

SOCIETY  
IN  
MEDIAEVAL  
CEYLON



ARIYAPALA

Dr. Ariyapala's work represents a highly commendable effort in collecting from a very wide range of literary sources all the available information regarding the ancient Sinhalese society and culture. He has succeeded in bringing together such a vast collection of materials bearing upon the subject as no other worker in the same field has ever done before. This is most gratifying, indeed, especially in view of the scant attention now being paid to the *human* side of the Sinhalese language and literature—a fact that is equally true of the present situation in respect of the Indian languages, as has been pointed out by Irach J. S. Taraporewala in the Chatterji volume of *Indian Linguistics* just published. In Ceylon today, as also in India, there is a shameful neglect of the *cultural* aspect of language studies, our teachers as well as students devoting practically all their available time to the *grammatical* aspect alone. It is to be hoped, therefore, that Dr. Ariyapala's pioneering effort will soon give all the necessary impetus to those who are qualified but who shudder to think of working in this particular field of research.

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**SOCIETY IN MEDIAEVAL CEYLON**









# SOCIETY IN MEDIAEVAL CEYLON

*(The State of Society in Ceylon as depicted in  
the Saddharma-ratnāvaliya and other Literature  
of the Thirteenth Century)*

BY

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TO  
MY TEACHERS



## PREFACE

This thesis is an attempt to reconstruct the state of society in Ceylon depicted by the Saddharma-ratnāvaliya and other contemporary Sinhalese literature—that is, the society of roughly the thirteenth century A.D. Though piecemeal studies have been undertaken by different scholars at different times, hardly any attempts have been made to study, as a whole, the life and institutions of the ancient Sinhalese. Thus our task is all the more difficult. Many points had to be left undecided owing to lack of evidence, and will have to remain so until further light is shed by future research.

In making a study of this period one is made aware of the beginnings of the decline of Sinhalese culture. Whatever the field, whether art, architecture, or sculpture, little development can be seen. Perhaps Ceylon never recovered from the destruction and ruin caused by the alien foe during this period.

The Saddharma-ratnāvaliya, Pūjāvaliya, Viśuddhimārga-sannaya and Kav-siḷumiṇa are the sources of our study. Other works of the preceding and succeeding periods have also been examined whenever it was necessary to find corroborative evidence. In this respect, the Mahāvamsa, Cūlavamsa, Saddharmālamkāraya and the inscriptions have been of immense value and have been liberally quoted in support of our views.

The material has been dealt with under different heads for convenience of treatment and the whole thesis is divided into three sections—Political, Religious and Social. It is needless to say that, though the material has been thus presented, in real life there was no such hard and fast compartmentalisation. All spheres of activity were vitally connected with each other and were deeply influenced by religious thought. We cannot speak of an ancient Sinhalese culture without realising how vitally permeated it was, by religion.

In these pages, I have attempted to give some idea of the many and varied aspects of life as far as my material permitted me to do. Yet my study must necessarily be incomplete and will also no doubt suffer from many shortcomings; but it is my hope that this thesis will prove some contribution to the understanding of the life and institutions of our ancient people.

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## FOREWORD

With an insight far deeper than was possessed by his contemporaries, Voltaire clearly discerned the palmary importance of social history as the record of mankind's cultural achievements, which he rightly deemed to be of greater significance than the annals of blood-stained glories and evil ambitions which fill the volumes of political history. In the introduction to his *Essay sur l'histoire générale et sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations* (tome I) he wrote: 'The purpose of this work is not to know in what year a prince unworthy of being known succeeded a barbarous prince in a brutal nation. If one should be so unfortunate as to get into his head the chronological sequence of all dynasties, all that he would know would be words. Whilst it is needful to know the great deeds of the sovereigns who have made their peoples better and happier, one may ignore the common herd of kings which could only burden the memory'. And further on (tome I, chapter 14) he passes judgement in the scathing words: 'The history of the great events of this world is hardly anything but the history of crimes. I can see no century which the ambition of laymen and ecclesiastics has not filled with horrors'.

Thus in forming our views on the character of an historical period we should endeavour to understand the pattern or patterns of the social order obtaining in that age, with its arts and refinements, its sciences and skills, and its obedience to moral laws. From this standpoint the value of Dr. Ariyapala's study is patent. He has carefully collected and analysed the available data throwing light on the social conditions of his native island in the period under review, and the resultant picture is highly instructive. Aryan and Dravidian influences, as well as some lesser currents, have worked to create the patterns of Sinhalese life; and although they have in some measure impinged upon one another, Aryan and Dravidian have remained fundamentally distinct. Nevertheless this distinction has often in the past allowed the various communities of Ceylon to co-operate in social service to their common homeland, and the friends of that pleasant island must earnestly wish that such harmony may increase and bring to rich fruition the ancient Buddhist prayer 'May all beings be happy'.

L. D. BARNETT.

The British Museum,  
London.



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This book embodies the results of my research conducted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of London, which I obtained in 1949. The present publication is a revised form of the Thesis then presented. In the course of this work I had the ready and willing help and the advice of a number of my teachers and colleagues and to them I am deeply indebted. I must first of all express my grateful thanks to late Professor M. D. Ratnasuriya of the University of Ceylon, but for whose timely help and encouragement this book would never have been written. My most grateful thanks are also due to Dr. L. D. Barnett of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (presently of the British Museum) who amidst his onerous duties both at the School and the British Museum supervised my work. His help and guidance was indeed invaluable. I am also much obliged to him for kindly writing a Foreword to this book. My thanks are also due to Dr. F. J. Richards of the School of Oriental and African Studies, but for whose kind help it would not have been possible to submit this work as an internal student of the University of London. To Dr. A. L. Basham, Reader in History, School of Oriental and African Studies, Dr. P. E. E. Fernando and Ven. Balagalle Vimalabuddhi Thera I owe a deep debt of gratitude for their ready and willing help given me in the course of the revision of this work. I am thankful to Dr. T. H. Coates, 38 A'ney Avenue, Kew, Victoria, Australia (who was then in London) and to Mr. L. Levi of Golders Green, London, for reading through the manuscript of the Thesis before it was presented to the University. I am indebted to Dr. J. Tilakasiri, Dr. Sri Rammandala and Mr. K. D. Somadasa for going through all the proofs and making valuable suggestions. To Professor O. H. de A. Wijesekara, Mr. J. de Lanerolle, Professor D. E. Hettiarachchi, Dr. S. Vithiananthan and to all my colleagues in the Department of Sinhalese and the Dictionary Office I extend my sincere thanks for helping me most readily with my work at various times whenever their help was sought. I also wish to take this opportunity to thank Sri K. D. Bajpai, Curator, Archaeological Museum, Mathura, India, and The Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon, for their courtesy in permitting me to reproduce some of the plates I have given herein. To Mr. R. W. G. Rajapakse for permitting me to reproduce his picture in the *avulhara*.

(Plate I) and to Venerable K. Jinaratana Thera of the Purāna Totagamu Rajamahā Vihāra, Telwatta for permitting me to reproduce the picture of Anaṅga (Plate IV) I am much obliged. It was due to the kindness of Muhandiram D. P. E. Hettiarachchi, 29/1 Campbell Avenue, Maradana, a keen numismatist that it was possible for me to include the plates of coins here. He not only read through my chapter on coins and made valuable suggestions, but also allowed me to get the necessary coins photographed—for which he lent me the coins from his highly treasured collection. My sincerest thanks to him. I thank Mr. Upali Batuvantudave for lending me the 1/8 coin of Dharmāsōka Dēva to be photographed. I wish to thank Mr. D. S. Devasirvathan of the University of Ceylon Library for helping me to secure many a reference. My thanks are also due to my wife for helping me in the preparation of the Index. Last but not least I wish to thank the Printing Department of The Colombo Apothecaries' Co., Ltd., for getting my work through the press. In this connection I must express my sincere thanks to Mr. R. J. Thomas, the Manager for all the trouble and the care he took in the course of printing.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>AmK</b>	..	Āmarakōṣa
<b>Acharya</b>	..	A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture
<b>Bk.</b>	..	Book
<b>BovGp</b>	..	Mahā-bōdhivaṃsa-granthipada-vivaraṇaya
<b>Carter</b>	..	A Sinhalese-English Dictionary
<b>C.B.</b>	..	Ceylon Branch
<b>ch. (chs.)</b>	..	chapter (chapters)
<b>cp.</b>	..	compare
<b>CV</b>	..	Cūlavāṃsa
<b>DṃbAs</b>	..	Daṃbadeṇi-asna
<b>Dic.</b>	..	Dictionary
<b>DPA</b>	..	Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā
<b>DhpAGp</b>	..	Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya
<b>ed.</b>	..	edited
<b>e.g.</b>	..	for example
<b>EI</b>	..	Epigraphia Indica
<b>EWP</b>	..	E. W. Perera
<b>EZ</b>	..	Epigraphia Zeylanica
<b>HJ</b>	..	H. Jayatilaka, A Glossary of Sinhalese Classical Words
<b>ibid.</b>	..	in the same place or book
<b>J.P.T.S.</b>	..	Journal of the Pāli Text Society
<b>J.R.A.S.</b>	..	Journal of the Royal Asiatic-Society
<b>KSil</b>	..	Kav-siḷumiṇa
<b>lit.</b>	..	literally
<b>M</b>	..	Mānasara, Architecture of Mānasara
<b>mod.</b>	..	modern
<b>MTL</b>	..	Madras Tamil Lexicon
<b>MW</b>	..	Monier Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary
<b>n.</b>	..	foot-note
<b>No.</b>	..	number
<b>P.</b>	..	Pāli.
<b>p. (pp.)</b>	..	page (pages)
<b>Pjv</b>	..	Pūjāvaliya

pt.	..	Part
P.T.S.	..	Pāli Text Society
PurNv	..	Purāṇa-nāmāvaliya
resp.	..	respectively
S.	..	Sinhalese
S.B.E.	..	Sacred Books of the East Series
Sdhlk	..	Saddharmālaṃkāraya
SdhRv	..	Saddharma-ratnāvaliya
SI	..	South Indian Inscriptions
SiṃBo	..	Siṃhala-bōdhi-vaṃsaya
Skt.	..	Sanskrit
T.	..	Tamil
UmgJ	..	Ummagga-jātakaya
v. (vv.)	..	verse (verses)
VismSn	..	Viśuddhi-mārga-sannaya
Vol.	..	Volume

# INTRODUCTION

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND UP TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

CEYLON'S past has been necessarily linked with the mainland of India. The profound Indian influence on various aspects of Ceylon life, whether political, social or religious, is unmistakable. No important change in Indian civilization has failed to leave its impress on the island, particularly up to about the end of the 15th century.

Apart from her connections with the mainland, Ceylon was also known at one time or another to many other nations, such as the Greeks and the Romans, who knew it as Taprobane, the Arabs, who knew it as Serendib, and also the Chinese and the Ancient Egyptians. But their influence has not been as deeply felt as that of India. Trade seems to have been in the hands of the Muslims, who are first heard of in the early 8th century.

Very little is known about the earliest inhabitants, and the island's connected history really begins from the time of the introduction of Buddhism. There have been found a few tools, cists, etc. belonging to the palaeolithic age, but there is no certainty as to who used these primitive implements. It is possible that the Vāddās, who are ethnologically connected with the primitive tribes such as the Toalas of Celebes, the Batin of Sumatra and the aborigines of Australia, may have used these, but they do not seem to have made any contribution to the civilization by way of imposing their own standards. They may have added a few words to the vocabulary of the Sinhalese and perhaps intermarried with them. We may, therefore, say that it is the culture of the Āryans that has persisted in Ceylon, influenced at different times by the Dravidians, but developing various peculiarities and characteristics of its own and thus maintaining a certain individuality due, no doubt, to the geographical isolation of the island and its separation from Āryan India by a wall of Dravidian races.

Regarding the problem of the first Āryan colonists, the most vexed question is the identification of the home of Vijaya. This has been often discussed, but unfortunately no definite conclusions

have been arrived at. There are two schools of thought, one maintaining that the Sinhalese were an Āryan race which came from the east of India, while the other holds that they were from the west.

The absence of any direct historical evidence of the pre-Buddhist period, makes it difficult to arrive at any conclusions on the subject. The whole question is so much involved with tradition that it is hardly possible to sift the facts from legend. There is no real agreement even in the Chronicles regarding the details of this Vijayan legend. Although Vijaya is said to have been born and bred somewhere near Bengal, yet all Chronicles agree that before coming to Ceylon he first touched at Bhārukaccha and Suppāraka on the western coast of India. The Chronicles also speak of a lively intercourse with the North-East after the death of Vijaya, whose successor Paṇḍuvāsa is said to have come from Kaliṅga. Considerable intercourse with the east—Kaliṅga, Magadha and Vaṅga—continued through many ages. To explain this story of Paṇḍuvāsa, a second stream of immigration from the east has been suggested. Some think it fanciful to presume that a lively intercourse with the east started immediately after the colonization. This would be so if Vijaya had no early connections with the east; but on the other hand, if he was born and bred in the east, it is quite natural that he should not only start communicating with his own people, but also that, his successor should have come thence, even though he (Vijaya) may have taken ship from another part of his country. Linguistic evidence shows the Sinhalese language to be connected with the Eastern Prākritis, although evidence is also not lacking to establish certain influences that the language has had from the West. 'In my opinion Vijaya is not an individual, but a type, the bold and ruthless Āryan pioneer, who was one of the elements responsible for the spread of Āryan culture all over India and beyond. The other element is perhaps typified by Paṇḍuvāsudēva, who is said to have landed in Ceylon with his followers in the guise of religious mendicants. These two Āryan types, the man of action and the man of thought, together no doubt with Dravidian and aboriginal elements, produced the great civilization of Ceylon' (A. L. Basham—from a lecture delivered before the Curia Historica, University of Ceylon, 27th November, 1951). The whole problem is thus much involved, and there is no consensus of opinion regarding the question.

