ Female garland-makers were employed at the Mahāthūpa during the reign of Kalyāṇavatī.¹⁷⁶ The "four kinds of perfume," incense of *kaḷuvāl* and camphor were used for this purpose. Offerings of perfume was such an important item in ritual that the Mahāthūpa had perfumers (*osan-davaṭuvan*) in its employ,¹⁷⁷ and the *dummalassamun* employed at the relic shrine and the image-house of the Cetiyagiri monastery probably performed the task of fumigating the shrines by burning incense.¹⁷⁸

A ceremony for the "consecration" (*abhiseka*) of a Buddha image is mentioned in the account of the reign of Kassapa I in the *Cūlavamsa*. It also alludes to a similar ceremony having been held during the reign of Dhātusena.¹⁷⁹ The Mihintale Tablets speak of the "consecration" of the Buddha (*budbisev*) in the relic house and the shrine of the image. It appears that both oil and water were used in this ritual.¹⁸⁰ Though it is not possible to determine the exact significance of this rite, one may suggest that it was connected with the idea found in Mahāyāna works like the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* that the tenth or the highest stage of spiritual progress of a Bodhisattva was attained after a "consecration" (*abhiṣeka*).¹⁸¹ The rite of "consecrating" images also seems to indicate that these rituals were developed on the model of rites connected with royalty.

173. *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 184-94.

174. See e.g. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 96, I. B35; Vol. II, p. 18, II. C19-21; *ASCAR*, 1953, p. 27, No. 20.

175. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 96, II. B 35-40.

176. *EZ*, Vol. IV, p. 257, I. 17; p. 260, n. 6.

177. *Ibid.*

178. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 96, II. B34, B38.

179. *Cv.* 38.67; 39. 6-7.

180. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 96, II. B42-3.

181. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Fasc. A-Aca, 1961, pp. 125-30.

The monastery was not merely the venue for the performance of rituals. It remained, as it had always been, a place where the community could congregate, listen to discourses, and take part in religious discussions. In the fourth century Fa-Hian noted that public sermons were regularly held within the city of Anurādhapura on the eighth, fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month.¹⁸² Vijayabāhu I is said to have encouraged preachers with presents,¹⁸³ and Parākramabāhu I and Nissaṅka Malla built halls for sermons.¹⁸⁴ Sometimes laymen delivered sermons. Kassapa V, for one, was a well-known preacher.¹⁸⁵ The Mihintale monastery engaged lay preachers (*baṇa vajārana damīn*) who were given land allotments for their maintenance.¹⁸⁶ We may surmise that didactic and edificatory stories from the life of the Buddha were popular subjects for such sermons. Parākramabāhu I appointed a preacher to relate Jātaka stories and built a special hall for the purpose.¹⁸⁷ The popularity of the Jātaka tales is evident from the paintings in the shrines of this period.¹⁸⁸ Sometimes, as for example during the reigns of Sena II, Kassapa V and Mahinda IV, sermons were also delivered on the subjects of higher philosophical doctrines.¹⁸⁹

The enjoyment of musical entertainment was not viewed favorably in early Buddhism. Certainly the monks were bound by their rules of discipline to abstain from such indulgences. Hence it is rather significant that music seems to have played an important role in most of the rites and ceremonies of this period, and the use of music made the rites more attractive. Presumably drama, dance and music, like literature, were expected to "rouse the serene joy (*pasāda*) and emotion (*saṃvega*) of the faithful." The use of music was not an innovation made during the period under discussion. The festivals held by Bhātikābhaya and Mahādāthika Mahānāga in the first century A.D. at the Mahāthūpa and the Cetiyaḥabbata respectively were attended by dance-drama (*naṭanacca*), song and instrumental music.¹⁹⁰ Songs and dances in honor of the Mahāthūpa were a part of the festivities held by Mahinda IV,¹⁹¹

182. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 47

183. *Cv.* 60.20.

184. *Cv.* 73.72, 81; *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 165-78.

185. See *infra* p. 324.

186. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 96, l. B39.

187. *Cv.* 73.72.

188. The Vessantara, Asaṅka, Sasa, Tuṇḍila, Vidhura, Guttala, Culla Paduma, Maitribala, Mugapakkha, Sāma, Mahā Sudassana and Ummagga Jātakas have been identified among the paintings of the walls of Tivaṅka image-house.

189. *Cv.*, 51.79; 52. 49; 54. 36.

190. *Mv.* 34.59, 60, 77.

191. *Cv.* 54. 37-8.

and Vijayabāhu I had dances performed in honor of the Buddha.¹⁹² The use of musical entertainments in relic processions is mentioned in a tenth-century inscription of *Ādipāda* Mahinda from Mayilagaṣṭoṭa.¹⁹³ During the reign of Parākramabāhu I music was employed in ritual on an elaborate scale. Dancers and musicians, both male and female, played lutes, flutes and drums and followed the Tooth relic when it was taken in procession, honoring it with song, dance and music.¹⁹⁴

The regular use of musical entertainment in Buddhist ritual led, at least by the time of Kalyāṇavati, to the engagement of musicians in the service of the monastery. The Ruvanvālisāya inscription of this reign refers to dancers, singers and musicians adept at playing drums, conches and the "five instruments"¹⁹⁵ in a list of the employees of the shrine.¹⁹⁶ According to the *Daḷadā-sirita* a large orchestra, in which thirty six instruments are listed, was employed at the shrine of the Tooth relic.¹⁹⁷

Evidence in the Mihintale Tablets seems to suggest that the practice of employing musicians in the regular service of monasteries dates back to a much earlier period. This record refers to a group of eleven employees called *āli* led by another called *ālinā*.¹⁹⁸ Wickremasinghe took the term *āli* to be derived from *ālikkam* and translated it as "painters." But this seems improbable as the term *sittara* also occurs in the list of employees. There is no doubt that *sittara* connotes "painter." The *sittara* received a land allotment of two *kiri*; the *ālinā* received two *paya* of land and a daily allowance of one *aḍmanā* and one *pat* of rice, while his assistants received a similar allotment of land with a *vasag* each.¹⁹⁹ In contemporaneous inscriptions from South India the temple musicians are listed in groups of eleven. A record of Rājarājā Coḷa mentions six groups of musicians. Each consisted of eleven members and was led by a twelfth.²⁰⁰ *Āli* may be connected with the Tamil word *ālikkai* which was a dance and *ālipetṭu*, the term by which the dance of Kṛṣṇa was known. *Āli* also connotes a mask worn by dancers at temple festivals. It is likely that the *āli* were a group of musicians or

192. Cv. 60.18.

193. EZ, Vol. II, pp. 60-61, ll. 13-21.

194. Cv. 74.216-8.

195. Two drums (*davul*, *tammōṭṭan*) and three wind instruments (*horanā*, *nāgasinam* and *sak*) are listed in the Sinhalese works. Sorata takes *paṃcayan* as one instrument. See *SSS* p. 969.

196. EZ, Vol. IV, p. 256, ll. 15-6.

197. *Daḷadā-sirita*, pp. 49, 52.

198. EZ, Vol. I, p. 95, ll. B13-4.

199. EZ, Vol. I, p. 95, ll. B13-4. For explanations of the terms *kiri*, *paya*, *patā* *aḍmanā* and *vasag*, see *supra* pp. 54, 69, 114, 148-53.

200. *Tanjore inscription No. 66, SII*, Vol. II, pp. 259-303.

dancers employed at the monastery. If this interpretation is accepted, the practice of employing musicians at monasteries can be dated at least as far back as the tenth century.

Like music, painting was expected to play an edifying role by depicting scenes from the life and the previous existences of the Buddha. Paintings of this type decorate the inner walls of the Tivaṅka image house at Polonnaruva.²⁰¹ At Abhayagiri a part of the income of the monastery was set apart to meet the cost of religious paintings,²⁰² and a painter was also in the employ of the Cetiyagiri monastery.²⁰³ Thus the arts were actively patronized by the monastery. However, in the thirteenth century the Daṁbadeni Katikāvata speaks of literary and dramatic arts in a tone of disapproval. Monks were directed to refrain from learning or teaching such "despised branches of knowledge."²⁰⁴ The statement is significant not only for its derogatory tone but also for what it reveals, for the cultivation of the literary and dramatic arts by Buddhist monks seems to have attracted the attention of reformers by this time.

Some of the Buddhist rites and ceremonial described above, especially those relating to the worship of images, appear to be strikingly similar to the Hindu ritual of the period. However, this does not necessarily mean that Buddhist ritual was derived from its Hindu counterpart. The *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, a Buddhist Sanskrit work datable to about the eighth century, describes rites like the bathing of images, adorning them with robes and ornaments, and musical performance in honor of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas.²⁰⁵ The influence, therefore, could have come from Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is also significant that some of these practices can be traced to a very early period in Sri Lanka. Yet it is possible that some of these rites were borrowed from Hinduism and that the prominence ritual gained in Buddhist religious life in Sri Lanka was a reaction to, if not the result of, the influence of Hindu ritual.

The proliferation of elaborate ceremonies in Buddhism necessitated considerable expenditure on the part of the monastery and its patrons, and shrines were sometimes individually endowed to meet the cost of such rites. Apparently the main festivals were held by kings. Festivals were held on a grand scale during the reign of Nissaṅka Malla.

201. See n. 188.

202. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 49, ll. 52-4.

203. See *supra* p. 238.

204. *kāvya nāṭakādī garhita vidyā tamā nūgata yutu. annunūt nūgānviya yutu. Katikāvat Saṅgarā*, p. 15.

205. *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, ed. Medhānanda, 1959, ch. 2, pp. 10-11, vv. 10-4.

During a festival held at the Mahāthūpa he is said to have scattered pearls on the terrace and to have offered flowers of gold and silver, banners of silk, and the seven kinds of gems. He claims that this festival cost him four million pieces of gold (*masuran*) and that he spent seven hundred thousand on another festival at Dambulla.²⁰⁶ The example of kings was sometimes followed by the upper classes. The lavish offerings made to the Mahāthūpa by an official in the reign of Kalyāṇavati are recorded in an inscription at the site.²⁰⁷

Political and Social Functions of Religious Ceremonial

Festivals were occasions which brought the community together and gave the patrons an opportunity to gain prestige and popularity. For the king and the upper classes it was an opportunity to demonstrate and to legitimize their political and social status. It is significant that many of the important cult objects including the Tooth relic, the *dhammadhātu* brought from India in the reign of Silākāla, the gold tablets bearing the *Dhammasaṅgani*, and the gold image of Mahinda were housed in shrines near the royal palace. Furthermore, the king is often mentioned as participating and taking the leading part in these festivals. The patronage and participation of the king in the festivals were an effective way of legitimizing his position. Such acts would have been of great political value, particularly to foreigners on the Sinhalese throne like Nissaṅka Malla.

Sena II, it was mentioned earlier, is said to have celebrated the Vesākha festival in the company of the poor. However, it seems that by the beginning of the "Polonnaruva Period" the gentry and the commoners, the high and the low, were not brought together in common worship at certain Buddhist ceremonies. An inscription from the reign of Vijayabāhu I refers to the practice of assigning separate places at shrines to worshippers of different social status. According to this record, the king built a terrace enclosed by a wall which had gates fitted with locks and keys on the peak of Sumanakūṭa. This terrace was meant for people of "good birth" who came to honor the Foot-print of the Buddha. A second terrace was built on a lower level for men of "inferior birth" (*adhama jātin*).²⁰⁸ Perhaps such arrangements reflect a situation in which social stratification was becoming increasingly

206. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 80, ll. 25-6; Vol. I, p. 132, ll. 24-5. These figures are not very reliable. Nissaṅka Malla was given to exaggeration. In this case he contradicts himself. Cf. figures given in *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 112, l. B11.

207. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 253-60.

208. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 214, ll. 35-7.

rigid.²⁰⁹ According to the *Daḷadā-sirita* arrangements based on official status were also known to have been made at the shrine of the Tooth relic. The sanctum had two antechambers attached to it, and no one but the attendants of the relic shrine was allowed inside the sanctum. The *saṅgha*, royalty, "royal officials permitted to enter the crown room," and the officials of the relic shrine were allowed to enter the first antechamber. "Those versed in the scriptures" (*dharmadhara*) were another group which enjoyed this privilege of entering the first antechamber. Courtiers honored the relic from the second antechamber; all others had to perform their rites from outside the third doorway.²¹⁰ Here the distinctions were based primarily on rank and office. It is significant that during this period social distinctions of both birth and office were recognized and allowed expression in the organization of Buddhist ritual.

The study of the development of ritual and ceremonial in Sinhalese Buddhism reveals the absorption of elements from popular cults and Brāhmanism, from the Mahāyāna and perhaps from Hinduism. In the course of this development it acquired a cultic system to cater to some fundamental religio-magical needs of society like "rain-making" and the prevention of illness and bad harvests. Moreover, it developed, under the stimulus of these religions and cults, a body of ritual and ceremonial enlivened by dance and music to serve the needs of mass religiosity. Buddhism, as it was known and practiced in Sri Lanka during the period under review, had in fact become a composite religion which was developed and modified to suit the needs of the majority of the community and thus far different from its original form.

209. It is the same tendencies which are reflected in the disputes of this period over caste privileges. See *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 303-12.

210. *Daḷadā-sirita*, pp. 49,50.

Relations with Foreign Centers of Buddhism

Sri Lanka commands the entrance to the Bay of Bengal from the west, and thus the geographical situation of the island helped to promote its development as an important entrepôt in the extensive sea trade which linked Europe in the west with the Chinese empire in the east. In the sixth century Cosmas Indicopleustes recorded that merchantmen from Ethiopia and Persia called at this emporium described as "the greatest in those parts" to purchase its products and other merchandise brought from lands as far as China in the east and Male, Kalia, Sindh, and Adule in the west. He also noted that ships from Sri Lanka were sent to these lands to trade in cloth, spices, metalware, precious stones and elephants.¹ Even if the volume of trade with the west had diminished by the beginning of the period under consideration, there is reason to believe that Sri Lanka continued to play an important role in the trade of the Bay of Bengal. An eleventh-century record of the Javanese king Airlanga mentions the Sinhalese among the communities of foreign merchants who lived at Javanese ports.² Trade between Burma and Sri Lanka was thriving in the twelfth century; in fact, a dispute about trade rights was one of the causes which led to the hostilities between the two countries during the reign of Parākramabāhu I.³ A variety of fine cloth imported from Sri Lanka is mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅginī*,⁴ and presumably it was a similar fabric brought from Sri Lanka which was referred to as *wḍihan sinhal* in the Old Javanese inscriptions of the late ninth century.⁵ A fabric called "Lankā cloth" is also mentioned in the Thai annals.⁶

1. *The Christian Topography*, ed. F. O. Winstedt, Oxford, 1909, p. 322

2. G. Coedès: *Les états hindouisés* . . . , p. 268.

3. *Cv.* 76, 17-21.

4. *Rājatarāṅginī*, ed. R. S. Pandit, p. 35.

5. *Art. As.*, Vol. XXIV, 1962, p. 245.

6. Notton, *Histoire du Dhammarāja et notre seigneur, Annals du Siam*, Vol. I, p. 75.

The trading vessels which plied the Bay of Bengal sometimes took on board monks and lay Buddhists bound for places of pilgrimage and centers of Buddhist learning. The *Sihala-vatthu-pakarana* and the *Sahas-sa-vatthu-pakarana* relate many stories about monks who sailed in merchantmen to ports in Bengal and the Coromandel coast; according to one of these stories, a group of such pilgrims went to Cinaloka.⁷ The more detailed accounts of the travels of Fa-Hian and Vajrabodhi clearly illustrate how the extensive commercial intercourse which connected the lands round the Bay of Bengal helped movements of monks. Fa-Hian left Tāmralipti in a large merchantman and reached Sri Lanka in fourteen days. On his return home he boarded another merchantman which carried two hundred men and reached Ye-po-ti⁸ after sailing eastwards for ninety days, and from there he took yet another trading vessel to China.⁹ According to the biography of Vajrabodhi compiled by Iuen-tchao in the ninth century, he set forth from South India on his way to China and reached Sri Lanka after sailing for twenty-four hours. Here he saw thirty-five Persian trading vessels. Vajrabodhi sailed from Sri Lanka in the company of the Persian merchants and came to the Kingdom of Fo-chi¹⁰ after spending one month at sea. From there he proceeded to China and arrived at the capital in A.D. 720.¹¹ These accounts demonstrate that the position which Sri Lanka occupied as a center of the trade in the Indian Ocean provided the *saṅgha* with ample opportunities to maintain regular contact with their brethren at Buddhist centers in India and Southeast Asia.

Relations with Eastern India

During the period of Pāla rule the Eastern regions of India witnessed the efflorescence of Buddhist culture inspired by the monasteries of Nālandā, Vikramaśīla and Somapurī which emerged as the leading schools of Buddhist scholarship. These monasteries produced the most prominent exponents of the Tantra variety of Buddhism during this period, and at the same time, they provided a meeting place for scholars from different parts of the Buddhist world who represented varied Buddhist traditions. The influence of these centers of Buddhist learning spread to Nepal and thence to Tibet where Buddhism of the Tantra

7. *Sihvp.*, pp. 39, 42, 44, 136; *Shsvp.*, pp. 36, 64, 145.

8. Beal has suggested identification with Java or Sumatra. *Chinese Accounts of India*, p. 52.

9. Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-4.

10. Bhoja (Kāmbhoja?). I-tsing refers to a certain Fo-shi-pu-lo which was an island in the "Southern Sea." I-tsing, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

11. *JRASCB*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 87-9.

variety found a congenial home. Scholars from Eastern India like Śāntarakṣita, Padmasambhava and Atiśa, and Tibetan teachers and translators who had studied in India contributed to the expansion of these influences. In Southeast Asia, though no such detailed information is available, the appearance of the so-called "pre-Nāgari" script in inscriptions which speak of the presence of Mahāyāna and Tantric practices suggests that these influences originated in Eastern India. In rare instances more specific evidence is available. The Kēlurak inscription, dated A.D. 782, records the erection of an image of Mañjuśrī by a certain Kumāraghoṣa, a teacher from Gauḍadvīpa (Bengal).¹² It is reasonable to expect that these currents of influence which swept over Tibet in the northwest and the Javanese kingdom in the southeast at least caused ripples in Sri Lanka too.

The shrine of Buddha Gayā, which is sacred to all Buddhists as the site of the Enlightenment of the Buddha, attracted pilgrims from Sri Lanka from the earliest times.¹³ The Chinese source *Hing-tchoan* of Wang Hiuen-ts'e mentions that a special monastery was built at Buddha Gayā for the use of monks from this country.¹⁴ Some of the monks have left records of their visits and the meritorious works they undertook at the site. Apart from Mahānāma, a monk of the sixth century who has left two inscriptions recording the donation of a dwelling and a Buddha image to the Buddha Gayā monastery, Prakhyātakīrti, another Sinhalese monk, claims to have belonged to the royal family of Sri Lanka in a donative inscription datable to the sixth or the seventh century.¹⁵

Tāranātha records a tradition about the Sinhalese monks who lived at Buddha Gayā during the reign of Dharmapāla (A.D. 770-810):

Damals erklärten in Otantapurī die Saindhava-Çrāvakas, die Mönche hätten durch Zweifel sich geirrt und wären schlecht geworden, und so behaupteten auch diese Bhikṣus, als zu einer Zeit der Ācārya in Nālandā weilte, Buddhajñāna sei ohne Disciplin, ungeeignet zum Abt des Saṅgha, leisteten Widerstand, und schimpften auf die Tantras. In Vajrāsana zerstörten die vielen Saindhava und Siṅghala Bhikṣus das in Silber gegossene Bild des Heruka und machten sich eines Gewinn daraus. Und der

12. F. D. K. Bosch, "Die Inscriptie van Keleorak," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde*, Vol. LXVIII, 1928, pp. 18-20, vv. 6-9.

13. The *Sihvp.* contains several stories about monks going on pilgrimage to Buddha Gayā. One of the inscriptions, assigned to the second century B. C., records a donation made by a pilgrim from Tambapaṇṇi. *ASIAR*, 1908-9, p. 156.

14. *JRASC*, Vol. XXIV, p. 75.

15. *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 274-278; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, pp. 356-9; *ASIAR*, 1908-9, pp. 156-7.

König liess deshalb viele von den Singhala-Bhikṣus tödten. Da er sich nun daran machte, auch die übrigen Saindhavas zu vertilgen, schützte der Ācārya sie in seinem grossen Erbarmen vor der Austilgung durch den König.¹⁶

In another of his works Tāranātha adds more information on the event:

Zu der Zeit gaben einige Saindhavas, welche Çrāyakas aus Simhala u.s.w. waren, in einem Vadschrāsana-Tempel das grosse aus Silber verfertigte Bildniss Herukas und viele Mantra-Bücher für ein Werk Māras aus, die Bücher benutzten sie als Heizmaterial und das Bildnis zerstückelten sie und machten sich einen Gewinn daraus. Ferner überredeten sie viele aus Bhangala nach Vikramaçila zur Verehrung Wandernde sich zu ihnen zu bekehren, indem sie behaupteten, dass die Mahāyāna-Lehre ein Leben voll Verkehrtheit sei und dass sie die Lehrer des wahrhaften Gesetzes aufgeben sollten.¹⁷

Apart from proof of the presence of the Sinhalese monks at Buddha Gayā, some interesting facts emerge from these passages: (1) the Sinhalese monks maintained a close relationship with the Saindhavas, (2) both groups opposed Tantric practices; and (3) the two tried to convert the followers of the Mahāyāna to their own teachings and achieved a certain measure of success, but by their excesses against the Mahāyāna and Tantric schools they seem to have provoked Dharmapāla to take unusually severe measures against them.

Very little is known about the Saindhavas. In the first passage Tāranātha refers to the Saindhavas as a group of monks who lived at the

16. A. Grünwedel, *Tāranāthas Edelesteinmine, das Buch von den Vermittlern der Sieben Inspirationen*, p. 93. The English translation by B. Datta is not very accurate, and the following is a fresh translation of the passage: "When the Ācārya was spending some time at Nālandā the Saindhava *śrāvakas* at Odantapuri (Otantapuri) declared that monks had gone astray through doubt and become degenerate and commented that Buddhajñāna was lacking in discipline and unsuitable to be the Abbot of the *saṅgha*. They became restive and vituperated against the Tantras. At Vajrāsana many Saindhava and Simhala (Singhala) monks together destroyed the image of Heruka which had been made of silver and made profit thereof. For that reason the king put many Simhala monks to death. He also made an attempt to silence the rest of the Saindhavas, but the Ācārya through his great mercy protected them from destruction at the hands of the king."

17. A. Schiefner, *Tāranāthas Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, p. 221. The passage may be translated into English as follows: "At that time some of the Saindhava *śrāvakas* who had come from Simhala and elsewhere maintained that the image of Heruka made of silver and the many Mantra-books in the Vajrāsana temple were the work of Māra. They used the books as heating material, and broke up the image and made profit thereof. Further they persuaded many people from Bhangala, who had arrived at Vikramaçila to worship, to come over to their side by commenting that the Mahāyāna-teaching was a life full of contradiction and that they were able to provide teachers of the True Law."

monastery of Odantapurī, and in an earlier context Tāranātha maintains that Nāgārjuna refuted the dialectical polemics of the Saindhavas.¹⁸ Presumably they were opponents of the Māhayāna. According to Bu-ston, the fourteenth century Tibetan chronicler, the Saindhava *śrāvakas* devoted some time every evening to calculating the Buddhist era.¹⁹ An inscription from the Bihār-Sharif area, dated in the reign of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj (ca. A.D. 890-917), records a donation made to the Saindhavas.²⁰ Probably, as in the case of the Sinhalese monks, the term Saindhava was a regional description. Hiuen-tsang noted that there were about ten thousand monks belonging to the Sammitīya school of the Little Vehicle in Sind.²¹ Some of the stories in the *Sihala-vatthupakarāṇa* testify to the prevalence of relations between the Buddhist communities of Western India and Sri Lanka.²² The traditions recorded by Tāranātha reveal that monks from Sri Lanka who probably represented the Mahāvihāra *nikāya* united with the monks from Sind in their opposition to the Mahāyāna and Tantra practices in the latter part of the eighth century or the early decades of the ninth century.

The shrines of Buddha Gayā continued to attract pilgrims from Sri Lanka—both monks and laymen—throughout the period under review. In an inscription datable on palaeographic grounds to the ninth or the tenth century, Udayasrī, a Sinhalese, records the gift of a Buddha image to the shrine at the site.²³ A tenth-century panegyric record which speaks of the dedication of an image-house by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince was composed by a Sinhalese scholar, a monk named Śrī Jana.²⁴ When Vijayabāhu I took control of Rājaraṭṭha he sent a mission to offer precious stones and pearls to the shrine of the Bodhi Tree at Buddha Gayā on his behalf.²⁵ The prominent position that the Sinhalese monks occupied among the clerical community at Buddha Gayā in the twelfth century is evident from an inscription dated in the year 51 of the era of Lakṣmana Sena (ca. A.D. 1157). It records an endowment made to the main shrine at Buddha Gayā and charges the leaders of the Sinhalese *saṅgha* with the responsibility of administering the endowment in accordance with

18. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Here it occurs as Sindhava *śrāvaka*.

19. Bu-ston, *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*, ed., E. O. Obermiller, p. 107.

20. H. Sastri, *MASI*, No. 66, 1942, p. 105.

21. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

22. *Sihvp.*, pp. 57, 59, 63, 64, 67, 70, 74.

23. *ASIAR*, 1908-9, p. 157.

24. Rajendralal Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*, pp. 194-7.

25. *Cv.* 60.23.

the wishes expressed by the donor.²⁶ When the Tibetan monk Dharmasvāmin (Chag Lo-tṣā-ba Chos-rje-dpal) visited Buddha Gayā between A.D. 1234 and 1236 he noted that there were three hundred monks from Sri Lanka. They were placed in charge of the main shrine and had the exclusive right to sleep within its sacred precincts.²⁷

It is evident from the foregoing account and particularly from the last two records cited above that, apart from the occasional pilgrim who came to worship at the shrines of Eastern India, there was a community of Sinhalese monks who were permanent residents at the monastery of Buddha Gayā. Their numbers were augmented during times of political turmoil in Sri Lanka such as the period of Coḷa rule. It is unlikely that the Sinhalese monks were confined to Buddha Gayā. Probably some of them would have been attracted to the centers of Buddhist learning which flourished at short distances from this shrine. If some of the Sinhalese monks opposed the teaching of the Mahāyāna and the Tantra, as Tāranātha reveals, it is possible that there were others who were fascinated by these ideas and carried their influence back to Sri Lanka and thus stimulated the development of Buddhist thought in the island. Further, it seems reasonable to expect that, like the Sinhalese monks who visited India, there were Indian monks from the Bihar-Bengal region who went to Sri Lanka to disseminate their teachings.

In this connection a single strophe of almost cryptic conciseness, which appears in the section of the *Cūlavamsa* dealing with the reign of Sena I (A.D. 833-853), seems to be of interest due to its unusual implications:

*katvā viraṅkurārāmaṃ vihāre abhayuttare
mahāsaṅghikabhikkhūnaṃ theriyānaṃ ca dāpayi.*²⁸

The translation presents no difficulties: "He (Sena I) built the Viraṅkārāma in the Abhayagiri monastery and granted it to the Mahāsaṅghika monks and those of the Theriya school." Apparently the author did not attach much significance to this episode since he dismissed it with a single strophe. Perhaps he was merely recording a piece of information found in his sources without realizing its true significance. It is also possible that the author considered the matter to be too controversial for further comment. But it is of extreme importance to the student of the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka since it is the only reference found in the chronicles to the presence of the Mahāsaṅghika (Mahāsaṅghika) school in the island. We learn from this strophe that the

26. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, pp. 78-9.

27. G. N. Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvamin (Chag Lo-tṣā-ba Chos-rje-dpal), a Tibetan Monk Pilgrim*, Patna, 1959, pp. 73-4.

28. Cv. 50. 68.

Virāṅkurārāma was built at the Abhayagiri monastery for their use and this may suggest that a considerable number of monks were involved.

Evidently Geiger had no compunctions about accepting this statement of the *Cūlavamsa*. But Bechert, who brought out a posthumous edition of Geiger's writings, commented that he was inclined to read *Mahimsāsakabhikkhūnaṃ* for *Mahāsāṅghikabhikkhūnaṃ*. In support of this emendation he points out that Fa-Hian found a copy of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Mahimsāsakas in Sri Lanka.²⁹ It is significant, however, that the term *Mahimsāsaka* does not occur in any one of the many manuscripts consulted for three different editions of the *Cūlavamsa*; they unanimously agree with the present reading. Hence an emendation to suit our convenience, without further consideration of other possible explanations, seems rash and unwarranted. It has to be admitted that the *Cūlavamsa* records in rather forthright though laconic terms that the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Theravādins were given an *ārāma* at the Abhayagiri monastery. It is also clear that Sena I extended his patronage to the Mahāsāṅghikas.

The author of the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya*, a fourteenth-century work which purports to be a history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, considered the reign of Sena I to be of such particular significance that he selected it for special consideration. He unleashes a rather strong attack on Sena and calls him an insane man untutored in the words of the wise. He says that, like a grasshopper who plunges into fire thinking it is gold, Sena was credulous enough to readily accept the false *dharma* to the neglect of the true. It was in retribution for his association with the false *dharma*, the chronicler adds, that the king had to surrender his capital to the Tamils and flee to Polonnaruva to die in disgrace.³⁰

This account contrasts sharply with the description of Sena I in the *Cūlavamsa*. The Pāli chronicle describes the defeat he faced at the hands of the Pāṇḍya invaders, but it also recounts the many instances of the patronage he extended to the *saṅgha* and refers to Sena as a king who performed "pious actions before unheard of." The chronicler regards him as an ideal ruler endowed with the ten qualities of kingship. Sena is further described as *buddhabhūmigatāsayo*, an aspirant to Buddhahood, who had his thoughts fixed on the "ultimate."³¹ The use of the

29. CCMT, p. 208 n. 1; Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

30. *Niks.* pp. 20-1.

31. *buddhabhūmigatāsayo* Cv. 50.65. *sāradassano* Cv., 50. 83; see also Cv. 50.1-3 62. According to its colophon, the *Siyabastakara*, an early Sinhalese work based on the *Kāvyaḍarśa* of Daṇḍi, was written by a certain king Salamevan Sen at the request of his brother, the minister Amaragiri Kasup. In the *Cūlavamsa*, the only king of this name who had a brother called Kassapa was Sena I. If, on this basis, Sena I is identified as the author of this work, it would appear that Sena also was a very learned man, contrary to the statements of the author of *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya*. See *Siyabastakara*, vv. 406-7.

term *buddhabhūmi*, which denotes the highest of the ten stages of progressive spiritual development listed in the *Śatasahasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, strongly suggests Mahāyāna associations.³²

The religious dignitary who wrote the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* seems to have been moved to use such harsh words because Sena extended patronage to an Indian monk who arrived in Sri Lanka during his reign. The Indian, the chronicler says, was a heretic of the Vajraparvata *nikāya* who came in the guise of a Buddhist monk. He settled at the Viraṅkurārāma and used fifteen *kaṇḍ* of gold to bribe Girivasasen, a palace official through whose help he was able to approach the king. The king was deceived into accepting the Vājiriyāvāda which was preached as a secret doctrine. It was in this reign, he says, that *śāstras* like the *Ratnakūṭa* were brought to Sri Lanka, and the Vājiriyāvāda has persisted ever since as an esoteric doctrine practiced in private by the foolish.³³ The last statement alludes to the prevalence of the Vājiriyāvāda at the time this work was written. Presumably the chronicler is recording a tradition, known in his time, which traced the origin of these practices to the reign of Sena I.

The difference between the traditions in the *Cūlavamṣa* and the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* in both content and point of view suggest that they were of independent origin. The *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* does not mention the Mahāsāṅghikas or their corporate existence with the Theravādins. It speaks of the introduction of Vājiriyāvāda teachings and the bringing of the *śāstras*, information which is not found in the *Cūlavamṣa*, and it makes specific reference to the arrival in Sri Lanka of a monk from India.

On the other hand, the tradition attested to in the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* confirms the information in the *Cūlavamṣa* on certain important points. Both date the incident to the reign of Sena I and mention the Viraṅkurārāma in this connection. Further, both these texts reveal, though not in the same terms, that a school which did not subscribe to the Theravāda teachings gained the support of the king. The fact that the two chronicles contain two traditions which, though dissimilar, corroborate each other on main points, suggests that there was a historical basis for these traditions.

However, the information in the two chronicles is too meagre to provide a coherent picture of this incident. Further, these statements, especially the one found in the *Cūlavamṣa*, carry implications too grave to be accepted without corroborative evidence.

32. *Ssp.*, 1473.11; 1520.20; Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 411.

33. *Niks.* pp. 20-1.

An inscription from Anurādhapura does, in fact, provide contemporary evidence which corroborates and supplements the traditions in the chronicles. It has been pointed out that the Virañkurārāma was built, according to the *Cūlavamsa*, within the precincts of the Abhayagiri monastery. This record, erroneously called the Jetavanārāma Sanskrit inscription, was found among the ruins of a hermitage situated to the north of the Twin Ponds within the grounds of the Abhayagiri monastery.³⁴ Close to the spot where this inscription was unearthed are found the ruins of a structure which reveal a ground-plan unique in the architectural tradition of Sri Lanka and strongly reminiscent of the style represented by the ruins at Paharpūr in the Rājshāhi District of Bengal.³⁵

The published portion has some lacunae due to the fact that the middle and the bottom of the slab have been damaged, but on the whole it is well-engraved and renders a fairly satisfactory and reliable reading. However, it is only one part of an extensive record, for it begins with part of a conjoint word, and attempts made to recover the other parts have so far been of no avail. The inscription was composed in Sanskrit and inscribed in the Nāgarī script of the "nail-headed" variety. Some of the letters seem to have developed *kuṭīla* forms. Wickremasinghe, who edited the inscription, remarked on the similarity of the script to that used in the Magadha area in about the middle of the ninth century. A more detailed comparative study seems to bear out these remarks.

It is not possible to trace all the palaeographic forms occurring in this record to any one particular Indian inscription; but the script of the Abhayagiri inscription closely resembles that used in the Buddha Gayā, Nālandā, and Khalimpūr inscriptions of Dharmapāla.³⁶ On the whole the palaeographic forms of the Abhayagiri inscription appear to be older than those of the inscriptions dated in the reign of Devapāla. Yet certain individual letters appear to be more developed than their counterparts in the inscriptions of Dharmapāla, and parallels can be found only in the records of Devapāla.³⁷ The script of this record gives the impression that it is later than the Khalimpūr record of Dharmapāla but earlier than the inscriptions issued in the latter part of the reign of Devapāla. It may not be too hazardous to assign this record, on these considerations, to the first half of the ninth century. (The reign of

34. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 1-10.

35. *ASCAR*, 1894, 13th Report, p. 3, pl. XIII.

36. Nālandā inscription, *MASI*, No. 66, 1942, pl. Xa; Khalimpūr inscription, *JRAS*, (Beng.), 1894, pp. 39-62, pl. III; Buddha Gayā inscription, *JRAS* (Beng.), 1908, p. 101, pl. VI.