It is fortunate that at least there is general agreement regarding the Āryan foundation of the Sinhalese civilization, and also regarding the influence of the Dravidians, though the extent of this influence has yet to be determined through research in different fields of study. There is no evidence to show from where the Dravidians first came. They may have been in the island from the earliest times and have merged with the Sinhalese population. The real Dravidian influence was felt only after the Cōḷan invasions. Their power was so great about the 13th century that they established an independent kingdom in the north, and also exacted tribute from the south in the 14th. Ceylon thus remained for a while as a part of the Cōḷan Empire. Their main influence was through Hinduism—the practices of which crept into Buddhism at various stages of its growth in Ceylon. This influence may have become a matter of grave concern at the time when the Amṛtāvaha were written. It may be conjectured that these books were written to check the growing influence of Hinduism, which was permeating the whole country. These three books—But-saraṇa, Daham-saraṇa and Saṅga-saraṇa—seem to be works inspired by a great desire to stem the tide of Hinduism. They glorify the Triple Gem, and the people are earnestly requested to take refuge in the three Gems—Buddha, Dhamma and the Saṅgha. Amidst all these influences Buddhism made headway, tolerantly absorbing various other forms of worship. Buddhism brought over much of Indian culture, which was planted here, and, in spite of the invasions from South India, Ceylon flourished under this Asōkan civilization. Thus the culture that was absorbed in Ceylon was mainly religious—a Buddhistic culture wherein the part played by the Jātakas in moulding the character of the people is clearly noticeable. It was only after the introduction of Buddhism that the Fine Arts, Architecture, Sculpture and Painting developed. Buddhism flourished, uniting the people under its banner, giving them common ideals and a common aim. About the fifth century Ceylon was renowned as the centre of Orthodox Buddhism and of Pāli Literature, mainly through the efforts of her scholars. As time went on, there occurred schisms in the Buddhist church. The first dissent was in the reign of Vaḷagambā (43 B.C.), when the Mahāvihāra monks expelled a certain monk for transgressing the rule which prohibited *bhikkhūs* from frequenting families of laymen. A pupil of the monk thus expelled from the Order took objection

to this disciplinary action. He too was expelled, whereupon he gathered a few followers and resided at the Abhayagiri-vihāra, forming a separate sect. At this time some followers of the Dharmaruci Ācārya came over to Ceylon from India ; Abhayagiri-vāsins accepted their doctrine and started the Dharmaruci sect. Again, about the beginning of the 4th century A.D. some monks broke away from this sect when it embraced the Vaitulya doctrines, and came to be known as Sāgaliyas, as they accepted the teachings of a monk called Sāgala. The reign of Vaḷagambā is also noteworthy, for it was during this reign that the scriptures were written down for the first time, at Aluvihāra near Mātale, as a safeguard against further pollution of the teachings which were upheld by the Thēravādins as the true doctrine. Hinduism also made a significant contribution to the growth of Buddhist ritual by offering to the people tangible forms of worship, such as propitiating gods like Śiva and Viṣṇu who in return conferred their blessings on the devotees. As a result Buddhism absorbed into its fold Hindu practices such as the worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Skanda, etc. thus adapting itself to circumstances. As a counter-measure, which also satisfied popular demands, practices like the chanting of *pirit* were popularised. Emphasis began to be laid on the worship of relics, such as the Tooth and Hair Relics and the Bo tree. The Tooth Relic was taken in procession once a year. About this time Mahāyānist ideas, which were influenced by Hindu forms of worship, crept into the island ; but were opposed and suppressed by Vōhāra Tissa (A.D. 215) and Goḷu Abā. The Coḷan monk Saṅghamitta, who professed Vaitulyanism and who is said to have been well versed in the exorcism of spirits, was successful in establishing the Dharmaruci doctrine in the reign of Mahāsēna. The Mahāvihārins suffered great loss and damage by the burning of their books and the destruction of the Mahāvihāra. All these were the direct result of great revivalist movements that took place in India under the Gupta and Pallava rulers.

Under Samudra Gupta and Candra Gupta II, North India attained a higher standard of prosperity and culture than it had experienced since the days of the Mauryas. Both Buddhism and Hinduism supported by the kings revived and flourished. Sanskrit became the language of the court. Fine arts were developed and learning spread under the imperial Guptas. Indian influence on Ceylon during the Gupta period was quite extensive ; but it appears

to have weakened considerably after the time of Skanda Gupta (A.D. 470). Sanskrit was not only the language of the Mahāyānist scriptures, but was also the language of Hinduism, and therefore it had a double significance. Thus with this powerful influence, Sanskrit learning spread in Ceylon, bringing scholars into touch with more secular subjects such as medicine and prosody. In the south of India were the Pallavas, who, being Hindus, became patrons of Sanskrit learning and of poets like Daṇḍin, whose influence in Ceylon is seen by the translation into Sinhalese of his *Kāvyaḍarśa*. The Pallavas supported the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu, thus striking a blow at Buddhism, which as a result declined, while Hinduism made great headway under their patronage. With the decline of the Pallavas, the Cōḷas asserted their independence, conquering both the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyans. Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1014) conquered the Pāṇḍyans and Cēras and also Rajaraṭa in Ceylon, thus establishing himself at the head of a powerful empire. The capital of Ceylon, Poḷonnaruva, was renamed Jananāthapura, and Hindu temples were erected at this time. Rājendra I (A.D. 1014-1044) is said to have brought the whole of Ceylon under his dominion.

A few attempts had been previously made, but they were of limited success. After the time of Dēvānampiya Tissa, that is, after the introduction of Buddhism, two Tamil invasions are recorded. Elāra established himself in the north of the island about 145-101 B.C. Though he was a foreigner, glowing tributes are paid to him in the Chronicles as a just and righteous ruler. He was put to death by Duṭugāmuṇu, who has won great renown as one of the chief benefactors of the Buddhist faith and as a great national hero. A third invasion took place during the time of Vaḷagambā, after which five Tamil princes ruled in succession till Vaḷagambā regained his sovereignty. Gajabāhu (A.D. 174) is said to have invaded South India and brought over the Bowl Relic, Pattini's anklets, and 12,000 captives, who were settled in various parts of the island. In Mittasēna's time (A.D. 432), the Pāṇḍyans invaded Ceylon, and six of them are said to have ruled in succession, the last being succeeded by Dhātusēna (A.D. 460). There were also occasions when the Sinhalese and the Tamils helped each other. In the reign of Silāmēghavarṇa, a commander of the army, Śrī Nāga, went to South India, where he collected an army of Tamils, returned to the island, and raised a rebellion. Other Sinhalese monarchs such as Aggabōdhi III, Dāṭhōpatissa I and II, and Mānavamma followed in his footsteps, thus investing the Tamils with much power, which

they wielded during the later invasions. The Pāṇḍyans invaded Ceylon again in the time of Sena I in the ninth century. Sena II is supposed to have helped the South Indian king Sri Vallabha to besiege Madura and enthrone his own father. The Pāṇḍyan king Rājasimha II sought the aid of Ceylon in his campaigns, and Mahinda IV too helped the Pāṇḍyans in their revolt against the Cōḷas.

The Cōḷas who came under Rājendra I continued to rule in the island. They appointed their own chiefs in the various parts of the island and offered their patronage mainly to Hinduism. This accounts for the changes that were taking place in Buddhism in trying to accommodate itself to the changing conditions. Many attempts were made to expel the Cōḷas from the island, and at last Vijayabāhu managed to drive them out about A.D. 1070. He is supposed to have sought the help of the Burmese and made a political marriage-alliance with Kaliṅga. Though the foreigners had been expelled from the island, yet misfortune befell the people, as the country fell into disorder and suffered from constant internal strife until the appearance of Parākramabāhu I, who brought the whole island under his sceptre. He extended his campaigns not only to South India but also to Burma ; yet his rule was not acceptable to some, and internal strife set in again. Vijayabāhu II, the next ruler, was not very successful in handling the situation that had arisen. Then came Nissanka Malla, who has set up a number of inscriptions boasting of his campaigns both within and without the island. He says that he stamped out lawlessness and established peace in the island and also conquered South India, where he found no worthy rival who could give him battle. On his death trouble set in again, when the Kaliṅga and the anti-Kaliṅga factions fought each other for the throne. The last of these was Māgha of Kaliṅga, who oppressed the people, ravaged the land, destroyed the temples and ill-treated the monks, until he was overthrown by Vijayabāhu III, who restored peace and did all within his power to bring back the country to normal conditions. He worked hard for the development of culture, literature and religion. Māgha, a bigoted Hindu, had done all he could to promote his own religion during the twenty-one years of his reign. This long reign, as well as earlier invasions, no doubt caused a great set-back in the development of all cultural, literary and religious activity of the island. Hinduism was greatly encouraged during



the foreign occupations, and struck in the island roots so deep that it did not disappear with the expulsion of the foreigners. The foreigners not only observed Hindu rites, but also built Hindu temples. Even the Sinhalese kings were compelled by force of circumstances to support Hinduism. For example, Vijayabāhu I did not deprive the Hindu shrines of their revenues, and the people had full freedom to adopt whatever Hindu practices they desired ; but he attempted a purification of the *Saṅgha* and brought *bhikkhūs* from Burma to renew the succession. Both Parākramabāhu I and Nissaṅka Malla had to purify the *Saṅgha* and unite the three *Nikāyas*. Their reforms were frustrated by Māgha's usurpation and Hinduism was continually gaining strength in the island. Mahāyānist ideals, too, continued to spread, achieving popularity with the advance of time. A Tamil kingdom was established in the north during the reign of Vijayabāhu III who is said to have ruled only over Māyāraṭa from a new capital Daṁbadeṇiya. Of the kings who came after Māgha, with the exception of Parākramabāhu VI in the fifteenth century, who held sway over the whole island, none was successful in overpowering the Tamil kingdom of the north and in resisting invasions from the Pāṇḍyan and Vijayanagara empires, which began to influence Ceylon after the defeat of the Cōḷas by Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1217-1238). Not even Parākramabāhu II, one of the greatest kings in the annals of the island's history, was able to bring under his sway the kingdom of the north, even though he was successful in recovering the second old capital Poḷonnaruva from the Tamils. The reputation enjoyed by this king is mainly due to his activities in the field of literature and religion. Even during the reign of such a religious enthusiast Hinduism flourished, as is shown by the building of Mahā Saman Dēvālaya near Ratnapura during his reign. The rule of this king, which commenced well, ended in weakness ; the period became one of slow decline, and Ceylon faced two more invasions. In A.D. 1244 Chandrabhānu, a Malay Buddhist king, invaded the island, but was defeated by Vīrabāhu. The next was during the supremacy of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, which gained its independence under Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I and reached the zenith of its power under Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1253-1270). This king claims to have fought with and killed one of the two kings of Ceylon and extracted tribute from the other. This claim, however, is not confirmed by the Ceylon Chronicles. The island was again-

invaded during the time of Bhuvanekabāhu I (A.D. 1273-1284), who repelled the Pāṇḍyan attacks. Undaunted by this defeat, they again attacked the country under Ārya Cakravarti, captured Yāpahuva, which then was the capital, and carried away the Tooth Relic, which was handed over to the Pāṇḍyan king Kulaśēkhara. After this the island seems to have been under Pāṇḍyan control for about a decade, until the time of Bhuvanekabāhu II, who seems to have expelled the invaders and ruled from Kurunāgala up to A.D. 1325. Though his predecessor Parākramabāhu III visited India and brought back the *Daḷadā* (Tooth Relic), he too may have acknowledged the supremacy of the Pāṇḍyans. When the Pāṇḍyan kingdom weakened in the 14th century owing to Muslim aggression from the Deccan, there arose the Vijayanagara empire, which preserved Hindu civilization and maintained its influence in Ceylon.

### **The 13th century**

This being the period under review, it is not out of place to describe in greater detail some of its chief political and religious features. As shown above, the invasion of Māgha in A.D. 1215 caused a great set-back in the development of all religious, cultural and literary activity. He destroyed monasteries, and brought ruin on the whole country. Vijayabāhu III, who followed him, did his best to restore the lost glory. He was succeeded by his son Parākramabāhu II, the leading figure of the period. The *Cūlavamsa* gives a glowing account of his life and activities. It refers to his crushing of the alien foe, after which he set himself to bring about the prosperity of Laṅkā. He built a temple for the Tooth Relic near the palace, and having deposited the Relic there held a great festival in its honour. He cleansed the church of corrupt practices, expelled evil doers, and brought erudite monks from India to restore the Order. The *Cūlavamsa*, describing his work in this respect says: 'All the corrupt groups of *bhikkhūs*, who since the interregnum lived only for their own desires, following forbidden occupations, with senses ever unbridled, he sought out rigorously, dismissed them from the Order, and thus purified the Order of the perfectly Enlightened One. Then the king sent many gifts to the Cōḷa country and caused to be brought over to Tambapaṇṇi many respected Cōḷa *bhikkhūs* who had moral discipline and were versed in the three *Piṭakas* and so established harmony between the two Orders' (CV 84. 9). The two Orders herein referred

to are those of the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna, which had their headquarters at the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri-vihāra respectively. He also invited ' a grand Thera Dhammakitti, radiant in the glory of moral discipline ' from Tambaraṭṭha (CV 84. 12). Reference is also made to two types of monk, dwellers in villages, and dwellers in the forests and wildernesses, for whom he built monasteries. It also mentions that he built a forest-dwelling on the heights of Puṭabhatta rock. He is also said to have had books brought from Jambudvīpa and had many *bhikkhūs* instructed in the sacred texts, sciences, philosophy and grammar, and made Laṅkā as it were an abode of *arahants* (CV 84. 26, 27). To make sure that the *Sanṅha* walked in the path of purity, he set up a code of rules (*Katikāvata*), with the help of Āraṇyaka Mēdhaṅkara (see *Katikāvata-saṅgarā*, ed. D. B. Jayatilaka). To him are also attributed many *piriveṇas* and *vihāras*, as for example the Sirivardhana-vihāra, half a *yōjana* from Daṃbadeṇiya (CV 85. 1), Parākrama-bāhu-piriveṇa, (CV 85. 63, Pjv 741), and Mahāmahindabāhu-piriveṇa both at Kurunāgala (CV 85. 63, Pjv 743). He also repaired temples and *dēvāles*, such as the Kālaṇiya temple, Attanagalu-vihāra, and the Viṣṇu-dēvāla at Dondra, all of which had fallen into decay. His *yuvarāja* was entrusted with the building of the Bhuvanekabānu-piriveṇa at Billasēla-vihāra (CV 85. 59). His minister Dēva Patirāja is said to have erected a *pāsāda* or mansion, at Attanagalla and handed it over to the Buddhist monk Anavamadarāsi, a famous scholar of the time (CV 86. 38, Pjv 745). With the help of this minister, the king seems to have done much in making the Samanola peak accessible to pilgrims (CV 86. 10, Pjv 745). An image of the god Saman was set up there and a *maṇḍapa* for the sacred Footprint was built. The Cūlavamsa says: ' He built rest houses, finished the building of bridges, laid down at the remaining places frequent stepping stones, had the wilderness cleared and a great road was built ' (CV 86. 27). To his nephew Vīrabāhu is attributed the building of Nandana-piriveṇa at Dondra, where he worshipped the god Upulvan (CV 83. 49), and also held a sacrifice in his honour. According to Geiger this is the first mention of the celebration of the shrine of Viṣṇu in the middle ages. He further observes: ' It is significant that Vīrabāhu offered his sacrifice of victory in a Hindu sanctuary. At the same time, however, he builds a parivena for the Buddhist Order thus putting his attitude towards their parity beyond doubt. Even to-day a Hindu-

*dēvālaya* and a Buddhist *vihāra* stand side by side in Dondra ' (CV pt. 2, p. 152, n. 3). These actions of the Buddhist kings in admitting Hindu rites into the fold of Buddhism show to what an extent these had penetrated into the lives of Buddhists. King Parākramabāhu II also won a great reputation as a scholar, hence his title *Kalikāla-sāhitya-sarvajña-paṇḍita*. He was surrounded in the field of literary activity by a host of other scholars, such as Saṅgharakkhita, who composed Pāli works such as *Vuttodaya*, a book on prosody, *Sambandha-cintā*, on syntax, in addition to other books on the Doctrine; *Vēdēha thēra*, the author of *Samantakūṭa-vaṇṇanā* and *Rasavāhinī*; *Pañca-mūla-pariveṇādhīpati mahāthēra*, author of *Bhesajja-mañjusā*; *Buddhappiya*, author of *Rūpasiddhi*; and *Dharmakīrti*, writer of the *Cūlavamsa*, *Dāṭhāvamsa* and *Bālāvatāra*. To the king himself are attributed important Sinhalese works like the *Kav-siḷumiṇa* and the *Viśuddhi-mārga-sannaya* and also the *Vanavinisa-sannaya*. Thus it is evident that during the time of this king culture and learning spread throughout the country.