37. Monghyr Plates, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 304.

Sena I falls within this period.) It is clear that the palaeographic forms of the Abhayagiri inscription bear a very close resemblance to those of inscriptions from the Bihar-Bengal area of India. Presumably the scribe who indited this record was either a person from the Eastern regions of India or at least one who was thoroughly familiar with the traditions of this region.

The inscription deals with a variety of subjects including the allowances and emoluments of monks and employees, the procedure of administration and the conditions of residence at the monastery. The last six of the legible lines fix the number of monks who were to live at the monastery and detail regulations pertaining to filling any vacancies that may occur. It appears that this portion of the inscription deals with regulations instituted for a hermitage that had been recently founded.

The hermitage was given to a hundred monks comprising twenty-five from each of "the four principal *nikāyas*." There was also provision for forty monks engaged in the study of the *śāstras* who were to be tutored without affiliation to any of the *nikāyas*:

*cātur-mahā-nikāyeṣu pañcaviṃśatiḥ pañcaviṃśatitapasvinaḥ tena śatannaivāsikānām. catvāriṃśat śāstrābhīyukta tapasvinaḥ nikāya-bhedavināpi grhītaniśrayāh...*³⁸

The term *nikāya* could be given three possible interpretations. It could be used to denote the divisions of the Canon, the main divisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka* or schools of religious opinion. When the Canon is classified under *nikāyas* the number is always five and hence the first meaning is not applicable in this particular case.³⁹ If the second interpretation is accepted, the passage would mean that the four *nikāyas* were to be studied each by a separate group of twenty-five monks, while forty monks studied the exegetical treatises thereupon. However, the divisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka* are usually called *āgamas* in Buddhist Sanskrit works. The *Sutta Piṭaka* contained five and not four divisions though the fifth, the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, was not accepted as an authentic collection in the early days. Moreover, it would be strange if arrangements were made for the study of the *śāstras* and the four divisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka* without any similar arrangements for the other sections of the Canon. The construction of the relevant sentence with the term *nikāya* in the Locative Case also suggests that it was a faction of monks rather than a section of the *Sutta Piṭaka* that was denoted by the word. The meaning of the word becomes clear when some of the regulations

38. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 5, ll. 33-4.

39. See *Smp.*, Vol. I, pp. 26-8.

are examined. If the number of monks from a particular *nikāya* living at the monastery were to fall below the prescribed number, the vacancies could be filled by monks from other *nikāyas* only with the approval of the *nikāya* concerned. In case of an expulsion, however, the vacancy was to be filled by monks from other *nikāyas*.⁴⁰ These regulations and the condition that the forty monks studying the *śāstras* were to be tutored without affiliation to any one of the *nikāyas* leave little doubt that it was a group of monks that was denoted by the term *nikāya* in the Abhayagiri inscription.

According to the *Cūlavamsa*, the Viraṅkurārāma was given to the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Theriyas. The term Theriya was generally used in the chronicle to denote the monks of the Mahāvihāra, but it could apply to the monks of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana schools as well. Hence Theriya and Sthaviravadin were terms which could denote all three or any one of the main *nikāyas* in Sri Lanka.⁴¹ If the strophe in question from the *Cūlavamsa* and the passage from the inscription are taken to refer to the same incident, the term "four *nikāyas*" may be explained as denoting the Mahāsāṅghikas and the three Buddhist schools of Sri Lanka. Thus the passage in the inscription would imply that each of the *nikāyas* was represented at Viraṅkurārāma by twenty-five of their number. This explanation fits most of the known evidence. It does not seem likely, however, that the monks of the Mahāvihāra, who always regarded themselves as the orthodox faction and had earlier turned down the request of a king to hold the *uposatha* festival jointly with the monks of the Abhayagiri monastery, would at this time consent to live in a hermitage within the precincts of the Abhayagiri monastery and to fraternize with monks of the other *nikāyas* including the Mahāsāṅghikas. Further, if a reconciliations among the three *nikāyas* of Sri Lanka did in fact take place, one would expect that the chroniclers would have treated this incident in quite a different manner and in much greater detail.

A statement of I-tsing, who visited India in the seventh century, seems to throw valuable light on this problem:

Throughout the five divisions of India, as well as the islands of the Southern Sea people speak of the four *nikāyas*. . . . In Magadha, the doctrines of the four *nikāyas* are generally in practice, yet the Sarvāstivāda *nikāya* flourishes most. . . . In the eastern frontier countries, the four *nikāyas* are found side by side (literally "The eastern frontier countries practise mixedly the four *nikāyas*.").

40. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 5, ll. 35-7; see also p. 9.

41. See *supra* p. 7.

I-tsing goes on to enumerate the four *nikāyas* as the Āryamūlasarvāstivāda *nikāya*, Āryamahāsāṅghika *nikāya*, Āryasthāvira *nikāya* and the Āryasammitīya *nikāya*.⁴² As Bareau has remarked, I-tsing does not seem to draw any distinction between Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda.⁴³ It is evident from this passage that the term "four *nikāyas*" was used to denote the Sarvāstivādins, Mahāsāṅghikas, Sthāviras and the Sammitīyas who, by I-tsing's time, seem to have emerged as the four leading *nikāyas* of the Buddhist *saṅgha*.

I-tsing is not alone in giving this number of the major sectarian divisions of Indian Buddhism. The *Samayabhedoparacanacakre-nikāyabhedopadarśana-saṅgraha* attributed to Vinītadeva, an abbot of the Nālandā monastery who lived in about the eighth century, refers to the same fourfold division of the *saṅgha* into the Mahāsāṅghika, Sarvāstivāda, Sthāvira and the Sammitīya *nikāyas* and lists the other *nikāyas* as their subdivisions.⁴⁴ Similarly, a Tibetan text datable to the eleventh century follows the same pattern by listing the eighteen *nikāyas* under these four principal groups.⁴⁵ These four main schools are also mentioned in Bu-ston's fourteenth century history of Buddhism.⁴⁶ The correctness of the classification of the less important *nikāyas* as subgroups of the four principal *nikāyas* may arouse dispute, but the testimony of our sources leaves little doubt that the Mahāsāṅghikas, Sarvāstivādins, Sthāviras and the Sammitīyas rose to the position of the four principal *nikāyas* of the Buddhist *saṅgha* by about the seventh century and that they continued to hold this position at least until about the eleventh century.

In this context it is interesting to note that the inscription from the Abhayagiri monastery uses the term *cāturmahānikāya* or "the four principal *nikāyas*." When this term is considered in the light of the foregoing discussion it seems reasonable to interpret it as a reference to the Mahāsāṅghikas, Sarvāstivādins, Sthāviravādins and the Sammitīyas who had emerged as the four principal *nikāyas* in India. The statement in the inscription would imply that twenty-five monks from each of these *nikāyas* were to live together at a hermitage attached to the Abhayagiri monastery. Probably it was the monks of the Abhayagiri monastery who represented the Sthāviravādins in this context. Unlike the residents of the Mahāvihāra, the monks of the Abhayagiri fraternity

42. I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, ed. J. Takakusu, pp. 8-9.

43. Bareau, *Les sectes* . . . , p. 153.

44. A. Bareau, "Trois traités sur les sectes bouddhiques des a Vasumitra, Bhavya et Vinītadeva," *JA*, 1954, pp. 229-33, Bareau; *Les sectes* . . . p. 24.

45. Bareau, *Les sectes* . . . p. 26.

46. These lists are also quoted by Bu-ston. See Bu-ston, *op. cit.*, Pt. II, pp. 98-100.

had always been tolerant of and even receptive to the teaching of the non-Theravādin schools of Buddhism. As early as the third century they welcomed the teachings of the Vetullas.⁴⁷ Hiuen-tsang noted that they “studied both vehicles and widely diffused the Tripiṭaka” unlike the monks of the Mahāvihāra who were “opposed to the Great Vehicle.”⁴⁸ The exegetist Sumaṅgala, who lived at the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth century, mentions a “heretical” view jointly held by the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Abhayagirivāsins in his commentary, the *Abhidhammattha-vikāsinī*.⁴⁹ Presumably this statement reflects the close relationship which prevailed between the two fraternities.

As evident from the Chinese and Tibetan accounts of the Buddhist scholastic tradition which were prevalent in the Eastern regions of India, the practice of different *nikāyas* living together at the same monastery was not unknown. The rather incoherent statement of I-tsing cited earlier also seems to point to the friendly co-existence of the four *nikāyas*. This view is further supported by evidence in the *Blue Annals*. This work records the tradition that Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna, an abbot of the Vikramaśīla monastery, studied the Canons of the four *nikāyas*. More over, this text states that the Tibetan scholar Rwa Lo-tṣā-bar Do-rje-grags sent one hundred *sraṅs* of gold to the Vikramaśīla monastery as an endowment to pay for the regular recitation of the *Ārya-prajñāpāramitā-saṅcaya-gāthā* by “eighty-four *paṇḍitas* of the four *nikāyas*.”⁵⁰ These statements seem to suggest that the Vikramaśīla monastery was an institution where the monks representing the four *nikāyas* lived and that it was a center which encouraged the comparative study of their teachings.

The *Cūlavamsa* recorded that the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Theriyas were given the Viraṅkurārāma built at the Abhayagiri monastery. According to the *Niākya-saṅgrahaya*, a monk who belonged to a “heretical” school settled at the Viraṅkurārāma and won over the king to his cause. *Śāstras* such as the *Ratnakūta* were also brought to Sri Lanka during the same reign. The Abhayagiri inscription records that monks from four *nikāyas*, at least one of which represented a school of thought distinct from the Theravāda, lived at a hermitage attached to the Abhayagiri monastery; it also makes special provision for the study of the *śāstras* by forty monks. In view of these remarkable instances of corroboration it seems reasonable to suggest that all three sources—the two

47. *Mv.* 36. 41.

48. Beal, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 443.

49. *Abhidhammattha-vikāsinī*. p. 46. See also *supra* p. 29.

50. G. N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Pt. I, pp. 243, 377.

chronicles and the inscription—are speaking of the same incident and to hold that the inscription dates back to the reign of Sena I. This dating, as pointed out earlier, is supported by palaeographic considerations too.

The *Ratnakūṭa* or the *Pao-chi* is one of the seven categories of the Mahāyāna class of the *Sūtra Piṭaka* in the Chinese Buddhist Canon. It contains a collection of forty-nine *sūtras*. The parallel division in the Tibetan Canon, the *dkon-brtseg*, has forty-eight *sūtras*, though some editions have only forty-five.⁵¹ Edgerton has pointed out that the *Kāśyapa Parivartta* is sometimes called the *Ratnakūṭa*.⁵² Most of the works in the *Ratnakūṭa* class are short tracts dealing with a single problem, but some like the *Pitāputra-samāgama* are analytical treatises of considerable length.⁵³ In this connection it is interesting that a number of copper plaques discovered at the *Īndikaṭusāya stūpa* at Cetiyaḡiri, a monastery which was under the control of the Abhayagiri *nikāya*, have been found to contain quotations from the *Kāśyapa Parivartta*⁵⁴ which are written in the Sinhalese script. Parānavitana believes that they may belong to the eighth or the ninth century.⁵⁵ Hence the tradition that the scriptures of the *Ratnakūṭa* class were brought to Sri Lanka appears to have a historical basis.

The *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* mentions that the Vāḡjiriyavāda was introduced to the island during the reign of Sena I. The "heretic" who won the king over belonged to the Vajraparvata sect.⁵⁶ The term Vajraparvata which is sometimes used in place of Vāḡjiriya⁵⁷ seems to be synonymous with the latter. Eliot is probably right in equating Vāḡjiriya with Vāḡjayāna.⁵⁸ Though one cannot be certain about the historicity of a tradition which occurs in only one of our sources, the discovery of some stone slabs bearing Tantra *dhāraṇīs* within the Abhayagiri monastery and at a site not very far from that of the Sanskrit inscription under discussion may add weight to the possibility that Tantric teachings were brought to Sri Lanka during this time from the Eastern regions of India. Parānavitana has described the script on these slabs as a form of Nāḡari used in Eastern India in about the ninth century.⁵⁹

51. Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, pp. 282, 283, 374.

52. Edgerton, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 374.

53. C. V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, p. 86.

54. *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 199-212, 238-42.

55. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 200.

56. No information on a sect by this name is available. In the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* there is a reference to a place called the Vajraparvata situated in the sea where *bodhisattvas* used to congregate. *Taisho Tripiṭaka*, Vol. X, p. 241b.

57. *Niks.* p. 10.

58. Eliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 40.

59. *ASCAR*, 1940-45, p. 41.

Some of the most important works of the Tantra and the Vajrayāna were found in the Eastern region of India. According to the Tibetan sources, the abbots of the Vikramaśīla monastery were famous *vajrācāryas* from the time of Buddhaśrījñāna. Some of the teachers, like Buddhaśrījñāna and Dipaṅkaraśrījñāna, are specifically referred to as monks of the Mahāsāṅghika *nikāya*.⁶⁰ Probably these Tantric influences came through Indian monks from centers of Buddhist learning in Eastern India or through monks from Sri Lanka who had lived at these monasteries.

The Abhayagiri inscription and the chronicles seem to record an interesting and important incident in the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. It is evident from the information they provide that monks belonging to schools other than the Theravāda, such as the Sarvāstivādins, Sammitīyas and more certainly the Mahāsāṅghikas, lived in Sri Lanka. Apparently an experiment was tried at the Abhayagiri monastery to provide for the corporate existence within one hermitage of representatives of these four principal *nikāyas* of the Buddhist *saṅgha*, and to initiate a tradition of assiduous comparative study of their teachings which would not be affiliated to any one of them. This was not necessarily the first time that the teachings of these schools and of the Tantra were propagated in Sri Lanka,⁶¹ but it was probably the first systematic attempt made to integrate these elements with local Buddhist traditions. Presumably the monks representing schools other than the Theravāda came from India, but one cannot be certain about this. However, the evidence in the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* and the fact that the rules of residence and monastic administration in the Abhayagiri inscription are in Sanskrit and not in Sinhalese, as is usual, may support this supposition.

If the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya*⁶² is to be believed, Sena II, the next king, did not welcome this type of foreign "heretical" influence. This chronicle states that he stationed guards all around the coast to prevent the entry of "pseudo-Buddhist monks." To substantiate this statement the chronicler quotes a strophe allegedly from the *Cūlavamsa*, but this strophe is not found in the extant recensions of the *Cūlavamsa*.

60. Schiefner, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-61.

61. When Amoghavajra visited Ceylon in the eighth century, Samantabhadra, a Tantrist of great repute, performed the Vajradhātu and Garbhadhātu ceremonies. Amoghavajra and his two disciples learned the secrets of the five *abhisecanī* from him. This would testify to the prevalence of Tantric practices in Ceylon before the events under discussion. See W. Pachow, *UCR*, Vol. XII, p. 182.

62. *Niks.* p. 21.

Even if Sena II did take such steps, it is unlikely that they were effective. Tāranātha relates an account of the visit to Sri Lanka of Ratnākaraśānti (Santi-pa), one of the most prominent teachers of the Vajrayāna in Eastern India. At the time of his visit to Sri Lanka Ratnākaraśānti was the abbot of the Somapurī monastery, the site of which has been identified with the ruins at Paharpūr.⁶³ He came to Sri Lanka with an envoy despatched by the king of the island to fetch him and brought along two hundred texts of the Mahāyāna school. He preached in the island for seven years and, on his return to India, left behind five hundred monks of the Mahāyāna school. During his stay in Sri Lanka, Tāranātha maintains, the Sūtra schools⁶⁴ gained wide popularity. Upon his return to India he was requested by the king to live at the Vikramaśīla monastery and was assigned the post of *dvārapaṇḍita*.⁶⁵

The historicity of Ratnākaraśānti need not be questioned. He is also mentioned in the *Blue Annals* as the *dvārapaṇḍita* of the eastern gate of the Vikramaśīla monastery and as a teacher of great renown.⁶⁶ Since the only known account which gives biographical details about him is the work of Tāranātha, the evidence about his visit to Sri Lanka cannot be verified, but it is clear from this account that Tāranātha had at least two earlier histories before him. He mentions that they differed with respect to the name of the Indian king who patronized Ratnākaraśānti.⁶⁷ The silence of the chronicles of Sri Lanka does not invalidate the evidence of Tāranātha since it is only very rarely that they concern themselves with the affairs of the "heretics," and hence it would be unwise to reject this testimony as a mere legend in a late chronicle. The visit of a famous teacher like Ratnākaraśānti, if it did in fact take place, must have greatly strengthened the position of the Mahāyāna schools in the island.

Information in Tāranātha's chronicle does not provide any definite clues regarding the date of Ratnākaraśānti. According to his account, certain traditions identified the king who patronized the scholar as Mahipāla (ca. A.D. 988-1038) while other chronicles identified him with another king named Canaka. Tāranātha was inclined to accept the second view,⁶⁸ but there is no information on the chronological position of this king. However the account of the life of the Tibetan translator

63. *ASIAR*, 1927-8, pp. 105-6.

64. This refers to the Sūtra schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism as distinct from Tantra schools.

65. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-7.

66. Roerich, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, pp. 205-6.

67. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

68. *Ibid.*

'Brog-mi which appears in the *Blue Annals* helps us to arrive at a fairly reliable dating. 'Brog-mi is said to have left his monastery to study in India when the Lo-tśā-ba Rin-chen bśān-po was nearing the age of fifty. At Vikramaśīla he studied the Vinaya under Ratnākaraśānti, who was a *dvārapaṇḍita*.⁶⁹ In a prior passage the chronicle records that Rin-chen bśān-po was born in a year corresponding to A. D. 957.⁷⁰ This implies that Ratnākaraśānti was already a well-known teacher at Vikramaśīla by the beginning of the eleventh century and thus his visit to Sri Lanka should have taken place in the latter part of the tenth century.

The *Cūlavamsa* refers to many scholars from Jambudīpa who came to the island during the reign of Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110). The king welcomed them and pleased them with gifts of money.⁷¹ It is not impossible that some of these scholars were Buddhist monks from the Eastern regions of India. Finds from the relic chamber of the Mahiyaṅgaṇa *stūpa* testify to the continuity of the relationship with this region. Among these finds is a figure of the Buddha cut in relief on a plaque of black basalt. On its back the *Ye dharmā...* formula was inscribed "in Nāgarī characters of the Pāla period." As Paranavitana pointed out, the finds seem to have been deposited in the *stūpa* in the course of restorations undertaken during the reign of Vijayabāhu I.⁷² Apart from the scholars who came to Sri Lanka to propagate their teachings it is possible that there were some who came to study at the monasteries of the island. When the Burmese monk Chaṭa was in Sri Lanka he found a young monk from Tāmalitti (Tāmralipti) who had come to study the teachings of the Mahāvihāra school.⁷³ It may be surmised that in later times Muslim invasions and consequent political upheavals in India promoted migrations of scholars to places like Sri Lanka. In his Nissaṅka-dāna-vinoda-maṇḍapa inscription Nissaṅka Malla claims to have distributed gifts among many people who had come from foreign lands.⁷⁴ However, there is no information in the Indian or Tibetan chronicles concerning any such migrations.

Relations with Nepal and Tibet

The close relations that the monasteries of Eastern India maintained with Nepal and Tibet during this period would have enabled visitors from Sri Lanka to come into contact with monks from these

69. Roerich, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-7.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

71. *Cv.* 60, 19.

72. *ASCAR*, 1951, p. 17.

73. *See infra* p. 276.

74. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 123-5.

regions. Two manuscripts found in Nepal show that Sri Lanka was known and regarded by the Buddhists of Nepal as an important center of Buddhism. One of these, a manuscript which contains many miniature paintings, was written at the Sri Hlam monastery in a year corresponding to A.D. 1015.⁷⁵ Three of these paintings represent cult objects from Sri Lanka. One is a painting of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara attended by two figures identified by Foucher as Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāni; another depicts Jambhala, while the third carries the figure of "Ārogyaśāla Lokanātha."⁷⁶ The second manuscript is a copy of the *Prajñāpāramitā* made by a resident of the Kisa... monastery in a year corresponding to A.D. 1071. This manuscript also contains three miniatures representing images from Sri Lanka: Dīpaṅkara attended by Vajrapāni, Jambhala, and "Ārogyaśālā Lokeśvara."⁷⁷ In both the paintings of "Ārogyaśālā Lokanātha" (or Lakeśvara) he is attended by two female figures, one executed in red and the other in green. Perhaps these paintings were based upon reports of Nepalese pilgrims who visited Sri Lanka. It is also possible that some of the Sinhalese monks who visited Eastern India ventured as far as the native land of the Buddha, but one cannot rule out the possibility that they were based on mere hearsay, on impressions gathered in Eastern India where visitors from the two lands met.

The *Blue Annals* record a tradition about a saintly monk from Sri Lanka who, it would appear, lived in the twelfth century. A monk from Kashmir who heard of his fame visited him in the town of Ratnacūḍāmaṇi,⁷⁸ and through him the Sinhalese monk sent greetings to the Tibetan monks, Rin-chen-dpal and dbon'-ston Rin-po-che, whom he very much admired. This story is found in another Tibetan work where the name of the Sinhalese monk is given as Guṇaratna.⁷⁹ More reliable evidence concerning the relationship which prevailed between Tibet and Sri Lanka during this period is found in two Sinhalese manuscripts discovered by Rāhul Sankṛtyāyana in the Tibetan monastery of Saska. One of these texts, incorrectly identified as the Vessantara Jātaka by Sankṛtyāyana,⁸⁰ is a manuscript of the *Karmavibhāga*. This manuscript, which has been deciphered by the present writer, deals with many

75. Cambridge University Library MS No. Add. 1643. See also A. Foucher, *Études sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, pp. 15-27.

76. Cambridge University Library MS. No. Add. 1643 ff. 8, 80, 86; Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

77. Foucher, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-30.

78. No information on a town of this name is available.

79. Roerich, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, p. 315; Pt. II, p. 599. These Tibetan monks are said to have lived in the latter part of the twelfth century.

80. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1937, p. 32.

topics varying from mutual duties of teachers and students, the advantages of patronizing the *saṅgha*, the disadvantages of desire, and life in heaven and hell, to a discussion on the "perfections" (*pāramitā*).⁸¹ The script of the manuscript is comparable to the palaeographic forms of the period from the eleventh to the thirteenth century compiled by P. E. E. Fernando; his comments on the peculiarities of the script of this period are also applicable in this case.⁸² The round form of the initial *a* is similar to the illustrations (Nos. 13 and 14) in his table. The cerebral *na* is formed of a small circle followed by two loops. The dental *na* with the triangular base is quite similar to his illustration number 13 while the *ma* resembles his examples 15 and 16 which he has described as typical of this period. It is also noteworthy that the *ra* of this manuscript has not developed the short curve on the top of the letter which seems to be a characteristic feature of the manuscripts of the thirteenth and later centuries.⁸³ Hence, it is possible that the manuscript belongs to the twelfth century or the early thirteenth century. Rāhul Sankṛtyāyana is probably reporting information preserved at the Sa-skya monastery when he says that the two Sinhalese manuscripts belonged to Anantaśrī, a monk from Sri Lanka who visited the monastery in the time of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan.⁸⁴ According to the *Blue Annals* Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan "occupied the chair of the monastery" in the year corresponding to A.D. 1172, and he died in A.D. 1216.⁸⁵ It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the palaeographic evidence agrees with this date. Therefore it is likely that the tradition quoted by Sankṛtyāyana has a historical basis.

The Significance of Relations with Northern Centers of Buddhism

When considering the importance of the relations that Sri Lanka maintained with the northern centers of Buddhism, it is necessary to draw a distinction between Eastern India and other centers in Nepal and Tibet. A Sinhalese monk or pilgrim who occasionally found his way to Nepal or Tibet is unlikely to have exerted an influence of noteworthy

81. The present writer is indebted to Ven. H. Saddhātissa, through whose good offices he has been able to obtain photographic copies of this manuscript. When examining this work, the possibility that it is one of the lost works of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* has to be kept in mind.

82. P. E. E. Fernando, "Development of the Sinhalese Script from the 8th century A.D. to the 15th century A.D.," *UCR*, Vol. VIII, pp. 222-43 (with two tables).

83. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

84. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1937, p. 32.

85. Roerich, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, p. 211.

magnitude, nor is any such influence evident. The same comment applies to the rare visitors from these regions who may have reached Sri Lanka. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the relations with the Bihar-Bengal area were established on a much more regular basis. The practice of going on pilgrimage to sacred places in this area and the existence of a permanent body of Sinhalese monks at the monastery of Buddha Gayā were both conducive to the absorption of the influences disseminated by the centers of Buddhist learning in this area. These relations also provided the Sinhalese monks with an opportunity to propagate the teachings of the Theravāda. There is hardly any doubt that the influence of the monastic centers of Eastern India which spread to Tibet and Southeast Asia also stimulated the development of Mahāyāna and Tantric Buddhism in the island. The decline and the final destruction of the great monasteries in the Bihar-Bengal area would have severely affected the strength of the influence of those sects in the island as well as the position of the monasteries which harbored their teachings.

Apart from inscriptions written in a script which shows a resemblance to that used in Eastern India, there is also evidence which supports the contention that East Indian influences were felt in the Buddhist sculpture of Sri Lanka. Paranavitana has drawn attention to the affinity in style between the *nāga* figures of the Ratanapāsāda in the Abhayagiri monastery and the sculptures of the Pāla period.⁸⁶ A figure of Avalokiteśvara from the Nevill collection of the British Museum may be cited as another example. This figure with a roundish face, Mongoloid in its appearance, is seated in the "pose of a great king" (*mahārājatilā*) on a lotus pedestal. It has a *dhyāni-buddha* on the headdress. A lotus is held in the left hand; the right is in the *varada mudrā*. An inscription stating that it was "given by *saṅgha*" (*saṅghadattaḥ*) is inscribed on the pedestal. Wickremasinghe, who read this inscription, has pointed out that it bears a close similarity in its palaeographic forms to the Abhayagiri Sanskrit inscription discussed above; both inscriptions seem to have been written in the script of the East Indian regions of the ninth century.⁸⁷ Hence it is likely that this sculpture was brought from Eastern India during the Pāla Period, or that it was the work of a sculptor trained in the traditions of this region.

It has been suggested that the group of images at the Galvihāra at Polonnaruva bears some resemblance to the works of the Pāla Period.⁸⁸

86. UCHC, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 404.

87. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "Mahayana Buddhist Images from Ceylon and Java," *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 283-97, pl. I, fig. 2.

88. P. E. E. "Fernando, 'Tantric Influences on the Sculptures at Galvihara, Polonnaruva,'" *UCR*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1 & 2, 1960 pp. 50-67.

But it is not advisable to attribute them exclusively to the North Indian tradition since some of their characteristics like the technique of representing the folds of the robes by "double grooves," the decoration of the back of the seat in the form of a *makaratoraṇa*, the use of the "flame" design to decorate the haloes, and the method of depicting the *padmāsana* as a thin cushion on the pedestal are also found in sculptures discovered at Nāgapattāna.⁸⁹ Perhaps they represent influences of both these regions with which Sri Lanka maintained close relations.

Relations with South India

Relations between the Buddhist communities of South India and Sri Lanka were always very close. As in Sri Lanka, Buddhism of the Theravāda school thrived in the Draviḍa lands. Hiuen-tsang recorded that there were about a hundred monasteries with ten thousand monks of the Sthavira school in the Ta-lo-pi-ch'a (Draviḍa) country.⁹⁰ It is possible that the position of Buddhism in South India was affected by the rise of militant Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism which contested the tenets of both Jainism and Buddhism. Evidence concerning the rivalry between these religious communities is preserved in Tamil literary works such as the *Periya Purāṇam*, *Tiruvātavūrar Purāṇam*, *Kuruparamparai* and the *Tirumālai*. It is said that Tiruñānaḥampantar defeated the Buddhist inhabitants of the village Potimaṅkai in a debate and that subsequently his opponents were converted to Śaivism.⁹¹ According to the *Tiruvātavūrar Purāṇam*, Māṅikkavāḥakar, another Śaiva *nāyaṅār*, took part in a debate at Čitamparam where he defeated a Buddhist monk from Sri Lanka.⁹² Evidently the militant proselytizing activities of the *nāyaṅārs* and the *ālvārs* did not provoke the Buddhists to develop a counter-movement to stem the growing influence of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava faiths. It is possible that the decline of the influence of Buddhism led to migrations of South Indian monks to more favorable surroundings in nearby countries like Sri Lanka.⁹³

The important centers of Buddhism in the Coromandel coast survived this difficult period and played an active role in the subsequent history of Buddhism. Of these, Kāñci rose to a position of importance

89. T. N. Ramachandran, *The Nāgapattānam and other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum*, Pls. I & XVIII.

90. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 429.

91. H. W. Schomerus, *Sivaitische Heiligenlegenden (Periyapūrāṇa and Tiruvātavūrarapurāṇa)*, Jena, 1925, p. 155.

92. *Ibid.*, pp. 264-80.

93. See *supra* p. 258.

during the time of the Pallavas, but its importance and influence outlasted the political power of the Pallavas. As late as in the fourteenth century the *Nāgara-Kērtāgama* refers to Buddhāditya, a monk from the Śaḍwihāra at Kāñci who wrote a panegyric in praise of the Javanese king Hayam Wuruk.⁹⁴ The port of Nāgapaṭṭana (Negapatam), situated further to the south at the mouth of the Kāveri, was another important center which attracted pilgrims and scholars from many regions. The commentator Dhammāpala the Senior lived at the Dhammāsoka-mahārāja monastery at Nāgapaṭṭana at the time of the composition of the commentary on the *Nettipakarāṇa*,⁹⁵ and Buddhadatta, an earlier commentator, lived for some time at Kāveripaṭṭana, another port nearby.⁹⁶ It was at Nāgapaṭṭana that two monasteries were built in the time of the Coḷas by Māravijayottuṅgavarman, the king of Śrī Vijaya.⁹⁷ More than three hundred Buddhist images dating from about the ninth to about the seventeenth century were found here, thereby revealing that Nāgapaṭṭana was an active center of Buddhism for a very long period.

The influence of Buddhism was by no means restricted to the Coromandel coast; it spread across the central highlands into the Malabar coast as well. A copper plate from Vendāranayam, which is inscribed in a script datable to about the tenth century, records a grant of land made to a Buddhist monastery called Sundaracoḷaperumpalli built by one Selettiyan.⁹⁸ According to an inscription from the Shikarpur Taluk a Buddhist monastery with shrines for Tārā, Lokeśvara, Keśava and the Buddha was built at Baḷḷigāve (Belugami) in A.D. 1055. It was probably a Tantric Buddhist institution since endowments were made for the maintenance of *yoginis*.⁹⁹ A record from the same *taluk* dated in A.D. 1098 mentions another Buddhist shrine.¹⁰⁰ The monastery of Mūlāvāsa located in the Malabar coast¹⁰¹ was well-known among the Nepalese Buddhists of the eleventh century as an important center of Buddhism in the Dakṣiṇāpatha.¹⁰² A number of Buddha images datable to the Coḷa period have been found in many places spread throughout this area such as Tyaganur, Tanjore, Kāñci, Tiruvatti, Tiruvalaṅjuli, Elaiyur,

94. Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century, a Study in Cultural History*, (*The Nāgara-Kērtāgama* by Rekawi Prapañca), Vol. III, p. 111; Vol. IV, pp. 331-3.

95. *Nettipakarāṇa*, ed. E. Hardy, PTS, 1961, p. 249.

96. *Madhurāttha-vilāsini*, ed. I. B. Horner, PTS, 1946, p. 299

97. *EI*, Vol. XXII, p. 242, ll. 80-4.

98. P. R. Sirinivasan, *The Story of Buddhism*, 1960, p. 158.

99. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII, Shikarpur taluk, No. 170.

100. *Ibid.*, No. 106.

101. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II, pp. 115-23.

102. Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

Jayakoṇḍacoḷapuram, Manambady and Karadikkuppam.¹⁰³ It has already been pointed out that the images from Nāgapaṭṭana testify that Buddhism survived into the seventeenth century, and this is confirmed by certain inscriptions of the Yādavas of Devagiri, the Vijayanagara kings and the Nāyakkas of Tanjore.¹⁰⁴ Even if it cannot be said that Buddhism was in a flourishing state, it is clear that it was very much alive at many South Indian centers during the period under review.

The friendly relations between the Buddhist communities of South India and Sri Lanka can be traced back to a very early period. Many stories in the *Sihala-vatthu-pakarāṇa* and the *Sahassa-vatthu-pakarāṇa* speak about Sinhalese monks who visited South India. The port of Kāveripaṭṭana occurs frequently in these stories. Monks who were banished from the island for adherence to the teachings of the Vetulla-vāda sought refuge in the Coḷa land where they found friends who were ready to come to Sri Lanka to vindicate their position.¹⁰⁵ South Indian commentaries such as the *Andhakaṭṭhakathā* were studied by commentators in Sri Lanka. The works of Buddhadatta and Dhammapāla the Senior are products of the relationship which existed between these two countries. It has been suggested that Ānanda, the author of the *Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā*, and Anuruddha, the author of the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, were Indians. In the colophon of the *Paramattha-ṣiṅgha* the author states that his birthplace was Kāveri.¹⁰⁶

The close contact between the Buddhist communities of the Coromandel coast and of Sri Lanka continued until the end of the tenth century when friendly relations were vitiated by political developments which led to the conquest of Rājaraṭṭha by the Coḷas. When Vijayabāhu I restored the Sinhalese power over Rājaraṭṭha it was to Burma and not to South India that he sent envoys to obtain monks to restore the *sāsana* in the island. This too has to be partly explained in political terms;¹⁰⁷ presumably friendly relations between the two countries had not been re-established by this time.

A strophe in a fragmentary inscription from Polonnaruva, which was probably issued during the reign of Vikramabāhu I, mentions a hierarch by the name of Ānanda who is compared to "a banner raised aloft in the land of Laṅkā." The last two *pādas* of the strophe which are readable only in part refer to his connections with the *saṅgha* of

103. Sirinivasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-101.

104. *MRE*, 1927, No. 292; 1927/8, No. 66; 1939/40, No. 144.

105. *Mv.*, 36. 11-3.

106. *Paramattha-ṣiṅgha*, ed. Devānanda, p. 337.

107. See also *infra* p. 273.

Tambarat̥ṭha and of the Coḷa land.¹⁰⁸ His importance is indicated by the fact that he received the patronage of the queen of Vikramabāhu at a time when the royalty were not well-disposed toward the *saṅgha*. Buddhappiya, a monk from the Coḷa kingdom who claims to have presided over "two or three monasteries including Bālādicca (Bālāditya)" states in the colophon of his Pāli grammar called *Rūpasiddhi* that he was a disciple of Ānanda, "the banner of Tambapaṇṇi."¹⁰⁹ The commentary on the *Rūpasiddhi* adds that Cūḷamaṇikarma was one of the monasteries which came under Buddhappiya's control.¹¹⁰ This may be identified with the Cūḍāmaṇivarma monastery built at Nāgapaṭṭana by the king of Śrī Vijaya.¹¹¹ Buddhappiya claims to have made the *sāsana* shine. Perhaps he is identical with the monk of the same name who is mentioned in the *Vimati-vinodanī* as one of the leading figures who took part in the "purification" of the Order in the Draviḍa lands by suppressing loose interpretations of the Vinaya rules.¹¹² Parānavitana is probably right in identifying the teacher of Buddhappiya with the hierarch Ānanda of the Polonnaruva record.¹¹³ If this is accepted, it may be cited as an important example of the relationship which prevailed between the *saṅgha* of Nāgapaṭṭana and of Polonnaruva.