The next ruler of this century was Vijayabāhu IV, who reigned from A.D. 1271 to 1273. To him are also attributed a few *vihāras* and *piriveṇas*. He built the monastery at Vākirigala and handed it over to the head of the Mahānettappāsāda shrine (CV 88. 46). He also constructed the Vanaggāma-pāsāda, the Abhayarāja-piriveṇa at Sindhūravāna (CV 88. 51, Pjv 750), and the Bhuvanekabāhu-piriveṇa, which was named after his uncle, whose statue was also set up (CV 88. 59). He also restored the Ratnāvalī-cētiya at Pulatthinagara; and, following the line of his predecessor, he too granted ranks to deserving monks. The *Cūlavamsa* states: 'Thereupon the king granted the rank of a Grand Master (*mahāsāmi-pāda*), the rank of a Chief Thēra (*mūlathērapāda*), the rank of a Grand Thēra and a Pariveṇa Thēra to such (*bhikkhūs*) who, because they had brought about the prosperity of the Order, deserved to receive this or that rank' (CV 89. 64). In the year A.D. 1273 Bhuvanekabāhu I was established on the throne. The first act of importance attributed to him is the copying of the whole *Tri-piṭaka*, copies of which were preserved in *vihāras* in various parts of the island. He thus spread a knowledge of the doctrine (CV 90. 38). Another noteworthy event of his reign was the signing of an agreement by the king with the Sultan of Egypt, to supply the latter with cinnamon, precious stones and elephants. Ceylon was disturbed

at this time by the invasion of Ārya Cakravarti, who laid waste the country, captured Yāpahu and carried away the *Daḷadā*. Once more there was a period of Pāṇḍyan rule, during which time Hindu and Mahāyānist ideas spread further, till Parākramabāhu III, grandson of Parākramabāhu II, came to the throne about 1302. He visited the kingdom of the Pāṇḍyans and brought back the *Daḷadā* after friendly negotiations. He replaced the Relic in the former Relic-house at Pulatthinagara and 'carried on the government without transgressing the precepts laid down for kings'. The next reign, that of Bhuvanekabāhu II, was not in the least eventful. It is only stated that he instituted permanently a regular alms of food for the community of *bhikkhūs* and carried on festivals and ceremonies. During the reign of his successor Parākramabāhu IV many religious activities were carried on. He appointed to the office of Royal Teacher, a Cōlan Thēra 'versed in various tongues'. The king learned the Jātakas from him, and having translated them into Sinhalese he had them distributed throughout Laṅkā (CV 90. 82). He is credited with the building of many *vihāras* and *piriveṇas*, such as Parākramabāhu-piriveṇa, for the *thēra* Mēdhaṅkara, a *pāsāda* at Toṭagamuva, near Hikkaduwa, which he assigned to the Thēra Kāyasatti of the Vijayabāhu-piriveṇa, a temple at Dondra, and a *vihāra* at Viddūmagāma (CV 90. 91). Significant of the spread of Hindu ideas is his erection of a temple to Viṣṇu, where he placed a statue of the god (CV 90. 101). Thus Hindu gods began to be increasingly worshipped at Hindu *dēvālēs*; and these *dēvālēs* began to be attached to Buddhist temples as is often the case even at the present day. Thus a synthesis of the two religions had already taken place.

### Literary activity up to the 13th century

Literary activity in the island began with the establishment of Buddhism as the national faith during the time of Dēvānampiya Tissa. We have already seen that the real civilization of the island started only with the introduction of Buddhism. Mendis states that, though the Buddhist monks brought the art of writing to Ceylon, they did not write any books for nearly two centuries (*The Early History of Ceylon*, p. 36). Missionary activity was well-nigh impossible without disseminating a knowledge of the Dhamma amongst the people, and Thēra Mahinda is said to have provided

for this by bringing over the traditions of the orthodox Thēravāda school, as contained in the canon which was handed down through generations from teacher to pupil. It is believed that the canon was preserved only orally until it was written down at Aluvihāra in the time of Vaḷagambā in the first century B.C. Sinhalese Commentaries are said to have been compiled by Thēra Mahinda. Malalasekara observes that the very nature of the Commentaries precludes the possibility of their having been handed down orally, and he thinks it likely that during Vaḷagambā's time they were unarranged, rare, imperfect and full of inaccuracies, and that texts may have been rehearsed, revised and arranged systematically and distributed in Vaḷagambā's time (Malalasekara, *Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, p. 45). There is no doubt that writing existed in Ceylon prior to this time, though perhaps it was not extensively used or known. Wickramasinghe goes to the extent of asserting that a written literature should have existed in Ceylon before the writing of the Pāli canon referred to above (*Siṃhala-Sāhityayē-nāṅgīma*, p. 21).

During the reign of Duṭugāmuṇu the Lōvāmahāpāya was dedicated to the monks who studied and preached the doctrine there, thus providing a common platform for the scholars to meet and discuss problems. The Pūjāvaliya testifies to this when it says that books were supplied to the preachers and all their requirements and comforts were provided for. The Mahāvamsa refers to several chief monks of this time, namely Mahā Malaya Dēva of Kālavēla, Dhammagutta of Kalyāṇi-vihāra, and Mahā Tissa.

The Tamils, as they came in, to some extent introduced their own culture. The destruction they caused by pulling down public buildings and *vihāras*, putting to death the monks, and burning the literature, was immense. The ultimate disappearance of most of our literature was no doubt the direct or indirect result of the invasions. Owing to the ravages caused by the alien foe, internal strife, schism in the Order, and also the irreligious lives of some of the monks, it became necessary to write down the scriptures to ensure the maintenance and the continuance of the Order and religion. Evidence to this effect is given by the Mahāvamsa : ' The texts of the three *Pitakas* and the *Atthakathās* thereon did the most wise bhikkhūs hand down in former times orally ; but since they saw the people were falling away (from religion), the bhikkhūs came together, and in order that the true doctrine might

endure, they wrote them down in books' (MV 33. 100). In the second century A.D. Gajabāhu is alleged to have invaded the continent and brought over 12,000 Cōlan captives, who were settled in various parts of the island. If so, they and their descendants no doubt became absorbed in the Sinhalese population. The language of these people and of occasional invaders and their culture must have influenced us in no small measure. Their cults of gods and goddesses were introduced and an extensive literature and folklore grew up around them; people dedicated themselves to their worship, and observances and ceremonies connected with these continue to this day. Many books on the Pattini cult still survive (see Malalasekara, *Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, p. 50). After this time, Mahāsēna's reign marked a triumph in the attempts of the Vaitulyavādins to achieve their ends at the expense of the Mahāvihāravāsins, whose literature was burnt when they came into power under this king. The two sects burned and destroyed each other's literature in their enthusiasm, thus causing a great loss to the community as a whole. Mahāsēna's son tried his utmost to make good the wrongs done by his father. The chief event of this period was the bringing of the Tooth Relic from Kalinga by Princess Hēmamālā. The Dāṭhavaṃsa, a Pāli poem giving the history of the Tooth Relic, states that it was based on Daḷadāvaṃsa, a poem in Eḷu written about the ninth year of this king, by his own command, giving the history of the Tooth from the Buddha's death up to its arrival in the island. The Mahāvaṃsa states that the king paid honour to the Relic in the manner described in a Chronicle of the Tooth Relic. Turnour in his translation of the Mahāvaṃsa mentions that this work was extant in 1837, but Malalasekara records his failure to procure a copy (*ibid.*, p. 66).

King Buddhadāsa, in addition to being pious and virtuous, won great reputation as a surgeon. He provided hospitals in all parts of the island not only for men, but also for animals. He is also said to have composed the Sārārtha-saṅgraha, a treatise on medicine, which was the first of its kind. Noteworthy is the use of Sanskrit as the medium of its compilation, thus showing the extent to which a study of Sanskrit literature had directed the talents of the Sinhalese to secular literary activity. The Mahāvaṃsa also refers to a monk Mahā Dhammakathī (CV 37. 175), who translated the *Suttas* into Sinhalese, and who is identified with Dharmagupta mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien (*Pāli Literature of*

*Ceylon*, p. 71), who was in Ceylon about the beginning of the fifth century A.D. We now come to the most important event in the history of Pāli literature—the translation of the Sīhalaṭṭhakathās by Buddhaghōsa, the greatest commentator, who arrived in Ceylon during the time of Mahānāma. Two short summaries of the Vinaya—*Khudda Sikkhā* and *Mūla Sikkhā*—are supposed to have been written about this time before the arrival of Buddhaghōsa, by the monks Dhammasiri and Mahāsāmi respectively. When Parākramabāhu I in his *Katikāvata* states ‘*yaṭat pīriseyin vinayen kudusikha hā pāmok da sutatin dasa dham sūtraya hā anumāna sūtraya da vanaṭot pīriheliyā nodī . . . granthadhurayen vāḍiyak koṭagata nohena antēvāsika saddhivihārikayan lavā mulsikha sēkhiyā vanaṭot karavā . . .*’ (resident pupil monks must be made to learn by heart at least the *kudusikha* (minor rules) and *pāmok* (collection of rules) out of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* and *dasadam sūtra* and *anumāna sūtra* from the *Sūtra-piṭaka* and those pupils who are backward in the study of texts be made at least to study the *mulsikha* and *sēkhiyā* out of the *Sūtra-piṭaka*), he is supposed to allude to these works. Coming to Buddhaghōsa, the *Mahāvamsa* states: ‘As his speech was profound like that of Buddha, he was called Buddhaghōsa; for his speech (resounded) through the earth like (that of Buddha). After he had written a book *Nānōdaya yonder* (in *Jambudvīpa*), he also wrote the *Atthasālinī*, an interpretation of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*. The sage Buddhaghōsa also began to compose a commentary to the *Paritta*. When the thera *Revata* saw that, he spoke the following words: “The text alone has been handed down here (in *Jambudvīpa*), there is no commentary here. Neither have we the deviating systems of the teachers. The commentary in the Sīhala tongue is faultless. The wise *Mahinda*, who tested the tradition laid before the three Councils as it was preached by the Perfectly Enlightened One and taught by *Sāriputta* and the others, wrote it in the Sīhala tongue, and it is spread among the Sīhalas. Go thither, learn it and render it into the tongue of the *Magadhas*. It will bring blessing to the whole world”’ (CV 37. 224). Being thus admonished by his teacher, he came over, and ‘dwelling in the *Ganthākara-vihāra* which lies far from all unquiet intercourse, he rendered the whole of the Sīhala Commentaries into the tongue of the *Magadhas*, the original speech of all. For beings of all tongues this (rendering) became a blessing, and all the teachers of the *Theravāda* school accepted



it as the original text' (CV 37. 243). Adikaram refers to Buddhaghōsa's task, quoting his words from the *Samantapāsādikā*: 'In commencing this commentary—having embodied therein the *Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā*, without excluding any proper meaning from the decisions contained and including the opinions of the Elders . . . From these commentaries, after casting off the language, condensing detailed accounts, including authoritative decisions, without overstepping any Pāli idiom (I shall proceed to compose my work)' (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 2). This statement is of importance, as it mentions the Sinhalese commentaries and also shows to what extent he was a translator, and will be referred to later, when we consider the question of Dhammasēna Thēra as a translator of the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*. Adikaram also draws our attention to the fact that the commentaries give clear evidence of a knowledge of Sanskrit grammar possessed by those who were responsible for their compilation (*ibid.*, p. 3). The *Visuddhimagga* or Path of Purity was Buddhaghōsa's first work, and according to the *Mahāvamsa* was based on two stanzas given by the monks to test his ability to undertake the enormous task of translating the Sinhalese commentaries (CV 37. 235). This story has been discredited by Nagai in his examination of the *Vimuttimagga* and the *Visuddhimagga*, where he states that the *Visuddhimagga*, which hitherto has been considered to be entirely his (Buddhaghōsa's) own work, is in reality a revised version of Upatissa's *Vimutti-magga* (see J.P.T.S. 1917-19, p. 89). Another important work is the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, which, according to the introductory verses of the book, is a translation of a Sinhalese commentary and was undertaken at the request of a *thēra* named Kumāra Kassapa. Some have observed that it is not the work of Buddhaghōsa, and Geiger has placed it later than the *Jātakas*. 'Buddhaghōsa is not the author of the *Jātaka* commentary or of the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*. Their authors are unknown' (Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, Introduction, p. 60). It will be profitable here to quote Malalasekara's discussion of the subject: 'Some doubts have been expressed by various scholars as to the authenticity of the tradition which ascribes the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* to Buddhaghōsa. Not a few scholars are of opinion that the work is modern and that the author is a later Buddhaghōsa (Culla Buddhaghōsa) who obtained his materials from the same source as the Sinhalese *Saddharmaratnāvaliya* written

by *Mahā Thēra* Dhammasēna in the thirteenth century. At the end of the commentary we find the following colophon : “ *Vipula-visuddhi-buddhinā Buddhaghoso’ti garūhi gahita-nāma dheyyena katāyaṃ Dhammapadassa attha-vaṇṇanā* ” (“ This commentary on the Dhammapada was written by Buddhaghōsa of eminent and lustrous knowledge ”). This may well refer to the great commentator. In a Sinhalese work, *Pūjāvaliya*, it is mentioned that he wrote the work at the request of King Sirinivāsa and his minister Mahānigama. This Sirinivāsa was undoubtedly Mahānāma, and the *Sumantaṭṭhā* tells us that Buddhaghōsa wrote in the Ganthākara Pariveṇa built by the great minister Mahānigama, and that on other occasions he lived in the palace built by the king himself, this palace forming a part of the monastery at the Mahāvihāra where Buddhaghōsa came to study the Sinhalese commentaries. At the end of the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* is a stanza :—

“ Vihāre adhirājena kāritamhi kataññunā  
pāsāde Sirikuḍḍassa rañño viharatā mayā ”,

(“ By me residing in the palace of King Sirikuḍḍa in the monastery built by the grateful king ”). Sirikuḍḍa is apparently another name for Sirinivāsa (Mahānāma). The chief stumbling block is the difference in language and style between this work and the other commentaries which undoubtedly belong to Buddhaghōsa. Compared, for instance, with the commentary on the *Majjhima-nikāya*, the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* resembles more the Jātaka commentary than anything else. At best it seems to be the work of a compiler who collected and edited sermons and stories, not inventing new ones, but merely presenting in literary Pāli what existed already as folklore ; and the arrangement is different even from the *Suttanipāta* commentary. But this difference may possibly be due to the difference in subject-matter of the various texts taken up for comment. “ The Dhammapada, unlike the great Nikāyas, which consist of prose and gāthās, is entirely made up of gāthās without the prose setting, which, in the Nikāyas, is supplied in the text itself. Here, therefore, was the necessity of bringing it into line with those canonical works ”. Hugh Nevill in the introduction to his Catalogue ventures upon the view that this work did not belong to the three great *Atṭhakathās* (*Mahā, Paccarī, and Kurunḍi*) which Buddhaghōsa studied, but merely represented the popular legends accepted before the Aluvihāra redaction and were either not then treated as of canonical value, or accepted by rival sects without

dispute, and therefore not found necessary to be specially set down in writing. In Buddhaghōsa's time they had acquired considerable authority, and they were translated by him and arranged at his discretion. It may be quite possible, Nevill says, that the legends had their origin in India or elsewhere and that they did not belong to Mahinda's school; this may account for the different method of treatment. Where different versions are given of the same story, the responsibility belongs not to Buddhaghōsa, but to the different accounts from which he obtained his information' (*Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, pp. 95-97).

The great work done by Buddhaghōsa was continued by a set of scholars who followed him. Adikaram finds their commentaries far less useful than those of Buddhaghōsa in respect of the light they throw on the social and religious history of Ceylon. He also finds that works like the *Vimāna-vatthu*, *Pēta-vatthu*, and *Cariyāpiṭaka* contain no references to incidents in Ceylon (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 8). Amidst this band of commentators were Buddhadatta, Dhammapāla, Upasēna and Mahānāma. The first was a contemporary of Buddhaghōsa and wrote the *Madhuratthavilāsinī*, the commentary on the *Buddhavaṃsa*. Dhammapāla was a resident of South India, and the works attributed to him are commentaries on *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, *Vimāna-vatthu*, *Pētavattu*, *Thēra-Thēri-gāthā* and *Cariyāpiṭaka*. He has drawn his material from the Sinhalese commentaries, and also seems to have used Dravidian commentaries (*ibid.*, p. 9). This and the fact that he lived in India account for the absence of any reference to incidents in Ceylon. Upasēna compiled the *Saddhammapajjotikā*, commentary on the *Niddēsa*, and is assigned to the reign of Aggabōdhi I. To Mahānāma is attributed the *Saddhammappakāsinī*, the commentary on the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*. The author and the date of the commentary on the *Apadāna*, the *Visuddhajanavilāsinī* are not known.

The Sinhalese commentaries which Buddhaghōsa is said to have translated are non-existent to-day. It is not possible to say when they were lost or destroyed. The *Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-gātapadaya* bears evidence that these commentaries were in existence in the 10th century (D. E. Hettiaratchi—Introduction to *Vesaturudāsanne*, pp. 9, 10). A statement that would throw some light on them occurs in the *Buddhaghōsuppatti*. It states that after Buddhaghōsa had completed his task, a bonfire was made of

the Sinhalese commentaries. Malalasekara does not take this statement literally, but interprets it to mean that the Sinhalese commentaries were superseded completely by Buddhaghōsa's compilations (*Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, p. 98). Whatever may have been the cause, the earliest Sinhalese literary records are irretrievably lost.

So much for Pāli literary activity ; it is now time to consider whether there was any Sinhalese literary activity all this time. The earliest extant Sinhalese work is the Siya-bas-lakara, assigned to about the 9th century A.D. Recent archaeological research in Ceylon has brought to light a large number of verses scribbled on the mirror-wall (*kāṭapat-pavura*) of Sīgiriya. Paranavitana, dealing with these verses, which he assigns to the period between the sixth and the thirteenth century states that these ' stanzas themselves contain ample indirect evidence to show that the versifier's art had had a long history in Ceylon at the time these metrical compositions were scribbled on the mirror-wall of Sīgiriya ' (*J.R.A.S.C.B.*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 98, p. 58). We also have reference to poetry of much earlier date in the Chronicles and other Pāli works. Buddhaghōsa refers in his *Paramatthajōtikā* to Sinhalese verses in praise of the Buddha, which were sung by women when they worked in the fields. The earliest Sinhalese writings according to tradition were the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathās*, supposed to have been written by Mahinda. Two other commentaries, the *Mahā Paccari* and the *Kuruṇḍi*, are also mentioned by Buddhaghōsa in his *Samantapāsādikā*, and Adikaram says that here too they are mentioned with the *Mahā Aṭṭhakathā* (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 12). The *Mahā Paccari* was so called as it was written on a raft, and the *Kuruṇḍi* because it was written at *Kuruṇḍavēlu-vihāra* (*Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, pp. 91, 92). The *Mahā Aṭṭhakathā* occupied first place, and Adikaram states that ' there is evidence that it contained a large number of anecdotes based on incidents that took place in Ceylon. Buddhaghōsa included in his commentaries only a few of these stories which, had they been preserved in their entirety, would have given us a clearer insight into the conditions of ancient Ceylon than we are able to have at present ' (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 12). The *Cūlavamsa* also gives evidence of later literary activity. It refers to (Cūla) Moggallāna II as having had poetic gifts without equal (CV 41. 55). He is also credited with the composition of ' a poem in praise of the good

Doctrine which he recited from the back of his elephant at the close of the sermon in the town' (CV 41. 60). Twelve poets who flourished in the time of Aggabōdhi I are mentioned in the Pūjāvaliya, Rājāvaliya and the Nikāya-saṅgrahava, though some of the names differ slightly in the three works. To this king's reign are ascribed poets who wrote numerous poems in the Sīhala tongue. A few Sinhalese works were also mentioned in the foregoing pages, so that we now have a good list of Sinhalese works which are lost to us to-day, viz.,

Sīhalatṭhakathā

Sinhalese translation of the Sutta-piṭaka by Mahā Dhammakathi  
The works such as Asakdākava, of the twelve poets in the time of Aggabōdhi I

Daḷadā-vaṃsa

An old Sinhalese Mahāvamṣa

An old Sinhalese Bōdhi-vaṃsa

Saṅdās-lakuṇa of Kalyāṇamitta

An old Mayūra-sandēśa

An old Sinhalese Kathā-vastu, the source of Rasavāhini

Kēsa-dhātu-vaṃsa-kāvya assigned to Moggallāna I's time

The Dharma-kāvya of Moggallāna II (see also P. B. Sannasgala, *Siṃhalasāhitya-vaṃśaya*, Introduction, p. xv).

Thus it is clear that there had been a long standing literary tradition which came down from earliest times. The Sīgiriya graffiti go to establish the influence and the existence of such a tradition. Some of the recent epigraphical investigations have also revealed three Brāhmī inscriptions which the Archaeological Commissioner suggests are in Sinhalese verse (*J.R.A.S.C.B.*, 1945, No. 98, p. 58). These give us an example of the earliest literary activity in the island. These three inscriptions are assigned by him to the second or the first century B.C. The first of these he reads as a stanza in *Yāgī*; the second too impresses him as verse, but the metre here according to him is not one found in the extant poetical literature and is not mentioned in the Eḷu-saṅdās-lakuṇa. He believes it to be a metre from Sanskrit, Pāli or Prākṛit in general agreement with *Udgīti*, a variation of the *Āryā* metre. The other two are in *Upagīti* and *Pathyā*. He also remarks that metres of the *gī* type may have been much in vogue during these times. The next earliest specimens of Sinhalese verse are those of the Sīgiriya graffiti, which were noticed by H. C. P. Bell, the pioneer of antiquarian research in Ceylon. The graffiti, that have to be assigned to 'the 6th and 7th centuries, are very few, and they,

in common with the stone inscriptions of the period, are written in a very erratic script. The majority of them, belonging palaeographically to the eighth and ninth centuries, consist of stanzas, some of them rhymed' (*J.R.A.S. C.B.*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 92, pp. 310, 311). The verses generally deal with the paintings on the Sigiriya rock, the attractions of Sigiriya, and the reactions of the visitors. They show spontaneous outbursts of emotional feeling and observations of the visitors, who did not pause to reflect on the form of their verses or figures of speech, as was the case with some of our later writers, whose works degenerate into laboured exercises in grammar and prosody. As an example of their originality and effective comparison the following verse may be quoted :—

*Nil kaṭ-rola-malekā ävunu vätkoḷamala sey  
säñdägä sihivenney mahanel vanak hay ranvan hun,*

' Like a *vätakoḷu* flower entangled in a blue *kaṭarolu* flower, the golden-coloured one who stood together with the lily-coloured one will be remembered at the advent of evening ' (*ibid.*, p. 342).

The Sinhalese language went through vicissitudes, enjoying at times great cultivation and at other times being superseded by Pāli. However, with the advent of Pāli Sinhalese grew. Though Pāli was zealously studied, Sinhalese was used for the exposition and propagation of the religion and for literary compositions, as is seen from the work of Dhammakathi, who translated the *Suttas* into Sinhalese. The use of Sanskrit by Buddhādāsa in his treatise on medicine shows that during his time, when Sinhalese was gaining ascendancy over Pāli, Sanskrit also was making headway here, thus introducing into the island a knowledge of secular and scientific literature. The fifth century saw a great advancement in literary activity, when Pāli was re-established as the language of religion and literature owing to the impetus given by Buddhaghōsa. ' Pāli had once more gained its ascendancy over Sinhalese and it was their ambition, as so many authors of this period tell us, in the process of their works, to set aside the Sinhalese language, reject the *Dīpa Bhāṣā* and compose their works in the supreme Māgadhī language, which is the mother of all tongues, sweet to the ear, and delightful to the heart and cooling to the senses ' (*Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, p. 139). While Buddhaghōsa and his colleagues were working on the commentaries, there also went on a kind of historical literary activity which produced the two great chronicles, the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*, both of which record the

island's history up to the time of Mahāsēna. The former is the work of an unknown author, and the latter is by a *thēra* Mahānāma, who also tells us that there existed in the Mahā-vihāra a Sihala Mahāvamsaṭṭhakathā.

The years after the fifth century were again marked by invasions, schisms, civil wars and intrigues, which brought about a decline in cultural activity, though amidst these reigned a few kings who devoted some of their time to cultural pursuits, as for example Culla Moggallāna and Aggabōdhi I who was surrounded by a band of poets. The growing influence of Sanskrit is marked by the production of a Sanskrit work, the Jānakīharaṇa or the Abduction of Sītā, by Kumāradāsa, who is identified with the king Kumāra Dhātusēna (A.D. 513-522) by Malalasekara (*ibid.*, p. 151). Mendis disagrees with this identification (*Early History of Ceylon*, p. 61). The Mahāvamsa too, attributes no literary ventures to this king Kumāra Dhātusēna. He is credited only with reciting the sacred texts, reforming the Order, and supplying the clergy with the fourfold requisites (CV 41. 2). The Pūjāvaliya, identifying him with Kumāra Dhātusēna, relates the popular story of Kumāradāsa's friendship with the eminent poet Kālidāsa, whose works no doubt influenced him, and the sacrifice of his life on the altar of friendship.

The oldest extant Sinhalese literary work is assigned to the ninth century, and is attributed to Silāmēgha Sēna or Matvala Sen. It is the Siya-bas-lakara, a treatise on poetics, and is for the most part a rendering of the Sanskrit work Kāvyaḍarśa of Daṇḍin. The colophon of the work ascribes it to Salamevan, who was a brother of Amaragiri Kāśyapa, and who was like a 'lustrous crown to this science'. Of Pāli works, the Khēmappakaraṇa is assigned to this period. It is an exposition of the *Abhidhamma* by a *thēra* named Khēma. The Pāli Mahā-bodhi-vamsa, assigned to the last quarter of the tenth century, is attributed to Upatissa. It is important to note that this book bears 'distinct traces in the language of the influences of Sanskrit on the Pāli and we may regard this book as marking the beginning of the period of Sanskritized Pāli . . . The whole tone and manner of his work betray a tendency to use a kind of Sanskritized Pāli' (*Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, p. 159). The work also mentions that it is a translation from a Sinhalese original. Another book attributed to this author is the

*Anāgatavaṃsa*, which is also said to be based on an earlier Sinhalese text. The beautiful poem *Tēlakaṭāhagāthā* is assigned to about this time—either the latter part of the tenth or the early eleventh century. The verses are exhortations to men to lead a good life by a *thēra* named Kalyāṇīya who was cast into a cauldron of boiling oil, because he was suspected of an intrigue with the queen of Kālaṇi Tissa (*ibid.*, p. 162). There is yet another Pāli work, the *Vaṃsatthappakāsini*, a *ṭīkā* on the *Mahāvāṃsa*, by an author about whom nothing is known. We are also fortunate in that most of the Sinhalese works produced about this time are extant. The *Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya*, attributed to Kassapa V (A.D. 929), is a glossarial commentary on the Pāli *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*. This book, and other works of a similar nature, indicate that Pāli works were extensively studied and hence it became necessary to explain in Sinhalese obscure words and passages in them. Thus arose a series of *gāṭapadas* or glossaries, which are of course not very valuable as literature. The main interest in this book lies therefore in its linguistic material. The *Sikha-vaḷaṇḍa* and the *Sikha-vaḷaṇḍa-vinisa* deal with the discipline of monks. D. B. Jayatilaka assigns them to the half-century between Mugayinsen, father of Kassapa V, and Mahinda IV (A.D. 956). He states that the language resembles that of the *Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya*, and is slightly more developed. Another work of the same class is the *Herāṇasikha*, precepts to be observed by novices. These books are referred to in the *Poḷonnaruva Katikāvata*, *Mihintalē* tablets and *Haṃsa-sandēśa*, which testify that they had gained recognition. These works belong to the period generally termed the *Anurādhapura* period.

We now come to what is accepted as the *Poḷonnaruva* period in the *History of Sinhalese Literature*. Some of the best and most esteemed writers flourished in this age. What is distinctly noticeable as one passes from the previous period to this is the difference in language and style of writing, especially in the field of prose. The influence of Sanskrit on the writers is unmistakable and obvious. Reference has already been made to the causes that brought in this influence. After the chaos that prevailed at this time, Vijaya-bāhu I was able to restore a certain degree of peace, in which he did much for culture and learning, which reached glorious heights in the time of Parākramabāhu I. He was assisted in this task by a band of erudite scholars, who enjoyed a great reputation on



account of their Sanskrit learning. At the head of this band was Dimbulāgala Mahākāśyapa, who was chiefly responsible for the Poḷonnaruva Katikāvata. He is also the author of the Sanskrit grammar Bālāvabōdhana, and is credited with a Sinhalese *sanne* to the Samantapāsādikā. Contemporaneous with him was Moggallāna, who wrote the well-known Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa, a Pāli grammar. Malalasekara (ibid., p. 179) thinks him to be different from the writer of the lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā, based on the Sanskrit Amarakōṣa. Apparently the overwhelming Sanskrit influence that threatened to disorganise all Pāli study needed to be checked; hence the production of a fresh grammar, which originated a new school of Pāli grammar in the island.

The greatest luminary in the literary firmament of this time was Sāriputta, who was also a Sanskrit scholar. He wrote the Pañjikālaṅkāra, a *ṭīkā* on Ratnaśrijñāna's *pañjikā* to Candragōmi's Vyākaraṇa, and also a concise grammar in Sanskrit called the Padāvatāra. He is also the author of the Vinayaśaṅgaha, a summary of the Vinaya-Piṭaka (*Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, p. 190). To him are also attributed *ṭīkā*s on the Vinaya-Piṭaka, Aṅguttara and Majjhima Nikāyas, and a Sinhalese *sanne* to the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha. His 'most comprehensive work, however, is the Sārattha-dīpani, his masterly sub-commentary on Buddhaghōsa's Samantapāsādikā on the Vinaya-Piṭaka' (ibid., p. 192). Referring to this work Malalasekara also remarks that the language of the book betrays the influence of Sanskrit on the author's Pāli. Thus these works bear the impress of the influence of Sanskrit learning that spread extensively during this time. Works on rhetoric, prosody, lexicography and grammar both in Sinhalese and in Pāli were based on Sanskrit models. These writers display a love of Sanskrit idiom and style, and their influence seems to be quite pronounced in the Sinhalese works of the period. The Abhidhammārtha-saṅgraha-sannaya, the rock-inscriptions of Parākramabāhu I and his Katikāvata are good examples of this mode of writing. Here, one notices an abundance of Sanskrit loan-words, as opposed to Pāli loan-words of the earlier period. This gave rise to a mixed style of writing which reached its culmination about the fifteenth century, being popularised by works like the Pūjāvaliya and persisting to this day.