During the ten years he spent in Sri Lanka the Burmese monk Chapaṭa met Ānanda, a monk from Kāñci who was versed in the three *pitakas*.¹¹⁴ Two Coḷa monks, Buddhamitta and Kassapa, were in Sri Lanka during the time of Parākramabāhu I.¹¹⁵ Little is known about Buddhamitta. Kassappa is probably identical with the author of the *Vimati-vinodanī* and the *Moha-vicchedanī* who lived at the time he composed the latter work at the Nāgānana monastery in Coḷādhināthapura, a town which was situated in the middle of the Coḷa country. Warder has identified Coḷādhināthapura with Nāgapaṭṭana,¹¹⁶ but Nāgapaṭṭana is known in Coḷa inscriptions as Coḷakulavallipattana.¹¹⁷ The statement that Coḷādhināthapura was situated in the middle of the Coḷa kingdom also suggests that it should have been located further inland. Kassapa criticizes the Sinhalese hierarch Sāriputta for interpreting the

108. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 71-2.

109. *Mahārūpasiddhi Sannaya*, ed. Sumaṅgala and Dhammaratana, 1891, p. 444.

110. *Ibid.*

111. *EI*, Vol. XXII, p. 242, l.83.

112. *Vimati-vinodanī*, ed. Dharmādhāra, p. 100.

113. Parānavitana, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. XI, 1944, pp. 17-25.

114. See *infra* p. 276.

115. See *supra* p. 160.

116. *Moha-vicchedanī*, PTS, p. xvi.

117. *EI*, Vol. XXII, p. 242, l.83.

rule concerning the consumption of liquor too permissively. This interpretation, he points out, encouraged lapses in discipline in the Coḷa land and was rejected as an "unorthodox" interpretation by the leading monks of that country. They cleansed the *saṅgha* of monks who supported such views.¹¹⁸

This criticism is important since it reveals the influence that the views of monk-scholars from Sri Lanka wielded over the clergy of the Coḷa land. It is also evident from this that the South Indian monks claimed to be more "orthodox" than their counterparts from Sri Lanka. Kassapa accuses Śāriputta of having been influenced by the monks of the Abhayagiri monastery. This criticism seems to indicate something more than mere disagreement; it is possible to detect traces of regional rivalry in these writings. It is natural to assume that the intense political rivalry and hostility between the Sinhalese and the Coḷa kingdoms that the reign of Parākramabāhu I witnessed found expression in the writings of the period. The *Simālaṅkāra*, a work on the problems of demarcating ceremonial boundaries, provides another indication of such rivalry. The author of the work claims to have vindicated the position of the Sinhalese monks. All those who knew the Vinaya rules and who wished for the perpetuation of the *sāsana*, he maintains, should accept the views of the Sinhalese monks which are in accordance with the scriptures and the commentaries and certainly should reject the views of the Coliyans which were false and contrary to these. It was a Sinhalese monk called Vācissara, he declares at the end, who wrote this *Simālaṅkāra* and the commentary upon it.¹¹⁹

It was pointed out earlier that the *thera* Ānanda was described in the Polonnaruva record as a monk who had connections with the *saṅgha* of Tambaraṭṭha, a locale which is mentioned in three other sources. According to its colophon, the *Paramattha-vinicchaya* was written by Anuruddha, a monk born in "the township of Kāvira in the land of the city of Kāñci" who was living at the time at Tañja in Tambaraṭṭha.¹²⁰ The author of the *Jinālaṅkāra* speaks of his reputation among the learned men of Coliya-tambaraṭṭha.¹²¹ This term may be interpreted either as the Coḷa land and Tambaraṭṭha, or as Tambaraṭṭha in the Coḷa land. The third reference occurs in the *Cūlavamsa*. Parākramabāhu II sent two missions to foreign lands to obtain monks to help reorganize the

118. *Vimati-vinodanī*, pp. 96-100; see also *infra* p. 326-7.

119. *Simālaṅkāra*, ed., Buddhasiri, 1904, pp. 42-3.

120. *Paramattha-vinicchaya*, p. 337. This statement seems to suggest that the *Paramattha-vinicchaya* was written at a time when the town of Kāvira was under the control of the Pallavas. If this is so, the work has to be assigned to the ninth century or an earlier period.

121. *Jinālaṅkāra*, ed., R. Palita, 1955, p. 31.

Order in Sri Lanka, and one of these missions was to the Coḷa kingdom. The other was sent to Tambaraṭṭha for the specific purpose of inviting Dhammakitti, a monk reputedly of great virtue.¹²²

Geiger was inclined to believe that Tambaraṭṭha was located in South India.¹²³ One possibility is to identify Tañja with Tañjāvūr in the Coḷa country, but the context of the reference in the *Cūlavamsa* precludes such an identification. It is clear from this passage that, at least in the thirteenth century, Tambaraṭṭha was distinct from the Coḷa country since separate missions were sent to these two places.

Paranavitana has attempted to identify Tambaraṭṭha with the Ligor region of the Malay Peninsula.¹²⁴ He has pointed out that the *Pūjāvāliya* substitutes Tamaliṅgamu for Tambaraṭṭha in the account of the reign of Parākramabāhu II.¹²⁵ The *Hatthavanagalla-vihāra-vamsa* mentions a certain invader by the name of Candabhānu who raided the island during the time of Parākramabāhu II. He came from Tambaliṅga.¹²⁶ The *Elu-attanagalu-vamsaya*, the fourteenth-century Sinhalese translation of this work, gives Tamaliṅgamu in place of Tambaliṅga.¹²⁷ Coedès has identified Candabhānu with a king who bore this title mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription from Caiya.¹²⁸ Ostensibly this would strongly support the identification of Tambaraṭṭha with the Caiya region. Paranavitana goes on to suggest that there was a "Tanjong-pura somewhere in the Malay Peninsula which would very well have been the Tañja-nagara referred to in the *Paramattha-vinicchaya*." "There is also," he adds, "a Tanjong Tembeling."¹²⁹

But a closer examination reveals that this identification is not as dependable as it would appear to be at first sight, for there seems to have been some confusion in the use of the name Tamaliṅgamu in the Sinhalese literary works. Furthermore, there was more than one region bordering the Bay of Bengal which could have borne the name Tambaraṭṭha. The *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* relates a story about sixty Sinhalese monks who reached the roadstead of Tamliṅgamu on their way to the city of Pāḷalup (Pāḷaliputra).¹³⁰ In this context Tamaliṅgamu could hardly be any other place but the port of Tāmralipti. In fact, certain

122. Cv. 84. 9-16.

123. Cv. trsl., Vol. II, p. 155, n. 2.

124. *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. XI, 1944, pp. 17-25; *JRASCBS*, Vol. VII, Pt. 1, p. 5.

125. *Pjv.*, p. 118.

126. *Hatthavanagalla-vihāra-vamsa*, PTS, p. 32.

127. *Elu-attanagalu-vamsaya*, ed. Simon de Silva, p. 45.

128. Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, Pt. II, pp. 25-28.

129. *JRASCBS*, Vol. VII, Pt. 1, p. 5.

130. *Saddharmālaṅkāraya*, ed., Bentota Saddhātissa, p. 361.

Sinhalese translations give Tamaliṅgam in place of Tāmalitti (Tāmralipti) in the Pāli original. According to the *Saddharma-ratnākaraya* the ship bearing the sapling of the Bo Tree touched at Tamaliṅgamtoṭa on its way from Buddha Gayā to Sri Lanka.¹³¹ In place of Tāmalitti which occurs in the *Dāḷadhāvamsa*, its Sinhalese gloss¹³² gives Tamaliṅgam while the *Daḷadā-sirita* retains the Pāli form without change.¹³³

Tāmralipti and Tāmraliṅga were not the only places which had names beginning with *tāmra*, meaning "copper." The name Tambadīparaṭṭha was used to denote a part of Burma. Dhammasenāpati, the Burmese monk who wrote the Pāli grammar called *Kārikā* states in the colophon that he lived at Arimmaḍḍanapura (Pagan) in the Tambadīparaṭṭha.¹³⁴ The *Nighaṇḍu-tīkā* was composed by a Burmese minister called Caturaṅgabala in about the fourteenth century. He mentions that he lived in the reign of Sihasūra, the king of the Tambadīparaṭṭha.¹³⁵ G. H. Luce has quoted the *Jambudīpa Uchavi* to point out that the region to the east and to the south of the Irrawaddy was known as Tambadīpa while the region to the north and to the west of it was called Sunāparānta.¹³⁶ This is supported by an inscription from the Shwezayan *pagoda* at Thāton which mentions a king called Makuṭarāja who is described as the lord of "the whole Tāmbāvisēya."¹³⁷ Luce has identified Makuṭarāja with Manuhā, the contemporary of Anawratha, who ruled over Lower Burma.¹³⁸ As Dupont has suggested, Tāmbāvisēya may be compared with Tāmraviṣaya,¹³⁹ a term synonymous with the Pāli Tambaraṭṭha.

The *Mahābhārata* mentions an island called Tāmra.¹⁴⁰ The *Divyāvadāna* also refers to a certain Tāmradvīpa.¹⁴¹ Edgerton has suggested that they denote Sri Lanka which was known at one time as Tambapaṇṇi (Skt. Tāmraparṇī).¹⁴² The name of the South Indian river Tāmraparṇī can be traced far into the past, and it is mentioned in the

131. *Saddharma-ratnākaraya*, ed., Kosgoḍa Nānavimala, p. 361.

132. Halvegoḍa Sīlālaṅkāra ed., p. 81, quoted by Parānavitana in *JRASCBS*, Vol. VII, Pt. 1, p. 20.

133. *Daḷadā-sirita*, ed. Sorata, p. 32.

134. *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. II, p. 481.

135. *Ibid.*, p. 535

136. *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Vol. XLII, p. 39.

137. Pierre Dupont, *L'archéologie mène de Dvāravatī*, Vol. I, p. 9.

138. G. H. Luce, *Mons of the Pagan dynasty*, p. 9.

139. See f.n. 137.

140. *Mbh.*, 2.28. 46.

141. *Divyāvadāna*, ed., Cowell and Neil, p. 525.

142. Edgerton, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 251.

Vāyu Purāna.¹⁴³ Probably it is the same river which is mentioned in the Asokan inscriptions.¹⁴⁴ In the *Matsya Purāna* and the *Viṣṇu Purāna*, Tāmraparṇa occurs as one of the nine divisions of the Bhārata-varṣa.¹⁴⁵ It is possible that the land round the river Tāmraparṇī was also known by the same name.

The foregoing discussion demonstrates the difficulties involved in accepting Parānavitana's suggestion that the Tambaraṭṭha of the Pāli works should be identified with the Ligor region of the Malay Peninsula. This identification was based merely on the similarity of the names. But there were, apart from Sri Lanka, about four regions bordering the Bay of Bengal which did or could have borne similar names. It might be possible to rely on this identification if the *Cūlavamsa* and the *Pūjāvāliya*, which speaks of Tambaraṭṭha and Tamalingamu as the home of Dhammakitti, referred to Candabhānu as the king of the place. But they do not do so, rather in these works Candabhānu is merely referred to as the king of the Jāvakas.¹⁴⁶

Parānavitana has attempted to identify the town of Tañja mentioned in the *Paramattha-vinicchaya* with Tanjong-pura which he presumed to have been located in the Malay Peninsula. Chau-ju-kua mentions a certain Tan-jong-wou-lo as one of the dependencies of Java,¹⁴⁷ and this has been interpreted by Coedès as a reference to Tanjong-pura.¹⁴⁸ A principal city called Tanjung-pura is listed among the tributaries and neighbors of the kingdom of Majapahit in the *Nāgara-Kērtāgama*.¹⁴⁹ Pigeaud, who edited this chronicle, located Tanjung-puri in the island of Borneo.¹⁵⁰ Internal evidence from the chronicle supports this identification which has found general acceptance among scholars.

It is true that many places in the Malay Peninsula have the term Tanjong as a part of their conjoint names, for *tanjong* in the Malay language means "cape" or "promontory." Tanjong-Tembeling, the place-name which Parānavitana cites to support his identification, merely means "the headland of the river Tembeling." Had the author of the *Paramattha-vinicchaya* lived at one such place it is very unlikely

143. *Vāyu Purāna*. Anandasrama, Poona, 1905, 77. 24-5. See also *Brahmāṇḍa Purāna*, Sri Venkatesvara Press, Bombay, 1912, 16. II. 36.

144. *CII*, Vol. I, pp. 3, 46.

145. *Matsya Purāna*, Poona, 1907, 114, 8. *Viṣṇu Purāna*, Sri Venkatesvara Press, Bombay, II. 36.

146. *Pjv.*, p. 117; *Cv.*, 83. 36-51.

147. F. Hirth and H. W. Rockhill, *Chau-ju-kua*, Amsterdam, 1966, p. 86.

148. Coedès, *Lés états hindouisés* . . . , p. 340.

149. Pigeaud, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 16.

150. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 31; see also pp. 128, 230.

that he would have stated that he was living at Tañja without giving the actual name of the place.

No place bearing the name Tañja is known in Burma. On the other hand, there were at least two places by this name in South India. One of these was Tañjāvūr, modern Tanjore, which was the capital of the Coḷas for some time. But, as pointed out earlier, Tambaraṭṭha seems to have been outside the Coḷa country, at least in the time of Parākramabāhu II. Another city by this name is mentioned in the Sinnamannūr plates issued in the sixteenth year of Rājasimha, the Pāṇḍya ruler. In this record Rājasimha claims to have "defeated the king of Tañjai at Naippūr, to have fought a battle at Koḍumbai which was a seat of one of the powerful Coḷa subordinates, and to have burnt Vañji and destroyed the king of Southern Tañjai at Nāval."¹⁵¹ If the first Tañjai is identified with the Coḷa capital, we may observe that another city by the same name, evidently to the south of the former, is mentioned in the inscription. Presumably a prince independent of Pāṇḍya authority was ruling there. This city finds mention also in the *Tañṇaiṅkōvai*, a literary work assigned to the twelfth century by the scholar who edited it, but possibly about two centuries later than this date. The hero of this poem was a feudatory of the Pāṇḍyas who ruled from "Tañṇai of the south." According to the poem this city was situated near the Poḍiyil hills by the river Vaikai.¹⁵² Evidently, the principality which had been independent earlier had, by this time, accepted the suzerainty of the Pāṇḍyas.

The difficulties involved in identifying Tambaraṭṭha with the Ligor area of the Malay Peninsula induce one to consider other possibilities. Tambaraṭṭha occurs in all its known contexts in association with South India. In one instance a person born in the city of Kāveri goes to live in Tambaraṭṭha while in the other three instances it is mentioned together with the Coḷa country. This would suggest that it was situated near the Coḷa Kingdom. The Tañja of the *Paramattha-vinicchaya* could, therefore, very well be identified with "Tañjai (or Tañṇai) of the south" mentioned in the Sinnamannūr plates and the *Tañṇaiṅkōvai*. Hence it appears on the evidence available to us that Tambaraṭṭha of the Pāli sources has to be located in South India rather than in Southeast Asia.

Almost all the evidence cited concerning the relations between the monastic centers of South India and Sri Lanka relate to contacts with the Coromandel coast. Also, they deal only with relations with centers

151. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 449.

152. *Tañṇaiṅkōvai*, ed. S. R. Ramasami Pillai, Madras, 1952, pp. 11, 16, 20, 27, 31, 310, 339.

which professed the Theravāda faith. However, it is possible that important centers on the Malabar coast like the Mūlāvāsa monastery, were known in Sri Lanka. The contribution that South India made to the expansion of non-Theravāda teachings in Sri Lanka in an earlier period is evident from the *Mahāvāmsa* and the Mahāyāna records inscribed in the Pallava Grantha script, such as the Trikayāstava inscription from Mihintale.¹⁵³ The cooperation between the *saṅgha* of South India and Sri Lanka produced important results which are evident in the Pāli Buddhist works of this period.¹⁵⁴

Interaction with the Saṅgha in Burma

Buddhism was at a low ebb when Vijayabāhu I ascended the throne, and all the sources agree that it had been on the decline for some time. It is possible that the neglect and lack of patronage during a long period of political turmoil forced the monks to give up robes or to seek shelter in centers of Buddhism outside the island. The *Pūjāvaliya* and the *Rājāvaliya* lay the blame on the Coḷas who, they maintain, tried to destroy the *sāsana*.¹⁵⁵ Vijayabāhu I found it difficult to assemble monks in sufficient numbers to hold ecclesiastical ceremonies like that of ordination. This does not necessarily imply that the number of monks in the island had been so severely diminished. Perhaps it merely means that the monks who were available were not considered sufficiently virtuous or worthy to preside over such ceremonies. In fact, according to the *Pūjāvaliya* and the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya*, Vijayabāhu could not find "even five virtuous monks."¹⁵⁶ It is also possible that, as in later times, the ceremony of ordination had fallen into abeyance and, as a result, the monks in the island were not qualified to conduct it. The Velaikkāra inscriptions at Polonnaruva, which is the source closest to the events, gives a slightly different account. According to this record, monks were invited from Aramaṇa (Rāmañña) to "purify" the *saṅgha* of the three *nikāyas*.¹⁵⁷

The later Sinhalese chronicles agree with the statement that Vijayabāhu obtained monks from Aramaṇa. For this purpose he is said to have sent emissaries bearing pearls and precious stones as presents. The *Cūlavāmsa* adds a valuable piece of evidence when it states that it was to king Anuruddha that these emissaries were sent.¹⁵⁸ Geiger

153. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 242-6, see also pp. 151-60.

154. See *supra* p. 238.

155. *Pjv.*, p. 105; *Rjv. ed.*, Gunasekara, p. 42.

156. *Pjv.*, p. 105; *Niks.* p. 23.

157. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 338.

158. *Cv.* 60. 4-8.

was inclined to question the authority of the *Cūlavamsa*. He accepted the chronology worked out by Phayre which placed the reign of Anuruddha (Anawrahta) from A.D. 1010 to 1052 and remarked that the assumption of the contemporaneity of Anuruddha and Vijayabāhu I was "probably an arbitrary one on the part of the author of our part of the *Mahāvamsa* or of his source."¹⁵⁹ But according to the Burmese chronology revised by Maung Hla, the reign of Anuruddha fell between 1044 and 1077¹⁶⁰ and thus overlapped the reign of Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110). Hence there is reason to believe that the account in the *Cūlavamsa* was based on a reliable source of information.

According to the *Cūlavamsa* the monks who came from Burma were thoroughly versed in the three *piṭakas*. They initiated numerous ceremonies of admission and ordination and rehearsed the scriptures and their commentaries.¹⁶¹ The *Pūjāvaliya* and the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* hold that the scriptures were also brought from Burma.¹⁶² This would imply that, apart from the decline in the standards of discipline, there was a shortage of books as well as of monks at the accession of Vijayabāhu I. The accomplishments of the monks brought from Burma would seem to be nothing less than the re-establishment of Buddhism which had been severely affected during the period of foreign rule. But the silence of the Velaikkāra inscription on this point makes one rather hesitant about accepting this interpretation.

As evident from the Hmawza inscription, assigned to a period from about the fifth to the seventh century, Pāli Buddhism was known in Upper Burma long before the reign of Anuruddha.¹⁶³ The Burmese chronicles *Mahā Yazawinkyī* and the *Hmannān Yazawinkyī*¹⁶⁴ refer to the thriving community of monks of the Arañ (Ari) school who lived in the Mramma kingdom in the reign of Anuruddha. The capture of the city of Thāton (Sudhammapura) in Rāmaññadesa in ca. A. D. 1057 brought the Mramma conquerors into close contact with another school of Buddhism. Shin Araham, a monk of this school, won over the sympathies of Anuruddha, the Mramma king, and eventually became his personal preceptor. Monks and the scriptures of this school were brought to his capital from the conquered Thāton.

159. *Cv. trsl. Pt. I, p. 214, n. 4.*

160. Maung Hla, "The Chronological Tables of the Kings of Burma," *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Vol. XIII, p. 82.

161. *Cv. 60. 4-8.*

162. *āgamayada genvā, Pjv., p. 105; patpot genvā. Niks., p. 23.*

163. C. Duroiselle, "Excavations at Hmawza," *ASIAR*, 1928-9, pp. 105-7.

164. *Maha Yazawinkyī*, ed. Saya Pwa, pp. 181-91. *Hmannān Yazawinkyī*, ed. translated into English as the *Glass Palace Chronicle* by Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, pp. 71-80.

According to the sources from Sri Lanka the monks who officiated at the "purification" of the Sinhalese *saṅgha* came from Rāmañña-desā;¹⁶⁵ probably they, like the monks who went to Pagan, came from Thāton. However, Quaritch Wales pointed out that no evidence has been found at Thāton to show that Buddhism flourished there before the eleventh century. It has been suggested that the monks found there were those who had been forced to leave the kingdom of Haripuñjaya by the invasion of Sūryavarman or by the cholera epidemic mentioned in the *Çāmādevivaṃsa*.¹⁶⁶

As Parānavitana suggested, another possibility is that the monks brought to Sri Lanka in the reign of Vijayabāhu I had originally gone there from Sri Lanka or were representatives of a community descended from them. He has pointed out that the inauguration of the ceremony of ordination by the monks who came to Sri Lanka from Burma did not result in the establishment of a community named after Burma, as happened later on when foreign monks were brought to initiate this ceremony.¹⁶⁷ It is also noteworthy that the Burmese annals do not refer to an instance of their monks taking part in a "purification" of the Order in Sri Lanka during the time of Vijayabāhu I. On the other hand, they state that the Sinhalese clergy were in the line of direct descent from Mahinda.¹⁶⁸ The Sinhalese monks who were forced to leave the island during the period of Coḷa rule must have gone to centers of Buddhism outside the Coḷa kingdom, and it is quite possible that some of them went to Burma. The *Cūlavāṃsa* testifies to the prevalence of close relations between the king of Rāmañña and the Sinhalese military leaders who rose against the power of the Coḷas. The king of Rāmañña is said to have sent aid to Vijayabāhu when the latter was engaged in campaigns against the Coḷas.¹⁶⁹ Though most of the sources are not very helpful in determining the origin of the monks brought from Burma, the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* provides some additional information. According to the printed version edited by Amaramoli, twenty-five monks were brought by Vijayabāhu I; they are described as *Aramaṇaṛaṭavāsi*, "residents of Aramaṇa." The editor gives a variant reading—*Aramanayaṭa vāḍi*, "those who had gone to Aramaṇa."¹⁷⁰ All four manuscripts of this text at the British Museum support the latter reading. They also state

165. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 338.

166. H. G. Quaritch Wales, "Anuruddha and the Thāton tradition," *JRAS*, 1947, p. 152. See also Coedès, *Les états hindouisés* . . . , p. 274.

167. *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 564.

168. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, p. 29; *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. III, Pt. 2, p. 189.

169. *Cv*. 58. 8-10.

170. *Niks.* p. 23 and note 1.

that the number of monks involved was twenty;¹⁷¹ the *Pūjāvaliya* gives the same number.¹⁷² If the reading in these manuscripts is accepted, it would add strength to the contention that the monks brought to the island in the time of Vijayabāhu I were in fact those who had originally gone to Burma in the Coḷa period or their "descendants."

The Burmese chronicles supply some more details about the relations between the two countries during this period. The *Mahā Yazawinkyī* records that Anuruddha sent a minister to Sri Lanka with an elephant as a present for the king to ask for the Tooth relic, but he had to be satisfied with a replica of the relic. He had several more replicas of the relic made and deposited them in shrines in various parts of the kingdom. The name of the Sinhalese king is given as Sirisaṅghabodhi, a title of Vijayabāhu I.¹⁷³ The authors of the *Hmannān* believed that the *Mahā Yazawinkyī* was wrong with respect to the last detail and concluded, on the strength of the evidence from their chronological calculations, that the king should have been Dhātusena.¹⁷⁴ Obviously the earlier chronicle was correct.

The *Sāsanavaṃsa* states that, after the capture of Thāton, Anuruddha sent four envoys to Sri Lanka to obtain copies of the Canon. These were compared with the scriptures brought from Thāton, and they were found to be in complete agreement with each other.¹⁷⁵ N. R. Ray has accepted this account.¹⁷⁶ But the *Sāsanavaṃsa* is a late chronicle compiled only in the nineteenth century and this account does not occur in any of the earlier chronicles. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that Vijayabāhu would have had to obtain the scriptures from Burma if they had been sent to Anuruddha only a few years earlier.

The close friendly relations between Burma and Sri Lanka which evidently prevailed during the reign of Anuruddha persisted after his death. The Burmese chronicles state that Kyanzitttha, one of his successors, was sent nine relics by the king of Sri Lanka.¹⁷⁷ If the dating of Kyanzitttha's reign between 1086 and 1112 which is suggested by Maung Hla is accepted, the Sinhalese king may be identified as Vijayabāhu I. During the reign of Narathu (ca. 1167-1170), a period marked

171. *British Museum MSS Or.* 2702, f. *ke*; Or. 6606 (10), f. *kau*; Or. 6606 (11), f. *kha*; Or. 6606 (48), f. *ka*.

172. *Pjv.*, p. 105.

173. *Maha Yazawinkyī*, p. 202.

174. *Hmannan Yazawinkyī*, pp. 89-90.

175. *Sāsanavaṃsa*, ed., B. C. Law, p. 71.

176. N. R. Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 100, 101.

177. *Maha Yazawinkyī*, p. 227; *Hmannan Yazawinkyī*, p. 110.

by violence and political assassination, Panthagu,¹⁷⁸ the royal preceptor, was disgusted with the vile ways of the king and left the kingdom in protest to live in exile in Sri Lanka. The king is also said to have attempted to laicize many monks who were also forced to flee to Sri Lanka.¹⁷⁹

Such movements of monks from Sri Lanka to Burma and from Burma to Sri Lanka in times of political turmoil in either country must have promoted, and to some extent presuppose, friendly relations between the *saṅgha* of the two countries. Such relations helped the *saṅgha* to intervene when hostilities broke out between the two countries during the reign of Parākramabāhu I.¹⁸⁰ According to the *Cūlavamsa*, the monks were instrumental in restoring normal relations between the two kingdoms after the campaigns.¹⁸¹

The best known visit by a Burmese to Sri Lanka is perhaps the pilgrimage of Uttarajīva who is mentioned in the Burmese chronicles as the preceptor of Narapatisithu.¹⁸² This monk arrived in Sri Lanka with a group of disciples among whom was one Chapaṭa (Panthagu), a novice he had met at the port of Kusīma (Bassein). Probably it is this association with Chapaṭa which has added such importance to his visit. Accounts of this visit are preserved in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions and in all the Burmese chronicles. Chapaṭa received his ordination at a ceremony in which monks from both countries participated. Uttarajīva held discussions with the Sinhalese monks and returned to Burma after worshipping at the important shrines, while Chapaṭa decided to stay behind to complete his studies.¹⁸³

According to the Kalyāṇī inscriptions, the departure of Uttarajīva to Sri Lanka took place in the year 532 of the Burmese era and six years after the "purification" of the *saṅgha* by Parākramabāhu I.¹⁸⁴ Since the "purification" took place in A.D. 1165/6, the date of Uttarajīva's

178. As Than Tun has pointed out Panthagu, which is the equivalent of the Pāli term *pamsukūlika*, is a title rather than a name. Than Tun, *The Buddhist Church in Burma in the Pagan Period*, Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, p. 240.

179. *Maha Yazawinkyi*, pp. 251-2; *Hmannan*, p. 133. Harvey has stated that Panthagu returned to Burma early in the reign of Narapatisithu and that he died at Pagan at the age of ninety. He has not cited any authorities. The present writer has found no evidence in the sources he consulted to support this statement. A certain Nga Sweshin Panthagu is mentioned in the account of the reign of Narapatisithu, but it is doubtful whether they are identical. See Harvey, *History of Burma*, 1925, p. 55.

180. See *supra* p. 207.

181. *Cv.* 76. 69-74.

182. Caṅsu (Sithu) in certain inscriptions and Narapatijayasūra in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions.

183. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, p. 29; *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. III, Pt. 2, pp. 189-190.

184. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, p. 29; See also *infra* p. 314.

visit must be A.D. 1171/2. The years 526 and 532 of the Burmese era correspond approximately to the same years. Coedès has suggested that Uttarajīva brought the message of peace mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa* which led to the cessation of hostilities between Burma and Sri Lanka.¹⁸⁵ The chronological evidence from our sources would, however, militate against the acceptance of this view. The war with Burma is mentioned in an inscription of Parākramabāhu dated to the twelfth year of his reign, i.e. 1165/6. Nevertheless, it is possible that the visit of the preceptor of the Burmese king represents the restoration of friendly relations between the two kingdoms, even if he did not in fact bring the message of peace.

The young novice Chapaṭa¹⁸⁶ stayed in Sri Lanka for ten years and, during this period, mastered the three *piṭakas* together with their commentaries. When he returned to Burma he took with him four monks from Sri Lanka who were well versed in the scriptures. Of these monks, Rāhula was a native of Sri Lanka, Nanda was from Kāñci and Sivali was from Tāmalitti (Tāmralipti), while Tāmalinda was the son of the king of Kāmbōja. This group refrained from associating with the Burmese monks who were in Pagan and began to perform the ecclesiastical ceremonies by themselves. This led to the rise of a separate school, the Sihalasaṅgha, which drew its inspiration from the Sinhalese Buddhist centers. They won the support of Narapatisithu who held an ordination ceremony for them on a raft of boats at which new recruits were admitted to this school.¹⁸⁷ This is reminiscent of the ordination ceremony held under the patronage of Parākramabāhu I in a pavilion built on boats anchored in the middle of the river Mahavāli.¹⁸⁸ Evidently it was a ceremony that was performed in the Sinhalese fashion. The return of Chapaṭa to Burma, which may be dated to about A.D. 1181/2, and the formation of a separate school in that country represents a very important stage in the expansion of Sinhalese Buddhism. With the foundation of the Sihalasaṅgha a center was established at Pagan for the dissemination of this influence in Burma and to some extent in the rest

185. *Cv.* 69.74; Coedès, *Les états hindouisés* . . . , p. 323.

186. It has been suggested that Chapaṭa was the author of the grammatical treatise *Suttaniddesa* and of the *Sāṅkhepavannanā*, the commentary on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (M. H. Bode, *Pāli Literature of Burma* pp. 17-18; Coedès, *Les états hindouisés* . . . p. 232). Though the author of these works was a monk named Chapaṭa, the colophons of the works record that he visited Sri Lanka in the year 1190 of the Buddhist era (A.D. 1446/7) when a certain king Parākramabāhu was ruling at Jayavaddhanapura. This king is probably Parākramabāhu VI, who ruled from Kōṭṭe. The author has to be identified, as Buddhādatta rightly pointed out, with a second Chapaṭa. *Thēravādī Buddhācāryayo*, pp. 163-9; *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. II, pp. 468; *UCR*, Vol. IX, p. 69.

187. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, p. 30.

188. *Cv.* 78. 28-30.

of Southeast Asia. It is generally accepted that the establishment of Sinhalese Buddhism in Burma was not the result of missionary activities undertaken by Sinhalese monks. Evidently the initiative came mainly from the Burmese.

The friendship between the ruling houses of Burma and Sri Lanka was strengthened at the end of the twelfth century when Vijayabāhu II (1186-1187), the successor of Parākramabāhu I, wrote a letter in Pāli to the king of Arimaddanapura and signed a treaty of friendship.¹⁸⁹ Nissaṅka Malla also claimed to have maintained friendly relations with Aramaṇa.¹⁹⁰ An inscription dated in A.D. 1197 found at the Dhammayazika shrine records the enshrinement of four sacred relics sent by the king of Sri Lanka.¹⁹¹ Probably it was Nissaṅka Malla who sent the relics; the Burmese king has been identified with Narapatisithu.¹⁹² The establishment of the Sihalaśaṅgha in Burma and the prevalence of friendly relations between the two kingdoms probably promoted regular movements of monks from one monastery to the other; unfortunately, however, evidence for this is lacking.

Relations with the Khmer Kingdom and the Mon Lands

It is noteworthy that the monk Tāmalinda, who accompanied Chaṭa to Pagan, is described as a son of the king of Kāamboja (*Kāamboja-rājatanuja*).¹⁹³ A minor dynasty called the Kāambojas ruled from Priyaṅgu in Bengal for some time in the tenth and eleventh centuries,¹⁹⁴ but it seems more likely that the Kāamboja in question is the kingdom of Cambodia. According to the *Cūlavamsa* the king of Rāmañña seized a princess sent by Parākramabāhu I to Kāamboja. He is also said to have apprehended and imprisoned some Sinhalese envoys on the charge that they were taking a letter to the king of Kāamboja.¹⁹⁵ Kāamboja, along with Aramaṇa, occurs in the inscriptions of Nissaṅka Malla.¹⁹⁶ The Kāamboja in these sources could hardly be any other than the Cambodian kingdom. As the correct name of the kingdom is, however, Kambuja, it has to be assumed that this has been changed to Kāamboja, a more familiar name to the Buddhists in Sri Lanka.

Circumstantial evidence points to the existence of relations with Cambodia for some time before the reign of Parākramabāhu I. Boisselier speaks of a Cambodian Buddha image, presently located at the

189. Cv. 80. 6-7.

190. EZ, Vol. II, p. 151, l. C3.

191. *Inscriptions of Burma*, List No. 19b.

192. Than Tun, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

193. See *supra* p. 277.

194. R. C. Majumdar, *The History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 32.

195. Cv. 76. 21-23, 35.

196. EZ, Vol. II, p. 151, l. C3; p. 155, l. 14.

Musée Blanchard de la Brosse, which bears some similarity to examples in Sri Lanka. It has been assigned to a period earlier than the ninth century. However, he was rather hesitant to conclude on this basis that the early Cambodian art was derived from Sri Lanka since differences are to be found in the sculpture of the two regions in their treatment of the face and the hair.¹⁹⁷ Dupont has pointed out the similarity of some images of "the Buddha seated on the coils of a *nāga*" found in Khmer art to images from Sri Lanka. They have been assigned to the tenth century. As Dupont suggested, they probably represent the influence of Sinhalese art which spread into the Cambodian kingdom through the mediation of the Mons.¹⁹⁸ The indirect nature of this influence may to some extent explain the differences pointed out by Boisselier.