Before proceeding to discuss other Sinhalese works, attention must be drawn to the Galvihāra Inscription of Parākramabāhu I. No sooner had he brought the island under his sway than he tried his utmost to uplift the Buddhist Order, in which task he had the invaluable services of Kāśyapa, who, besides his high attainments in the field of Sanskrit learning, was also an eminent authority on the *Vinaya*. At the request of the King a *Katikāvata* was drawn up by a council of monks and inscribed on a rock at Galvihāra at Poḷonnaruva, for the preservation of the monastic discipline and the purity of the Order. Apart from its historical and religious significance, it is also valuable as a characteristic specimen of the language of the period.

Sāriputta's *Abhidharmārtha-saṅgraha-sannaya* gives word-for-word explanations of the Pāli work by Ānanda. Its main interest lies in its mixed Sanskritic style. We again come to an era of very extensive glossarial activity. The *Jāṭaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya*, *Vesaturudā-sanne* and *Mahā-bōdhi-vaṃsa-gāṭapadaya* are all modelled on the *Dham-piyā-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya*, but are written in a more developed language. The Sinhalese writers drew very largely from the *Jātakas* which from the earliest times served as a source of recreation as well as of religious instruction, and the abundance of *sannēs*, *gāṭapadas*, translations and poems based on them testifies to their great popularity. The *Jāṭaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya* is a glossary to the Pāli *Jātakatṭhakathā*, by a scholar about whom nothing is known. Though the language is generally mixed, it contains a stratum as old as the *Dham-piyā-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya*. It also betrays Dravidian influence and throws much light on the social condition of the times. An examination of the *Vesaturudā-sanne* shows that it is earlier than the *Jāṭaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya*, as it contains an older stratum of language, and the Sanskrit element is less marked. The language of the *Mahā-bōdhi-vaṃsa-gāṭapadaya* is generally Sanskritic, but it has a wealth of old Sinhalese forms. Reference is made to three glossaries, *Mahā-gaṇṭhipada*, *Majjhima-gaṇṭhipada*, and *Cūla-gaṇṭhipada*, which were compiled to aid the study of the Pāli commentaries on the *Vinaya* (*Vinativinōdanī*, *Commentary of the Vinayatṭhakathā*, ed. Bēratuḍuve Dhammādhāra Tissa, Introduction, p. iv).

The great classic *Amāvatura* and the *Dharmapradīpikava* are two works by the Upāsaka Gurulugōmi. Very little is known about him, and his date has only been fixed with the help of references.

The Nikāya-saṅgraha, a history of Buddhism, written about the 14th century, includes Guruḷugōmi's name among the great scholars who flourished from the time of Buddhaghōsa, and the Sidat-saṅgarāva of the 13th century makes mention of him. He seems to have drawn on the Pāli Jinālaṅkāra of Buddhārakkhita of about A.D. 1157 when he compiled his Dharmapradīpikāva. These facts help us to assign him to the period between the latter part of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th. The term *Gōmi* is an honorific title meaning a 'Great Lay Devotee', which may have been conferred on him by the king in recognition of his piety and scholarship. The Dharmapradīpikāva, a Sinhalese commentary on the Pāli Mahābōdhivaṃsa, is accepted as his earlier work. It is noteworthy that he seems to have consulted not only Pāli but also Sanskrit works, not excluding the Jātakamālā and the Ratnāvalī. His language is generally Sanskritic; but in the descriptive portions of his work he changes his style into pure Sinhalese, as for example in the Suḷu Kaliṅgu story, which is one of the finest in the language. His masterpiece is Amāvatura, one of the best Sinhalese prose works. This is an attempt to justify the title *Purisadamma-sārathi* of the Buddha, and recounts his exploits in taming various persons. He follows closely the Pāli originals, and also draws from the commentaries. The language is rather archaic, and is in contrast to his earlier work. Here he consciously avoids Sanskritisms, and writes in a style marked by brevity and preciseness. The book is also important from a linguistic point of view, as it contains numerous forms representative of earlier stages in the development of the language. It is a learned and scholarly work, and perhaps was not intended to be understood by the average man. It thus stands in contrast to the later works, which catered for a large section of the people by adopting a more popular language, which was taking shape at this time. The Butsaraṇa seems to mark a transitional period in this development of the popular language. It glorifies the virtues of the Buddha, and exhorts people to take refuge in him. It is attributed to a Vidyā-Cakravartī, who is identified by some with Sakala-Vidyā-Cakravartī, the author of the Thūpa-vaṃsa. The most important feature of the book is the development of what is termed the popular language, which set up a new standard of literary style more accessible to the masses. It is very likely that these Saraṇa books were meant to be read aloud to lay devotees, rather than for private study.

This perhaps accounts for their popular language, which has been enriched by the introduction of similes, etc. from every day life and experience. The next two works of this series, the Daham-saraṇa and Sanga-saraṇa, deviate from the path followed by the first, and use a more Sanskritic and learned language. The Thūpa-vaṃsa, attributed to Sakala-Vidyā-Cakravartī, is the next prose work assigned to this period on grounds of style and language. It is generally accepted that two books, a Sinhalese and a Pāli version, existed prior to the composition of this work. The Ruvanvālisāya Slab-Inscription of Queen Kalyāṇavatī refers to a Thūpa-vaṃsa, which Parānavitana considers to be a Sinhalese version (*Ruvanmāli-maḷuvēdī mā Thūpavaṃsa asā*, listened to the Thūpavaṃsa on the platform of the Ruvanmāli itself ; EZ, Vol. IV, pp. 254, 256).

The earliest examples of lyric poetry, *Khaṇḍa Kāvya*, are the Sasadā-vata and the Muvadevdā-vata, which are based on two Jātaka stories, the Sasa and Makhādēva Jātakas. Both works show strong influence of Sanskrit, although it was of poets inferior to Kālidāsa. This influence was not in the vocabulary, but in the modes of composition and descriptions. Neither the date of the Muvadevdā-vata nor its author has been discovered. The Sasadā-vata has been assigned to the first reign of Queen Lilāvati, but its author too is not known.

We now come to the Daṃbadeṇiya period, the beginning of which was marked by chaos due to invasion and strife, which continued until Vijayabāhu III restored peace and order. This good work was continued by his successor, Parākramabāhu II, the leading figure of the era, under whose patronage culture and learning spread throughout the country. Writers gradually approached the popular language, and following in the steps of But-saraṇa, produced more and more popular works.

The Pūjāvaliya is mainly an account of the offerings made to the Buddha from the time he obtained *Vivaraṇa* up to his *Parinibbāna*. These the author recounts to justify the appellation *arahaṃ*, and the work has been planned on the lines of Amāvatura, the marked difference between them being that the former seems to have been meant for both the learned and the unlearned while the latter was for the learned only. According to the author himself, the book was written at the request of the minister Deva Patirāja in the 30th year of the reign of Parākramabāhu II, by Mayūrapāda-Parivēṇādhīpati Buddhaputta. It is not a translation from Pāli.

Besides inculcating religious principles, it instils faith in the reader. It is quite different from earlier works in that it marks the emergence of the popular literature. Unlike other works, it extols the *Bodhisattva* ideal and bids men aspire to this, thus revealing the Mahāyāna influence. Besides religious lore, it contains some historical anecdotes, and refers to social conditions at times.

The Viśuddhi-mārga-sannaya is a glossary to the Pāli work Visuddhimagga, and is attributed to King Parākramabāhu II. It is written in a mixed Sanskritic style. ' Visuddhimagga was a tower of strength for the Mahāvihāra sect. In propounding the views embodied in the Visuddhimagga, Buddhaghōsa sometimes disagrees with or criticizes the views held by certain Schools or Scholars . . . ' (D. E. Hettiaratchi, *Vesaturu-dā-sanne*, pp. 80-83). To this king is also attributed the Vanavinisa-sannaya, which is apparently lost. Mention is made of another work of a similar nature, a glossary to the Jātakatṭhakathā, assigned to this period, and attributed to a scholar named Rājamurāri (*Pāli Literature in Ceylon*, p. 126). The Karma-vibhāgaya, a doctrinal work dealing with the working of *Karma*, is also assigned to this period.

That *gī* poetry had been popular from the earliest times is seen from works such as the Sasadā and the Muvadevdā-vata, which have been already referred to. The Kav-siḷumiṇa, is the last of this line, and marks the close of a tradition that had been long in vogue. This work is looked upon as a *mahā-kāvya* (epic) in Sinhalese. At least it conforms to the definition of *mahā-kāvya* given by Daṇḍin more than any other Sinhalese work. Parākramabāhu II is generally accepted as its author ; but this is disputed by some, who attribute it to either Parākramabāhu I or to Vijayabāhu II. That the authors of Sasadā, Muvadevdā and Kav-siḷumiṇa followed the same models in their works is seen in the general plan as well as in the details. In this connection, the beginnings of the works, wherein the stories are given in brief, and the similes used to convey the general plan of the poems, are of interest. The Kav-siḷumiṇa is woven round the Kusa-jātaka, which later formed the theme of the popular work of Alagiyavanna. The author is highly poetical, and has lavishly described subjects that caught his fancy. His descriptions show much originality, though he has not been uninfluenced by Sanskrit theories of *alaṅkāra*.

The Sidat-sañgarāva is the earliest surviving grammar of the language. Opinions regarding its authorship are divided. Some attribute it to Vēdēha, who is said to have composed a Sinhalese grammar (Sihalaṃ Saddalakkhaṇaṃ), as is attested by the colophon of his Samantakūṭa-vaṇṇanā. The work itself refers to the author as the Principal of the Patirāja-piriveṇa, and also to the fact that it was written at the request of Dēva Patirāja, the governor of South Ceylon. With the help of the Cūlavamaṃsa, this Dēva Patirāja has been identified with Parākramabāhu II's minister of the same name, who built a monastery at Attanagalla for Anavamadarśi Thera. With the help of this evidence Anavamadarśi has been credited with the authorship of this grammar, and the one alleged to have been written by Vēdēha is presumed to be lost. The Sidat-sañgarāva is a collection of accepted rules of grammar, based on data gathered from literature. It is a grammar of the contemporary *Eḷu* language as different from the mixed language of to-day. That it is based entirely on *paḍya* (verse) is made clear by an examination of the author's alphabet. Thus his language is very much restricted ; but as far as the *Eḷu* language is concerned we must admit that the work is comprehensive.

The Eḷu-sandās-lakuṇa, a work on Sinhalese prosody, is assigned by some to the latter part of this period. It is important to note here that the author mentions that he is describing the metres in *Eḷu* in accordance with the traditions of ancient teachers. The Siya-bas-lakara too makes reference to older works on poetics, and it is difficult to decide whether these references are to Sinhalese or to Sanskrit authors and works ; but it may be conjectured that prosody and rhetoric formed branches of study in Ceylon, from the earliest times.

### **Saddharma-ratnāvaliya**

The most important prose work of the Dambadeniya period is the Saddharma-ratnāvaliya, which has been left to the last as it needs more detailed examination. The book is based mainly on the Pāli Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, written in the fifth century A.D. in Ceylon. It has been looked upon by all scholars as a mine of information on contemporary social conditions. Martin Wickramasinghe observes : ‘ *Saddharmaratnāvaliya liyana kālayehi lakdiva pāvati sirit virit da, minisungē situm pātum hāṇḍum dedum āśrayen gālapū upamēyayō da varṇanayō da ehi piṭak pāsā daknā lābeti. Pāraṇi siṃhalayangē samāja tattvaya sevīmaṭa metaram*

*upakāravana anek simhala potak nāttēya* ', ' In the pages of Ratnāvaliya are seen similes, descriptions, etc. which reflect the manners, customs, thoughts, and ideas of its day, and there is no other Sinhalese book so helpful in the investigation of the social conditions of the ancient Sinhalese ' (*Purāṇa-simhala-strīṅgē-āṅduma*, p. 40). Some however doubt whether this book truly represents conditions in Ceylon during the time it was written. Two arguments may be adduced by those who hold this view. Firstly, it may be said that, as the book is based on a work written in Pāli, it may not be a correct representation of life in Ceylon. The presumption seems to be that any literature in Pāli describes conditions in India and not conditions in Ceylon. Secondly, it may be contended that as the author has kept much material contained in the Pāli version of the fifth century, it is not true of life in the thirteenth century A.D.

To examine the validity of these arguments we may first study the sources of the DPA of which the SdhRv is supposed to be a translation. The author in his prologue to this commentary states : ' A subtile commentary thereon has been handed down from generation to generation in the island of Ceylon. But because it is composed in the dialect of the island, it is of no profit or advantage to foreigners. It might perhaps conduce to the welfare of all mankind. This was the wish expressed to me by the Elder Kumāra Kassapa, self-conquered, living in tranquillity, steadfast in resolve. His earnest request was made to me because of his desire that the good Law might endure. Therefore I shall discard this dialect and its diffuse idiom and translate the work into the pleasing language of the Sacred Texts. Whatever in the stanzas has not been made clear in the stanzas themselves, whether in letter or in word, all that will I make clear. The rest I will also tell in Pāli, in accordance with the spirit of the stanzas. Thus will I bring to the minds of the wise joy and satisfaction in matters both temporal and spiritual '. This makes it absolutely clear that the stories in this commentary existed in Ceylon in written form in Sinhalese, either as parts of the Sinhalese Commentaries, or as legend and folk tales. Summarising Malalasekara's discussion, quoted in the foregoing pages, we see that he concludes that the author of the Aṭṭhakathā merely presented in literary Pāli what already existed as folklore. He also draws our attention to Hugh Nevill's view that this commentary was not included in the three Sīhalaṭṭhakathās ;

but that it merely represented popular legends which had acquired considerable authority by the time of Buddhaghōsa, who translated them, arranging them at his own discretion. Thus he is in agreement with the statement in the prologue that the stories were translated into Pāli from Sinhalese, though they disagree on the question whether the stories were a part of the Aṭṭhakathās or not. Burlingame in his *Introduction to the Buddhist Legends*, page 26, says: 'Ostensibly at least, and in name and form, the commentary remains a commentary; what was once a commentary has become nothing more or less than a large collection of legends and folk tales'. B. C. Law in his *History of Pāli Literature*, (pp. 449-450), agrees with Burlingame, but further adds that the DPA 'derives a considerable number of its stories from the four Nikāyas, the Vinaya, the Udāna, the works of Buddhaghōsa, and the Jātaka book, for over fifty stories of the commentary are either deviations of the Jātaka stories or close parallels'. With reference to this topic Burlingame observes that 'a comparison with the Aṅguttara-Nikāya tends to show that in every case the Dhammapada commentary version and the Aṅguttara-Nikāya version are derived independently of each other from a common original' (*Buddhist Legends*, Introduction, p. 50), and that the stories in the Dhammapada commentary are undoubtedly drawn from the same source as the former (*ibid.*, p. 51). Paying a great tribute to the author as a 'first-rate story-teller', he says: 'If a legend or story which he finds in the sacred scriptures or commentaries can be improved on by alteration or expansion or compression, he makes such changes in it to suit his purpose. If a story will do very well just as it stands he copies it word for word, sometimes telling where he got it, but more often not. Or it may suit his purpose better to tell the story in his own words, introducing original touches here and there. Or he may have heard a good story from a traveller or sailor or villager or fellow monk. No matter where he read the story, no matter where he heard it, no matter what its character, it becomes grist for his mill. Some of the stories he tells sound as though they had come out of drinking taverns, and it is quite possible that they did . . . Not only does he display good judgment in selecting stories, and consummate skill in adapting them to his purpose; but he is also a first-rate story-teller on his own account. Many of the best stories cannot be traced to other sources, and of these at least, a considerable number



are doubtless original' (ibid., p. 27). Nevill also does not assert dogmatically that the origin of these stories was in India: 'It may be quite possible', he says, 'that the legends had their origin in India or elsewhere and that they did not belong to Mahinda's school' (see *Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, p. 97). Hence it is quite reasonable to suggest that some of these stories may have originated in Ceylon, and Buddhaghōsa may have learnt them from the villagers or even the monks. At any rate it is clear that all these stories were definitely known in Ceylon for many centuries before they were translated.