On the other hand, certain ruins from Polonnaruva, which are unique in the traditions of Sinhalese architecture, seem to show that the influences of the Cambodian lands were at work in Sri Lanka. Bell has remarked that the so-called Potgul Vehera of Polonnaruva, built in the reign of Parākramabāhu I, is in many respects comparable to the Hindu temple of Mi Baume.¹⁹⁹ The central shrine of the Potgul Vehera is a rotunda with a vestibule attached to its eastern side. It is situated in a quadrangle at the four sides of which are four *stūpas*, each of which measures eighteen feet in diameter. The whole quadrangle is enclosed by a wall. Below this is another terrace with four *parivenas* on the north and four on the south. The number of terraces and walls, the deployment of the shrines on the top terrace, and the arrangement of the *parivenas* on the second terrace are all reminiscent of the layout of the temple of Mi Baume, but there are some differences as well. The layout of the terraces is not as regular as at Mi Baume. On the second terrace the Potgul Vehera has only eight *parivenas* in contrast with the sixteen of Mi Baume. The gateways of Mi Baume have given place to simpler entrances at Polonnaruva. Even so, the basic similarity of the two shrines suggests that the Potgul Vehera, even if it was not modelled on the temple of Mi Baume, at least should be traced back to an antecedent common to both.

Another structure which stands isolated in the architectural traditions of Sri Lanka is the monument from Polonnaruva known as the Satmahal Prāsāda. It is a tower of seven stories the preserved portion of which rises to a height of slightly less than fifty-three feet on a base

197. J. Boisselier, *La statuaire khmère et son évolution*, Publication de l'EFEO, 1955, pp. 273-4.

198. Dupont, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

199. ASCAR, 1906, p. 17 and plates. See also A. Tissandier, *Cambodge-Java*, p. 44.

measuring thirty-nine feet and two inches each way. Bell considered the possibility of Khmer influence.²⁰⁰ Jully pointed out the similarities with the Prasat Andel in Cambodia,²⁰¹ but Dupont seems to be more accurate in his comment that analogies have to be traced in the Mon lands rather than in Cambodia proper. He has shown that the Satmahal Prāsāda comes very close to the examples at Wat P'ra Prot'on in what is now Thailand.²⁰² Coedès has compared it with San Mahapon at Lamphun.²⁰³ One difficulty in utilizing this evidence is that no direct information is available concerning the date of the Satmahal Prāsāda, but it is probable that it dates from the "Polonnaruva Period" since it is found among a group of ruins dating from the reign of Vijayabāhu I to the reign of Nissañka Malla.

The evidence cited above clearly points to the prevalence of relations between Sri Lanka and the Khmer kingdom, and particularly with the Mon regions which came under its rule. Hence it is not difficult to believe that a prince of the Khmer ruling family came to Sri Lanka to study Buddhism at the monastic centers of Polonnaruva. Coedès has identified the father of Tamalinda with Jayavarman VII (ca. 1181-1218),²⁰⁴ but if the date for the return of Chapaṭa suggested above is accepted, he should more probably be an earlier king. The Khmer stele from Sāl Sūñ, edited by Coedès, testifies to the presence at Lavo (Lopburi) of Buddhist monks belonging to the "Mahāyāna and the Sthavira divisions" in A.D. 1025 (in the reign of Suryavarman I).²⁰⁵ The presence in Sri Lanka of Tamalinda may be cited as evidence of the relations which prevailed between the Therāvādins of the Khmer and the Sinhalese kingdoms, but, in contrast to the Burmese case, there is no evidence to show that the Sinhalese Therāvāda gained popularity in the Khmer kingdom during the period under review.

Sinhalese Buddhism in Sumatra and Java

The Kalyāṇī inscriptions relate an interesting anecdote about Rāhula, the only Sinhalese monk in the entourage of Chapaṭa. Rāhula, it seems, fell in love with a Burmese danseuse and decided to leave the Order. Chapaṭa and the other monks failed to persuade him to change

200. *ASCAR*, 1933, p. 16.

201. A. Jully, *Bulletin trimestriel de l'academie malagache*, 1903, Vol. II, pp. 77-8 quoted by Bell. See f.n. 201.

202. Dupont, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-6, 98.

203. Coedès, *BEFEO*, Vol. XXV, p. 83 n. 2.

204. Coedès, *Les états hindouisés* . . . , p. 323.

205. Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, II, pp. 10-12.

his mind but prevailed upon him to leave Burma before giving up his robes. He went to Kusima (Bassein) and thence set sail for the island of Malaya. There he taught the Vinaya to the king of Malaya and, with the bowl of precious stones that the king gave him, set up house as a layman.²⁰⁶ The romantic element in the story casts some doubts on its reliability, but it is not very likely that the chroniclers would have made up a story which does not do credit to one of the leading figures associated with the establishment of the Sihalasaṅgha in Burma. Probably it does have a historical basis. Malaya may be identified with Malayu in the Jambi region of Sumatra. An inscription of a Buddha image found from the Vat Hva Vian at Cāya and dated in A.D. 1183 (?) records that this image was erected on the orders of a king identified as a ruler of Malayu.²⁰⁷ It is evident from this that Buddhism was patronized by the king of Malayu who ruled during this period. Hence it is possible to accept the report that Rāhula was welcomed in this kingdom; however the results of his visits obviously could not have been very impressive.

There is independent evidence which shows that the Sinhalese schools of Buddhism were known in this area. Three groups of nuns and a group of monks went from Sri Lanka to China in the fifth century. Such movements persisted at least until the eighth century. Pou K'ong, a monk from Sri Lanka, wielded great influence at the Chinese court during the reigns of the T'ang emperors Sou-tsong and Tai-tsong. It was he who in A.D. 764 requested the emperor to waive the imposts levied on the monasteries.²⁰⁸ The sea route to China which these religious took lay past the ports of Java which had become important centers for the trade between China and the Bay of Bengal. It is quite reasonable to suppose that the Sinhalese *saṅgha* also maintained contact with these countries. More definite evidence on this question is found in a "pre-Nāgari" inscription from the Ratubaka plateau in Central Java. This inscription, dated in A. D. 792/3, records the foundation of a monastery. De Casparis who edited this inscription, translated the relevant passage as follows: "This Abhayagiri Vihāra here of the Sinhalese ascetics (?) trained in the sayings of discipline of the Best of the Jinas, was established." Evidently this indicates that an institution named after the Abhayagiri monastery of Sri Lanka was founded in Java.²⁰⁹ It is clear from this record that

206. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, p. 30.

207. Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, II, pp. 25-28.

208. *Pou Kong piao tche*, k. 1, p. 831 quoted by Jacques Gernet, *Les aspects économiques du bouddhisme*, p. 43.

209. *Art. As.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 241-8.

the Abhayagiri monastery was known and probably was held in high regard in Java. It is also possible that there were close relations between the Abhayagiri monastery and the Javanese centers of Buddhism of this period though this does not necessarily follow from the evidence in the inscription.

The foregoing discussion reveals that the Sinhalese *saṅgha* maintained extensive contacts with centers of Buddhism in both South and Southeast Asia. The two-way movement of monks between these centers and Sri Lanka introduced new elements of Buddhist thought into a land dominated by the Theravāda school. Some of the most important developments in the history of Buddhism during this period were the waves of Mahāyāna and Tantric influences which spread from the centers of Buddhist learning in Eastern India to the lands in Southeast Asia. These, as is evident from the discussion, touched the shores of Sri Lanka too. The evidence we have cited runs counter to the view held by certain scholars that the Abhayagiri monastery was purely national in its activities and influence.²¹⁰ As a school which welcomed and was receptive to new thought, it is hardly to be expected that it would be parochial in outlook. It is clear that it not only maintained close contact with centers of Buddhist learning in India but also inspired Buddhists in Southeast Asian countries such as Java as early as in the eighth century.

On the other hand, the influence of the Mahāvihāra made headway in South India and later in Burma. Most of the Pāli works attributed to South Indian scholars are expositions of the teachings of the Mahāvihāra. Even those writers like Kassapa who were critical of the views of their contemporaries in Sri Lanka claimed to adhere to the traditions of the Mahāvihāra school.²¹¹ In Burma Sinhalese Buddhism found more fertile ground. The period under discussion represents an initial but significant stage of its expansion into that country and into the other regions of Southeast Asia.

Though this discussion has been mainly confined to movements of monks, undoubtedly movements of laymen were also an important medium for the spread of ideas. The bringing of the *dharmadhātu* by a Sinhalese merchant who went to the Kāsi region in the sixth century was a significant event in the introduction of Mahāyāna teachings into Sri Lanka. But obviously the movements of monks were the most common means of transmission of Buddhist thought from region to region.

210. See Parānavitana, *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 568.

211. *mahāvihāravāsiṇaṃ kamābhatanayānugaṃ. Moha-vicchedanī*, p. 1.

The Structure of the Saṅgha in Transition: The Rise of the Eight “Fraternities”

A development of considerable importance in the organization of the *saṅgha* after the period of Coḷa rule over the island was the rise into importance of an institution called the *āyatana*. The significance of this institution is reflected in the role it played in the religious as well as in the political affairs of the time and the deference and respect accorded to it by the rulers and the dignitaries of the land. The *Cūlavamsa* records that the monks of the *āyatanas*, together with other dignitaries of the kingdom met on the death of Vijayabāhu I to decide on a successor to the throne. They bestowed the kingship on Jayabāhu and nominated Mānābharaṇa to the position of the *uparāja*.¹ The *Cūlavamsa* also states that Parākramabāhu I built eight three-storied mansions for the *theras* of the *āyatanas*.² The account in the *Pūjāvaliya* differs in details. It was at Sāgiri in Polonnaruva that the king built the mansions for the eight *āyatanas*; he endowed them with “valuable allotments from the fields of Polonnaruva.”³ Parākramabāhu II restored the lands and villages which had lapsed from their control⁴ to the eight *āyatanas*. Both the *Cūlavamsa* and the *Pūjāvaliya* add that he also built monasteries for the eight *mahātheras* of the eight *āyatanas* in the outskirts of his capital.⁵ The *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya*⁶ refers to *Ādipāda* Virabāhu, who wielded *de facto* authority over the kingdom during the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu V

1. See *Cv.* 61. 1-4.

2. *tattha āyatanavāsīnaṃ therānaṃ thirasīlinaṃ mahagghe atthapāsāde kārapesi tibhūmake. Cv.* 78. 33.

3. *poḷonnaruvē sāgiriye āṭa āyatanaṭa mahapā karavā...āṭa āyatanaṭa poḷonnaru varupetin vaṭanā pasa lavā. Pjv., p.* 105.

4. *Cv.* 84. 4.

5. *Cv.* 84. 18; *Pjv., p.* 118.

6. *Niks., ed. D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, p.* 30.

(A.D. 1322-1408), as having appointed various monks to the leadership of the *āyatanas*.

The term *āyatana* was translated by Geiger in the first two instances of its incidence in the *Cūlavamsa* as "district," and as "sanctuary" in the third.⁷ *Āyatana* has also been used to denote "monastery" in certain instances.⁸ But the contexts of the passages cited above suggest that the term was being used in these cases in a more specific and technical sense.

In this connection, it is interesting that the *Cūlavamsa* refers in its description of the meritorious deeds of Yasodharā, the daughter of Vijayabāhu I, to the patronage she extended to the Kappūramūlāyatana.⁹ Similarly, the *Daḷadā-sirita* speaks of the monks of the Uturuḷa-muḷāyatān in connection with the rituals pertaining to the Tooth relic.¹⁰ These two examples are important since they demonstrate that the term *mūla* and *āyatana* were used conjointly to refer to the same institution. Secondly, there is little doubt that these two institutions are identical with the two fraternities, Uttaromūla (var. Uttarāḷha, Uturalu, Uturuḷu, Uturu) and Kappūramūla of the Abhayagiri *nikāya*. In the Sinhalese inscriptions of the tenth century these two institutions were known by the term *mūla*. The term *mūla* meant "group" or "collection" and is used in this sense in a contemporary literary work, the *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gātapadaya*.¹¹ The Pāli term *mūla* which occurs in the chronicles is used in the same sense and seems to be, as Paranavitana has suggested,¹² an incorrect rendering of the Sinhalese term. Thus it seems quite probable that the terms *mūla*, *mūla*, *ayatān*, *āyatana*, *muḷu-ayatān* and *mūlāyatana* were all similar in meaning and connoted a "fraternity of monks." The word *samūha*, meaning "group," has also been used in this special sense in certain instances.¹³

It is evident from the references cited above that there were eight "fraternities"¹⁴ within the body of the *saṅgha*, each led, presumably, by a *mahāthera*. Apart from being organizations of monks, they were bodies which owned property including land and villages.

The *Cūlavamsa* also refers to the monks of eight establishments called *mūlavihāras* as having left Polonnaruva in protest against the confiscation of monastic property by Vikramabāhu I (A.D. 1111-1332).^{14*}

7. *Cv.*, trsl, Pt. I, p. 225; Pt. II, pp. 105, 154, 155.

8. See *infra* p. 307.

9. *Cv.* 60. 83.

10. *Daḷadā-sirita*, pp. 49-54.

11. *DAG.*, p. 59.

12. *EZ*, Vol. V, Pt. 1, p. 168.

13. See *infra* p. 300.

14. *Cv.* 61. 58-61.

Geiger translated *mūlavihāra* as "original monasteries," but it is not evident from our sources that these terms were used to describe any one of the ancient monasteries like the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri. The similarity of the numbers involved may suggest that there is a close relationship between the two terms *āyatana* and *mūlavihāra*. Two instances are known of monasteries being built at the capital for these eight *mūlas* or *āyatanas*. It is possible that it was these monasteries, the headquarters of the fraternities, which were known by the term *mūlavihāra*.

The Four "Abhayagiri" Fraternities

The Uttaromūla was one of the most important and influential of the eight fraternities. The *Cūlavamsa* presents an account of the origin of this fraternity in its chapter on the early life of Vijayabāhu I.¹⁵ One writer, who has based his conclusions on the context of this passage has dated the foundation of the Uttaromūla to the reign of Vijayabāhu.¹⁶ But a closer examination of the chapter reveals that the passage from the fourth strophe to the twenty-sixth, which comprises the account of the origin of the Uttaromūla, stands independently. There is hardly any connection between strophes 3 and 4 or 26 and 27, and it is likely that this account was a legend preserved at the Uttaromūla fraternity. It may have been inserted in the chronicle at a time when this institution had risen into importance as one of the eight major units in the organization of the *saṅgha*.

According to this account prince Māna I, son and heir to the throne of a certain King Kassapa, was blinded in one eye while performing an incantation before the god Skanda. He considered himself disqualified for kingship due to this physical defect and requested the courtiers to crown his "younger brother" Māna (II) in his place. Māna (II) was sent for and he came to Anurādhapura to be consecrated. After taking over the kingship, he took his elder brother to the Abhayagiri monastery and had him admitted to the Order. Then he built the Uttaromūla college for him and placed him at the head of six hundred monks. The "seven supervisory officials" (*paṭihāra*) and the "five groups of servitors" (*pessavagga*)¹⁷ were delegated to serve him, and the guardians of the Tooth relic were placed under his direction. The king is said to have depended upon him for counsel concerning the administration of the country.

15. Cv. ch. 57.

16. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, Fascicule A—Aca*, p. 12.

17. For a discussion on these terms see *supra* pp. 106, 119-20.

It would appear from this story that the Uttaromūla occupied a prominent position in the organization of monks from the very beginning of its history. It had six hundred monks within its fold, was founded by a king and led by one who had been the heir to the throne. Moreover, it had in its charge the Tooth relic which had come to be recognized as one of the most valuable possessions in the kingdom. It is evident from the Velaikkāra inscription at Polonnaruva¹⁸ that the Tooth relic had in fact come to be in the charge of this fraternity at least by the time of Vijayabāhu I. But one tends to doubt the authenticity of a story which claims that the college occupied such a high position from the time of its foundation. It would be natural to suspect that such a story originated later.

In fact, certain contradictory elements come to light when an attempt is made to date the foundation of the Uttaromūla on the basis of the story. At the end of the story Māna (II), the founder, is referred to as Mānavamma, who founded a dynasty of sixteen rulers with Aggabodhi at its head. The reference to succession by a ruler called Aggabodhi strengthens the possibility that the king in question was Mānavamma, who captured the throne with troops from South India. This seems to be further confirmed by the *Pūjāvāliya* which ascribes the foundation of the Uṭuraḷamuḷa to Mahalāpāṇa, son of Pāsuḷu Kasubu, who defeated Hunannaru Riyandaḷa with South Indian troops.¹⁹

It may seem that corroborative evidence from all these works indicates that this institution was founded by Mānavamma (A.D. 684-718), but certain other facts in the story are not in accordance with this conclusion. According to the legend it was an heir-apparent called Māna a son of a King Kassapa, who had the throne bestowed upon his "brother" who bore the same name. Obviously the accession of Mānavamma does not conform to this description. However, there is another instance from the history of the island which seems to agree, though not completely, with these details. According to the 45th chapter of the *Cūlavamsa*, the heir to the throne of Kassapa II (650-659) was his son Mānaka. But, since he was too young, the king summoned his nephew Māna from Rohaṇa and placed him in charge of the government as well as the welfare of his children. Here it becomes apparent that Māna was a cousin of Mānaka; according to the terms of kinship prevalent among the Sinhalese the sons of the father's brothers are also called "brothers." A comparison of the two accounts suggests that it was not King Mānavamma but Māna of whom the earlier part of the legend speaks.

18. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 330-40; *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 242-55.

19. *Pjv.*, p. 102.

But there is a discrepancy between the two stories in that in chapter 45 Māna does not become king but crowns his father as Dappula I, while in the other story Māna (II) is consecrated king. In this connection it may be pointed out that even in the *Pūjāvāliya* and the *Daḷadā-sirita*²⁰ the founder of the Uttaromūla is described as *āpāṇo* (=P. *ādipāda*) and not as king. *Āpāṇo* would be a more appropriate title for Māna than for Mānavamma.

This identification is of considerable value for testing the credibility of the legend. First, it is mentioned in the account in chapter 45 of the *Cūlavamsa* that Māna was invited to take over the government because Mānaka was too young. This confirms our suspicions and gives us sufficient evidence to completely rule out that part of the legend which presents Māna (I) as a person disqualified from kingship due to the loss of an eye. The second important fact about the account is that it was Mānaka who later became king as Mānavamma. Hence we may be fairly certain that the latter part of the legend, which claims that the heir-apparent Māna joined the Order and became the first chief incumbent of the Uttaromūla, is also a later fabrication which does not stand critical scrutiny. Finally, according to this legend there were about sixteen kings in the dynasty founded by Mānavamma, but it is clear from the *Cūlavamsa* itself that there were more than sixteen rulers in this dynasty. This may point, though not necessarily, to the origin or the writing down of this legend during or not long after, the sixteenth king's reign, that is during the reign of Kassapa V or soon thereafter.

An examination of the evidence in the chronicles on the foundation of the Uttaromūla shows that there was a certain amount of confusion regarding the identity of the founder. This is understandable since the two claimants to this honor, Māna and Mānavamma, were not only contemporaries but also cousins who shared the same name. The problem is made even more complicated by the appearance of a third person who staked a claim in a most unobtrusive yet romantic manner by scribbling two verses on the Mirror Wall at Sigiri to express his admiration for "the maidens of Sigiri." Below the two verses he wrote of himself as *Uturoḷapirivana karayu le Riyandaḷmi*. Translated into English this reads "I am Riyandaḷ (P. Ratanadāṭha or Hatthadāṭha), the Scribe, who founded the Uturoḷa-pirivana."²¹ Uturoḷa being a rather unusual name, it is probable that it refers to the Uturoḷapirivana of the Abhayagiri monastery. If so, this record casts grave doubts on the reliability of the evidence from the chronicles.

20. Pjv., p. 102; *Daḷadā-sirita*, p. 42.

21. *Sigiri Graffiti*, Vol. II, p. 285, v. 463.

Paranavitana has commented that the graffito may be "taken as dating back to the period of Mānavamma," and suggested that the chronicles of a later period have credited the king with the work of one of his subjects.²² This would, of course, be one means of reconciling the discrepancies in our sources. But Paranavitana himself has dated the graffito on palaeographic grounds to the second half of the eighth century.²³ Hence, in spite of the evidence of the chronicles, it seems most likely that the Uturoḷa-pirivana was founded only in the eighth century and not soon after the death of Kassapa II (A.D. 659) as the legend suggests.

The earliest direct reference to this institution occurs in the account of the reign of Sena I (833-853) in the *Cūlavamsa*. Sena I built a residence for monks (*pariccheda*), which was named after himself, at the Uttarāḷha.²⁴ The context in which the passage occurs suggests that it was at the Abhayagiri monastery. His successor Sena II (853-857) erected a mansion on the grounds of the same institution.²⁵ It is probable that the Uttaromūla moved its seat to Polonnaruva after the accession of Vijayabāhu I, who built monasteries for the three *nikāyas* in the new city.²⁶ The next reference to it occurs in the Velaikkāra inscription at Polonnaruva.²⁷ According to this record Vijayabāhu I built the temple of the Tooth relic within the precincts of the Uttoruḷmūla, which was "the principal *āyatana* of the Abhayagiri monastery, the chief fane of the city of Pulaṅāri."²⁸ This shrine housed the Tooth and Bowl relics as well as "the great stone image of the Buddha." It appears from this that the Uttaromūla and perhaps the Abhayagiri monastery itself were, by this time, established at Polonnaruva. Furthermore, this record establishes beyond doubt that the Uttaromūla was a fraternity attached to the Abhayagiri *nikāya*.

It is noteworthy that this inscription was found near the so-called Vihāre No. 2 at the "Quadrangle to the North of the Citadel" in Polonnaruva.²⁹ This brick-built shrine comprising a vestibule and a *garbhagṛha* occupies a space of roughly seventy-five by forty-five feet. The *garbhagṛha* has thirty-six stone columns which are distributed in the

22. *Sigiri Graffiti*, Vol. I, p. cxxi.

23. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 285, v. 463.

24. *Cv.* 50.77.

25. *Cv.* 51.75.

26. *Cv.* 60. 9-10.

27. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 330-40.

28. *pulaṅāriyāha vijayarājapurattu eḍuppitta mūlasthānamāgiya abhayagiri-mahāvihārattu agrāyatana-māha uttoruḷmūlaiyil*. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 337, ll. 17-9.

29. *ASCAR*, 1903, pp. 8-11.

pattern familiar at Anurādhapura, with twenty of them standing flush with the walls and leaving wide intercolumniation in the middle, either way, in cross-like fashion. Parānavitana³⁰ points out that stylistically it stands midway between the "Anurādhapura Period" and the age of Parākramabāhu I. Mason marks on the building contain the word *daḷadā*. It seems to have also served as an image-house, for it has three images at the back of the *garbhagṛha* which are placed against "curtain walls." On the left is a flight of stairs which led to an upper floor which was probably built of timber. Perhaps the relics were kept there. All this conforms to the description of the shrine which is contained in the inscription. Hence it may be said that the site of the "Quadrangle to the north of the Citadel" belonged to the Uttaromūla. The Quadrangle was, however, within the city, and it is unlikely that the monastic establishment of the Uttaromūla was within the city. We may postulate that the Tooth relic was housed within the city and placed under the charge of the Uttaromūla.

It is evident from this record that by the end of the reign of Vijayabāhu I the Uttaromūla had become important enough to call itself the chief *āyatana* of the Abhayagiri monastery and that it had been vested with the charge of the Bowl and Tooth relics which were important in the religious as well as the political life of the country. This association with the two relics must have considerably enhanced the position of this institution in the eyes of the faithful. We also learn from the record that at the time the *mahāsthavira* of the *mūla* was Mugalan. He was described in the inscription as a scholar versed in the *sāstras* and the *āgamas*; and he was also the royal preceptor (*rājaguru*).³¹ The legend on the origin of the Uttaromūla strongly suggests that this monastery had become a large institution which supported a multitude of monks and wielded considerable influence in both religious and political life, at least by the time of the origin of the legend. By the end of the reign of Vijayabāhu I this description had certainly become a reality.

It has already been mentioned that the monks of the eight *mūlavihāras* left for Rohaṇa during the reign of Vikramabāhu I in protest against his "misdeeds." We can be fairly certain that the monks of the Uttaromūla were among them since it is mentioned that the Tooth and Bowl relics were also taken to Rohaṇa.³² These relics were in Rohaṇa until they were captured and were brought back to

30. *CJSG*, Vol. II, p. 163.

31. He also has the title *vyāriṇi*. Wickremasinghe interpreted this as "grammarian," but this interpretation is not reliable.

32. *Cv.* 61. 61.

Polonnaruva during the reign of Parākramabāhu I.³³ Probably the monks of the Uttaramūla followed the relics.

More information about this fraternity is available in a literary work written in the time of Parākramabāhu IV (1303-1326). The *Daḷadā-sirita*,³⁴ which gives the history of the Tooth relic and lays down the procedure to be followed in the rituals pertaining to it, states that the casket containing the relic was to be removed from its shrine by the chief incumbent of the Uturuḷumuḷa-ayatān with the assistance of suitable people selected from two clans—the Gaṇavāsi and the Kilim—when it was taken in procession. After the procession the seals of the casket were to be broken in the presence of this dignitary and an exposition of the relics held for the benefit of the *saṅgha*, the king and the public. All disputes concerning the temple of the Tooth relic were to be settled by the chief incumbent of the Uturuḷumuḷa-ayatān, who sat in session with the king's ministers. Thus it is clear that the Uttaramūla enjoyed the custodianship of the Tooth relic even as late as the fourteenth century. When the location of the capital was changed, this fraternity of monks followed the Tooth relic in its wanderings until it finally was settled at Kurunāgalpura at the time the *Daḷadā-sirita* was written.

Perhaps this association with the relic helped its survival. This fraternity is mentioned as late as in the fifteenth century in the literary works of the hierarch Rāhula, who lived at the Vijayabāhu Pirivana in Toṭagamuva near Koṭṭe. In the *Kāvyaśekhara*, one of his poetic works, he refers to himself as the grandson, in pupillary succession, of the *mahāthera* Rāhula of the Uturumula.³⁵ Unfortunately little definite information is available on Rāhula, the elder.³⁶ In the *Padasādhana-ṭīkā*,³⁷ Rāhula of Toṭagamuva traces back his pupillary succession to Sāriputta of Polonnaruva. This is significant since it seems to suggest that the later members of the Uttaramūla placed little emphasis on the origin of this fraternity in the Abhayagiri *nikāya* and that by this time the doctrinal emphasis which distinguished it from other fraternities had more or less disappeared. Another statement of particular interest is found in the

33. Cv. 74. 67-8.

34. *Daḷadā-sirita*, pp. 49-54.

35. *Kāvyaśekhara*, Sarga I, v. 23.

36. Buddhadatta confounds him with Galaturumula *mahāsvāmi* of the Tirthagāma Vihāra. He believes that the term Uturumula was derived from Galaturumula, but there is no evidence to warrant such an identification.

37. *sāriputtamahādisāmijanane jātassa sambhāvite nattā uttaramūla-rāhulamahātherassa sikkhagarū. Padasādhana-ṭīkā* quoted in *Theravādi Baudhācāryayo*, p. 15.

*Parevi-sandēśaya*³⁸ by the same author. Here he claims to have obtained a boon at the age of fifteen from the god Skanda (Kaṇḍa). This reminds one of the legend about the founder of the fraternity who was also described as a devotee of the same god. It is extremely difficult to determine the true significance of these two statements though they seem to suggest that the Uttaromūla was associated, in some way or other, with the cult of Skanda.

The Uttaromūla seems to have produced yet another poet in the author of the *Anuruddha-śataka* who describes himself as the “*upasthavira* Anuruddha who was like unto a jewel in the necklace of the Uttaromūla.”³⁹ This work testifies to a rather high standard of Sanskrit versification but fails to provide any definite evidence which would help us to determine its date.⁴⁰

Equal in importance to the Uttaromūla was the Kapārāmūla or the Kappūramūla, a fraternity which is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of the Abhayagiri monastery. According to the *Cūlavamśa*,⁴¹ Dāṭhapatissa II (659-667) built the Kappūra Parivena at the Abhayagiri monastery. The *Pūjāvāliya* and the *Suḷurājāvāliya* ascribe the building of the Maha (Greater) Kapārā Pirivana and the Kuḍā (Lesser) Kapārā Pirivana to Kassapa IV (898-914).⁴² However, these seem to represent a confusion rather than evidence contradicting the testimony of the *Cūlavamśa*. This is substantiated by the fact that these two works also attribute the construction of the Kapārā Pirivana to Lamāṇi Daḷupatis (Dāṭhapatissa II). Besides, in the *Cūlavamśa* the Kapārā Pirivana is mentioned twice prior to the reign of Kassapa IV, i.e., in the reigns of the fourth (667-683) and the ninth (831-833) kings who bore the name Aggabodhi.⁴³ In the light of the fact that Aggabodhi IV was the immediate successor of Dāṭhapatissa II, the testimony of the *Cūlavamśa* appears to be trustworthy.

Apparently the Kapārā Pirivana attracted the indulgence of a greater number of patrons than did the Uttaromūla. Potthakuṭṭha, a

38. *kaṇḍavuru kula upan rāṇḍi toṭagamu piyasa
seda dat siyaḷu kav naḷu magada saku basa
kaṇḍa kumarīṇḍu vara lad pasaloṣ vayasa
vadahaḷa rahal vāḍi tān kaḷa rāv saṇḍesa.* *Kaṇḍavurakula*, if taken as derived from *Skandavāarakula*, would mean “the clan which received a boon from Skanda,” but *kaṇḍavura* also means “military camp.” *Parevi Sandēśaya*, v. 208.

39. *idam vyadhattottaramūlahāra—ratnāṅkuropasthavirānuruddhaḷ. Anuruddha-śataka*, v. 101.

40. Some scholars have dated the poem to the “Polonnaruva Period” on stylistic grounds. *CHJ*, Vol. IV, p. 96; *UHC*, Vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 589.

41. *Cv.* 45. 29.

42. *Pjv.*, p. 103; *Suḷurājāvāliya*, p. 10.

43. *Cv.* 46. 21; 50. 77.

Tamil officer in the service of Aggabodhi IV, erected a mansion at the Kappūra Parivena and granted a village to it.⁴⁴ During the reign of Aggabodhi IX, Sena, the *mahādipāda*, built a row of cells (*?pariccheda*) which bore his own name for the same institution.⁴⁵ As mentioned earlier, Kassapa IV built the Kuḍā Kapārā Pirivana so that there were two institutions called Maha Kapārā and Kuḍā Kapārā within the Kapārā fraternity.⁴⁶ Kassapa V (A.D. 914-923) claims that he built the mansion Salameyvanpavu for the Kapārā-muḷa in an inscription which is dated in his sixth regnal year and found in the "stone-canopy area" of the Abhayagiri monastery.⁴⁷ There is hardly any doubt that the Salameyvanpavu mansion was the same as Silāmeghapabbata, mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa*, which he built at the Abhayagiri and endowed with a grant of villages.⁴⁸ The same inscription decrees that an *amuṇa* of rice and four *aka* of gold should be set apart daily for the provision of alms to the inmates of the Maha Kapārā Pirivana. Also, one thousand (*kaḷand?*) of gold were set apart each year for the provision of robes.⁴⁹ It was mentioned earlier that the Maha Kapārā Pirivana was one of the two major groups within the Kapārā fraternity. These figures would enable one to estimate the number of its inmates at the time as having been slightly over three hundred.⁵⁰

The Kapārā fraternity is also mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription found within the precincts of the Abhayagiri monastery and assigned by Paranavitana to the year A.D. 995, three years after the conquest of the northerly parts of the island by the Coḷas.⁵¹ According to this record, Saṅghanandin, who calls himself *sthavira-munivara* and was most probably an ecclesiastical hierarch in the fraternity, gave 200 *ṭaṅkāś*⁵² to provide "drinkables" (*pāṇīya*) for the monks at the Kapārārāma. This inscription is significant since it purports to be within the precincts of

44. Cv. 46. 21-2.

45. Cv. 50.77.

46. Pjv. p. 103.

47. EZ, Vol. I, p. 47, l. 13.

48. Cv. 52. 58.

49. EZ, Vol. I, p. 49, ll. 48-50.

50. An *amuṇa* would amount to 40 *lāhas* or 160 "measures" (*sēru*) of rice. Conservatively estimated, this should be sufficient to provide 640 meals. Considering the fact that two meals were served every day this would indicate that the population of monks was roughly 320. It has also been pointed out that the provision of robes was expected to cost about 3 *kaḷand* of gold per monk, each year. The fact that one thousand (*kaḷand?*) were set apart would suggest the presence of a similar number. See *supra* p. 146.

51. EZ, Vol. V, Pt. 1, pp. 162-9.

52. The *ṭaṅkā*, as it was known in India, was subject to a great degree of regional variation (about 43 to 62 grains). For a discussion, see H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins*. . . p. 5.

the Kapārārāma and thereby helps to locate the site of the fraternity. It was discovered at the site of a monastery to the northwest of the Twin Ponds in the Abhaya giri area. Parānavitana believed that it was found at or near the original site.

The main ruin⁵³ found at the site today is a *pañcāyatana* group surrounded by cloisters except on the east. In the east there was a stairway leading to a stylobate measuring sixty-three feet square, with projecting bays. It was accessible from the north, the west and the south. Bell gave the following description of this ruin:

This stylobate formed an open colonnade round the central walled shrine, which conformed generally to the basement plan and entrances, but in first lines. Within, the four free-standing pillars were of the spreading-capital type. At the back was a small projection, perhaps once a portico on the east. No other ruin has yet come to light at Anurādhapura approaching this unique building in beauty of outline and choice ornamentation of some of its columns.⁵⁴

There is no evidence to determine the exact function of this remarkable structure. The debris scattered around these ruins points to the possible existence of other buildings, but the ravages of nature and of vandals have removed all clues about their form and function. The whole complex of ruins was situated within a walled enclosure. A well-laid pathway which passed through a stone-built gatehouse connected them with the rest of the monastery. But, in all probability, this group of buildings was only part of the Kapārārāma and should not be mistaken for the whole.

Bell, who excavated the site of another ruined monastery at Puḷiyankulam about two miles to the east of the Abhayagiri monastery, declared that it was "the largest and most complete monastery of its kind discovered at Anurādhapura."⁵⁵ The central feature of this monastic complex was a square terrace supporting four shrines. The terrace was surrounded by thirty-two cells, each measuring twenty-six feet square and supported by twelve pillars which were laid out in perfect symmetry. Around these was a wide moat, while the outermost boundary was marked by a wall consisting of a double line of stones about six to seven feet in width and forming a rectangle measuring three hundred and thirty by three hundred and sixty yards. Access to the central terrace was open from all four sides, but the main entrance was on the south.

53. *ASCAR*, 1894, p. 3. See also plate XIII of the *Thirteenth Report of the ASC*.

54. *ASCAR*, 1894, p. 3.

55. *ASCAR*, 1896, p. 31; 1897, pp. 4-6; 1898, pp. 3-4.

A connecting street, twenty-five feet wide, extended from the gatehouse on the south and widened to ninety feet at about thirty-five yards from the terrace. The symmetry of the whole layout is reminiscent of the so-called Vijayārāma.⁵⁶

A path, which extended directly to the north of the terrace over the moat and part of the stone wall, connected this monastic complex with an image-house, situated on a succession of terraces, which was described by Bell as the best specimen of its kind. On the second terrace was a large shrine comprising a sanctum and a vestibule similar in proportions to the image-house at the Jetavana monastery.⁵⁷ The vestibule was accessible from both the south and the east.