We shall now consider to what extent the Sinhalese work is a translation of the Pāli. The word 'translation' generally means a rendering from one tongue to another, faithful to the original. If in an attempt of this nature the translator brings in his own views and ideas and also includes subject-matter that is not in the original, then it is obvious that the work is not really a translation. The author of the SdhRv has no doubt brought in much material, by addition of words, phrases, similes and paragraphs not in the original Pāli. In volume the Sinhalese version is about three times the size of the Pāli, and this indicates the extent of the new material introduced into the Sinhalese work. One example will suffice to prove how an idea can be impregnated with quite a different meaning, and produce a completely different picture from that of the original, by introducing an additional word or two into the translation. The Cakkhupāla story in the DPA states that the two brothers were married (*ghara-bandhanēna bandhiṃsu*), that they were bound by the bonds of household life. In Sinhalese this phrase is rendered as '*saraṇapāvā genvādī venkaḷaha*', which would mean that the persons concerned were married and also that they were made to live separately from their parents, setting up their own household. This rendering brings in a meaning not conveyed by the original, and throws light upon the social conditions of the time. Thus the author not only translated the original, but also through modification, expansion, or alteration adapted it to depict conditions of his day. He also includes stories which are not in the DPA, and come from other sources such as the *Milindapañha*, *Anāgata-vamsadēsanā*, etc. This too indicates that he did not mean his work to be a translation, at least of a particular book. The Sinhalese version therefore should be looked upon as an adaptation of the Pāli.

Now the question remains how far the material in the SdhRv depicts contemporary conditions in Ceylon. It will be generally accepted that whatever new material was added by the author of this book portrays conditions of the thirteenth century. But there might be a difference of opinion about the rest of the material which is common to both this book and the Pāli original. It can be argued that this material does not refer to conditions in Ceylon, but to those in India. Now we have to consider two important aspects of this question. (1) How far does the material in the Pāli version itself represent conditions in Ceylon? (2) Does this material as translated in the Sinhalese describe social conditions of the thirteenth century, when the Sinhalese version was written?

In the first place it is wrong to presume that, as the DPA is written in Pāli, it does not refer to the state of society in Ceylon. It has been pointed out in the preceding pages that the DPA itself is an adaptation of an earlier Sinhalese book, some stories of which must have had their origin in Ceylon. Therefore much of the material, with the exception perhaps of what was added by Buddhaghōsa, should portray conditions in Ceylon before the fifth century A.D. Part of the material in the Sinhalese version supposed to have been translated by Buddhaghosa might have been based on stories borrowed from India; but as these were written in Sinhalese by persons in Ceylon and must have existed in Ceylon for some length of time, they too, must necessarily have some bearing on life in Ceylon during these early times. Unquestionably the stories that originated in India throw much light on various aspects of Indian life; but all the new material that gathered round them during their course in Ceylon must depict aspects of life in Ceylon prior to the fifth century A.D. Even these Indian stories may point to conditions which were common to both countries, for conditions in India and Ceylon during the early periods were no doubt very similar. It is therefore incorrect to presume that the material in the Pāli version depicts conditions in India only.

It still remains to be decided how far the material common to both books represents the conditions of the thirteenth century A.D. We have already pointed out that the author of the SdhRv while adapting the material of the Pāli version, changed and modified the original to suit the conditions of his day. In the case of the rest of the material he might not have considered it necessary to make

any alterations or changes, because they might have been true even of the conditions of his time. As an example from the SdhRv itself we may take the vow taken by the *setthi* before the large tree, to honour it if he should be blessed with a child (SdhRv 27). This shows a practice that has existed up to the present day of praying to various deities for the gift of children. The number of those who flock annually to the shrine at Kataragama for this purpose is large, and we have even to-day instances of offerings being made to trees for blessings received as a result of vows taken under their shade. Some institutions, customs and manners may have remained unaltered during the course of years from the fifth to the thirteenth century, while others may have changed or developed in the course of time. Therefore even the material contained in the DPA, and rendered unaltered in the SdhRv may very well depict conditions which may be true of the thirteenth century. This can be further established if it is possible to produce corroborative evidence to show that a certain institution or custom referred to in the SdhRv was in existence sometime during the course of these centuries, or even after the thirteenth. Such evidence no doubt will prove a link in the process of the evolution and growth of Sinhalese culture, during which process some institutions and customs or practices might have remained unchanged while others underwent change.

Attempts will be made in the following pages to advance such corroborative evidence as will help us to establish that the SdhRv depicts contemporary social conditions.



PART I

POLITICAL

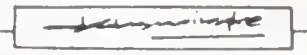
MAP I

# CEYLON KEY MAP

(SHOWING PLACE NAMES)

(Certain place names given in  
Polonnaruwa map are not  
shown here)

SCALE: 1:1,500,000



## CHAPTER I

### POLITICAL DIVISIONS

THE Pāli Chronicles leave no doubt that Ceylon was normally divided into different kingdoms, and that it was only occasionally that a powerful king established his rule over the whole island. In the 12th century the island was divided into :

(1) *Raja-raṭa* which comprised the present North and North-central provinces as well as parts of Mātale North and East, and the Malaya or the hill-country.

(2) *Dakkhiṇī-dēśa*, the Southern country, the southern border of which ran from Adam's Peak to the sea, included Pañca Yōjana and also included the districts of Tabbā, Giribā, Moravāpi, Mahīpāla, Pilaviṭṭhika and Buddhagāma, Ambavana, Bōdhigāmapara and Kaṇṭakapēṭaka-raṭṭha (CV 69. 8).

(3) *Ruhunu-raṭa* divided into (a) Doḷosdās-raṭa, roughly the Southern Province, with the capital at Mahānāgakula (modern Marakada or Nākulugamuva) and (b) Aṭadās-raṭa, with Uddhanadvāra as its chief city, roughly Ūva (see Codrington, *J.R.A.S. C.B.*, Vol. XXIX, 1922, pp. 65, 73).

These divisions continued up to about the end of the 12th century when they went through a definite change. It is proved by the available records that by the beginning of the 13th century A.D. the three divisions Ruhunu, Māyā and Pihīti were already established. It is not easy to fix the exact date when these three divisions replaced the three of the 12th century mentioned above. Tentatively it can be suggested that the change seems to have taken place between the time of Parākramabāhu I and Lilāvati (A.D. 1197-1200). The first use of the term Tri-Siṃhala helps us to establish the date from which the new divisions were definitely recognised. The first mention of the term Tri-Siṃhala in the Chronicle occurs in CV 81. 46 in connection with Vijayabāhu III (A.D. 1214-1235). In the inscriptions, the term first occurs in an inscription of Lilāvati (A.D. 1197-1200), who, it states, attained the sovereignty of Tri-Siṃhala (EZ 1. 5. 181). The inscriptions of Sāhasa Malla (A.D. 1200-1202), and of Kalyāṇavati (A.D. 1202) use this term in referring to the whole island: 'Sāhasa

Malla was crowned king of Tri-Siṃhala at a lucky moment' (EZ 2. 5. 228); Kalyāṇavatī 'attained the supreme regal splendour in the three Siṃhalas' (EZ 4. 2. 80). It is significant that the inscriptions of Nissaṅka Malla (A.D. 1187-1196), who ascended the throne prior to Lilāvati, bear the term Tun-rajaya and not Tri-Siṃhala: for example, the Galpota inscription (EZ 2. 3. 110) states that he 'repaired great tanks, irrigation canals . . . in the three kingdoms'. The Hāṭadāgē slab-inscription (A.D. 1192-1196) has '*prāṇiṅṭa abhaya dī tun rajaya pādakuṇuṭa*'. The Nissaṅka Malla slab-inscription, which is earlier than the above, says: '*avurudu gaṇanakata aya hāra vadārā tunrajayehimā hāma kalata kāti aḍa hāra*', 'He graciously remitted taxes for several years and abolished the tax on chena cultivation in the three kingdoms' (EZ 2. 2. 81).

The Hāṭadāgē vestibule wall-inscription states: '*Laṅkāva sisārā gam niyamgam rājadhāni balā vadārā*', 'Toured Laṅkā inspecting villages, market towns, and capital towns'; '*Tun rajayehi noyek tānhi māligāda . . . naṃvā*', 'having erected mansions in various parts of the three kingdoms' (EZ 2. 2. 93). The Kaṭugahagalgē inscription of Nissaṅka Malla refers to the kingdoms of Rūṇu and Māyā. Adding a note to this, Parānavitana states that the Yudaṅgaṇāva and Vāligatta pillars insert *Piḥiṭi rajayehi* after *Māyā rajayehi* and that this word was omitted in the present epigraph possibly through the carelessness of the engraver (EZ 3. 6. 329, n. 2). In dealing with the same inscription he states that Müller says that 'the contents are identical with those of the inscription at Kaeligatte (Vāligatta); only that here the words *Piḥiṭi rajayehi* Kael. A. 14 are missing' (EZ 3. 6. 326). If, as Parānavitana maintains, the omission is an inadvertence on the part of the engraver, then it must be accepted that the three divisions were already established by the time of Nissaṅka Malla; but it is not possible to overlook the fact that the term *Piḥiṭi* is not mentioned in many of his inscriptions and 'Tri-Siṃhala' is not used in any. The Kevulgama inscription of October 10th, A.D. 1200, of Sāhasa Malla refers to *Piḥiṭi* in '*Piḥiṭi rajaye bada māndivāk saṃvālle āvū vālimāḍa liyatda*', 'Vālimāḍa liyatda in Māndivāk Saṃvālla of the *Piḥiṭi* kingdom' (EZ 3. 5. 234). Queen Kalyāṇavatī's inscription of Batalagoḍavāva refers to Madhyadeśa in the kingdom of Māyā (A.D. 1200) (EZ 4. 2. 81). Considering the evidence of the MV, we have already seen that the term *Ti-Sihala* occurs for the first time in 81. 46 (see also CV translation, pt. II, p. 139, n. 2). The name *Patit-*



ṭhāraṭṭha (S. *Piḥiṭiraṭa*) occurs in CV 82. 26 for the first time, in the account of the reign of Parākramabāhu II; and in the same account Māyāraṭṭha occurs in CV 81. 15 for the first time. In a footnote to this the translator states that 'it is noteworthy that in this second continuation of Cūlavamsa the names Dakkhiṇa-dēśa and Rājaraṭṭha vanish and are replaced by Māyāraṭṭha and Patiṭṭhāraṭṭha' (CV, pt. ii, p. 136, n. 4). This statement seems rather inaccurate, as at least the term Rājaraṭṭha occurs only more or less half way through the second part of the CV, i.e., CV 79. 13: 'In Rājaraṭṭha the king had ninety-nine *thūpas* built'; and CV 74. 45 'let us meanwhile take possession of Rājaraṭṭha'. CV 79. 60 mentions a province of the *yuvarāja* which is identified as Dakkhiṇa-dēśa by the translators by the insertion of the word Dakkhiṇa-dēśa within brackets. These references, and also the reference to Piḥiṭiraṭa in the Pjv, show that the divisions of the island were known as Runuṇu, Māyā and Piḥiṭi by the time of Parākramabāhu II (A.D. 1236). The evidence from the EZ shows that these were the divisions from the time of the last years of the 12th century—i.e. the latter part of the reign of Nissaṅka Malla.

The Pjv also refers to the kingdom of Māyā in stating that Dā Sen Keliya (A.D. 460) collected forces in the country of Māyā; but no doubt the author of Pjv is here using a name in use in his time, as no mention is made of Māyā at so early a date either in the Chronicles or in the inscriptions. Mendis states that during the period A.D. 362-1017, the Northern region of Ceylon, the capital of which was Anurādhapura, came to be called Piḥiṭiraṭa (*The Early History of Ceylon*, p. 46). The foregoing facts will show that this conclusion is open to doubt, as the name Piḥiṭi does not occur either in the inscriptions or in the MV as early as the time referred to by him. His assumption that Māyāraṭa 'along with Rajaraṭa and Ruhuṇa were considered the three main divisions of Ceylon' at this time (ibid., p. 46), is also quite doubtful, for the same reason.

The CV corroborates Mendis's view that the Dakkhiṇa-dēśa was given over to the heir to the throne; but his statement that Dakkhiṇa-dēśa came to be called Māyāraṭa finds no such corroboration, as CV 42. 8 only says that 'the province of Dakkhiṇa-dēśa with the appropriate retinue (P. *sayoggam*) be made over to the *yuvarāja*'. The Pjv mentions that Vijayabāhu III, who subdued Māyāraṭa, advised his sons 'not to attempt to make war

with the Tamils, who had a powerful army and that they should not go beyond Saḷagal Kaṇḍura' (Gunasekara, *A Contribution to the History of Ceylon from Pūjāvaliya*, p. 39). This makes it clear that Saḷagal Kaṇḍura here mentioned formed a part of the frontier between Māyā and the kingdom of the Tamils in the north.

Each of the three kingdoms was also divided into main divisions, such as provinces (*danav*), districts (*raṭa*), towns, market-towns (*niyamgam*) and villages. The SdhRv and the Sdhlk both speak of *gam*, *niyamgam*, and *raṭa* when the Pāli originals do not mention *raṭṭha*. The Sdhlk translates the Pāli terms *gāma*, *nigama*, *janapada* as *gam niyamgam raṭa danav*, and the SdhRv translates the Pāli *gāmē vā nigamē vā* as *gameka vēvayi niyamgameka vēvayi raṭeka vēvayi toṭeka . . .* These make it clear that an idea of a division as *raṭa* was known to these writers. The 10th century inscriptions also mention *raṭ daḍ* and *maha raṭ* (EZ 3. 2. 94, 4. 1. 43). In a footnote to *raṭ daḍ* Paranavitana observes that *raṭa* was applied to a territorial division corresponding to a modern *kōralē*. The references made in Sdhlk of the early 14th century, make it clear that the country was divided into various *janapadas* during this time. Rōhaṇa Janapada is frequently mentioned (cp., p. 718, 391, 368), and does not seem to be identical with the Rōhaṇa of the three main divisions. The Sdhlk refers to a Kuḍḍharajja *danavva* from which a certain monk came to Māgama to listen to a sermon called *Ariyavaṃsa-dēsanā* (398). The story also states that people came from far-off places to listen to these *Ariyavaṃsa-dēsanā*. Hence it is difficult to say whether Kuḍḍharajja was a province in Rōhaṇa or in some other part of the island. Sdhlk also refers to Giripāda *danavva* (451). The reference is in connection with Kāvantissa of Rōhaṇa. A crow is said to have brought five messages to him, one being the report of the death of a monk Mahānāga in the temple of Koturukaḍu in the Giripāda province. It is quite likely that Giripāda herein referred to was another province in Rōhaṇa. The Batalagoḍa-vāva inscription of Kalyāṇavatī (A.D. 1202) refers to a lord of Maṅgalapura *alias* Badalagoḍa . . . Madhya-dēśa in the kingdom of Māyā (EZ 4. 2. 81). In this connection Paranavitana observes that the 34th chapter of the Pjv refers to Vijayabāhu as having appointed the people of Badalagoḍanuvara to guard that fortress and that the Laṅkātilaka inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu IV records the grant to the temple of lands in Paraṇa (old) Badalagoḍa and Alut (new) Badalagoḍa. 'This

town', he says, 'is said, in the present record, to have been in the Māyā kingdom, which is as one would expect; but it is not clear in what connection the territorial division Madhyadeśa occurs' (EZ 4. 2. 77). This Badalagoḍa is identified with Paraṇa-nuvara, by which the ancient site is now known (ibid.). This reference to a Madhyadeśa in Māyā suggests that this kingdom was sub-divided according to the compass as Dakkhiṇa, Uttara, Pācīna and Madhya. Such sub-divisions were to be found in Peninsular and North India, though the names differed from place to place.

The Sdhk also refers to villages inhabited by people engaged in specific occupations, e.g., *kevuḷugamā*, fishermen's village (521, 611); *veleṇḍagam*, merchants' villages (196); *vādigam*, hunters' villages (437); *gōpālayan vasana gamaka*, cowherds' village (423). This shows that some of the villages were occupied by people of the same occupation, and were named accordingly.

The same book also gives us a description of the town of Māgama (395): 'There was', it says, 'in the province of Rōhaṇa, a large town, exceedingly beautiful, echoing with the joyous cries of "sādhu sādhu" of the devoted people who were constantly engaged in meritorious deeds. It was inhabited by hundreds and thousands of monks and was full of *vihāras* and monasteries. The inhabitants possessed great wealth and prosperity. It was beautified by hundreds of streets, on either side of which were storeyed mansions lustrous with rays spreading from golden gables and pinnacles set with seven kinds of gems and adorned with various beautiful paintings; and it was filled with the sweet music of song and dance that were constantly held'. It will also be interesting to note a few of the descriptions of cities: A city was surrounded by a moat, and had a high rampart reaching far into the sky (SdhRv 1005). The cities had numerous streets, were crowded with people and were full of the ten kinds of noises. The Pjv states that Anurādhapura had nine lakhs of buildings of several storeys, and ninety lakhs of single-storey buildings, and resounded with the noises produced by the horses, elephants, chariots, *vīnās*, drums and conches and the shouts of the distributors of food and drink (Pjv 711). The Sdhk describes Anurādhapura as encircled by parapets which were like the coils of white *nāgas* who had come to see the splendour of the city, and decked with rows of *dāgābas* as high as Kailāsa and with *bōdhi* trees like wish-conferring divine trees. It was full of monasteries of monks and nuns, lustrous with the golden

pinnacled storeyed mansions numbering about nine lakhs and ninety lakhs of single-storey houses. The streets Candravaṅka, Mahaveli, Siṅguruvak, etc. were ornamented with gold and silver pandals, archways made of plantain-trees, multi-coloured banners and streamers, rows of lamps set on fences or stands of gold, silver, etc., with garlands of flowers and pots of water. It resounded with the noises of the horses, elephants and chariots and with music, etc. Here and there were theatres where danced and sang clever dancers and musicians (Sdhk 389).

## CHAPTER II

### THE KING

#### (a) Kingship

The origin of kingship in Ceylon from the state of the *Gāmaṇī* has been discussed by Paranavitana in his contribution on the subject (*Two Royal Titles of the Early Sinhalese, and the Origin of Kingship in Ancient Ceylon*, *J.R.A.S. of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1936, pp. 443-462). Here he has discussed the hypothesis that kingship was founded in Ceylon by Aśōka with the consecration of Dēvānampiya Tissa. From this time up to the 13th century the island saw the rise and fall of a multitude of kings. Up to about the end of the 5th century the Maurya and the Lambakarna dynasties were fighting with each other for supremacy over the island. Later on we come to the rivalry between the Sinhalese kings and those of Kaliṅga. We see, for example, that from the time of Nissanka Malla of Kaliṅga, towards the end of the 12th century, this rivalry was acute, and a quick succession of a number of rulers was the result, though Kaliṅga and Pāṇḍya-dēśa were closely associated with the island by frequent intermarriage; and Indian princes and princesses migrated to Ceylon and were merged in the Sinhalese population. 'But the attitude of those who came to the island about the time of Parākramabāhu I was evidently different. They seem to have been imbued with a strong national spirit. Their great desire was to keep the sceptre of the island in the hands of their leaders, and to make Ceylon a happy hunting ground for their kith and kin from the Indian continent' (EZ I. 4. 125). Paranavitana also refers to this rivalry in his comments on the slab-inscription of Līlāvati. He says: 'Soon after Parākramabāhu's death in A.D. 1186, there were perpetual intrigues, among the Kaliṅga and Sinhalese princes and officers of State, for political ascendancy' (EZ I. 5. 177). In a footnote on the same page he cites corroborative evidence from CV 63. 5-11, wherein it is said that Queen Ratnāvalī, mother of Parākramabāhu I, objected to the marriage of her daughter Mittā to Mānābharāṇa, son of her brother-in-law Śrīvallabha, as he was a descendant of the Paṇḍu king who married Mittā, sister of Vijayabāhu I. This

rivalry caused a quick succession of rulers who were either murdered or deposed. The 13th century commenced with the rule of Sāhasa Malla, half-brother of Nissaṅka Malla (EZ 1. 5. 177). He was placed on the throne on Wednesday, 23rd August, A.D. 1200, by Kitti, who deposed Līlāvati, as his co-ministers preferred a prince of the Kalinga dynasty to reign over them (EZ 1. 5. 177). This monarch was deposed by the general Āyasmanta, and the throne was restored to Queen Kalyāṇavati (CV 80. 33, Pjv 36). These intrigues continued until Vijayabāhu III, a Lambakarna of the line of Saṅghabōdhi, attained supreme power. During the 13th century his successors held sway over the island.

Mendis points out that some time between the 4th and 11th centuries, views regarding kingship underwent a change (*Early History of Ceylon*, p. 54). The kings, he says, were no longer regarded as ordinary human beings, but were looked upon as *Bōdhisattvas*. The Jētavanārāma slab-inscription of Mahinda IV testifies to this when it says that none but the *Bōdhisattas* would become kings of prosperous Laṅkā (EZ 1. 6. 240). This view was expressed by Nissaṅka Malla towards the end of the 12th century in his Pritidānaka-maṇḍapa inscription, wherein he says: 'I will show myself in my (true) body which is endowed with benevolent regard for and attachment to the virtuous qualities of a *Bōdhisatta* king who, like a parent, protects the world and the religion' (EZ 2. 4. 176). Nissaṅka Malla goes a step further when in his Galpota slab-inscription he states that the appearance of an impartial king should be welcomed as the appearance of a Buddha (EZ 2. 3. 121). No doubt the same views were held during the following century, as kings were expected to be endowed with virtuous qualities equivalent to those of aspirants to Buddhahood. The CV (88. 35), the Rāja-ratnākaraya (p. 47), and the Nikāya-saṅgrahava (ed. Kumaranatunga, p. 24), bear evidence to this when they refer to one of the kings of this period as Bōsat Vijayabāhu. This idea is expressed in the words of Parākramabāhu II when he exclaimed: 'I will be Buddha' (CV 86. 7). During the earlier periods kings were considered ordinary human beings; but when the origin of kingship in the island had long been forgotten and the kings assumed greater and greater power, they naturally imposed different views on their subjects regarding their origin. Mendis refers to this fact when he says that, though kings appeared in human form, they were to be regarded as gods, and attributes this to the influence

of Hinduism (*Early History of Ceylon*, p. 79). This view is attested by Nissaṅka Malla's slab-inscription at the north gate, wherein he states that kings stood as gods in human form and as parents of the world (EZ 2. 4. 163). In the Galpota slab-inscription he says that ' though kings appear in human form, they are human divinities and must, therefore, be regarded as gods '. The repetition of this idea of the divinity of kings by Nissaṅka Malla shows that he did his best to drive this new idea into the heads of his people. These two views no doubt originated with the influence of Hinduism and Mahāyānism that had spread widely by this time (see Introduction).

A king seems to have been considered absolutely necessary for the well-being of the people. This view is expressed by Sāhasa Malla in his slab-inscription when it is said that ' a kingdom without a king, like a ship without a steersman, would not endure ; like a day without the sun it would be lustreless ' (EZ 2. 5. 227). Before this, Nissaṅka Malla in his North-gate slab-inscription stated the same thing. He said: ' It is not right to live without a king. So whenever there is no one holding the position of paramount king, then either the heir apparent, or, if there be no such personage, one of the princes, failing them, one of the princesses, should be chosen for the kingdom . . . Non-Buddhistic princes from Cōḷa, Kērala, or other countries, should not be chosen ' (EZ 2. 4. 163). The absolute necessity of a king is plainly shown when Nissaṅka Malla goes to the extent of stating that the people should even ' place a slipper of a great king in the position of king ' (EZ 2. 3. 122). This king also advises his subjects regarding the choice of a king. ' They should elect for kingship the sons of . . . kings, *āpā*, *mahaṭpā*, even though they be minors, for they are the lords of the world, and they should maintain family customs . . . If there are no princes, they should maintain (the kingdom) by submitting themselves to the swav of the queens . . . People should not establish in the Island of Laṅkā, which belongs to the Kaliṅga dynasty, non-Buddhistic kings of Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya, etc., who are inimical to the religion of the Buddha ' (EZ 2. 3. 122). In his North-gate slab-inscription he denounces vehemently any aspiration of the *govi* caste to the regal dignity, for this, he says, is like the crow aping the swan, or the donkey the Saindhava steed, the fire-fly the sunshine, etc. (EZ 2. 4. 164). In this connection Paranavitana remarks that ' they found the nobles of the *govi-kula*, however—

practically descendants of their own kinsmen—very powerful, and aspiring to the throne. To counteract this, the sovereigns resorted to the well-known tradition of the Vijayan colonization of the island, and proclaimed to the Sinhalese people that they alone were the pure descendants of the race of Vijaya, and that, for this reason, as also because they were defenders of the Buddhist religion, the throne of Laṅkā belonged to them and to no other clan' (EZ 1. 4. 125). This no doubt reflects the antagonism they (the kings who came from India) bore to the Sinhalese dynasties that aspired to kingship.

The selection of a Buddhist king to the throne was of paramount importance, for one of the foremost duties incumbent on Sinhalese kings was the promotion of the welfare and the protection of the *Buddhasāsana*. The slab-inscription of the Vēlaikkāras states that a king 'put on the sacred crown in order to look after the Buddhist religion' (EZ 2. 6. 253). The king was considered a parent (EZ 2. 4. 176) and a protector of the whole world; thus the welfare of the whole country and its people depended entirely on its monarch. He was not only the guardian of law and order, but was also held responsible for misfortunes that befell his subjects, and even for natural phenomena. This was so in the earliest periods of the island's history; for the pious king Saṅgabō is said to have brought down rain (CV 36. 76), and is also said to have stopped the pestilence of the red-eyed demon (CV 36. 90). One can easily conjecture that this concept of the king's duty persisted far into later times, especially as the belief in divinity of kings was prevalent. The Thulla-Tissa-thēra-vatthu bears evidence of this in the story of the ascetics Nārada and Dēvala, when it says: '*nāgarā aruṇē anuggacchahantē rājadvāraṃ gantvā dēva tayi rajjaṃ kārentē aruṇō na utthahati. aruṇam nō utthāpēhīti kandimsu. rājā attanō kāyakammādīni olōkentō kiñci ayuttaṃ adisvā kinnukhō kāraṇanti cintetvā . . .*', When the sun did not rise, the people of the city marched to the palace gate and shouted 'O King! when ruled by you the sun does not rise. Cause the sun to rise'. The king reflected on his actions and saw no injustice done by him. Then thinking what the reason could be . . . (DPA, p. 21). This, no doubt, is a Jātaka idea that came down from the pre-Buddhistic times, as observed by Mehta when he says: 'Everything is right only when the kings are just. Even if there is no rainfall, it is the king's fault. All the people gather together before his palace and



ask him to atone for his sins' (*Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 84). That this idea did not leave the minds of the people is attested by the author of SdhRv in his translation of the above story. Here he adds a little flavour, and also a certain amount of force, to the Sinhalese rendering when he says: '*nuṃba rahansē raja kamata paṭangena metek davas nāṅgena hira ada metek vēlā renatek nonāṅgeyi. raṭatoṭavalin havurudu noyikmavā badda naṃvannū sema adat davasa ikut nokara hira nāṅguva mānavāyi kivūya*' (SdhRv 85). The translator here adds the statement '*havurudu noyikmavā badda naṃvannū sēma*', for this idea is not expressed in the Pāli version. This makes it clear that the writer was keenly aware of the oppression caused by a king by heavy taxation, and that the people did expect the ruler to protect his subjects in the same manner as he did not fail to collect his taxes. This statement also shows that the Jātaka concept was yet in the minds of the people even at this time. That the 'protection of the strongly loyal adherents' was in the highest degree a duty incumbent on the kings is stressed in the slab-inscription of Sāhasa Malla (EZ 2. 5. 220). The SdhRv states that the people belong to the king, and in another place it says that one belongs to the king even though one may be rich (SdhRv 815, 331 respectively).

The kings, as patrons of the *Buddhasāsana*, were expected to fall into line with the order of morality set forth by the Buddha and also to practise the virtues demanded of every lay devotee. But this demand was a hundredfold greater in the case of rulers. Hence they were enjoined to practise the tenfold royal virtues (*dasa-rāja-dharma*), which are also rules of morality that every good Buddhist is expected to practise, though they are not qualities essentially confined to the Buddhist code of morals, for they are ideals set before all of noble birth (*abhijāta*) by the Bhagavadgītā, which enumerates these ten amidst many more:

*dānaṃ damaśca yajñaśca svādhyāyastapa ārjavam  
ahiṃsā satyamakrōdhastyāgaḥ śāntirapaiśunam  
dayā bhūteṣvalōluptvaṃ mārḍavaṃ hrīracāḥalam  
tējaḥ kṣamā dhṛtiḥ śaucamadrohonātīmānitā*

(*Bhagavadgītā*, XVI, 1b, 2, 3a),

*yajña* (sacrifice), *svādhyāya* (vedic learning), *satya* (truthfulness), *apaiśunam* (non-slander), *dayā* (compassion), *alōluptvaṃ* (non-greed), *hrī* (modesty), *acāḥalam* (non-fickleness), *tejaḥ* (subtlety).

of intellect or majesty), *dhṛti* (firmness), *śauca* (purity), *anātimānitā* (humility), *adrōha* (freedom from malice). The *dasarājadharmas* or rules of government or Norm of Kingship are: *dāna* (alms-giving), *sīla* (moral observances), *pariccāga* (liberality), *ajjava* (straightness), *maddava* (gentleness), *tapō* (self-restraint), *akkōdha* (non-anger), *avihiṃsā* (non-hurtfulness), *khanti* (forbearance), *avirōdhana* (non-obstruction).