Immediately around the image-house were four structures built of brick and mortar on stone plinths. Their floors were covered with lime concrete, and their layout suggests that they possibly had an upper floor. Two of them have been identified by Bell as "gatehouses" and the other two as residential quarters. To the north of the image-house was a building of thirty columns, slightly detached from the rest, and a ruin identified as a "bathhouse" was found to the southeast. Bell has remarked that this group appears to be of a later date than the buildings at the moated site.

Two inscriptions, assigned to the reign of a certain Abhā Salamevan, were found at the monastery at the moated site.⁵⁸ But it is a record found at the ruins of an image-house to its north that is most relevant to our purpose.⁵⁹ This inscription dated to the twelfth regnal year of Dappula IV (A.D. 924-935) identifies the site as the Udā-kitagbo-pavu, the hermitage built by Udā mahayā (*mahādipāda* Udaya) and named after him and his son, Kitagbo āpā (*Ādipāda* Kittagabodhi). It was generously endowed and granted to twelve monks from the *Kapārāmūla vā vāṭena Puvaramvehera*.⁶⁰ These monks are described in glowing terms as "adorned with ornaments of distinctive virtues such as moderation in desires, contentment and religious austerity." The term *vā* has been used in both the Sigiri Graffiti and the *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gūṭapadaya*⁶¹ in the sense of "having originated," and *vāṭena* from Skt. *vr̥t* occurs with the meanings "being" and "existing."⁶² On this basis, it seems possible to trace the origins of the community of monks at the

56. ASC, *Fourth Progress Report*, pp. 2-3; *Sixth Progress Report*, pp. 5-6.

57. See *supra* pp. 35-6.

58. ASCAR, 1898, p. 4.

59. EZ, Vol. I, p. 182.

60. EZ, Vol. I, p. 186, ll. 13-8.

61. *Sigiri Graffiti*, Vol. II, pp. 10-1, v. 18; pp. 33-4, v. 55; DAG, ed. D. B. Jayatilaka, 1932, p. 5.

62. ŚSS, Vol. II, p. 887. See also *Dharmapradīpikā* ed. Dharmārāma, p. 323.

Puvaram (P. Pubbārāma) monastery to the Kapārā fraternity of the Abhayagiri *nikāya*. And since the Udā-kitagbo-pavu was granted to monks from the Puvaram monastery, it is very likely that both these institutions accepted the leadership of the Kapārā fraternity.

It is difficult to believe that the extensive monastery at the moated site which has about thirty-two buildings devoted to residential purposes is identical with the hermitage built by *mahādīpāda* Udaya for twelve monks. Hence it seems reasonable to identify the site of this inscription with its ruins of moderate proportions as the Udā-kitagbo-pavu, but this raises the problem of the identity of the moated site. The archaeological evidence cited earlier provides us with some helpful clues. It is evident that a very close relationship prevailed between the monastery of the moated site and the hermitage to its north. An examination of the building techniques reveals that the moated site was built earlier than the other complex. Also, the whole group was situated to the east of the city and the Abhayagiri monastery.

It has already been mentioned that the twelve monks who occupied this hermitage came from the Puvaramvehera. The inscriptions also state that whenever the number of residents at the hermitage fell short of the specified figures, the vacancies were to be filled with monks from the same monastery. It also declared that no objections were to be raised if any of the monks decided to go and live at the main monastery.⁶³ According to the *Cūlavamsa*, the Pubbārāma was built by Sena I (833-853) and his queen Saṅghā, about a century earlier than the Udā-kitagbo-pavu.⁶⁴ Finally, it may be pointed out that the name Pubbārāma, "Eastern Monastery," strongly suggests that it was to the east of the city, hence it seems very likely that it is the Pubbārāma which is represented today by the moated site at Puḷiyankulam. If this is so, it can be asserted with greater confidence that both monastic groups at Puḷiyankulam came under the leadership of the Kapārā fraternity of the Abhayagiri *nikāya*.

63. *mehi unu tānakaṭṭa saṅgun e(va)t tanā sang-vat-himiyanaṭ saṅg sanā vatā kiyena vat himiyan veherin gannā isā meyin veherā gos visiyāṭi saṅg kenek haṭ sahaṭ no vā gannā isā*, *EZ*. Vol. I, p. 187, ll. 30-3. We propose to read the last portion of l. 53 as *ḍahak no vāgannā isā*. Compare the letter with *sa* in ll. 34, 37 and *ḍa* in l. 17. The absence of the upward stroke in the center makes it clear that the particular letter was *ḍa* and not *sa*. The word *ḍahak* occurs in the *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya* (p. 166) as the Sinhalese synonym for P. *palibodha*, "obstruction, hindrance, obstacle." Wickremasinghe interpreted *saṅgsanā* as the Saṅghasenapabbatavihāra. But such an interpretation points to the unusual implication that though the first batch of monks came to this hermitage from the Pubbārāma, subsequent vacancies were to be filled with monks from the Saṅghasenapabbata. Sorata's suggestion that *saṅgsanā* meant the assembly of monks seems to be more plausible (*SSS*, p. 987).

64. *Cv*. 50.69.

The Kappūramūla occurs for the last time in the *Cūlavamsa* in the account of the reign of Vijayabāhu I. Yasodharā, the king's daughter, built a large image-house for the Kappūramūlayātana.⁶⁵ It is not clear from the chronicle whether this was at Anurādhapura or Polonnaruva, though it is possible that the Kappūramūla also had moved to Polonnaruva during the reign of Vijayabāhu I. Though no later instance of the Kappūramūla being referred to by name is known in our sources, the references to the eight *mūlas* seems to testify to its continued existence.

We have seen that the Uttaromūla and the Kappūramūla are frequently mentioned as leading fraternities within the Abhayagiri *nikāya*. Probably they are identical with the "two fraternities" (*demūla*) of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* which are mentioned in the inscriptions of the tenth century. The Anurādhapura slab inscription of Kassapa V (A.D. 914-923) contains the regulation that the accounts pertaining to certain of the main institutions of the Abhayagiri monastery were to be obtained from the two fraternities and written down at the end of the year in order to be presented at the general assembly of monks.⁶⁶ Elsewhere we have cited the statement from the Mihintale Tablets of Mahinda IV (A.D. 956-972) that the accounts of the Cetiyaḡiri monastery at Mihintale were to be settled by the committee of management in collaboration with the representatives of the two fraternities of the Abhayagiri *nikāya*.⁶⁷ These two passages have been greatly misunderstood. Wickremasinghe⁶⁸ believed that the second implied that the Cetiyaḡiri monastery belonged to the Kappūramūla, a conclusion which is unwarranted and even contradicted by the evidence. Perera was led to believe that there were two *mūlas* at each of the two monasteries, the Abhayagiri and the Cetiyaḡiri.⁶⁹ Certainly there is no evidence to show that there were any such fraternities at the Cetiyaḡiri; the Tablets of Mahinda IV clearly state that the accounts were to be settled in collaboration with the representatives of the two *mūlas* of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* who had come to assist in the proceedings.⁷⁰ Hence we can be fairly certain in stating that the two *mūlas* referred to in the Anurādhapura Slab Inscription of Kassapa V and the Mihintale Tablets of Mahinda IV were in fact the same, and we can identify them as the Uttaromūla and the Kappūramūla.

65. Cv. 60. 83.

66. EZ, Vol. I, p. 48, ll. 35-7.

67. See *supra* p. 131.

68. EZ, Vol. I, p. 81.

69. L. S. Perera, *Institutions* . . . , p. 1423.

70. *abhayagiri veherhi demūlin sāhanuvat vāḡi saḡgun sāmāḡgin*. EZ, Vol. I, p. 92, l. A22.

It is further evident from the facts cited in the preceding paragraph that these two fraternities occupied a place of prime importance in the organization of the Abhayagiri *nikāya*. They seem to have been directly concerned with the internal administration of the Abhayagiri monastery and were also responsible to the community of monks of the main monastery for the supervisory control over the monasteries and hermitages belonging to the *nikāya*. Inscriptions testify to their joint participation in the administration of the Cetiyaḡiri monastery for a period of more than half a century, and it probably continued for a much longer period.

In this connection a regulation occurring in the inscription of Kassapa V seems to be relevant. It decrees ⁷¹ that in the case of a dispute among the "unsupported monks" (*apiḡisaraṇa saṅgun*), "recipients of incomes" (*lābha laduvan*), or "the recipients of dwellings" (*avasladuvan*), the monks of the relevant fraternity were to sit in session and resolve it. If the fraternity failed to settle the dispute, an inquiry was to be held in collaboration with the royal officials and, where necessary, suitable punishments were to be prescribed. It is significant that the head of the *nikāya* is not mentioned in this context. This evidence suggests that the *nikāya* was a loosely organized corporate institution in which the fraternities had great responsibility and importance. It is to be expected that this should be so since it would have been very difficult to bring all the affairs of a *nikāya* as large as the Abhayagiri under one central control.

An ornate eulogy in a late tenth-century inscription at the Abhayagiri monastery describes the four fraternities of the monastery as four divine abodes.⁷² This is perhaps an indication that two more institutions gained prominence and grew large enough to acquire the status of "fraternity." The inscription of Kassapa V, quoted earlier, refers to two fraternities and six *avasas* (lit. "residences"). Of these six *avasas*, it names two—the Vahadū and the Mahanetpā—which were probably the most important.⁷³ One tends to suspect that it was these two *avasas* which later obtained the status of "fraternity."

This indeed seems to be what really happened. The Vahadū is probably identical with the Vādumuḡa which, according to the *Pūjāvāliya*,⁷⁴ was built by Mānavamma. But very little reliable information

71. *apilisarana vat-himiyan isā lābha laduvan isā avas laduvan isā kaḡaha yana varadak ātapuvāt muḡa saṅgun hindā nimavanu isā saṅgun visin no nimat samdaruvan hā mulvā vicārakoḡ nimavā pat pat seyin daṅḡuvan karanu isā.* EZ, Vol. I, p. 48, ll. 29-31.

72. *satara muḡ satara maha div bavana.* EZ, Vol. I, p. 221, l. 8.

73. *mahanetpā vahadū de avasatad me sirit karanu isā.* EZ, Vol. I, p. 49, ll. 47-8.

74. *Pjv.*, p. 102; See also *Daḡadā-sirita*, p. 42.

is available concerning this institution. It is mentioned in a graffito at Sigiri which mentions a *thera* who belonged to Vahadū.⁷⁵ According to the *Cūlavamsa*, Aggabodhi VI (A.D. 733-722) built a *pāsāda* at the Vāhadīpa monastery,⁷⁶ Udaya I (A.D. 797-801) built the Senaggabodhi-pabbata hermitage for the Vāhadīpa,⁷⁷ and Dappula II (A.D. 815-831) built at Lāvāra-pabbata a hermitage for the Vāhadīpa monastery.⁷⁸ *Div* and *dū* are Sinhalese synonyms for the Pāli term *dīpa*,⁷⁹ and it is possible that Vahadū and Vādu were synonymous with Vāhadīpa.⁸⁰

The *Cūlavamsa* records that Aggabodhi V (A.D. 718-724) built the Mahānettādīpādīka *pariccheda* and gave it, along with the village Devattissa, to the Dhammarucikas.⁸¹ Sena I built an alms hall at the Mahānettāpabbata.⁸² Assuming that Mahānettāpabbata was situated in Polonnaruva, Nicholas has suggested that this fraternity was stationed in the vicinity of this city.⁸³ But the validity of this assumption as well as the identification of the Mahānettādīpādīka with the Mahānettāpabbata are questionable. The Mahānetpā fraternity is referred to as a *mūla* in the *Pūjāvāliya*, which records that Vijayabāhu IV (A.D. 1270-1273) built a monastery on the top of the Vātagiri rock for the *mahāthera* of the Mahānetpāmuḷa.⁸⁴ This is confirmed by the *Cūlavamsa* in which the fraternity is referred to as the Mahānettāpāsāda *āyatana*.⁸⁵ The Vātagiripabbata has been identified with the present Vākīrigala in the Kāgalla district.⁸⁶ It is thus clear that the headquarters of this fraternity had shifted to the southwest along with the capital of the Sinhalese kingdom and that the fraternity continued to enjoy the patronage of royalty.

75. *Sigiri Graffiti*, Vol. II, p. 137, v. 224.

76. *Cv.* 48. 65.

77. *Cv.* 49. 33.

78. *Cv.* 49. 76. Geiger's translation of this strophe is inaccurate.

79. See *SSS*, Vol. I, pp. 420, 431.

80. Paranavitana has suggested that the Vāhadīpa college of the Abhayagiri monastery was so named because it was founded by traders from Vṛṣadvīpa, which he identified as Malaysia. (*Ceylon and Malaysia*, 1966, pp. 20-1). For comments on this identification, see R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, "Ceylon and Malaysia: A Study of Professor S. Paranavitana's Research on the Relations between the Two Regions," *UCR*, Vol. XXV, pp. 39ff.

81. *Cv.* 48. 2.

82. *Cv.* 50.74

83. *JRASCBS*, Vol. VI, p. 34.

84. *Pjv.*, p. 140.

85. *Cv.* 88. 46-7.

86. See *JRASCBS*, Vol. IV, p. 123.

The author of the *Pūjāvāliya* also mentions that the monk who benefited from this munificence of the king, Sumaṅgala of the Mahanetpāmūla, was his contemporary.⁸⁷ Attempts have been made to identify Sumaṅgala with the author of the *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvinī*, a pupil of Sāriputta. It has been suggested on this basis that monks of the Mahāvihāra *nikāya* were appointed over the Mahanetpāmūla after the unification of the *nikāyas*,⁸⁸ but it is significant that Buddhaputra, the author of the *Pūjāvāliya*, mentions that Sumaṅgala was a "brother" of his. This, in ecclesiastical terms, would mean that they were fellow-pupils of the same teacher. The *Pūjāvāliya* was written in the thirty-fifth year of Parākramabāhu II (A.D. 1270), and it is not very likely that he or his contemporary could have been pupils of Sāriputta who was a senior *thera* during the reign of Parākramabāhu I (A.D. 1153-1186).

In the *Vuttamālā*, which was written during the reign of Parākramabāhu V (A.D. 1344-1359), the hierarch of the Mahānettapāsādamūla was extolled as a teacher of renown and a monk of great virtue.⁸⁹ It appears from this work that he was at Dādigama, the capital of Parākramabāhu V. Rāmacandra Bhārati, a Brahmin from Bengal who came to Sri Lanka during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI (A.D. 1412-1467), wrote the *Vṛttamālākhyā*,⁹⁰ a biographical eulogy of Dipaṅkara of Ramyasthala, who was then the hierarch of the Mahānettapāsāda fraternity. It is also interesting that he was mentioned in this work as the disciple of the hierarch of another fraternity, the Śailāntaramūla (Galaturumula).⁹¹ It is quite likely that Dipaṅkara was succeeded by Vidāgama Maitreya. In the *Kavilakuṇu-miṇimal*,⁹² a work on prosody written in the fifty-fourth year (1465) of Parākramabāhu VI, Maitreya refers to himself as the chief monk of this fraternity (*mahanet-pā-mūla mahateriṇḍu*). He continued in this position into the next reign. The *Buduguṇālanākāra*,⁹³ another verse work by him, was composed in the

87. *Pjv.*, p. 140.

88. A. P. Buddhadatta, *Thēravādi Bauddhācāryayo*, p. 103.

89. *sasissaga kaṇṭhohitadhammālo—virājeti rāgādīpāpappahāro guṇodāra-hārānījāro dharanto—mahānettapāsādamūloruthero*. *Br. Mus. Ms. Or.* 6611. (178) folio kḷ.

90. *Br. Mus. Ms. Or.* 6611 (180).

91. *Ibid.* folio kī.

92. *viyatun sārū met maha—net pāmūla mahateriṇḍu melaka eksat kaḷa—siri pārakum niriṇḍu haṭa panas sivu vasā me kelem—kivilakuṇu miṇimala nam*. *Kivilakuṇumiṇimal*, v. 87.

93. *diyagos pātiri bhuvaneka bhujā niriṇḍu saṇḍa pirivas tunehi siri laka raja bisev lada met maha net pāmūla maha teriṇḍu saṇḍa satvḍa vas meda kale met sitin nada*. *Buduguṇa Alaṅkāraya*. vv. 609-11

third year (1472) of Bhuvanekabāhu VI. In the Mādagoḍa Plate,⁹⁴ this king records a grant of land made to Maitreya after listening to a discourse during a tour of the Jaffna peninsula. The fact that he accompanied the king on his tours would suggest that he was very close to the king.

It is evident from the preceding discussion that the Abhayagiri *nikāya* was constituted of four main fraternities. Of these, the Uttaromūla and the Kappūramūla played an active and vital role in the affairs of the *nikāya* but the other two fraternities came to the fore only by about the end of the tenth century. It is also evident that, of the fraternities of the Abhayagiri *nikāya*, at least the Uttaromūla and the Mahānettapāsadamūla survived late into the fifteenth century.

The Four Additional Fraternities

A slab inscription from the grounds of the Jetavana monastery, dated in the reign of Mahinda IV, refers to the Seneviradmuḷa as a fraternity within this monastery. The record lays down regulations for the guidance of the residents of the Ratna-mā-pirivana and the Seneviradmuḷa regarding the use of a certain "water-pavilion" (*pān mādi*).⁹⁵ It is possible that the Seneviradmuḷa was the same as the Senāpatimūla mentioned in the *Vuttamālā*.⁹⁶ In this work the hierarch of this fraternity is described in laudatory terms as a devout ascetic and a kind monk. The Seneviradmuḷa is mentioned for the last time in the Pālkuṃbura Sannasa⁹⁷ which records a grant of a village by a king identified as Bhuvanekabāhu VII (A.D. 1521-1551) to the chief incumbent of the fraternity at the time.

It is significant that four of the five fraternities cited above represented the Abhayagiri *nikāya*, while only the Senāpatimūla may be traced back to the Jetavana. This does not necessarily mean that there was only one "fraternity" in this *nikāya*. Perhaps there were more, but it is possible that they did not survive the period of Coḷa rule or were not strong enough to play an active role in the affairs of the Buddhist *saṅgha* in the period of the Polonnaruva kingdom.

94. A reading of this inscription was published by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka in his *Sinhala Sāhitya Lipi*, 1956, p. 139, but no critical edition of the record has been published so far.

95. *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 226-9. It appears from the inscription that this "pavilion" was a two-storied building situated near the gate where water-pots and "other utensils" were kept.

96. *pajāpuññabijappitodārakhetto—tapotoyasuddhikatāgamghanogho dayāsīhatelassa sovannapatto—virājeti senāpatimūlathero*. *Br. Mus. Ms. Or.* 6611 (178), folio *kl*.

97. *EZ*, Vol. III, pp. 240-7.

Similarly, to identify any of the known fraternities as being related to the Mahāvihāra *nikāya* is problematic. In fact, it is difficult to trace the origin of the other fraternities to any one of the three *nikāyas*. It is not even possible to say that their original centers were at Anurādhapura or Polonnaruva, or in the immediate environs of these cities. It is quite possible that some of them, if not all, were mere provincial fraternities which gained recognition due to the fame of the teachers who led them and the strength and extent of their influence.

As in the case of the account of the Uttaromūla, the chronicle devotes nine strophes in the chapter on the "Subjugation of the Enemies of Rohaṇa" by Vijayabāhu I to a description of the origin of the Selantara fraternity.⁹⁸ And, as in the earlier case, this account bears little connection with the passages which precede and follow it.

According to the chronicle a grandson of a certain King Dāṭhapatissa took up robes and practiced asceticism in a solitary spot. Soon he gained fame as a man of virtue and discipline. The sovereign of Laṅkā (*laṅkīdo*), who heard of him and valued his counsel, built a large mansion and had him brought to live there. The fraternity of monks which grew up around him was called the Selantarasmūha "as he had left his rocky abode to come and live at the mansion at the behest of the king." Then the chronicle goes on to make a very interesting statement:

Since that time the sovereigns of Laṅkā make a monk spend a night in the *devapalli* and if he is approved by the deity, appoint him to the position of the hierarch of the fraternity, and they abide by the counsel of the monk occupying this leading position in protecting the world and the Buddhist Order.⁹⁹

The whole passage poses a number of problems. Geiger pointed out that it is impossible to determine whether the Dāṭhapatissa in question was the first or the second king who was known by this name.¹⁰⁰ Nor can we proceed any further. Geiger has suggested that the "sovereign of Laṅkā" might have been Mānavamma.¹⁰¹ Perhaps it is so, but again it is merely a guess.

However, there were only two kings who bore the name Dāṭhapatissa, and they ruled within a decade of each other. Thus if we rely on the tradition of the *Cūlavamsa*, the origin of the fraternity may be dated to

98. *Cv.* 57.31-9.

99. *tato paṭṭhāya vāsetvā palliyaṃ devapalliyaṃ devatānumataṃ bhikkhūṃ mūlatṭhāne ṭhapenti hi mūlattaṃ āvasantānaṃ yatīnaṃ anusāsanā laṅkissarā pavattanti pālentā lokasānaṃ.* *Cv.* 57. 38-69.

100. *Cv.* trsl., Vol. I, p. 196, n. 1.

101. *Ibid.*, n. 2.

the seventh century, but it is important to note that this information is not corroborated by the other chronicles or the epigraphic evidence. The passage in question occurs in the account of the reign of Vijayabāhu I and could very well be a legend inserted into the chronicle after a considerable period of development. The first direct reference to the Selantarasmūha is also from the reign of Vijayabāhu I. Yasodharā, the daughter of the king, is said to have erected a mansion for this fraternity.¹⁰²

The second problem is one of location. It is not clear whether the fraternity was based in Rājaraṭṭha or Rohaṇa. In the account of the origin of the fraternity it is mentioned that it was a "sovereign of Laṅkā" who built a dwelling for the ascetic and invited him to be his counsellor. Also the "sovereigns of Laṅkā" who succeeded him are said to have followed the counsel of the chief monk of the fraternity regarding affairs of state, and it is unlikely that a ruler of Rohaṇa would be called a "sovereign of Laṅkā." It has already been mentioned that Yasodharā, the daughter of Vijayabāhu I, built a mansion for this fraternity. This does not necessarily imply that it was situated close to Polonnaruva, but it is also significant that, according to the chronicle, the monks of the eight *mūlavihāras* left the capital and set forth for Rohaṇa in protest against the confiscation of monastic property by Vikramabāhu I.¹⁰³ If the Selantarasmūha is included among these eight fraternities, it would also point to its presence at Polonnaruva.

However, there are other reasons which suggest that the fraternity was located in Rohaṇa. Parākramabāhu I, when he requested the monks from various regions to take part in the deliberations leading to the unification of the *saṅgha* nominated Nanda of the Selantārayatana to lead the monks of all the three *nikāyas* in Rohaṇa.¹⁰⁴ It could also be argued that the silence of the *Cūlavamsa* concerning the history of this fraternity right up to the time of Vijayabāhu I is due to its origin and early development in Rohaṇa. Nicholas locates the seat of the Selantarasmūha near Mahāgāma,¹⁰⁵ though there is no direct evidence to support such an identification. On the other hand, the presence of monks belonging to this fraternity in Rohaṇa during the reign of Parākramabāhu I does not necessarily mean that the original center was at Rohaṇa. If the monks of the Selantarasmūha left the capital during the reign of Vikramabāhu I, as suggested by the chronicle, it is quite possible that they settled down in Rohaṇa. Unfortunately, the available

102. *Cv.* 60. 84.

103. *Cv.* 61. 58-61.

104. *Cv.* 78. 10.

105. *UHC*, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 431.

evidence is inconclusive. The absence of any direct evidence pointing to the continued presence of the fraternity in Rājaraṭṭha or Rohaṇa makes one hesitant about accepting either hypothesis.

The statement which occurs in the latter part of the account of the origin of the Selantarasmūha is of particular interest. The manner in which the prospective chief incumbent of the fraternity was made to seek the "approval of a deity" by spending the night in a *devapalli* sheds interesting light on the relationship which prevailed between Buddhism and the popular cult of deity worship. The chronicle states that the custom had been current since the formation of the fraternity (*tato paṭṭhāya*), and this seems to imply that it was known at the time the chronicles came to be written.

The very fact that this account was inserted in the chronicle suggests that the Selantarasmūha, like the Uttaromūla, had grown into one of the most important centers of Buddhist activity during this period. A monk who belonged to the fraternity is mentioned in contemporary literature. Saṅgharakkhita, who became the head of the Buddhist church in the time of Vijayabāhu III (A.D. 1232-1236), mentions in the *Vuttodaya*, a work on prosody, that his teacher was the *thera* Sila of Selantarāyatana.¹⁰⁶ But in the prologue of the *Sumaṅgala-pasādanī*, Saṅgharakkhita refers to Sāriputta as his teacher.¹⁰⁷ Presumably he learned prosody from Sila and the Vinaya from Sāriputta. It appears, therefore, that Sila and Sāriputta were contemporaries. Nanda of the Selantara fraternity, who led the monks of Rohaṇa at the proceedings of the unification of the *saṅgha*, was also a contemporary of Sāriputta. From this we may infer that Nanda and Sila also were contemporaries.

The close relations that the disciples of Sāriputta had with monks of the Selantarāyatana are not, necessarily, indications of the affiliations of this fraternity. On the other hand, Paranavitana is also mistaken when he says that it belonged to the Abhayagiri *nikāya*.¹⁰⁸ In fact, there is no evidence at all concerning the sectarian affiliations of this fraternity.

106. *selantarāyatanavāsika-sīlathera-pādo gurū guṇagarū jayatam mameso. Vuttodaya*, Burmese ed., 1898, p. 123.

107. *sāriputtaṃ mahāsamiṃ nekasattha visāradam mahāguṇam mahāpuñnam namo me sirasā garum. Sumaṅgala-pasādanī*, ed., Dangedara Sumanajoti, p. 1.

108. *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 568.

The next reference to this fraternity occurs in the *Vuttamālā*¹⁰⁹ where the *mahāsthavira* of Upalantaramūla is extolled as a monk intent upon service, pure in mind and endowed with many virtues. He was living at Dādigama, the capital of Parākramabāhu V, when this work was composed. In Sanskrit, *upala* is a synonym for *śaila*,¹¹⁰ and the term Upalantaramūla is explained as the Śailāntaramūla in the Sinhalese paraphrase. The author of the *Sūryasataka Sannaya*, who introduces himself as the hierarch of the Vilgammula fraternity, claims that he was the principal disciple of Galaturumula *mahāsvāmi* who lived at the Tirthagāma monastery.¹¹¹ In the *Vimukti-saṅgraha*, written in the eighteenth year of Vikramabāhu, who is identified as the third king of this name (A.D. 1357-1374), both Galaturumula *mahāsvāmi* and Vilgammula *mahāthera* are mentioned as the teachers of the author.¹¹² Galaturumula is the exact Sinhalese equivalent of the Pāli Selantaramūla. The title *mahāsvāmi* suggests that this monk was the highest dignity among the *saṅgha* at the time.¹¹³ The other epithets attributed to him, such as *sakalakalāsarvajña*, *ṣaḍbhūṣāparameśvara* and *tripiṭakavāgīśvarācārya*, reveal that he had won a reputation as a man of letters and an expositor of the doctrine. If he is identified with the monk mentioned in the *Vuttamālā*, it may be presumed that he left Dādigama after Parākramabāhu V lost his kingdom and settled down at Tirthagāma, which is probably identical with Toṭagamuva. But it is also possible they were two different persons. The *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* states that Maitreya *mahāthera*, another monk of the Galaturumula, assisted the hierarch Dharmakīrti II to carry out a reform of the *saṅgha* under the patronage of Virabāhu who was the *de facto* ruler of the island during the latter part of the reign of Bhuvenekabāhu V (A.D. 1372-1408).¹¹⁴ The last reference to this fraternity occurs in the *Vṛttamālākhyā*, which mentions Śailāntaramūleśa *mahāsvāmi* as the teacher of Dīpaṅkara, the hero of the eulogy.¹¹⁵ Presumably the highest office in the community of monks had again passed to the Śailāntarasamūha.¹¹⁶

109. *saka-atthahitāpi parattharato
jinasāsana-pālana-suddha-mano
guṇa bhūsanā¹ bhūsanato ca āhu*

*Upalantaramūla mahāsthaviro*². *Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 6611 (178), Folio kḷ.*
1 is omitted and 2 is *taviro* in Or. 6611 (179).

110. See *PTS Pāli-English Dictionary*; Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

111. *Sūryasataka*, ed. Baṭuvantudāve, 1949, p. 54.

112. *Vimukti-saṅgrahaya*, ed. Homāgama Silaratana, 1925, p. 215.

113. For a discussion on the interpretation of this term see *infra* pp. 332-4.

114. *Niks*, ed. Wickremasinghe, p. 630.

115. *Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 6611 (180) folio kī.*

116. See *infra* pp. 332-4.

The Vilgammūḷa, alternatively called the Velgammūḷa, Sarasigāma-mūḷa and the Sarogāmamūḷa, is mentioned for the first time in the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*,¹¹⁷ a Pāli lexicon compiled not long after the reign of Parākramabāhu I. Later on it was to become one of the most eminent fraternities in the fields of literary and religious activity. Moggallāna, the author of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, states that he lived in the Sarogāmasamūḷa of the Jetavana monastery at Polonnaruva and that he took to writing under the patronage of Parākramabāhu. From this it may be deduced that Sarogāmamūḷa was one of the eight fraternities brought together by Parākramabāhu I and established at the Jetavana monastery, and that Moggallāna was a contemporary of the king.

The origin of this fraternity is shrouded in mystery. The *Dhātuvam̐sa*¹¹⁸ mentions a certain Vilgamvehera as one of the monasteries built by Kākavaṇṇatissa. It appears from the same work that the *stūpa* and the monastic establishment he founded near Lake Seru was one of his most important works, but it is not possible to determine from the contexts of these references whether the Vilgamvehera was identical with the monastery near Lake Seru. However, it is important in this connection that the *Siṃhala Bodhivaṃsa*, written in the fourteenth century, states that one of the offshoots of the Bo Tree at Anurādhapura was planted at "Vilgama of the *nāgas*," near Seruvila.¹¹⁹ This reference suggests that the two places were identical. The value of this reference is enhanced by the fact that the *Siṃhala Bodhivaṃsa* was the work of the chief incumbent of the monastery at Kālaṇḍiya, who was himself the hierarch of the Vilgammūḷa fraternity in the time of Parākramabāhu IV (A.D. 1302-1326).

One might suppose that no better authority could be cited to confirm the identification that this monastery was the original seat of the Vilgammūḷa. But the casual way in which this monastery is mentioned casts some doubts on such an identification. Vilgama is introduced as the "monastery of the *nāgas* situated near Lake Seru." The author does not specifically state that it was the original seat of his own fraternity. The identification is rendered more doubtful by the appearance of several places under this very name.

A fourth-century inscription from Nā-maluva, near the boundary between the Panāma Pattu of the Ampārai District and the Monarāgala

117. *Abhidhānappadīpikā Sannaya*, ed. Toṭagamuve Paññātissa, 1895, p. 161.

118. *Dhātuvam̐sa*, ed. Dhammakkhanda, see pp. 19 and 48.

119. *seruvila samīpayehi nayinge vilgam veherada. Siṃhala Bodhivaṃsa*, ed. Dhammaratana, p. 190.

District, refers to Vilgama among other places. Similarly, a pre-Christian cave inscription from Hennannegala in the Batticaloa District mentions Vilgama.¹²⁰ A place called Sarogāmatittha is referred to in the *Cūlavamsa*¹²¹ in connection with the campaigns of Parākramabāhu I against Mānābharaṇa. It was one of the fords on the river Mahavāli where Kesadhātu Rakkha defeated Mahālekha Mahinda. Soon afterwards Saṅkhanāyaka Nātha, a general of Parākramabāhu, led a foray into enemy territory from this place. It is probably the same as Saragāma in the Mahātīla District (present Matale) where Parākramabāhu is said to have lived during the period of his estrangement from his uncle Kittisirimegha. Codrington has identified Sarogāmatittha with the present Vilgamuva, about fifteen miles to the north of Mahiyaṅgaṇa.¹²² It is not impossible that the Nā-maluva and Hennannegala inscriptions cited above also refer to the same place.

The Galpāta Vihāra inscription of Parākramabāhu, the first or the second king of that name, seems to indicate that there was another contender for the position of the original seat of this fraternity. It records that the Galpāta monastery belonged to the Saddharmarāja college of the Velgammūḷa.¹²³ The reference to the fraternity as Velgammūḷa is interesting, and it is most probably the same as Vilgammūḷa. The change of *e* to *i* is not unusual. In a tenth-century inscription for instance, Veluvana occurs as Viluvana.¹²⁴ It is also possible that the two words *vil* and *vel* could sometimes be synonymous and were interchangeable. As Paranavitana has commented, "the Sinhalese word *vil* which, in literature, means 'lake' and is synonymous for *sara* is used in common parlance for a marshy land which, in the rainy season, is converted into a sheet of water and is capable of being formed into paddy fields."¹²⁵ The Pāpiliyāna inscription¹²⁶ gives an actual instance of the word *vil* being used in the fifteenth century in place of *vel*, in the same sense as "fields."

The occurrence of the term Velgammūḷa and the interchangeability of the words *vil* and *vel* might lead one to postulate that the Vilgammūḷa grew round the Velgam Vehera of the inscriptions. This monastery is

120. *JRASCBS*, Vol. VI, pp. 23, 31-2.

121. *Cv*, 72, 1-2, 31-2.

122. *CHJ*, Vol. IV, p. 134, n. 5; *JRASCBS*, Vol. VI, p. 36.

123. *EZ*, Vol. IV, p. 205, ll. 3-4.

124. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 222, l. 22.

125. *EZ*, Vol. IV, p. 126.

126. *kehelsēnā vilin yāḷaka vapa hā*. *AIC*, p. 106.

represented today by a complex of ruins near Periyakulam in the Trincomalee District which stylistically is closely akin to Dravidian architecture.¹²⁷ One inscription at the site is dated in the reign of Bhātikātissa (A.D. 143-167). After the Coḷa conquest it was renamed Rājārājaperumpalli, and it is evident from the records at the site that it was patronized by Dravidians during the reign of Rājārāja and Rājendra. It seems to have been considered an important monastery for this is the only known instance of a Buddhist monastery in Sri Lanka being patronized by the Coḷas. It continued to attract patrons after the capture of political power by the Sinhalese, as would be expected, and two inscriptions dated in the reign of Vijayabāhu I have been found within the precincts of the monastery.¹²⁸ Altogether about twenty-five inscriptions have been found here, and they testify to its importance as a center of Buddhism. In the Pṛitidānaka Maṇḍapa rock inscription,¹²⁹ Velgam Vehera is mentioned together with other monasteries at Māñḍiligiri, Mahagama, Devunuvara and Kālaṇi as a sacred place visited by Nissaṅka Malla.

But all these facts do not provide conclusive grounds for identifying the Velgam Vehera as the original seat of the Vilgammūḷa. In no instance has the ruined site at Periyakulam been referred to as Vilgama; it has been consistently referred to as Velgam Vehera in the inscriptions at the site. On the other hand, according to the *Cūlavamsa*, Vijayabāhu I repaired a monastery called Velagāmivihāra and endowed it with a grant of villages.¹³⁰ If this be identified with the Velgam Vehera, as Nicholas has suggested,¹³¹ it would discourage the identification of the latter with Vilgam Vehera, for the Pāli term Sarogāmamūla was known and used to refer to this fraternity as early as in the time of Moggallāna, the lexicographer.

There is some circumstantial evidence which might suggest that the origin of the Vilgammūḷa has to be traced to the Southwestern region of the island. All the known monasteries attached to this fraternity such as the Vapasinā at Koṭṭaṅge, the Kālaṇiya monastery and the Galpāta monastery near Bentaṭa, were in the southwest. The *Cūlavamsa* mentions that Parākramabāhu I invited two monks, Moggallāna and Nāgindapalli, to come with other monks of the Yuvarājaraṭṭha to

127. ASCAR, 1953, pp. 9-12. See also ASCAR 1934, p. 8; 1954, pp. 12-4; CJSG, Vol. II, p. 199.

128. ASCAR, 1954, p. 39.

129. EZ, Vol. II, pp. 165-78.

130. Cv. 60. 62.

131. JRASCBNS, Vol. VI, p. 45.

participate in the proceedings which led to the unification of the *saṅgha*.¹³² If the first is identified with Moggallāna of Sarogāma, who claimed to have enjoyed the patronage of Parākramabāhu I, it might again point to a southwestern origin of the fraternity.

It has to be admitted that neither of these arguments is decisive. Nevertheless, our inference gathers strength from information of a more specific nature which is found in this region. An inscription dated in the reign of Lokeśvara II (A.D. 1210-1211) and located at Koṭṭaṅge in the Mādūre Korale of the Vā-uḍavili Hatpattu, Kurunāgala District, records a grant of land made to a certain general, Loke *Arakmēnā*, with the proviso that disputes concerning the property were to be referred for settlement to the abbot of the Vapasinā *āyatana* of the Vilgammūḷa.¹³³ According to a later inscription from the same site, this and some other property were granted by *mahāthera* Abhaya of the Vilgammūḷa to the whole community of monks.¹³⁴ It is evident from this that an important monastery of this fraternity was found in this area. Ruins of a monastic establishment are found at the site of the inscriptions, but so far no attempt to uncover them has been made. In this connection it may be significant that certain inscriptions from Rājāṅgane in the same district, datable to a period between the fifth and seventh centuries, mention, among others, a place called Vilgama.¹³⁵

The very name of the Vilgammūḷa suggests that it was a fraternity of provincial origin. Many places from different parts of Sri Lanka claim recognition as its original home.¹³⁶ It is tempting to favor the hypothesis which affirms a southwestern origin of the fraternity, but it has to be admitted that we do not possess sufficient evidence to warrant a definite conclusion.

Monks who belonged to this fraternity gained recognition for their literary and intellectual eminence. Moggallāna is the earliest whose name is known. The *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* speaks of a scholar called Sāhitya Vilgammūḷa.¹³⁷ *The Siṃhala Bodhivaṃśa* was written at the request of Parākramabāhu IV (A.D. 1302-1326)¹³⁸ by a *mahāsthavira*

132. *samoggallāna therāṇica theram nāgindapalliyam yuvarājassa raṭṭhasmiṃ aṅṅe sabbe ca bhikkhavo*. Cv. 78. 9.

133. Koṭṭaṅge Inscription No. 1, *EZ*, Vol. IV, p. 87.

134. Koṭṭaṅge Inscription No. 2, *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 89-90.

135. *JRASCBS*, Vol. VI, p. 93.

136. The *Tisara Sandeśaya* refers to another Vilgama in the Southwestern region. The messenger-bird is requested to go past Vilgama, Nivaṭu and Doravaka to Dādigama (v. 124). Yet another monastery called Vilgam Vehera is found in the Uḍa Beragama area of the Southern Province. *ASCAR*, 1933, p. 16.

137. *Niks.* p. 28.

138. *Siṃhala Bodhivaṃśa*, pp. 2, 200-1.

of Vilgammuḷa who was also the abbot of the Kālaṇiya monastery. This passage makes it clear that the monastery at Kālaṇiya had come under the control of the Vilgam fraternity. The author describes himself as belonging to the Gaṅgatalā-karaṃbavalān clan. Presumably it was the same monk who was responsible for the Kitsirimevan Kālaṇi Vihāra inscription of the year 1887 of the Buddhist era (A.D. 1344).¹³⁹ The monk in the record bears the same titles with the exception that he is called *māhimi* (P. *mahāsāmi*). This may indicate that he had been appointed to the position of the hierarch of the whole Buddhist *saṅgha*.¹⁴⁰ In this record he claims to have repaired the monastery with the help of Nissaṅka Alagakkonāra, the minister, and requests that the work be carried on by the abbot of the Gatārā college and other successors.

In the colophon of the *Vuttamālā*, written during the reign of Parākramabāhu V (1344-1359), the abbot of the Gatārā college claims to be the nephew of the *Sarasīgāmamūla-mahāsāmi* and refers to the presence of this hierarch at Dādigama.¹⁴¹ This suggests that the latter changed his residence sometime after A. D. 1344. The author of the *Vimukti-saṅgraha*, written in c. 1374, mentions that the Galatarumula *mahāsvāmi* and Vilgammuḷa *mahāsthavira* were his teachers.¹⁴² It is perhaps to a new head of the Vilgammuḷa that the *Vimukti-saṅgraha* refers here. It is possible that he is identical with the Vilgammuḷa *mahāthera*, the author of the *Sūryaśataka Sanyaya*,¹⁴³ who claims to be the principal disciple of Galatarumula *mahāsvāmi*. Evidently the leadership of the *saṅgha* has passed on to a representative of the Galatarumula. It was also a *mahāthera* of the Vilgammuḷa who composed the *Saṅda-kiṇḍuru-dā-kava*,¹⁴⁴ but it is not possible to determine its exact date.

The identity of the eighth fraternity is a problem which has taxed the ingenuity and the patience of students of the history of Sri Lanka for a long time. Of the more serious attempts made to solve this problem the most significant seems to be the work of Māda-uyangoḍa Vimalakitti. His identification has also been accepted by Buddhadatta.¹⁴⁵ According to the *Mahāvamsa*, Vohārika Tissa (A.D. 209-231) built "parasols" for eight *stūpas*, including those at the Abhayagiri,

139. *CALR*, Vol. I, p. 153.

140. See *infra* pp. 132-3.

141. *Br. Mus. Ms. Or.* 6611 (178) folio *khi*.

142. *Vimukti-saṅgraha*, p. 215.

143. *Sūryaśataka*, p. 54.

144. *Saṅda-kinduru-dā-samara*, ed., Alavu Isi Sābiheḷa, 1961, p. 254.

145. The relevant sections of an article by Vimalakitti are reproduced by A. P. Buddhadatta in his *Theravādi Buddhācāryayo*, pp. 89, 101-5.

the Dakkhiṇamūla and the Mariccavaṭṭi monasteries.¹⁴⁶ The *Vamsatthapakāsini* explains "Dakkhiṇamūla" as *Dakkhiṇamūlanāmakō vihāro*.¹⁴⁷ The context in which this passage occurs suggests that the monastery was situated at Anurādhapura. Vimalakitti and Buddhadatta have identified it as the Dakkhiṇārāma built by Uttiya, a minister of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.¹⁴⁸ They have suggested that it was one of the eight principal fraternities. Ostensibly the name Dakkhiṇamūla seems to support this identification.

But the Dakkhiṇārāma, though it bears the appellation *mūla* in the *Mahāvamsa*, does not occur in any of the known sources belonging to the period when the eight fraternities rose to prominence. In fact, it seems to have lost its prestige much earlier and does not occur in the *Cūlavamsa* after the seventh century. A closer examination of the relevant passage in the *Mahāvamsa* helps one to understand the means by which this monastery came to be known as the Dakkhiṇamūla:

One of the seven warriors (of the king), Uttiya, built, to the south of the city, the so-called Dakkhiṇavihāra. In the same place, the minister named Mūla built the Mūlavokāsavihāra, which was, therefore, called after him.¹⁴⁹

It is thus evident that there were two monasteries, Dakkhiṇa and Mūla, close to each other. It is possible that they later amalgamated to form the Dakkhiṇamūlavihāra, hence the presence of the term *mūla* in the name Dakkhiṇamūla may not necessarily indicate that it was one of the eight fraternities.

On the other hand, a reference to another fraternity which flourished during the time of Parākrāmabāhu I is found in the *Cūlavamsa*. When the young prince Parākrāmabāhu left home after disagreements with Kittisirimegha, the latter sent a royal official and Abhaya, the chief monk of the Pañcaparivenamūla, as emissaries to persuade the prince to come to his capital.¹⁵⁰ The Pañcaparivenamūla seems to be distinct from the Pañcavihāra, which occurs later on in the chronicle;¹⁵¹ the latter has to be located between Polonnaruva and the river Mahavāli. The selection of this monk for such an important political assignment is an indication of the esteem in which he was held in the kingdom of Māyā.

146. *Mv.* 36. 33.

147. *Vap.* Vol. II, p. 662.

148. *Mv.* 33, 88.

149. *Mv.* trsl., Vol. I, p. 236.

150. *pāhinī so kūthāradisabhānāyakameva ca pañcaparivenamūlādīvāsibhayayatissaraṃ.* *Cv.*, 67. 61.

151. *Cv.* 72. 116.

It is likely that the Pañcaparivenamūla was a fraternity which arose and flourished in this kingdom. It is probably identical with the Pañcaparivenasamūha mentioned in the *Bhesajja-mañjūsā* which was compiled during the reign of Parākramabāhu II. The author of the work describes himself as the head of the fraternity and as a member of the Brāhmaṇa caste.¹⁵² The *Yogaratnākara*, compiled at the end of the fourteenth century, gives the name of the author of the *Bhesajja-mañjūsā* as Atthadassi and dates the work to the year 1183 of the Śaka era.¹⁵³ We hear of this fraternity for the last time in the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu VI (A.D. 1470-1478) when, according to the Kalyāṇi inscription of Dhammaceti, Maṅgala of the Pañcaparivena is said to have officiated at an ordination of Burmese monks held in Sri Lanka¹⁵⁴. It has to be admitted that no evidence which would indicate that this fraternity was present at Polonnaruva is available in our sources, but it is evident that the Pañcaparivenamūla was recognized as a *mūla* from the time of Parākramabāhu I at least until the reign of the second king of this name. Hence it does not seem unreasonable to consider it to have been one of the fraternities constituting the eight fraternities which played an important role in the affairs of the *saṅgha* during this period.

The Ruvanvālisāya inscription of Queen Kalyāṇavatī¹⁵⁵ records that a certain Pirivaṭṭabim Vijayanāvan and his wife gave alms and robes to the monks of this Ruvanvāli monastery (Mahāvihāra) led by the senior monks of the "seven *gaṇas*." On the strength of this evidence Paranavitana¹⁵⁶ has suggested that the Buddhist church of Sri Lanka was divided into seven confraternities during the "Polonnaruva Period." It is relevant in this connection that the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* refers to a *viyatpat-aṭagaṇaya* as an institution restored by Parākramabāhu I.¹⁵⁷ It has also been suggested that the *aṭagaṇaya* are identical with the eight *mūlas*.¹⁵⁸ Both these interpretations imply that the *gaṇa* was an institution similar to, if not identical with, the *mūla*.

152. *sāke parakkamabhujavhanarinda jambu
ddoni puramhi nivasam gajakūṭasaṅkhye
brahmanvayo yatirkāsi bhīsakkatanta
metañca pañcaparivenasamūhanātho.*

Bhesajja-mañjūsā, ed. K. D. Kulatilaka, 1962, p. 872. The phrase *gajakūṭasaṅkhye* gives the year A.D. 1183.

153. *Bhesajja-mañjūsā*, pp. 872-3.

154. *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. III, Pt. 2, pp. 231-2.

155. *EZ*, Vol. IV, pp. 253-60.

156. *EZ*, Vol. IV, p. 269, n. 2.

157. *Niks.* p. 24.

158. *Theravādi Bauddhācāryayo*, p. 101.

It is clear from evidence in the Galvihāra inscription of Parākramabāhu I¹⁵⁹ and the Daṃbadeni Katikāvata¹⁶⁰ of the reign of Vijayabāhu III (A.D. 1232-1236) that the *gaṇa* was an institution distinct from the *mūla*. Especially in the latter, references are found to both the *mūla* and the *gaṇa*. The *gaṇa* seems to have been a group of junior monks placed under the charge of a senior teacher.¹⁶¹ The Ruvanvālisāya inscription apparently refers to the seven *gaṇas* of that particular monastery rather than to fraternities of the *saṅgha* as a whole.

The term *gaṇa* could also be used to denote a group in a secular sense, and the context in which the phrase *viyat pat aṭa gaṇaya* occurs suggests that it is in a similar sense that it is used in the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya*. The *viyatnā*, according to the same work, was a palace official.¹⁶² *Viyat* could mean "learned,"¹⁶³ and the term *viyat pat aṭa gaṇaya* may connote "group of eight learned men" or "eight groups of learned men," who attended the king at his court.¹⁶⁴

The foregoing discussion, which represents a long and deliberate digression transcending the usual chronological limits of our study, was necessary in order to throw light on an important development which took place during the period under survey. Eight monastic establishments, some of which were founded as early as about the seventh century, grew during this period into large fraternities which replaced the three *nikāyas* in the organization of the *saṅgha*. This does not imply, however, that all the hermitages and monasteries in the island had passed under their control. The Daṃbadeni Katikāvata, for instance, lays down regulations pertaining to colleges attached to *mūlas* and then goes on to discuss "the other colleges."¹⁶⁵ Presumably there were institutions which stood aloof from the control of the eight fraternities.

It is thus clear that the main organizational unit which came into prominence during the period of the Polonnaruva kingdom and supplanted the *nikāya* was the *mūla* and not the *gaṇa*. At least five of these eight fraternities grew from minor "colleges" within the *nikāyas* into organizations wielding considerable authority and responsibility. It appears that they soon loosened the bonds of the *nikāya*, assisted perhaps by the unrest and disorganization resulting from constant warfare

159. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 270, ll. 18, 21; p. 273, ll. 49-51.

160. D. B. Jayatilaka, *Katikāvata Saṅgarā*, 1955, pp. 13-4, 16.

161. The term *gaṇa* is also used to refer to a group of monks who specialized in a particular section of the Canon such as the Vinaya or the Sutta. See *DAG*, p. 54.

162. *Niks.* p. 19.

163. See, for instance, *viyatmi yana manin nosihiya henuye*. *DAG*, p. 54.

164. See *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 2, 541.

165. *Katikāvata Saṅgarā*, p. 13.

during the period of Coḷa rule. It is true, at least in the case of the Abhayagiri, that the growth and expansion of the *mūla* represented, to some extent, the dismemberment of the *nikāya*.

The eight fraternities gained recognition possibly by the end of the reign of Vijayabāhu I, or at the latest by the time of Parākramabāhu I, and they continued to flourish at least until the reign of Parākramabāhu II (A.D. 1236-1270). We have demonstrated that some of them survived even up to the sixteenth century. The individuality and independence of these fraternities, however, was to some extent undermined in the latter days of their existence. There are instances of a monk educated under the hierarchy of one fraternity becoming the hierarchy of another. This could have been partly due to the fact that the appointment of a hierarchy was no longer the internal affair of a fraternity. A candidate had to win the approval of the king and the members of the other fraternities in addition to the support of the monks and, in certain instances, the consent of the patron deity of his own fraternity!¹⁶⁶

166. *mē taramvā niśrayamuktavuvada mūla kāmāti vuvada ayatān vālatāta hā māt-erun mūla nādi pīriven ādivū balavat pīrivenāṭada saṅghasammuti-rājasammutinma tākiya yutu. Katikāvatsaṅgarā*, p. 13. *Nādi* occurs in the sense of "attached to" (P. *naddha* from $\sqrt{\text{nah}}$) in the *Ruvamalnighaṇṭu*, ed. Wijesekera, 1914, entry No. 446. See also *supra* p. 302 for the practice of "consulting the patron deity."

A New Organization for the Saṅgha: The Unification and its Significance

The reform of the *saṅgha* during the reign of Parākramabāhu I, which brought about the unification of the community of monks under a single leadership, was hailed by chroniclers as an event of great significance in the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. To some, it marked the end of dissension and factional strife which had persisted within the body of the *saṅgha* for more than a millennium. The *Cūlavamsa* states that Parākramabāhu brought together the various factions of the *saṅgha* "into a union as inseparable as milk and water." This was no easy task for the king, who found it twice as strenuous and exacting as his attempts to gain royal power.¹ To the author of the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya*, who lived during the fourteenth century, the reforms meant the expulsion of the "sinful monks" of the Dharmaruci, Sāgalika and the Vaitulyavādī *nikāyas* who had disgraced the Order and defiled its purity.² The Galvihāra inscription of Parākramabāhu I, inscribed not long after the events, presents it as a personal achievement of the king and proceeds to illustrate the significance of the event. It points out that the *saṅgha* had been divided for one thousand two hundred and fifty-four years. In reconciling the differences between the various contentious factions, it maintains, the king had accomplished a task which his predecessors, who lived in more propitious times, had attempted but failed to carry out.³

Accounts of the reforms are preserved in several chronicles and other literary works, the most detailed of which is the *Cūlavamsa*. In fact, the *Cūlavamsa* contains two accounts. In the first, found in the

1. *Cv.* 73. 21.

2. *Niks.* p. 25.

3. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 268, ll. 4-5; p. 269, ll. 12-3.

chapter on the rebuilding of Pulatthinagara, the emphasis is on the role of the king.⁴ The second account, which occurs in the chapter on the pious works of the king, provides more details about the council of the clergy which carried out the "purification."⁵ Presumably the author is faithfully reproducing the material found in two sources without attempting to weave it into one coherent account. A statement in the first account suggests that such an explanation is tenable. While describing the conditions prior to the unification, it states that disunity prevailed among the *saṅgha* "despite efforts made in every way by former kings down to the present day (*yāvajjādivasā*)."⁶ Evidently, the chronicler is reproducing an account of the unification written soon after the event. The difference in emphasis between the two accounts preserved in the *Cūlavamsa* is explicable if it is assumed that the author is merely reproducing the accounts he found preserved in the royal and the monastic archives. On the other hand, the statement quoted above may also imply that this part of the chronicle was written not long after, if not during, the reign of Parākrāmabāhu I.⁷

The Galvihāra inscription, which probably dates from the reign of Parākrāmabāhu I, is extremely important since it records the code of rules and regulations adopted by the *saṅgha* after the "purification" and thus enables us to form an idea about the nature of the reforms. Literary works written during and immediately after the reign of Parākrāmabāhu I and chronicles like the *Pūjāvaliya* and the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya*, though not as detailed as the first two sources, add more information to complete the picture.

Reliable information about the date of this event is found in the Galvihāra inscription. This record states that the unification of the *saṅgha* took place one thousand two hundred and fifty-four years after the first schism in the Sinhalese Order, and adds that the first schism occurred four hundred and fifty-four years after the death of the Buddha.⁸ Thus the unification of the *saṅgha* should be dated to one thousand seven hundred and eight years after the death of the Buddha, i. e., in A.D. 1164/5, the twelfth regnal year of Parākrāmabāhu I.⁹

4. Cv. 73. 1-22.

5. Cv. 78. 1-27.

6. Cv. 73. 19.

7. R. S. Coppleston suggested, on the basis of other evidence, that the account of the reign of Parākrāmabāhu I up to the end of ch. 77 was written by an eye witness. *JRASCB*, Vol. XIII, p. 62. But, as Sirima Wickremasinghe has pointed out, this is not the only possible explanation. For a detailed discussion on the authorship and date of this part of the chronicle, see Sirima Wickremasinghe, *The Age of Parākrāmabāhu I*, Unpublished thesis, University of London, pp. 11-9.

8. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 268, ll. 4-5.

9. The *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya*, however, dates the synod to the fourth regnal year of Parākrāmabāhu I. See *Niks.* p. 52.

As mentioned earlier, the first account in the *Cūlavamsa* lays great emphasis on the role of the king in bringing about the reforms. Parākramabāhu had "already in the past existences striven after the unification of the *saṅgha* as something which must be attained." It was he who assembled qualified monks to officiate at the "purification" of the Order. He was himself versed in the Vinaya and took part in the proceedings of the council. Though this is obviously a biased account which overemphasizes the role of the king and makes no mention of the contributions of the other participants, the fact that the king took the initiative in bringing about the reforms is confirmed by other traditions too. The second tradition in the *Cūlavamsa* lists the prominent monks who took part in the synod which reformed the *saṅgha* but also mentions that they attended it at the king's request. It further states that the king was present during the sittings of the ecclesiastical court which inquired into the complaints made on grounds of discipline against members of the *saṅgha*. It was he who expelled the monks who had been pronounced guilty of transgressing the rules of discipline by the ecclesiastical court. The Galvihāra inscription also states that it was the king who invited Mahā Kassapa of Udumbaragiri to officiate at the "purification" of the Order and in so doing, to save it from decline.¹⁰ In the prologues and the colophons of their works Sāriputta and other contemporaries of Parākramabāhu I record their gratitude to him for the unification of the *saṅgha*.¹¹ Both the Galvihāra inscription and the *Cūlavamsa* compare the roles of Parākramabāhu and Mahā Kassapa with the parts played by Asoka and Mogalliputta Tissa in the third council.¹²

All these sources agree in stating that Parākramabāhu played an active and important role in the proceedings which led to the reform of the *saṅgha*. However, it is reasonable to expect that the importance of the part played by the king would be exaggerated in works written during his lifetime. Though the formal initiative was taken by the king, it is likely that by this time the members of the *saṅgha* had come to realize the desirability of reform and the need for unity. Buddhist kings usually associated themselves with such ecclesiastical reforms as "purifications." Parākramabāhu was playing this traditional role by lending the force of his political authority for the execution and enforcement of the decisions of the synod.

Mahā Kassapa of Udumbaragiri, who presided over the synod, was a scholar versed in all the three *piṭakas* of the Canon, though the Vinaya

10. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 268-9, ll. 6-11.

11. *Sārattha-dīpanī*, p. 1; *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. I, pp. 257, 261; Vol. II, p. 287.

12. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 268, ll. 4-5; *Cv*. 78. 6.

was his speciality.¹³ The Galvihāra inscription refers to him as a monk of the Mahāvihāra school.¹⁴ Even so, it is noteworthy that the leadership of the movement for reform came not from the main monasteries at the capital but from an institution of the Āraññika (forest-dwelling) sect. This does not come as a surprise. The devotion of the Āraññika monks to the austere life in the forest sharply contrasted with the ease and comfort of the life of the residents of the large monasteries at the capital. It is even possible that the growth and the popularity of the Āraññika sect reflects a reaction to this change in the way of life of the Buddhist monk. To the lay population the Āraññika monk represented the closest approximation to the ideals of religious life. There is evidence from the ninth and tenth centuries to show that the monks of this fraternity were held in high regard and respect by the laity.¹⁵ The active participation of monks of the Āraññika sect in the reform of the *saṅgha* marks an important stage in their rise to prominence and recognition. Many of the monks who gained fame as scholars and hierarchs during the period after the reforms came from this sect, particularly from their center at Udumbaragiri.

Among the many monks from the main provinces of the kingdom who were invited to take part in the synod were four dignitaries who seem to have assisted Kassapa in conducting the proceedings of the synod. Their names are found only in the *Cūlavamsa*:

He (Parākramabāhu) invited to Pulatthinagara the *thera* Nānapāla of Anurādhapura with his disciples, the monks of the Sapara province¹⁶ with the *thera* Mogallāna, the *thera* of Nāgindapalli¹⁷ with all the monks of the province of the *yuvārāja*, and the monks of the three *nikāyas* in Rohana after he had placed at their head the distinguished *thera* Nanda who belonged to the Selantarāyatana.¹⁸

This passage further substantiates the observation that the leadership of the synod came from the provinces rather than the major monasteries at the capital. Another characteristic of the leadership is that the representation was regional rather than sectarian. This is particularly clear in the choice of Nanda to represent the monks of the

13. *Cv.* 78. 7.

14. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 269, II. 10-1.

15. See *supra* pp. 45-7.

16. Geiger identifies Sapararaṭṭha with the present day Sabaragamuva Province. *Cv.*, trsl., Pt. II, p. 102, n. 3.

17. For comments on the significance of this title, see *supra* p. 219.

18. *Cv.* 78. 8-10. For Geiger's translation of these strophes, see *Cv.* trsl., Pt. II, pp. 102-3.

three *nikāyas* from Rohaṇa. The participation of monks from the various provinces must have helped to implement the decisions made at Polonnaruva in the regions from which they came.

It is rather unfortunate that no other information is available on the four monks who played such a prominent role in what was perhaps the most important event in the history of Buddhism in their times. The name Moggallāna, however, occurs in three other contexts in the period of the Polonnaruva kingdom: as the abbot of the Uttaromūla in the Velaiikkāra inscription at Polonnaruva, as the author of a well-known Pāli-grammar, and as the compiler of a lexicon, the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*.¹⁹ The last two Moggallānas seem to have lived during the reign of Parākramabāhu I.²⁰ Wickremasinghe and Buddhadatta have suggested that the grammarian, the abbot of the Uttaromūla, and the dignitary who attended the synod were the same person,²¹ but there are strong reasons against such an identification. Elsewhere we have shown that the Velaiikkāra inscription should be dated in A.D. 1110-1111.²² Moggallāna is mentioned in this record as the senior monk who was in charge of the Uttaromūla. Also, he is described as *rājaguru*, and probably he was the personal preceptor of Vijayabāhu I. It is most unlikely that a monk of such seniority would have been alive in A.D. 1164/5 to take part in this synod. It is also unlikely that the abbot of the Uttaromūla, who was the traditional custodian of the Tooth relic,²³ would have lived away from the capital during this time.

In the colophon of his work, Moggallāna the grammarian states that he lived during the reign of Parākramabāhu and claims to have "caused the *sāsana* to shine."²⁴ It seems likely that he participated in the synod. But one possible objection to this identification is that, according to the commentary on this work written by Rāhula of Toṭagamuva, the grammarian lived at the Thūpārāma in Anurādhapura.²⁵ Rāhula was a leading scholar of his time, and his testimony cannot be brushed aside lightly even though he lived during the fifteenth century, about three hundred years after Moggallāna. Hence the identification remains doubtful, although it is not impossible that Moggallāna went to live at the

19. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 337, ll. 26-7; *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, ed. Toṭagamuvē Paññātissa, p. 161; *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. II, pp. 512-3.

20. See *supra* pp. 161-2.

21. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 249-50. A. P. Buddhadatta, *Theravāḍī Baudhācāryayo*, pp. 83-7.

22. See *supra* pp. 90-1.

23. See *supra* pp. 287-9.

24. *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. II, p. 513.

25. *Theravāḍī Baudhācāryayo*, p. 84.

Thūpārāma after the synod was over. In the colophon of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* its author states that he became a writer due to the encouragement of Parākramabāhu. He seems to have completed the work after the death of the king,²⁶ and it does not seem probable that he was an important hierarch during the early part of the king's reign. From this discussion it should be evident that it is not possible to establish the identity of the participants in the synod with monks of this period known from other sources.

Presumably the four monks mentioned above, Nānapāla, Moggalāna, Nāgindapalli and the chief monk of the Selantarāyatana, constituted an ecclesiastical court presided over by Kassapa to give rulings on points of dispute which arose during the "purification." The *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* states that sittings of the court were held at a place called Latāmaṇḍapaya.²⁷ Of the monks who were accused of indiscipline, those who were "capable of being corrected" were "led to purification," while many were expelled from the Order. This was no easy task. Some monks are said to have gone abroad to avoid submission to the judgment of the ecclesiastical court. The king gave lucrative positions to the monks who had been laicized to prevent them from creating trouble. The "purification" was followed by the unification of the Order. The monks of the Mahāvihāra *nikāya* were themselves divided into a number of factions, and these were reconciled and persuaded to unite with the adherents of the other two *nikāyas*.²⁸

By presenting the unification of the *saṅgha* as the personal achievement of the king and a few monks, the accounts in the chronicles tend to overemphasize the significance of the synod. Since they contain no reference to the changes which had taken place within the organization of the *saṅgha* or to the development of relations between various factions up to the time of the unification, they tend to give a distorted view of the event. Secondly, these traditions, particularly the account in the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya*, suggest that the "purification" amounted to the suppression of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana *nikāyas* and that the unification was in fact the imposition of the supremacy of the Mahāvihāra over the other two *nikāyas*. We have already cited the statement in the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* that "the sinful monks" of the Dharmaruci, the Sāgalika and the Vaitulyavādī *nikāyas*, "who defiled the purity of the

26. *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, p. 161.

27. *Niks.* p. 25.

28. *Cv.* 78. 12-27. The second *pāda* of the strophe 78.13 is translated as "some wished for a sitting in the secret court of justice." *Cv.*, trsl., p. 103. But the passage is corrupt. Variant readings give *nisajjamalīna vinicchaya* which would mean the opposite, viz. that they wanted an open court.

Order," were laicized during the "purification." This would imply that the "purification" did not affect the monks of the Mahāvihāra faction.²⁹ Evidently Eliot accepted this tradition as being trustworthy. For he states that as a result of the "purification" of the *saṅgha*, "all *nikāyas* (even the Dharmaruci which did not conform to the Mahāvihāra) were suppressed" and that "no more is heard of the Vaitulyas and the Vājiriyas."³⁰ Paranavitana also has suggested that the ordination received by monks of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana *nikāyas* "was obviously considered not valid and, if they desired to remain members of the *saṅgha*, they had to receive the ordination afresh from a chapter of the Mahāvihāra."³¹

A closer examination of the evidence yields a picture somewhat different from that drawn by Eliot and Paranavitana. It is true that, according to the *Cūlavamsa*, not a single monk of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana *nikāyas* was found to be without fault. Many had to be laicized, and several were readmitted only as novices.³² However, this does not necessarily imply that all the monks of these two *nikāyas* were either expelled or admitted only as novices; probably some were merely "corrected" as the monks of the Mahāvihāra had been. It is important to remember that, even according to the biased account of the *Cūlavamsa*, the "purification" equally affected all the three *nikāyas* in the island.

It is clear that there were two distinct aspects of the reforms: the "purification" and the "unification." There is reason to believe that the "purification" was confined to matters of discipline while the unification merely amounted to an arrangement providing for the co-existence of the varied factions under a common leadership. The standards of discipline were at a low ebb at the time of the accession of Parākramabāhu I. The long period of warfare among the diminutive kingdoms which arose after the death of Vijayabāhu I, and the consequent neglect and loss of patronage, had a detrimental effect on the *saṅgha*. Laxity in matters of discipline became common. Even as a provincial ruler, the *Cūlavamsa* maintains, Parākramabāhu noticed that the monks had abandoned the Dhamma and the Vinaya, neglected their duties and lived as they pleased. Some monks even maintained wives and children in the villages which belonged to the *saṅgha*, and the presence of "many unscrupulous monks whose sole concern was the filling of their

29. *Niks.*, p. 25.

30. Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 41.

31. *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, pp. 567-8.

32. *Cv.* 78. 25-6.

bellies" detracted from the integrity of the Order.³³ It was these conditions which prompted the king to convene a synod.

As the Galvihāra inscription reveals, the *katikāvata*, or the code of rules and regulations adopted at the synod for the future guidance of the *saṅgha*, confines itself to matters of training and discipline of monks and the organization of monastic living.³⁴ This is particularly relevant and noteworthy, for, had the questions of doctrinal teachings been a subject of dispute at the synod, it would most probably have been mentioned in the *katikāvata*. The fact that Nanda of the Selantarāyatana was chosen to represent the monks of all the three *nikāyas* in Rohaṇa also supports the hypothesis that the "purification" of the Order was confined to matters of discipline. Such an arrangement would not have been feasible if the validity of the teachings of these *nikāyas* had been a subject of dispute.

Even if the reformers did want to suppress the teachings of the schools opposed to the Mahāvihāra, this would not have been a practical proposition. It is unlikely that all the monks in the island were summoned to the synod. As the *Cūlavamsa* reveals, even those who were present at the capital could avoid facing the ecclesiastical court by leaving the country, perhaps to return at a quieter time.³⁵ The chronicles themselves testify to the persistence of "heretical" views among members of the *saṅgha* even after the "purification." The remark of the author of the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* that the Vājiriyavāda had survived in the island and that it was being practiced in secret by foolish men even in his own time suggests that those teachings prevailed in the fourteenth century.³⁶ The *Cūlavamsa* comments that the Order was corrupt at the time of the accession of Parākramabāhu due to the influence of "a hundred false doctrines." But it likens the unification of

33. Cv. 69.3-4; 73.5-6; 78.2. The interpretation of the last strophe is controversial. *saṅghagāmesu saṅghassa puttadārādiposanam evaṃ sīlam tato aññam nevatthi sīlamiccapi.* Cv. 78.3

Wijesinha interpreted this strophe as a reference to the maintenance of wives and children on monastic property. Geiger based his rejection of this interpretation on the argument that members of the *saṅgha* as such could not have children and wives though individual monks could. This does not seem, however, to be a valid objection to Wijesinha's translation. For, as Sirima Wickremasinghe has pointed out, the author must have meant that, as a general rule, the monks had taken to these corrupt practices. Buddhadatta also supports Wijesinha's interpretation in his translation of the passage which follows: "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..." Cv. trsl., Pt. II, p. 101 n.1; Sirima Wickremasinghe, *The Age of Parākramabāhu I*, p. 309; CCMT, p. 248.

34. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 256-83.

35. Cv. 78. 13.

36. *Niks.* p. 21. See also *supra* pp. 248, 255-6.

the monks of the Mahāvihāra with the adherents of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana *nikāyas* "who gave out as Buddha's word the Vetulla Piṭaka and the like which were no words of the Buddha" to an attempt to "mix precious jewels with glass stones." Even the beneficent influence of the monks of the Mahāvihāra, the chronicler observes, had no effect upon their unworthy colleagues who refused to accept the true teachings of the Buddha.³⁷ More specific evidence on the persistence of the teachings of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* after the unification is found in the *Abhidhammattha-vikāsinī* of Sumaṅgala, a disciple of Sāriputta. In no less than five passages in this work, the author criticizes the views that the Abhayagiri *nikāya* was propagating and in one case points out the similarity of their views with those of the Mahāsāṅghikas.³⁸ This suggests that the disagreements between the followers of the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri traditions on matters of interpretation of the doctrinal teachings of the Buddha continued even after the unification. Moreover, it is noteworthy that none of the works which can be reliably dated to the time of the synod even remotely suggests that the reforms amounted to the suppression of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana *nikāyas* and the imposition of the authority of the Mahāvihāra. The Galvihāra inscription and the literary works written during this time such as the *Sārattha-dīpanī*, *Āṅguttara-ṭīkā*, *Vinayattha-mañjūsā* and the *Vinaya-sārattha-dīpanī* speak merely of a reconciliation of the various factions of the *saṅgha*. In these works the authors record the gratitude of the *saṅgha* of the time to Parākramabāhu for making it possible for them "to partake of the divine drink of unity."³⁹ If, on the strength of this evidence, it is accepted that the reforms of the reign of Parākramabāhu I did not amount to the suppression of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana *nikāyas*, we have to look for a fresh explanation of the unification of the *saṅgha*.

The period from the first schism to the unification of the Sinhalese *saṅgha* saw nine attempts at "purification." Of these, the fourth, which took place during the reign of Silāmegha (A.D. 619-628), is of special interest in this context. It did not concern the whole *saṅgha* but was restricted to the Abhayagiri monastery. At the request of Bodhi,

37. Cv. 73.4; 78. 21-4.

38. *mahāsaṅghikā pana abhayagirivāsino ca ditthujjukammaṃ viṣuṃ puñṇakiriya-bhāvena na gaṇhanti. tathāhi te dānaṃ sīlaṃ bhāvanā saṃsuti desanānussatimodā veyyāvaccamaṃ pūjā saraṇaṃ patti pasamsā cāti attanā katapuñṇānusaraṇaṃ buddhādisaraṇāgamaṇaṃ paraganappasamsāti imāni tīni pakkipitvā ditthujjukammaṃ agahetvā dasapuñṇavatthūni pañṇepenti.* *Abhidhammattha-vikāsinī*, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, p. 46. See also pp. 128-9, 136, 169, 352, 364-5, 387.

39. *Sārattha-dīpanī*, p. 1; *Vinayattha-mañjūsā*, pp. 1, 329; see also *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. I, pp. 249, 257, 260, 287.

an enthusiastic young monk from the Abhayagiri *nikāya*, Silāmegha authorized the carrying out of "an ecclesiastical act" and purged this *nikāya* of many undisciplined monks. The laicized monks had Bodhi assassinated in revenge. But the king completed the task of reforming the *nikāya* and severely punished the malefactors responsible for the crime by reducing some to servitude and by banishing others to India. Then he invited the monks of the Mahāvihāra to hold the *uposatha* ceremony in the company of the monks of the Abhayagiri monastery, but this request was turned down by the monks of the Mahāvihāra.⁴⁰ It was the first instance of an attempt being made, though in vain, to bring about a reconciliation between the two main rival *nikāyas* of Buddhism in Sri Lanka.

A greater spirit of mutual tolerance is noticeable after the ninth century and we find the monks of the three *nikāyas* working in collaboration to mediate in important political matters during the reigns of Sena II, Udaya III, Gajabāhu II and Parākramabāhu I.⁴¹ From as early as the tenth century there is evidence to suggest that the three *nikāyas* assembled together even for matters concerning religion. According to the *Cūlavamsa*, Kassapa V (A.D. 914-923) arranged a recitation of the *paritta* by monks of the three *nikāyas* to ward off the dangers of plague and bad harvest.⁴² Of course this does not necessarily imply that the monks of the three *nikāyas* assembled together for the ceremony, but there is a clearer example from the reign of Sena IV (A.D. 954-956). The *Cūlavamsa* records that this king, who was a scholar versed in the teachings of the Buddha, used to explain the scriptures to the monks of the three *nikāyas* who together assembled in the Lohapāsāda.⁴³ This statement clearly suggests that friendly intercourse among the monks of the three *nikāyas* was prevalent, thereby making it possible for them to meet together at the Mahāvihāra. It is possible that the efforts of the kings to promote amity among the three factions of the *saṅgha* would have been at least partly responsible for this development.

Further evidence concerning this trend in the relations between the three *nikāyas* is found in an inscription from the site of the Mahāpāli alms hall at Anurādhapura which has been assigned to the last quarter of the tenth century. The inscription records a decision taken by all the monks who received alms at the Mahāpāli to donate their share of rice to meet the cost of repairing the *stūpa* at the Jetavana monastery.⁴⁴

40. Cv. 74.81.

41. See *supra* pp. 204-8.

42. Cv. 52.80. See also *supra* pp. 227, 233.

43. Cv. 54.4.

44. EZ, Vol. III, p. 132.

This seems to point to a period of exiguous patronage when monks found it extremely difficult to keep their monasteries in good repair. It would be, as Paranavitana remarked, more representative of the reigns of the successors of Mahinda IV than of his own reign or those of his immediate predecessors.⁴⁵ The most important fact about this record is that all the monks who received alms at the Mahāpāli are said to have consented to this decision. The Mahāpāli was an alms hall for monks of all the *nikāyas*. The fact that these monks decided to forgo their alms to contribute to the restoration of the Jetavana *stūpa* reinforces our inference that the relations between the *nikāyas* had developed, by this time, to a level which enabled them to make this gesture of solidarity in a time of difficulty. This feeling of solidarity would have been strengthened during and after the period of Coḷa rule when Śaivism gained popularity in the island and found patrons even among the Sinhalese rulers.

The revival of the *saṅgha* after the period of Coḷa rule brought with it the revival of the *nikāya* divisions. But the *nikāyas* of this period were probably less organized and more amenable to attempts at reconciliation than before. In this connection a statement in the account of the reign of Vijayabāhu I is most valuable. The king is said to have built a large monastery which was capable of housing many hundreds of monks, to have endowed it with the whole district of Āḷisāra, and then to have given it to the monks of the three *nikāyas*.⁴⁶ Of course it is possible that this merely means that the monastery was donated to the *saṅgha* as a whole and not to any one *nikāya*. But, on the other hand, if this statement is accepted in its literal meaning, it would imply that a significant step was taken in persuading a considerable number of monks from the three *nikāyas* to live within one monastery and to perform the religious acts together. It is likely that the difficulties that the *saṅgha* had to face during the period of Coḷa rule brought the adherents of all the three *nikāyas* closer to each other. Thus it would seem that the cordial relations among the members of the three *nikāyas*, which had been growing for quite some time before the accession of Parākramabāhu, assisted the king and the leading monks in bringing about the unification of the *saṅgha*.

It is reasonable to expect that the development of friendly relations between monks of the three *nikāyas* and their joint participation in groups to study the scriptures would have also promoted the exchange of ideas and the extension of mutual influence. In fact, there is some

45. *EZ*, Vol. III, p. 135.

46. *Cv.* 60. 11-5.

evidence which suggests that during this period the Mahāvihāra came to be influenced by some ideas of the "heretical" schools of Buddhism. Some evidence of such influence is found in the *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya*, a commentary on the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*. The colophon of this work states that it was written by "the great king Abhā Salamevan, born of the twice consecrated queen."⁴⁷ There is hardly any doubt that the author was Kassapa V (A.D. 914-923), who refers to himself in the same manner in his Mādirigiriya and Bilibāva inscriptions.⁴⁸

Kassapa V was hailed in the *Cūlavamsa* as an ideal ruler who was "pious, wise as one who possesses supernatural powers, a preacher of the true doctrine, and adroit in what is right and not right. He stood firm in the teachings of the Leader on the path of deliverance and could not be shaken by all storms of other opinions." In fact, the chronicler claims that "he had reached the path of salvation."⁴⁹ It follows that he was considered to be an ideal follower of the Theravāda as taught by the Mahāvihāra. He was supposed to be so well versed in the scriptures and so "orthodox" in his interpretations that monks used together at the Mariccavaṭṭi monastery which belonged to the Mahāvihāra *nikāya* in order to listen to his discourses on the Abhidhamma.⁵⁰ Hence one may reasonably suppose that his opinions were at least acceptable to the Mahāvihāra even if they did not in fact represent the views held by the Mahāvihāra in his time.

The *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya* makes an interesting statement in the course of commenting upon a passage from the Devadatta-theravattu:

*rudhiruppādanakammaṃ katvā. lē salvana kam koṭa. tumun vuhuṭ selin biṇḍi budun piṭipaya hunu lē tanin salāyi sēyi. budun siruru vajrakāya vana būvin sālī pahara hotuju lē buvi noviya yet. vajrakāya hot jīvakayan ata sātīn kumaṭa kaṇḍaviya yat. vajrakāya nam parōpakramayen nobiṇḍena būvā. jīvakayan sāt pahara parōpakrama nam noveyi. eheyin vajrakāyatāvāṭa hānī nāti yet. eṣē hot terun sālī pahara hī lē tanin kumaṭa siliya yat. viduru nobiṇḍetuju avuvehi tubuva hunu tavāhi vana seyin uvakum hamiyehi nobiṇḍetuju antaścalana mātrayek vē. eyin vajrakāyatāvāṭa hānī noveyi sēyi.*⁵¹

After stating that a splinter from the rock that Devadatta hurled at the Buddha hit him on the sole of his foot and "disturbed the blood at

47. *debiseva jā abhāsalamēvan kasap maharaj-hu. DAG*, p. 295.

48. *EZ*, Vol. II, p. 30, ll. A7-11; p. 41, ll. A9-19.

49. *Cv.* 52. 37-41.

50. *Cv.* 52. 48-9.

51. *DAG.*, p. 50.

that spot," the author comments that since the Buddha possessed a *vajrakāya* (diamond-body) he would not bleed even if he were hit by a stone. Then he goes on to examine how it was possible for Jivaka to make an incision with his scalpel on the body of the Buddha, if indeed the latter possessed a *vajrakāya*. The nature of the *vajrakāya* is such, he explains, that it would not be damaged by "enemy design" (*parō-pakrama*). The fact that the scalpel was used on the person of the Buddha does not imply that the nature of the *vajrakāya* was affected, since Jivaka's action does not fall within the category of "enemy design." Taking the case of Devadatta, he points out that though diamond does not break, it is liable to become heated if kept in the heat of the sun. Similarly, though the *vajrakāya* cannot be injured by "enemy design" it is subject to "a minute internal disturbance" (*antaścalanamātrayek*) which does not affect the real nature of the *vajrakāya*.

The idea that no physical harm can befall the Buddha seems to be present in its germinal form in several of the stories in the Buddhist Pāli Canon.⁵² But the concept of the *vajrakāya* as such is foreign to Pāli Buddhism. This is primarily a Tantric concept. Treatises of the Tantric school such as the *Pañcakarma* speak of the *kāyavajrasvabhāva*, *vā-gvajrasvabhāva* and the *cittavajrasvabhāva* as essential attributes of the Supreme Buddha and prescribe means by which the devotee may acquire such attributes.⁵³ As de la Vallée Poussin pointed out, the acquisition of those attributes takes the position of a principal rite in Tantric Buddhism.⁵⁴ Around this abstract concept of the *vajrakāya* grew the idea that one who acquired it was immune from harm. Tāranātha states that Nāgārjuna possessed a *vajrakāya* and hence could not be killed.⁵⁵ The teachings of the Vajrayāna spread from centers like the Nālandā and the Vikramaśīla monasteries to Southeast Asia from as early as the end of the seventh century. In an inscription from Talang Tuwo near Palembang, dated A.D. 684, Jayanāsa speaks of the *vajra-śarīra*.⁵⁶ Elsewhere we have cited the tradition in the *Nikāya-saṅgraha* that Vajrayāna teachings were introduced to the island during the time of Sena I (A.D. 833-853).⁵⁷

52. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. I, pp. 24 ff; *Suttanipāta Aṭṭhakathā*, Vol. I, p. 239.

53. Louis de la Vallée Poussin, *Études et textes tantriques*, Université de Gand, Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, Fasc. 16, 1896, pp. 5-6.

54. Louis de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme, études et matériaux*, 1898, p. 146.

55. "...da nun der Ācārya einen Vajrakörper hat, kann er nicht sterben." A. Grünwedel, *Tāranāthas Edelesteinmine, das Buch von den Vermittlern der Sieben Inspirationen*, p. 18.

56. *BEFEO*, Vol. XXX, pp. 42, 55-8.

57. See *supra* pp. 255-6.

Evidence from the site of a ruined building situated to the south of the Thūpārāma seems to lend further support to the hypothesis that monks of the Mahāvihāra *nikāya* came to be influenced by non-Theravāda schools of Buddhism. This building, erroneously called the Temple of the Tooth relic, was built on a platform measuring eighty-four feet by fifty-seven feet and itself was sixty-two feet six inches long and twenty-seven feet six inches wide. The sanctum had sixteen free standing pillars. Of these, the four at the corners were square. The four at the center were also square and had wide abaci and highly polished smooth surfaces. The remaining eight pillars, cut into an octagonal shape, are of great interest. Their capitals are ornamented with representations of the *vajra*. These representations were sculpted in such a way that the *vajra* was visible from whichever side a devotee looked at the pillar.⁵⁸

The *vajra* symbol is particularly associated with the Tantric school. To be sure the use of this symbol as a decorative motif need not necessarily indicate association with this school, however, when considered in the light of the evidence from the *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya* cited above it seems to represent Tantric influences at the Mahāvihāra. It would be rash to suggest on the basis of these two instances that Kassapa V was a Vajrayānist or that the monks of the Mahāvihāra and the Thūpārāma had taken to Tantric practices. Presumably their approach was eclectic; they would have adopted views of other schools as long as they were not in conflict with their own teachings. But it has to be admitted that this passage indicates that by the tenth century Tantric influences had penetrated into an institution which claimed to be the citadel of orthodox Pāli Buddhism.

Some evidence which suggests that the Mahāvihāra came to be influenced by the teachings of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* is found in two commentarial works written after the time of the unification of the *saṅgha*. Commenting on the term *sacittapakka* in the *Samantapāsādikā*, Sāriputta states in his *Sāratthā-dīpanī* that a novice who consumes liquor without intent and not knowing that it was liquor incurs no sin, though an ordained monk in the same circumstances would be committing a *pācittiya* offence. To support his position he quotes from the *Cullaganṭhipada* and the *Majjhima-gaṇṭhipada* which comment that, just as one who mistakes a serpent for a stick and kills it without intent incurs no sin, a person who consumes liquor without intent, taking it to be the unfermented drink from the coconut palm (*nālikerapāna*), commits no offense.⁵⁹ But Coliya Kassapa, the author of the *Vimati-vinodanī*, did

58. *CJSG*, Vol. II, pp. 80-1, Pls. LII, LIII; *ASCAR*, 1895, p. 3.

59. *Sāratthā-dīpanī*, pp. 425-6.

not agree with this ruling, and he devoted a long polemical discussion to refute it. He stated that the ruling that only intentional consumption of liquor amounts to an offense was a view held by "heretical" schools like the Abhayagiri which the authors of the *ganṭhipada* works had incorporated in their writings without realizing that it was "unorthodox." As a result, Kassapa remarks, it had been corrupting the *sāsana* up to his own time. He goes on to say that in the past a "heretical" monk called Nāgaseṇa had propagated this view in the Damiḷa country, but it was suppressed by the *mahāthera* Buddhappiya who "purified" the *sāsana*. The recurrence of this view in the *Sārattha-dīpanī* helped monks with corrupt thoughts to regain their lost stature. It was examined, rejected and suppressed by distinguished monks for the second time. Kassapa claims to have indulged in this detailed discussion to completely refute this view and prevent it from bringing the *sāsana* into disrepute.⁶⁰

The testimony of the *Vimati-vinodanī* suggests that some of the views of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* found their way into the commentaries of the Mahāvihāra. It is also noteworthy that these ideas appeared in a work of Sāriputta which was written after the "purification" of the *saṅgha*. Though the differences of opinion between the *nikāyas* were not completely forgotten, the absorption of some of the "heretical" views of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* by the Mahāvihāra probably reflects a change of attitude conducive to reconciliation. One may also surmise that the waning of the influence of the monastic centers of Eastern India must have weakened the position of the Tantric schools, deprived the Abhayagiri and Jetavana monasteries of an important source of inspiration and influence, and made them more amenable to the idea of accommodation with the Mahāvihāra.⁶¹

It has been pointed out elsewhere that the *nikāyas* of Sinhalese Buddhism were not mere fraternities which subscribed to a particular school of thought. In fact, it seems unlikely that, during this period, they professed a consistent body of thought to which they demanded unswerving adherence from all the inmates of their constituent monasteries. This is particularly true of the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana *nikāyas*.⁶² The *nikāya* also possessed large landholdings and had supervisory control over the administration of the property of its constituents. The growth of monastic property and the development of bureaucratic organization provided the *nikāya* with an element of cohesion and the main monastery with opportunities to assert its position. It is evident

60. *Vimati-vinodanī*, pp. 94-100.

61. See *supra* pp. 49-50.

62. See *supra* pp. 32, 34-5.

from the inscriptions of the Abhayagiri monastery that the regulations of the *nikāya* requires its dependent institutions to submit their annual statements of income and expenditure for ratification by the assembly of monks of the main monastery or by committees appointed by this assembly. Monks from the main monastery were present at the sittings of the committee of management of the Cetiyaḡiri monastery when it settled its annual accounts.⁶³ The Buddhanehāla inscription reveals that the main monastery sometimes enjoyed the privilege of appointing the abbots of the minor institutions attached to it.⁶⁴ The main monastery also had the responsibility of maintaining the number of monks at the branch institutions of the *nikāya* at the strength stipulated by its lay patrons.⁶⁵ The Vessagiriya inscription of Mahinda IV gives an instance of the chief monk of the main monastery making representations to the king on behalf of a branch monastery.⁶⁶ A study of the administrative organization of monasteries reveals that it was one of the principal links that brought the main monastery close to the minor constituents of the *nikāya* and strengthened its unity.

The loss of property that the *saṅgha* suffered during the period of Coḷa rule and the final confiscation of wealth by Vikramabāhu I, therefore, had an extremely detrimental effect upon the corporate existence of the *nikāya*. With the loss of its property, the *nikāya* lost the very basis of its administrative organization. There is no evidence to suggest that the administrative organization of the monasteries ever reached the standard it had attained in the ninth and tenth centuries.⁶⁷ The consequent loss of centralized control is reflected in the very fact that the leadership of the movement for reform came from the provincial monks representing their particular regions and not from the main monasteries of the *nikāyas* at the capital. The confiscation of monastic property by Vikramabāhu united the *saṅgha* in a different way. It brought them together in concerted action against the king; the monks of all the "eight *mūlavihāras*"⁶⁸ are said to have left the capital in protest and to have gone to Rohaṇa. Such concerted action, though it turned out to be fruitless, was unprecedented and, in fact, unique. Adversity introduced an element of unity among members of the *saṅgha* which superceded their *nikāya* affiliations. This probably stimulated subsequent developments which eventually led to the unification.

63. For a detailed discussion, see *supra* p. 131.

64. *EZ*, Vol. I., pp. 191-200.

65. See *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 4, 11; p. 48, 11. 41-2.

66. *EZ*, Vol. I, pp. 29-38.

67. See *supra* p. 136.

68. For an explanation of the term see *supra* pp. 283-4.

The preceding chapter highlights an important development in the structure of the *saṅgha* which reflects the weakening of the organization of the *nikāya*. Eight monastic establishments, some of which can be traced back to about the seventh century, grew into large fraternities by the time of the death of Vijayabāhu I and replaced the *nikāyas* as the main groups representing the *saṅgha* in religious as well as political activities. Four of these fraternities—the Uttaramūla, Kappūramūla, Mahānettapaśādāmūla and the Vāhadipamūla—grew from minor colleges within the constitution of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* into institutions wielding considerable authority in the organization of the *saṅgha*. The Abhayagiri *nikāya* seems to have been a loosely organized corporate institution in which these *mūlas* (var. *mūla*, *āyatana* etc.) played an important role, even in the ninth and tenth centuries. A fifth, the Senāpatimūla, seems to have originally been a constituent institution within the Jetavana *nikāya*. The growth and the expansion of these *mūlas*, to some extent, amounted to the dismemberment of the *nikāyas* to which they belonged. The corporate existence of the *nikāyas*, it would appear, had come to an end by the beginning of the eleventh century and had been replaced by an organization of the *saṅgha* based on the *mūla*. This does not imply that the threefold division of the *saṅgha* on a *nikāya* basis had been completely forgotten. The five *mūlas* mentioned above continued to be associated with the *nikāyas* to which they originally belonged, and the records continue to refer to the three *nikāyas*. But in these later references the term *nikāya* was probably used in a conventional sense, for the *nikāya* had ceased to be an effective unit in the organization of the *saṅgha*.

The observations made above place the unification of the *saṅgha* in a fresh perspective. The reforms of the time of Parākramabāhu, it would appear, amounted more to a unification of the eight *mūlas* than to a unification of the three *nikāyas*. Evidence supporting such a hypothesis is found in the *Cūlavamsa* in the passage which describes the building activities of Parākramabāhu I. The chronicle credits the king with the construction of eight monasteries at Polonnaruva. Of these, the Jetavana monastery was perhaps the largest group of monastic dwellings.⁶⁹ Within its premises were a round stone temple for the Tooth relic, the Tivaṅka image-house, a *stūpa*, three sermon halls, two libraries, seventy-five *parivenas*, seventy-five large mansions and a hundred and seventy-eight small residences. Eight ponds were built for the use of the inmates. In all there were five hundred and twenty buildings within the monastic grounds.

69. Cv. 78. 31-47.

Geiger presumed that the so-called Quadrangle at Polonnaruva represents the site of the Jetavana monastery,⁷⁰ but it is unlikely that this large monastery was within the city of Polonnaruva where the Quadrangle is located. Paranavitana is probably right when he suggests that the site of the Jetavana monastery should be identified with the precincts of the Tivaṅka image-house,⁷¹ known today as the Demaḷamahasāya, a curious misnomer.⁷² Remains of old buildings around this ruin cover an area more than a mile in width and seem to represent the site of a large monastic establishment. Seven ponds have been located within those precincts. Paranavitana has also suggested that the remains of a circular shrine to the south of the Tivaṅka image-house should be identified with the shrine of the Tooth relic though it seems to have been built of brick and not of stone as stated in the *Cūlavamsa*. The chronicle states that an irrigation canal called Narmadā flowed across the grounds of the Jetavana monastery.⁷³ An irrigation canal seems to have flowed across the precincts of the Tivaṅka image-house too. If, on the basis of these considerations, Paranavitana's identification is accepted, it is clear that Jetavana was certainly the largest monastery at Polonnaruva and is comparable in extent with the Abhayagiri monastery at Anurādhapura.

Apart from the buildings mentioned above, Parākramabāhu I is said to have erected eight mansions each three stories in height, within the precincts of the Jetavana monastery. These mansions, which he is said to have built at great cost, were intended for the use of the *theras* of the "fraternities" (*āyatana*). Another large mansion, complete with chambers and terraces on the upper floors, was built for the *thera* Sāriputta.⁷⁴ The *Pājāvaliya* confirms the tradition, reported in the *Cūlavamsa*, that Parākramabāhu erected mansions for the eight fraternities.⁷⁵ These statements are of particular interest since they indicate that Sāriputta, together with the chief incumbents of the eight fraternities, lived at the Jetavana monastery. It was mentioned earlier that a shrine was built at the same monastery to house the Tooth relic. The *Vēlaikkāra* inscription reveals that in the eleventh century the Tooth relic was in the charge of the Uttaromūla, a fraternity which originally belonged to the Abhayagiri *nikāya*,⁷⁶ and it is evident from the *Daḷadā-sirita* that the

70. *Cv.*, trsl., Pt. II, p. 106, n. 3.

71. This shrine has the remains of a *tivaṅka* or "triple-bent" image.

72. *CJSG*, Vol. II, pp. 169-73.

73. *Cv.* 79. 48.

74. *Cv.* 78. 33-4.

75. *Pjv.*, p. 105.

76. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 237, ll. 18-21.

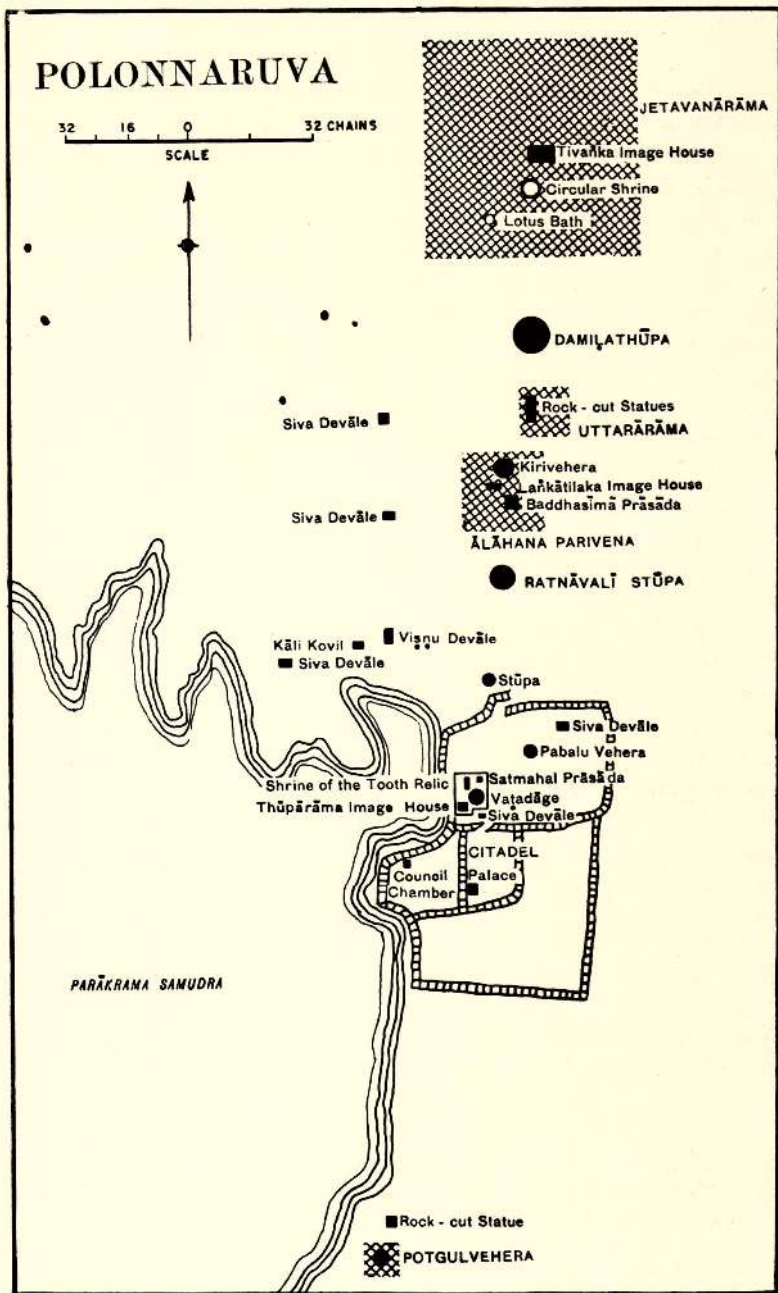


Fig. 3. Map of Polonnaruva showing the location of the principal monasteries and shrines.

same fraternity was vested with the care of the relic even in the fourteenth century.⁷⁷ This further confirms the observation that leaders of fraternities which originally belonged to the Abhayagiri *nikāya* were among the hierarchs of the eight fraternities who took up residence at the Jetavana monastery.

In this connection it is interesting that in works like the *Vinaya-sārattha-dīpanī* and the *Sumaṅgala-pasādanī*, written by his disciples, Sāriputta is given the appellation *mahāsāmi* (var. *mahāsvāmi*, *māhimi*)⁷⁸ which means "great lord." The *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* also applies the title *mahāsvāmi* to Sāriputta.⁷⁹ Evidently it was used in a specific and technical sense and does not seem to have been a mere honorific term; for in the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* a number of renowned teachers like Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta, Dhammapāla, Ānanda and Anuruddha are called *mahāsthaviras*, while in the same sentence Sāriputta is referred to as *mahāsvāmipāda*. Geiger tried to explain the meaning of this term as "the superior abbot of the monastery,"⁸⁰ but from the contexts of its occurrence it seems to denote a post of greater importance.

The preamble of the Daṁbadeṇi Katikāvata, drafted by the *saṅgha* during the reign of Parākramabāhu II, and the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* mention a synod which was held during the reign of Vijayabāhu III (A.D. 1232-1236) under the leadership of the *māhāsvāmi* Saṅgharkhita, the disciple of the *mahāsvāmi* Sāriputta. He was assisted by the *mahāsthavira* Medhaṅkara of the forest-dwelling fraternity at Diṁbulāgala. Saṅgharakkhita is described in these two sources as the monk who "administered the *śāsana* in his time" (*tatkālaśāsanaṇuśāsaka*).⁸¹ The title *mahāsvāmi* is applied to Saṅgharakkhita even in the *Cūlavamśa*.⁸² Later on, during the reign of Parākramabāhu II (A.D. 1236-1270), another synod was held under the leadership of the *mahāsvāmi* Medhaṅkara of the forest-dwelling fraternity, disciple of the *mahāsthavira* Buddhavaṃsa Vanaratana.⁸³ It was probably the same monk who helped Saṅgharakkhita during the reign of Vijayabāhu III that we now find in the position of the *mahāsvāmi* during the reign of Parākramabāhu II. A third synod was held during the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu IV in the year 1894 of the Buddhist era, i.e., A.D. 1350, under the leader-

77. *Daḷadā-sīrita*, pp. 49-54. For evidence on the presence of Selantaramūla at Jetavana, see *supra* p. 304.

78. *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. II, pp. 287-94.

79. *Niks.*, pp. 26, 27.

80. *Cv.*, trsl., Pt. II, p. 174, n. 1.

81. D. B. Jayatilaka, *Katikāvat Saṅgarā*, p. 8.

82. *Cv.* 81. 76.

83. *Niks.* p. 27.

ship of the *mahāsvāmi* Vanaratana of Amaragiri.⁸⁴ All these instances are indicative of the discriminative use of the titles *mahāsvāmi* and *mahāsthavira* when referring to the hierarchs who took part in the clerical conventions of their times. The person who presided over the synod always bore the title *mahāsvāmi*. Furthermore, the monk who bore this title was sometimes described as the hierarch "who administered the *śāsana* in his time." In one instance a monk is called *mahāsvāmi* while his teacher is called *mahāsthavira*. No instance of the title *mahāsvāmi* being borne simultaneously by two different individuals is known from these sources. This discernment on the part of the author of the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya* is but to be expected, for he himself bore the title *mahāsvāmi* at the time he wrote this work. Further evidence concerning the significance of this title is found at the end of the chronicle. When the author mentions the synod held under his own leadership he refers to himself as "the *mahāsvāmi* Dharmakirtti the second who administered the *śāsana* at this time." Later on, in the colophon, he describes himself as one who has attained the rank of the *saṅgharāja*.⁸⁵ On the strength of this reference, it seems not unreasonable to equate the term *mahāsvāmi* with the title *saṅgharāja*, "the king of the *saṅgha*."

The regulations embodied in the Daṃbadeni Katikāvata provide more specific information concerning the significance of these titles. The section which deals with the organization of the *saṅgha* stipulates the two senior monks who had completed twenty-five years since their ordination and were impartial and exemplary in their character should be appointed to the position of the *mahāsthaviras* of the "village-dwelling" (*gāma-vāsa*) and the "forest-dwelling" (*āraññika*) sections of the *saṅgha* and placed immediately below the *māhimi* (*mahāsāmi*) in rank. These posts were formally conferred by the king who ruled over all three principalities in the island. Since the presence of too many leaders would be detrimental in its effects on the *saṅgha*, it warns, no monk other than those two should be raised to the position of a *mahāsthavira*. And should the post of the *māhimi* fall vacant as a result of the death of the incumbent, a suitable person from among those two monks was to be appointed to that position.⁸⁶ The statements in the Daṃbadeni Katikāvata clearly reveal that the terms *māhimi* and *mahāsthavira* denoted specific ranks in the hierarchical organization. And the evidence in all the sources cited so far leaves no doubt that the term *mahāsāmi*

84. *Niks.* p. 29.

85. *Niks.* pp. 34, 37.

86. *Katikāvata Saṅgarā*, pp. 12-3.

was the title of the supreme hierarch who was placed in charge of the *saṅgha* of the whole island.

It was only after the unification of the *saṅgha* during the reign of Parākramabāhu I that it was possible to appoint a *mahāsāmi* over the entire community of monks in the island. The post was certainly in existence from the time of Vijayabāhu III. One may suggest that this institution was needed during the reign of Parākramabāhu I to help consolidate the unification. These considerations, together with the fact that Sāriputta is called *mahāsāmi* in even the literary works written during the reign of Parākramabāhu I, suggest that he may have been appointed the supreme hierarch of the *saṅgha* by the king.

One would expect Kassapa, who played such a significant role in the "purification" of the *saṅgha*, to be the first choice for this rank. It is possible that he was advanced in age at the time of the "purification" and that his death took place not long after the synod. On the other hand, it is also possible that this saintly monk from the forest-dwelling fraternity preferred the quietude of the forest retreat to the busy life of the head of the Order. In fact, Sāriputta refers to his teacher as one who was totally committed to the life in the woods (*sadāraṇṇāvāsī*).⁸⁷

The evidence cited in the foregoing discussion helps us to understand the nature of the unification of the *saṅgha* which took place in the time of Parākramabāhu I. It is clear that the unification was accomplished by reconciling the eight fraternities which had replaced the *nikāyas* as the primary units in the organization of the community of monks, and by persuading their leading monks to live at the same monastery and to accept a common leader in Sāriputta. It did not amount to the victory of the Mahāvihāra and the suppression of the other *nikāyas*, as some later chroniclers and certain modern writers claim. It is true that a monk who followed the Mahāvihāra tradition took the lead in initiating the "purification" of the *saṅgha* while his disciple, Sāriputta, was appointed the head of the Order after the unification. In this regard the leadership came from the Mahāvihāra. But it certainly cannot be maintained that the leadership came exclusively from the Mahāvihāra, and it is evident from the *Cūlavamsa* that the "purification" affected all the participants in the synod regardless of their sectarian affiliations. Moreover, the unification of the *saṅgha* did not bring about a complete fusion involving the loss of the identity of the fraternities concerned, for some of these fraternities survived for more than three centuries after the unification.⁸⁸

87. *Sārattha-dīpanī*, p. 1.

88. See *supra* pp. 289-90, 298-9, 303, 307-8, 310.

In Sāriputta the *saṅgha* found an ideal leader at a time when the prime need was the consolidation of its unity. He was a great scholar and a renowned teacher of his time. Little information is available about his life prior to his appointment to the leadership of the *saṅgha*. He mentions in his works that he was a disciple of Kassapa,⁸⁹ yet it is nowhere recorded whether he was a monk from the monastic settlement at Dīmbulāgala to which Kassapa belonged or even whether he belonged to the "forest-dwelling" fraternity. As an exegetist he tried to develop a commentarial tradition which would be acceptable to the whole *saṅgha* and adroitly avoided those issues which had been the causes of serious disagreement among the *nikāyas*. It is significant that his *Sāratthadīpani* does not claim to represent the traditions of the Mahāvihāra. Though it was a subcommentary on the *Samantapāsādikā*, this work abstains from commenting on passages in this work which dealt with differences of opinion between the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri *nikāyas*. Yet, as pointed out earlier,⁹⁰ Sāriputta was not averse to accepting certain views which had been propagated by the Abhayagiri *nikāya*. It is not surprising that Sāriputta, with his tolerant and eclectic approach to doctrinal teachings, was an acceptable leader and succeeded in the delicate task of keeping these eight fraternities together. However, it seems unlikely that the unification of the *saṅgha* was the blending of milk and water that the *Cūlavamsa* suggests it was. Later statements in the same chronicle contradict this account. There is reason to believe that the differences of opinion and the rivalries among the groups of monks who came to live at the Jetavana monastery persisted after the unification and that factional strife broke out not long after the death of Parākramabāhu I. In his inscription at the Daṃbulla cave monastery Nissaṅka Malla claims to have reconciled the disputes among the monks of the three *nikāyas*.⁹¹ It is not very likely that this statement concerning the Order, made in a record inscribed at one of the most prominent monasteries at the time, was a mere idle boast. In its account of the reign of Vijayabāhu III, the *Pūjāvaliya* states that he established unity among the *saṅgha* which had been divided for a long time, and this is corroborated by the *Cūlavamsa* and the *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya*.⁹² The testimony of these sources confirms that the unification of the *saṅgha* did not bring about the end of factional rivalry within the community of monks.

89. See *supra* p. 157.

90. See *supra* p. 327.

91. *bohō kal bhinnava tubū tun nakāhi saṅguruvan samaṅga karavā. EZ, Vol. I, p. 131, l. 21.*

92. *bohō dasavak asamaṅgavū saṅghayā samaṅga koṭa. Pjv. p. 110; Cv. 8. 147; Niks., p. 26.*

The reforms of Parākramabāhu I weeded out undisciplined elements in the *saṅgha* and brought together the community of monks which had remained disunited and divided, as the Galvihāra inscription points out, for one thousand two hundred and fifty-four years. The reforms seem to have ushered in a period of intensive activity for the *saṅgha*, particularly in the literary field. Sāriputta and the group of devoted scholars who gathered around him produced an extensive exegetical literature, both religious and secular. This period also saw the expansion of the Sinhalese Theravāda to Burma and to other parts of Southeast Asia. The decline of the Indian centers of Buddhism may partly explain the rise of Sri Lanka as a source of inspiration to the Theravādin monks of Southeast Asia. But there is little doubt that the revival of Buddhist activity during this period, to a great extent, should be attributed to the reforms of the reign of Parākramabāhu I.

By creating the post of the *mahāsāmi*, the reforms introduced a very significant institutional change which helped to keep the *saṅgha* together despite recurrent factional rivalry. For the first time in the history of the island, the community of monks was organized under a single leader. In the early centuries of its history the organization of the Buddhist *saṅgha* was presumably based on the model of the Indian tribal state with which the Buddha was quite familiar.⁹³ But in the context of the political and social organization that was known in early medieval Sri Lanka, such a system was incongruous and anachronistic. From the time of the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka, the *saṅgha* gradually acquired an organization similar to that of the body politic, a development that spanned more than a thousand years. This tendency must have grown even stronger after the monasteries acquired landed wealth and administrative privileges and began to perform certain functions which usually fell within the purview of the state. The monasteries and the *nikāyas* seem to have been headed by chief incumbents and abbots. There is no evidence, however, to believe that the hierarchs of the *nikāyas* played an important role in administrative affairs. The appointment of a head of the *saṅgha*, who in later times came to be called "the king of the *saṅgha*," appears to mark an important stage in the development of institutions similar to those of the body politic within the clerical organization.

One would expect that the creation of a unified church under a single leader should have effected important changes in the structure of

93. The conversation that the Buddha had with Vassakāra, the minister of Ajātasattu, reveals that the Buddha knew of the constitution of the Licchavis and admired the system. *Anguttara Nikāya*, Vol. IV, pp. 17 ff; *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 72 ff.

power in Sinhalese society, but in practice the situation was different. The Vinaya rules prevented the monks from directly wielding political authority, and as such they would not have been a real threat to the power of the king. Furthermore, though the *saṅgha* was unified, in certain respects the monks wielded less power than they did during the ninth and tenth centuries. The loss of monastic property and privileges and the collapse of the monastic administration deprived the *saṅgha* of some of the most important sources of power. The participation of the king in the reforms and the reorganization of the *saṅgha* gave him control over clerical affairs and appointments to the more important positions in the hierarchy. The Daṁbadeṇi Katikāvata stipulated that when appointing the abbots of the eight fraternities and the chief incumbents of the principal monastic establishments only those monks who are acceptable to the king (*rājasammutin*) should be selected.⁹⁴ As mentioned earlier, it was the king who formally conferred the higher posts in the clerical organization. Such arrangements would have been effective in establishing cordial relations between the clerical and the temporal powers as also in preventing the *saṅgha* from developing again into a force which could challenge the authority of the king.

94. *Katikāvata Saṅgarā*, p. 13.

Conclusion

The purpose of this final chapter is not merely to review the main findings presented in this book but to elaborate some of their implications and, in passing, to situate this study in the context of previous research on the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. The period of about four centuries covered in this study witnessed noteworthy changes in the character and the organization of the Buddhist clerical community in Sri Lanka. In the preceding chapters, in which detailed data from a wide variety of sources have been meticulously examined, an attempt was made to delineate and to understand the significance of these processes of change. Special attention has been devoted to two main transformations in the history of the clerical community. One was the divergence between practice and the dictates of the codes of conduct in the Vinaya brought about by changes in life and attitudes of the clerics. The adaptation of monastic life in response to pressures emanating from developments within a hydraulic society has been described in detail without attempting to present it in terms of a "decline." The second transformation was organizational, and, by the end of the period under study, it brought into being a unified clerical community under common leadership. This book presents a new interpretation of the character and significance of this unification.

In regard to the period selected, this study is a continuation of the work of Adikaram and Rahula on the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. In certain other respects it differs from these two and other previous historical writings on Buddhism in the island. This book is a history of the Buddhist clerical community rather than of Buddhism. Of course this does not mean that the doctrinal aspects have been totally ignored. Two aspects of doctrine have been isolated for special consideration in this study: the relative importance of doctrine as an integrative force in maintaining the cohesion of intermonastic groupings like the *nikāya*, and the function of doctrine as a referent for, and as a restraint upon,

the actions of clerics. However, the main focus of attention in this book has been the economic and social aspects of the history of the *saṅgha* which, up to this time, have been largely neglected.

In the early medieval economy of Sri Lanka the Buddhist monastery was a locus for the concentration of wealth, a center of "primitive accumulation." By the ninth century the larger monasteries in the island had accumulated extensive sources of income based mainly upon irrigation works and land. In certain instances their interests extended to enterprises like salterns and trade stalls. The clerical community continued to enjoy the generous patronage of the royal family and the official strata throughout almost the entire ninth and tenth centuries. Evidence concerning monastic property in early medieval Sri Lanka is at variance with Karl Wittfogel's assumption that "Oriental despots" succeeded in curtailing the growth of religious property.¹ Monastic property was certainly one of the strongest and least trammelled types of property in Sri Lanka. Unlike lay property, it was not affected by fragmentation in the course of its transmission from one generation to the next. Despite being subjected to spoliation in times of war, corporately owned monastic property consistently tended to accumulate.

In this respect it is possible to see a certain similarity between the early medieval monastery in Sri Lanka and its counterpart in medieval Europe. However, there are also certain noteworthy differences between the two monastic types. As Weber emphasized,² the cheap labor of the monastic celibates was a major factor behind the expansion of monastic wealth in medieval Europe. The Buddhist cleric, on the other hand, totally abstained from productive physical labor. Codes of conduct in the Vinaya prescribed such a life and, understandably, there were no casuistic attempts to by-pass this injunction. The monastic community was a corporation of "non-producers" who depended upon the surplus produced by share-croppers and craftsmen-agriculturists. Thus the monastic community represented a group of superior landholders similar in certain respects to joint-owners of villages in the Rājput areas that Baden-Powell has described.³ Even the Rājputs cultivated their own "home-farms" (*sīr*) while exercising their rights as "landlords" over other cultivators who were their tenants. Owing to the nature of the ideology which governed their lives, the Buddhist monks and nuns of early medieval Sri Lanka were completely alienated from agricultural and craft production. This was the essential feature which

1. Karl A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism*, p. 98.

2. Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, Vol. II, p. 586.

3. B. H. Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, London, 1896, pp. 20-37.

distinguished the Buddhist monastic community from all models of "village communities" and from monastic communities in medieval Europe. Donations by kings and wealthy patrons constituted an important factor behind the expansion of monastic wealth in early medieval Sri Lanka; monasteries themselves tried to augment this process by using surplus income for further investment.

Clerics living at the early medieval monasteries in Sri Lanka owned the monastic property in common (*saṅghika*) as an undivided estate, though certain parallel instances of individual clerics enjoying "private" (*puggalika*) property rights are also known. Membership in the monastic community entitled all inmates to supplies of vital requisites like food, clothing and medicaments, while certain senior members were also entitled to a share of the net income from the common property of the monastery. These "shares" were not allocated on a strictly "egalitarian" basis; in addition to the seniority of the cleric, his knowledge of the scriptures seems to have been taken into consideration when determining the number of "shares" he or she was to be given. It is most likely that these "shares" reverted to the common monastic pool upon the death of a beneficiary. The monastery thus represented a "pool of shares." There are instances of "shares" being sold, and such sales amounted either to the creation of fresh endowments or to a transfer from a beneficiary to another person.

On the basis of the size of their ruins and their reported numerical strength, the monastic communities of Anurādhapura, and the Abhayagiri monastery in particular, appear to have ranked among the largest monastic communities in the medieval world. The functioning of such large monastic communities depended upon an economic system by which large landholdings, the tillers on this land and several professional caste groups were integrated. The network of relationships which held the monastic economy together was perpetuated by hereditary tradition, and there were sanctions against the violation of hereditary right. Different types of workmen and functionaries, who provided products and services for the upkeep of the monastery, may be categorized as follows:

- (1) agriculturists who gave a share of the produce from plots of land allocated to them;
- (2) professional caste groups (e.g., lime-burners) who supplied products to meet the needs of the monastery in recognition of the rights the monastery held over their villages;
- (3) craftsmen (e.g., potters, makers of water-strainers) who provided the monastery with specified quotas of products in return for the right to till allotments of land;

- (4) craftsmen (e.g., carpenters) who provided the monastery with labor in return for the right to till allotments of land;
- (5) specialists (e.g., physicians, astrologers, painters) who provided services in return for
 - i. allotments of land *or*,
 - ii. allotments of land and daily allowances of grain *or*,
 - iii. allotments of land and "shares" *or*,
 - iv. the proprietary share due to the monastery from the produce of an estate or part thereof;
- (6) administrative functionaries who provided services in return for
 - i. allotments of land and allowances in grain and gold *or*,
 - ii. allotments of land, "shares" and allowances in gold *or*,
 - iii. allotments of land and daily allowances of grain *or*,
 - iv. allotments of land and "shares" *or*,
 - v. the proprietary share due to the monastery from the produce of an estate or part thereof;
- (7) functionaries who performed nominal services and were entitled to daily allowances of grain;
- (8) domestic workers who provided services in return for
 - i. daily allowances of grain *or*,
 - ii. allotments of land and daily allowances of grain *or*,
 - iii. allowances in grain and gold;
- (9) slaves who provided services of mainly a domestic character;
- (10) residents in monastic estates who provided unspecialized labor as *corvée*.

Monetary payments enter into only a few of the relationships listed above. At the Mihintale monastery only two functionaries were entitled to payments in gold, while in the case of the domestic employees it was specified that the gold was for the purchase of clothing. On the whole there is evidence concerning the use of gold in the monastic economy for paying stipends to chief abbots and a few officials; gold was also set apart for the provision of robes for monks and clothing for domestic employees and for repairs to monastic buildings. Though some monasteries had settlements of weavers under their control, evidently there were other monasteries which had to purchase the cloth they needed. It also seems likely that certain raw materials needed for repairs and the work of craftsmen, when not available locally, had to be bought. It would thus seem that trade was important for these monastic economies and that monetized exchange did take place. The cash income that the monastery needed for its expenses was derived from the sale of produce from monastic estates, and from investments like money deposited in "guilds" which brought a regular income in interest.

However, the overwhelming majority of the relationships described above represents a system by which the monastic community was provided with products and services in exchange for land and/or grain. A fair amount of grain collected by the monastery was redistributed in the form of daily allowances in exchange for a variety of services. To this extent the monastery played a "redistributive" role within the economy. But the most important mediating factor in this network of relationships was certainly land.

A question of theoretical interest which arises at this point is whether the monastic economy outlined in this book represents typologically an earlier, extra-Indian variant of the *jajmāni* system described by Wisner, Gould, Beidelman, and more recently by several other writers in their studies of Indian villages.⁴ In a comparison of the two systems certain specific features of the monastic system stand out. In his analysis of the *jajmāni* system Beidelman has stressed that the significance of ritual and ceremonial services performed by certain service castes for the *jajmān* can be explained in terms of the latter's need to avoid ritual pollution.⁵ The functioning of the monastic system can be explained in economic terms, though in the division of labor caste was obviously an important factor. The monastery's dominance over the clients who provided it with services was more pronounced than that of the *jajmān* over his *kamīn*. Presumably pressure on land worked in the monastery's favor, and it became necessary for the king to issue edicts prohibiting irregular ejection of tenants. This dominance was further accentuated in certain instances where the monastery owned the tools which the craftsman used, thereby making him totally dependent on the monastery with respect to the practice of his craft. The monastery's total domination of the craftsman implicit in this situation was somewhat tempered by sanctions which fixed the upper limits of the rights of the monastery. The arrangement between the monastery and the craftsman was of a "contractual" type whereby the quantity of products or the number of workdays he had to contribute as well as the remuneration he received were fixed. The monastery did not employ these craftsmen continuously. At the Abhayagiri monastery, for instance, they worked only for two months and five days each year. This is understandable since crafts were not divorced from agriculture and the

4. W. H. Wisner, *The Hindu Jajmani System*, Lucknow, 1936; H. Gould, "The Hindu Jajmani System: A Case of Economic Particularism," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. XIV, 1958, pp. 428-37; T. O. Beidelman, *A Comparative Analysis of the Jajmani System*, Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, No. VII, New York, 1959.

5. Beidelman, *op cit.*, p. 27.

craftsmen also had to till their allotments of land in order to produce food for their upkeep.

The monastic setting with its elaborate organization and the presence of a special group of administrative functionaries was not conducive to the development of the strong personal tie that the relationship between the *jajmān* and the *kamin* represents. The monastery was also a center of power and authority in its own locale. A particularly important outcome of the relationships between the *saṅgha* and the king in early medieval Sri Lanka was the voluntary transfer to the monasteries of the fiscal rights and the administrative and judicial authority that the state had enjoyed over monastic property. This resulted in a substantial addition to the resources of the monastery as well as to its power. Immunities, including those associated with *brahmadeya* status that certain monasteries enjoyed, elevated the clerical community to a position above the tenants in an economic as well as in a political sense. Like their counterparts in the state administration, the monastic officials performed fiscal, administrative and judicial functions and went on official tours to supervise the administration of outlying properties belonging to the monasteries. The monastic officials in early medieval Sri Lanka were an important and powerful group comparable to the *ministeriales* in medieval Europe.

It is quite clear that in Sri Lanka the Buddhist ethic was not a hindrance to the accumulation of property or to the exercise of rational economic judgment. Buddhist commentarial works carried sensible advice for the management of monastic estates, and monasteries adhered to elaborate accounting procedure. Detailed records of all "receipts" and "expenditure" as well as labor arrangements were maintained. Daily, monthly and annual statements of accounts were prepared, and, at the end of the financial year, the accounts were submitted for approval by the monastic assembly. It is evident from the records of the Abhayagiri, Mihintale and Kaludiyapokuna monasteries that a comprehensive system of bookkeeping, remarkable for an economy that was only marginally monetized, was in operation at the monasteries.

Due to the dominant economic position that the monastery occupied in its locale and the powers and privileges it enjoyed, the interests of the Buddhist clerics and their officials were closely linked with those of the king and the nobility. The king must have regarded the clerical community as useful allies who could help him to strengthen his hold over the people. In times of war and civil disturbance they were helpful mediators who could initiate negotiations between the combatants. In the king the clerical community found a generous patron whose authority was useful in the execution of its ecclesiastical decisions.

During times of foreign invasion and internal disorder their position and property were adversely affected, hence maintenance of order and the stability of the ruling dynasty was in their interest as well. The mutually beneficial aspects of the relationship between the *saṅgha* and the king find expression in the political ideas of the time. According to these ideas the position of the king was legitimized by the support of the *saṅgha*. These ideas also emphasized the interdependence of the two institutions.

Hocart's idea that church and state were one does not adequately take into account the subtleties of the power structure in early medieval Sri Lanka.⁶ It would be a more serious distortion to suggest, as Rahula has done, that the monastic organization was a mere extension of the state apparatus, a "state department."⁷ The economic position of the monastery and the prestige and authority that the *saṅgha* enjoyed in society afforded the ecclesiastical organization a significant degree of autonomy. The transfer of fiscal and judicial authority to the monastery and the acceptance of the idea that monastic estates were out of bounds for the royal officials further strengthened its autonomous position. Thus, if the relationship between the *saṅgha* and the king was symbiotic in character, it was to a remarkable degree an antagonistic symbiosis, since the expansion of the temporal authority of the monastery was, to that extent, a limitation of the authority of the king. A feature that Hocart himself noticed in later medieval society⁸ is already evident, though in its embryonic form. The monastery and its estate were a court and kingdom in miniature as was the system of "vassalage" in late medieval times that Hocart described. Though the ecclesiastical organization and the state were not rival centers of power and in general they worked in cooperation with due regard for the identity of their interests in many fields, there was a certain degree of tension, and even some instances of friction, between the two over questions of prestige and authority. As would be expected, there was no clear definition of the relative bounds of monastic and royal authority. Disputes arose concerning relative rights between monastic and royal officials as well as between the *saṅgha* and the royalty. Monks sometimes tried their hands at king-making, with disastrous consequences when rival claimants displaced their nominees and occupied the throne. On the other hand, monasteries jealously guarded their privileges and resisted all attempts to infringe on their traditional rights. The incidents

6. A. M. Hocart, *Caste*, p. 67.

7. W. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 72.

8. Hocart, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

from the reigns of Udaya III and Vijayabāhu I, discussed earlier, demonstrate that the kings were obliged to respect these rights. Thus the early medieval Sinhalese polity does not conform to a concept of centralized, bureaucratic system of despotic rule. Immunities enjoyed by the monasteries entrenched their property rights and introduced a feudal element into the body politic.

The growth of monastic property had a decisive effect on the life of the cleric. The areas of contact between the clerical community and the laity became wider. On the other hand, the cleric was relieved of his total dependence on voluntary donations of the laity. The cleric who lived in one of the larger monasteries in Sri Lanka during the period under review differs sharply from the ideal set out in the codes of disciplinary rules in the Pāli Canon. During the ninth and tenth centuries the larger monasteries in Sri Lanka had assured sources of income, while some of their inmates led lives of ease and comfort with access to special stipends and personal incomes, changes which necessitated casuistic reinterpretations of the disciplinary rules. In Sri Lanka injunctions against the ownership of land and slaves appear to have shared the same fate as the injunctions against usury in the medieval Christian church. This divergence between ideal and practice represented an adaptation to a changing social milieu. Thus the casuistry of the Pāli commentaries appears to have performed a positive function by bringing the ideals up to date and redefining them in the light of experience.

The life of ease that the monasteries offered and the social privileges and the immunity from the demands of the state that the clerics enjoyed drew many undesirable elements into the Order. This made periodical laicizations and a strict control over admission necessary. In return for the amenities it provided, the monastery demanded from its inmates, on pain of expulsion, adherence to its codes of rules and total allegiance. The monastery of this period attempted to strictly regulate the daily routine of the incumbents even in its details.

The Sinhalese *saṅgha* of this period maintained close contact with centers of Buddhism on the Coromandel coast, the Northeastern regions of India, and Burma. The presence of a permanent community of Sinhalese monks at Buddha Gayā and visits of pilgrims and scholars helped to bring in diverse influences which enriched the traditions of Buddhist thought in the island. The influx of Tantric elements was a particularly important result of this relationship. The attempts of the Sinhalese monks to propagate Theravāda Buddhism in the Bihar-Bengal area did not meet with success. On the other hand, in South India they found many followers who worked usually in close collaboration and sometimes in rivalry to expound the teachings of the Mahāvihāra *nikāya*. Though the Abhayagiri *nikāya* had followers in Java,

even as early as the eighth century, it was the relations that the Sinhalese clerics maintained with Burma which had the more durable effects. The establishment of the Sihalasaṅgha in Burma in the twelfth century, in which the initiative of the Burmese clergy was a significant factor, marked an important stage in the expansion of Sinhalese Buddhism in Southeast Asia, an event which produced a lasting impact on the culture of this region.

The present study brings out the multifarious and significant role of the Buddhist *saṅgha* in the development of Sinhalese culture. In a sense, the *saṅgha* formed an important link for the continual transfusion of Indian cultural influences into Sinhalese society and for the transmission of Sinhalese influences to lands around the Bay of Bengal. On the other hand, the monks used their dominant position in culture to wield a restrictive influence which acted as a sieve to hold back certain influences. It is remarkable that in Sinhalese culture there are only a few traces of the two Indian epics, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*, which were denounced in the writings of Buddhist clerics in Sri Lanka as useless works which should be totally ignored. This restrictive influence of the *saṅgha* largely accounts for the distinct character of Sinhalese culture with its predominantly Buddhist flavor.

It is possible to distinguish two main levels in the integrative functions of the institutions and influence of the *saṅgha* in Sinhalese society. One was at the level of the monastic community. The integrative function of the monastic economy has already been discussed. It is further evident that the ceremonial and ritual which grew up around Buddhism and the cultic practices it absorbed turned the monastery into a place where regular gatherings of the lay community of the locality took place. The monastery was also a center of learning, and the monks were the dominant element among the Sinhalese literati. By employing painting, sculpture, music, dance and drama in the service of religion the monastery became a patron of the arts. Secondly, at a national level Buddhist influences were a vital integrative force which cut across territorial and social divisions and emphasized the unity of the island. The predominance of Buddhist influences gave the culture of the Sinhalese an individuality and unity which acquired a political significance during a period of intense political rivalry between the Sinhalese kings and the Hindu rulers of South Indian kingdoms. The Sinhalese kings were quite aware of this political significance since, in their edicts, they emphasize the legendary relationship between the island, their dynasty and the Buddha. In his characteristic way Nissanka Malla developed an adroit propaganda ploy when he stated in his edicts that no non-Buddhist was entitled to the throne of Sri Lanka.

The organizational transformation of the *saṅgha* which took place during this period is one of the key issues investigated in this book. The three *nikāyas*, which had constituted the main groups within the *saṅgha* for about six centuries, are found at a high level of organizational development in the ninth and tenth centuries. One of the most important events in the history of Buddhism in the island was the unification of the *saṅgha* during the reign of Parākramabāhu I, which for the first time in the history of the island, created a unified ecclesiastical organization under a common leadership. The traditional view presented by the chroniclers that the unification of the *saṅgha* involved the suppression of the "false teachings" of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana *nikāyas* and that it amounted to the vindication of the "pure Theravāda" of the Mahāvihāra school, has influenced historical writing and obfuscated understanding of the significance of this event.

Of the three *nikāyas*, the Mahāvihāra appears in the most favorable light in the extant Pāli and Sinhalese sources which, with two exceptions, are works of its members or supporters. The bias of those sources precludes a correct assessment of the extent of the influence of the other two *nikāyas* or of their relative positions in the organization of the *saṅgha*. Little evidence is available on the Jetavana *nikāya*. From what little is known, it appears that its influence was more restricted than that of the other two. However, the picture of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* which emerges in our study is that of an extensive organization with an influence which rivalled that of the Mahāvihāra. This group of monks represented several schools of Buddhist thought, and the great majority of its followers seem to have adhered to a school of Theravāda Buddhism which based its teachings on a canonical and commentarial tradition different from that of the Mahāvihāra. The "orthodoxy" of the two traditions was a matter of prolonged dispute; each *nikāya* accused the other of professing "unorthodox" views.

The scholastic tradition of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* was not restricted to the study of the Theravāda. The *nikāya* had within its fold groups which were receptive to Mahāyāna and Tantric ideas. New evidence presented in this study reveals that representatives of other main schools of Indian Buddhism—the Sammitiyas, the Sarvāstivādins and certainly the Mahāsāṅghikas—were welcomed and invited to take up residence at the Abhayagiri monastery. And, perhaps in emulation of the traditions current at Vikramaśīla and Nālandā, the monks of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* made an attempt to make a comparative study of their teachings.

The fame of the high standards of scholarship and discipline of the monks of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* reached lands as far as Java, where in the latter part of the eighth century a monastery was named after "the

Abhayagiri of the Sinhalese." The tolerant attitude that the monks of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* adopted towards different schools of Buddhist thought, and the importance of the cult-objects like the Tooth and the Bowl relics which they possessed, gained a wide popularity for them and accorded a prominent place in the religious life of the people to their monastery. The ruins of this monastery, which are the largest in the island, testify to the extensive patronage which it enjoyed, and to the immense resources which it controlled.

The scholastic traditions of the Abhayagiri monastery illustrate a significant feature of its constitution: It seems most improbable that this *nikāya* did or could require its members to adhere to any one school of Buddhist thought or that as a whole it represented a single systematized body of doctrine. Hence it is most unlikely that the unity of the *nikāya* depended on the uniformity of religious opinion. Of all the three *nikāyas*, only the Mahāvihāra can be reasonably defined as a representative of a school of Buddhist thought. The ideological unity of this *nikāya* was also affected during this period when the influences of the Abhayagiri *nikāya* and of non-Theravāda teachings penetrated into the Mahāvihāra. The appearance of a number of rival factions within the Mahāvihāra by the reign of Parākrāmabāhu I probably came about as a result of this development.

It is the contention of the present writer that the significance of doctrine for the unity of the Buddhist *nikāyas* in Sri Lanka has been overemphasized by students of the history of Buddhism. This was the result of too much reliance on textual evidence and the neglect of the social and economic aspects of the history of the *saṅgha*. Though doctrine did contribute to the unity of intermonastic groupings, the simple definition of the *nikāya* as a school of Buddhist thought proves to be inadequate, and even misleading in certain contexts. *Nikāyas* did maintain their cohesion despite doctrinal disagreements and the presence of several schools of Buddhist thought within their fold. One of the main arguments developed in this book is that the basis of the unity of a *nikāya* cannot be sought in the realms of doctrine alone and that in certain contexts a definition of the *nikāya* as an economic and social institution is more meaningful for the study of the history of the *saṅgha*. This book brings out the fact that the *nikāya* in Sri Lanka has also to be viewed as a corporate property-owning institution. For certain "legal" purposes such as the granting of immunities, and for accounting purposes, all estates belonging to monasteries within the *nikāya* were treated as a single composite unit. The administrative organization for the management of estates and the supervision of finances was an important link which strengthened the cohesion of the *nikāya* by bringing the dependent institutions under the control of the

main monastery. Thus the property of the *nikāya* and the organization evolved in response to its administrative needs were vital factors in establishing and maintaining the unity of this intermonastic grouping.

At the end of the tenth century when the northern plains of Sri Lanka were brought under Coḷa rule, the *saṅgha* was placed in a severe plight. Though there is no evidence of a suppression of Buddhism, the clerical community certainly suffered from loss of patronage and from the destruction and confiscation of its property. The victory of Vijayabāhu I and the reestablishment of unified political power brought about a revival of Buddhist activity and a certain degree of prosperity. But very soon the clerics created another crisis by arousing the hostility of Vikramabāhu I by their injudicious association with an attempt to deprive him of his rightful place in the line of succession. Vikramabāhu captured the throne and proceeded to confiscate monastic estates. Some clerics made an attempt to defend their possessions and privileges by enlisting the support of the Tamil mercenaries; but this proved to be futile. If, as suggested above, the possession of property had been an important element behind the unity of the *nikāya*, the loss of wealth that the *saṅgha* sustained during the eleventh and twelfth centuries would have had a disruptive effect on the organization of the *nikāya*.

One of the developments in the organization of the *saṅgha* which was noticeable in the latter part of the period under consideration was the rise into prominence of eight fraternities which supplanted the *nikāyas* as the main groups within the clerical community. Three of these fraternities were of provincial origin and seem to have grown outside the *nikāya* organization. The origin of the other five fraternities can be traced to the Abhayagiri and Jetavana *nikāyas*; their development into independent groups represents the disintegration of the *nikāyas*.

The emergence of new groupings supplanting the three *nikāyas*, the difficulties they all encountered during the period of Coḷa rule and during the time of political instability which followed the death of Vijayabāhu I, and the loss of property they suffered during the reign of Vikramabāhu I contributed towards moderating traditional factional rivalry among various groups within the *saṅgha*. These developments prepared the ground for the reforms introduced during the reign of Parākramabāhu I. In the light of our study the unification appears to be the bringing together of the eight fraternities under a common leadership rather than an attempt to impose the authority of the Mahāvihāra over the other two *nikāyas* as has been hitherto supposed.

The role of the forest-dwelling ascetics, the Ārañṅikas, is of critical importance in the transformation of the organization of the *saṅgha*.

This group of monks, who represented a dissident trend within the clerical community, emphasized the adherence to the *vita contemplativa* and asceticism at a time when life at some of the larger monasteries tended to be comfortable if not luxurious. Though their numbers do not appear to have been large, the appeal of the forest-dwellers' attitudes and style of life won prestige and influence for them among the laity and endowed them with the authority to play a dominant role in the reforms of the *saṅgha* during the reign of Parākramabāhu I. Kassapa of Diṃbulāgala, a senior monk of the forest-dwelling group, presided over the council which carried out the reforms, and his disciple Sāriputta became the head of the Order after the unification. If the reforms could be described as a victory for any one of the groups within the *saṅgha*, it was clearly a triumph for the forest-dwellers.

A deliberate attempt was made to extend the scope of the present study in order to bring out the interrelationship between the intellectual, cultural, social and economic aspects of the history of the *saṅgha*. Though the evidence from canonical texts suggests that the Buddhist clerical community sought to stand aloof from the economic and social bonds of lay life, the relationship between changes in economic relations and transformations in the clerical community is one of the main points which emerge in this study. Due to its involvement in agricultural and craft production, the monastery was particularly receptive to the influence of economic and social changes in the lay sector. The monastery was, however, not the passive subject or reflector of changes in the lay sector. Some of the developments within the monastic economy, such as its special types of property, appear to have been unique, while the relative autonomy it came to enjoy within the state promoted trends towards feudalization in society. It is impossible to understand clearly certain actions of the clerical community and the changes in their life and organization during the four centuries studied in this book without reference to the economic interests that they had developed by this period. Thus it appears that the historian of religious institutions in Sri Lanka must pay close attention to their economic aspects; in fact, in certain contexts he must be more concerned with these economic aspects than with matters of doctrine.

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Chronological Chart

B.C.	250 — 210	DEVĀNAMPIYA TISSA Mahinda, the Buddhist missionary, arrives in Sri Lanka and converts Devānampiya Tissa.
	161 — 137	DUṬṬHAGĀMANĪ Unification of the island. Some of the most important religious buildings of the Mahāvihāra are built during this reign.
	119 — 109	LAÑJA TISSA Earliest recorded instances of irrigation reservoirs and tracts of arable land being granted to the <i>saṅgha</i> .
	89 — 77	VATṬAGĀMANĪ Foundation of the Abhayagiri monastery and the first schism in Sinhalese Buddhism.
A.D.	143 — 167	BHĀTIKA TISSA Dispute between the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagirivihāra is referred by the king to a minister who gives the verdict in favor of the Mahāvihāra.
	209 — 231	VOHĀRIKA TISSA King suppresses Vaitulyavāda.
	249 — 262	GOṬHĀBHAYA Schism in the Abhayagiri <i>nikāya</i> leads to the formation of the Sāgalika <i>nikāya</i> . King suppresses Vaitulyavāda.
	274 — 301	MAHĀSENA Dispute between the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagirivihāra. King builds the Jetavana monastery for the Sāgalikas.
	406 — 428	MAHĀNĀMA Visit of Buddhaghosa and translation of the Sinhalese commentaries on the Canon into Pāli.
	455 — 473	DHĀTUSENA
	473 — 491	KASSAPA I
	491 — 508	MOGGALLĀNA I
	508 — 516	KUMĀRA-DHĀTUSENA
	518 — 531	SILĀKĀLA <i>Dharmadhātu</i> brought from India. Beginning of the annual festival during which it is taken to the Jetavana monastery.
	571 — 604	AGGABODHI I An Indian monk defeats the followers of Vaitulyavāda in debate.

614 — 619	MOGGALLĀNA III
619 — 628	SILĀMEGHAVAṆṆA
	Attempt to reconcile the three <i>nikāyas</i> .
659 — 667	DĀTHOPATIṢṢA II
	Two monks from the Abhayagiri and Jetavana monasteries jointly prepare a common edition of the <i>Vinaya Piṭaka</i> .
	Foundation of the Kapārā college.
684 — 718	MĀNAVAMMA
	Foundation of the Vāhadīpa college.
718 — 724	AGGABODHI V
•	Foundation of the Mahanetpā college.
733 — 722	AGGABODHI VI
797 — 801	UDAYA I
833 — 853	SENA I
	Representatives of the “four great <i>nikāyas</i> ” are housed in the Viraṅkurārāma hermitage at the Abhayagiri monastery.
853 — 887	SENA II
887 — 898	UDAYA II
898 — 914	KASSAPA IV
914 — 923	KASSAPA V
923 — 924	DAPPULA III
924 — 935	DAPPULA IV
935 — 938	UDAYA III
	King faces revolt in opposition to his violation of the immunity rights of monasteries.
938 — 946	SENA III
946 — 954	UDAYA IV
954 — 956	SENA IV
	Monks of the three <i>nikāyas</i> assemble together at the Lohapāsāda.
956 — 972	MAHINDA IV
972 — 982	SENA V
982	Accession of MAHINDA V.
992/3	Invasion of Rājarāja Cōḷa and the conquest of Rājaraṭṭha.
1017	Invasion of Rājendra Cōḷa and the capture of Mahinda V.
1055	VIJAYABĀHU I becomes king in Rohaṇa.
1070 — 1110	VIJAYABĀHU I conquers Rājaraṭṭha and rules over the unified kingdom of Sri Lanka. Grants monastery to monks of the three <i>nikāyas</i> .
1110 — 1111	JAYABĀHU I
1111 — 1132	VIKRAMABĀHU I
	Confiscation of monastic wealth. The island remains divided into a number of rival principalities during this and the next reign.
1132 — 1153	GAJABĀHU II
1153 — 1186	PARĀKRAMABĀHU I
	Reunification of the island. Reforms of the <i>saṅgha</i> which bring about the unification of the Order under a common leadership.
1186 — 1187	VIJAYABĀHU II
1187 — 1196	NISSAṆKA MALLA
1196	VIKRAMABĀHU II

1196 — 1197	COḌAGANĀGA
1197 — 1200	LĪLĀVATĪ (1st reign)
1200 — 1202	SĀHASSAMALLA
1202 — 1208	KALYĀṆAVATĪ
1208 — 1209	DHARMĀŚOKA
1209	ANIKĀṆGA
1209 — 1210	LĪLĀVATĪ (2nd reign)
1210 — 1211	LOKEŚVARA
1211 — 1212	LĪLĀVATĪ (3rd reign)
1212 — 1215	PARĀKRAMA PAṆḌU
1215	Invasion of MĀGHA

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Composed by Wesley Press, Colombo, Sri Lanka

Printed in the U.S.A.



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