Literary evidence also shows that a king was expected to reign in accordance with the ten principles of royal conduct—*dasarajadam*. The KSiḷ has it that the king, having married a queen, lived without transgressing the tenfold royal virtues: '*visī tamā kara kalak—kalak dasarajadamnen*' (KSiḷ v. 5). The Chronicles always refer to a noble king as having reigned righteously and impartially, practising these regal virtues. The inscriptions of Nissaṅka Malla are full of references to these ten qualities. For example, the Kaliṅga park and Rankot dāgāba gal-āsana inscriptions say that he was ruling in accordance with the ten principles of regal duty. The Poḷonnaruva fragmentary slab-inscription of Sundara Mahādevi, queen of Vikramabāhu I, A.D. 1116-1137, says: '*dasa rājadharmā nokopā muḷu lakdiva eksat kara rajakala siri saṅgabō vijayabāhu*', 'Siri Saṅgabō Vijayabāhu reigned without violating the ten principles of royal conduct having brought the whole island of Laṅka under one umbrella' (EZ 4. 2. 71). The slab-inscription of the Vēlāikkāras states that Vijayabāhu Dēvar 'was graciously pleased to rule the kingdom for fifty-five years practising the royal virtues' (EZ 2. 6. 254). The slab-inscription of Līlāvatī records that she 'reigned in accordance with the ten virtues belonging to royalty' (EZ 1. 5. 180). The Pjv states that a king abandoned the practice of the tenfold virtues and handed over the administration of justice to the ministers (Pjv 227). The SdhRv, too, refers often to kings reigning righteously and impartially—*dāhāmin semin* (SdhRv 239).

Nissaṅka Malla's slab-inscription refers to a multitude of virtues, such as liberality, truthfulness, heroism, and the like (EZ 2. 2. 80). As a Buddhist, the king also was expected to follow other paths of morality (*sīla*) in keeping with the Buddhist code of morals. Thus a king was enjoined to perform day after day the ten items of meritorious action—*dasa pinkiriya vat* (EZ 2. 3. 119), namely, *dāna* (alms-giving), *sīla* (morality), *bhāvanā* (meditation), *pindīma* (sharing one's merit with others), *pin anumōdanā* (sharing others' merit), *vatā vat kirīma* (attending to one's duties), *pidiya yuttan*

*pidīma* (honouring those worthy of honour), *baṇa kīma* (preaching the doctrine), *baṇa āsīma* (listening to the doctrine), and *samyak dṛiṣṭi* (right view).

Occasions on which kings preached the doctrine in keeping with these injunctions have been recorded in the chronicles as well as other literary works and inscriptions. The MV records that Duṭugāmuṇu attempted to preach, having learnt that ' a gift (by preaching) of the doctrine was more than a gift of worldly wealth': ' At the foot of the Lōhapāsāda, in the preacher's chair in the midst of the brotherhood, I will preach the Maṅgalasutta to the brotherhood; but when I was seated there, I could not preach it, from reverence for the brotherhood ' (MV 32. 42). This is also recorded in the Thūpa-vaṃsa (ed. D. E. Hettiaratchi, 1947, p. 167): '*rahatun vahansē madhyayehi dharma dānayaḍ duna mānavāyi dharmāsanayaṭa pāna nāṅgī hiṇḍa maṅgala sūtraya kiyanta paṭangat sēk*', Thinking that a gift of the *Dhamma* should be given amidst the *arahants*, he sat on the preacher's chair and started preaching the *Maṅgala-sutta*. Upatissa II ' endowed with all royal virtues, ever leading a moral life, was great in pity. Shunning the ten sinful actions (*dasa akusal*, as opposed to *dasa kusal*), he practised the ten meritorious deeds; the king fulfilled the ten royal duties and the ten *pāramitās* ' (CV 37. 179). The slab-inscription of Kassapa V, giving a lengthy description of the king, qualifies him as *ājara hamuyehi eme dham desum viyakhan kaḷa siyabasnen bud guṇa vānū*, ' He preached that same dhamma in the presence of his esteemed teacher, and extolled the virtues of the Buddha in his own language ' (EZ 1. 2. 43). The CV records that Parākramabāhu II caused his royal brother Bhuvanekabāhu, the *yuvarāja* at the time, ' to be instructed, so that he was versed in the three *Piṭakas*. He made him carry out the precepts for the *thēras*, and held lectures of instruction thereon ' (CV 84. 29). This was, no doubt, because the king was aware of his duty, and further, because being himself otherwise occupied in establishing peace and order, he employed his brother to attend to a part of his burden.

There were two other sets of virtues that kings were expected to follow, namely, avoidance of evil conduct caused by the four kinds of error (*satara agati*), and practice of the four heart-winning qualities (*satara saṅgraha-vastu*, CV 37. 108; *siv-saṅgarā-vat*. KSiḷ v. 91). The kings were expected to refrain from wrongful

conduct caused by any of the four, *chanda* (desire), *dōsa* (malice), *bhaya* (fear), and *mōha* (delusion), for it is stated that the glory of those who do not transgress the path of righteousness grows like the waxing moon :

*chandā dōsā bhayā mōhā yō dhammaṃ nātivattati  
vaḍḍhatī tassa yasō sukkha-ḥakkhēva candimā,*

*Dīgha-Nikāya, XXXI, 4, p. 182.*

If a king desired peace and safety, it was absolutely essential that he should practise the four heart-winning qualities *dāna* (liberality), *peyyavajja* (kindly speech), *atthacariyā* (beneficent action), and *samānātmatā* (equanimity), to win the goodwill of his subjects. The Galpota inscription of Nissanka Malla records : ‘ *catussaṅgraha vastuyen lōka śūsana sanahā sit gat bahujanayā venā venā taman sit āti snēha ḥakṣapāta koṭa divi dī . . . davasā davasā dasa pinkiriya vat purā* ’, ‘ In this manner he conciliated the world and the church by the exercise of the fourfold cardinal virtues, and reached the very summit of popularity, so much so that people whose hearts he won protested their readiness to give their lives for him as a proof of the love and loyalty each entertained for him . . . performing day after day the ten meritorious acts ’ (EZ 2. 3. 106). King Buddhadāsa is said to have been ‘ gifted with wisdom and virtue, a refuge of pure pity and endowed with the ten qualities of kings ; while avoiding the four wrong paths (*agati*) and practising justice, he won over his subjects by the four heart-winning qualities ’ (CV 37. 108). Moggallāna II ‘ won over the mass of his subjects by largesse, friendly speech, by working for the good of others, and by his natural feelings for others ’ (CV 41. 63). When Kīrtiśrī Rājasimha heard of the doings of former kings, of Parākramabāhu and others, he recognised it as right and imitated their doings : ‘ He learned the duties of a king, was filled with reverence for kingly duties, shunned the four false paths, schooled himself in the four heart-winning qualities, showed his brothers and others all favours by befitting action, made them contented and won their hearts by caring for them in the right way ’ (CV 99. 73). This is ample evidence that the above were the ideals set before every king who ascended the island’s throne.

The exemplary character that a king was expected to bear is set forth in the story of King Kāvantissa in the *Sdhk* (ed. B. Saddhatissa, p. 452). The ministers admonished him thus :

A king should always be careful in all his actions ; the glory and fame of kings who do their duty, having intelligently considered what should be done and what should not be done, spread in the ten directions like the light of the waxing moon. All beings despise a ruler who is overcome with excessive lust, who does not persevere in his duty, who is oppressed by poverty, unduly gentle, or fierce like a demon, a king who is harsh and biting of speech, illiberal, inactive, ignoble in his conduct, crafty, easily overcome by fear and possessing no kingly courage. The glory and majesty of a king, the very sight of whose face instils fear in the people, spread like the drop of oil on water and perish. Therefore, O king ! royal virtue lies in protecting all beings, association with wise men advanced in years, knowing worldly custom, leading a life free of blame in this and the next world, protecting himself, ruling rightly and impartially, being attached to friends and compassionate towards Brahmins and ascetics. These are ornaments to a king. He who shows compassion to, and helps in the hour of need even his worst enemy, who comes to him in adverse circumstances—comes to him for refuge being refugeless—he is the real king indeed. The kings of former times attained bliss of heaven by guarding their subjects rightly and protecting *samaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas*, satisfying the wishes of suppliants. If, Your Majesty, the serpent of lust and the demon of hatred, the root cause of all evil, were to arise in the forest of your mind, banish them immediately with the charm of forbearance '.

That the kings had knowledge of the Mānava Dharmaśāstra, the Laws of Manu, is clear from the CV when it records that Parākramabāhu II was well versed in the Ordinances of Manu (*Manu-nītivisāradō*) (CV 84. 1).

### (b) Descent of Kings

The kings of the early periods, when no special sanctity or divinity was attached to them, did not unlike Indian kings, trace their origin to the Sun or the Moon (Mendis, *Early History of Ceylon*, p. 29) ; but by the tenth century they generally claimed to belong to the Solar or the Lunar dynasty. That the kings of the ninth century tried to gain prestige by tracing their descent to the Sun, probably influenced by the ideas of the Purāṇas, is also observed by Mendis (*ibid.*, p. 54). The inscription of Kassapa V states that he is descended from the Okkāka dynasty, the pinnacle of the illustrious Kṣatriyas (EZ 1. 2. 43). Mahinda IV makes the same.

claim in his slab-inscription (EZ 1. 3. 115). That the same views prevailed even beyond the 13th century is quite clear from the attention paid to genealogies by the writers of the Pjv and SdhRv and by later authors. The author of the SdhRv in his story of the origin of the Sākyas includes the genealogy of Mahāsammata up to Makhādēva, though this does not occur in the Pāli version (SdhRv 312). The Pjv gives a detailed account of the genealogy of the Ambaṭṭha Śākyavaṃśa (Pjv 108-115). This long account helps us to form an idea of the claims of our own kings as to their traditional origin. King Parākramabāhu II, the supposed author of the Kav-siḷumiṇa, states in the colophon of this work that he belongs to the Lunar dynasty. This is one of the arguments cited in support of the view that Parākramabāhu II was not the author of the Kav-siḷumiṇa, as he is said to have belonged to the Solar dynasty. However this may be, it shows that the kings of this period claimed to be of one of the dynasties, the Solar or the Lunar. According to the MV the first mention of the claim of descent from Mahāsammata is made in the case of Mānavamma (A.D. 676), who is said to have been the son of Kassapa II, belonging to the line of Mahāsammata (CV 47. 2). When we come to the 15th and 16th centuries, we find the same claim still made by the kings. The slab-inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu VI of the 15th century states that he was the son of Parākramabāhu the Great, overlord of kings born in the race of the Sun, and was descended in regular succession from the glorious Mahāsammata (EZ 3. 5. 281). Bhuvanekabāhu VII makes the same claim in his Palkuṃbura Sannasa when he says that he was of lineal descent from Mahāsammata named Vaivasvata Manu (EZ 3. 5. 247). The Sdhlk of the 14th century, referring to this legendary view regarding Mahāsammata, states that Mahāsammata was the son of the Sun-god by Śrī-Kāntā, according to non-Buddhistic thought (*paramataya*) (Sdhlk ed. Saddhatissa, p. 131).

This practice of tracing descent from Mahāsammata seems to have been started when kings were looked upon as *Bōdhisattvas*, for the MV first refers to the race of Mahāsammata when it traces the descent of the Lord Buddha (MV 2. 1.) Hence, when kings were looked upon as *Bōdhisattvas* they made the same claim as to their descent. The Rājāvaliya commences with a long account of the descent of Mahāsammata.

The account in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (Book IV, ch. 1, etc.) will give us an idea of the dynasties of kings as recorded by the Hindus. Here there is no mention of Mahāsammata but only of Vaivasvata. The dynasties given in the various Purāṇas differ at times, but are similar to a tolerable extent. This practice of tracing the descent of kings to a higher divinity was widespread in India. For example, the Pallavas traced their line to Brahmā, and the idea of the divine origin of their family was elaborately related in their copper-plates (Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 38).

### (c) Succession

As in the Vedic times, kingship was generally hereditary. Occasions are not few in the island's history when lust for power on the part of the princes put a premature end to a king's rule. On many an occasion a *sēnāpati* (Commander-in-Chief) is recorded as having slain the ruling king to gain the kingdom. Apart from such exceptional cases, kingship was hereditary, and seems to have passed from father to son according to primogeniture. 'As to the right of succession', observes Geiger, 'the rule was that the next youngest brother of the king succeeded him on the throne. Only when no other brother existed did the crown pass to the next generation, and here again to the eldest son of the eldest brother of the preceding generation' (CV, Vol. I, Introduction, p. xx). With due deference to Geiger's great scholarship, it is very doubtful whether the examples he cites justify the conclusive formulation of such a rule of succession. It is significant that all the cases cited occur within the period between Mahinda III (A.D. 797) and Mahinda IV (A.D. 956), when the MV recounts instances of personal considerations which seem to have affected the succession. In some of the cases on which he relies doubt persists as to the survival of sons, and in others as to the relationship. Though the records are silent on the point, it is more than possible that circumstances might have arisen to cause a variation from the usual practice regarding succession in these particular cases, and in the absence of further evidence than is available it would not be safe to conclude that a different rule had come into vogue. Against these are numerous cases, before and after the period above mentioned, which confirm our view that the succession passed from father to son.

The SdhRv and the Sdhlk refer to no other succession except that from father to son; for example, the SdhRv says: '*putaṇuvō taman piyāṇan santaka rājjaya ganiti*', 'The son succeeds to the father's kingdom' (172); '*vāḍimālu putaṇuvanta rājjaya dīpiyā*', 'having given the kingdom to the eldest son' (314); and the Sdhlk says: '*rājjaya rākalanta obagē nisi putruvanek nāta*', 'There is no suitable son of yours to protect the kingdom' (181): '*yuvarada tanaturen pudanaladuva . . . piyarajahu āvāmen siyalu rājya dhurayehi niyuktava*', 'Being honoured with the office of sub-king . . . engaged himself in all duties of kingship after the death of his father'. Reviewing the Kandyan system of government, Codrington observes that 'when the succession was doubtful, the selection of the new monarch in practice lay with the principal ministers, and their choice was formally ratified by the people, but normally son followed father on the throne' (*A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 179). Earlier in his book he states that 'the succession to the throne normally seems not to have been from father to son, but from brother to brother, and then to the son of the eldest brother and his brothers' (*ibid.*, p. 42). Unfortunately for us, he does not say at which point in the history of the island this change in succession took place. It is most likely that there was no cause for a change, as the normal rule of succession was always from father to son, both in the Kandy period and previously, and this indeed was in keeping with the Indian tradition, which has been thus summed up by N. N. Law: 'The selection of the eldest son as successor to the kingdom appears to have been the normal mode of disposition in ancient times. The ruling of a kingdom by brothers in rotation has, so far as we see, nowhere been recorded as having taken place in the dominions of the Solar and Lunar kings in ancient times' (*Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 51, 54). Since this was the general rule in ancient India, we so far have no reason to believe that a deviation from this general principle occurred in Ceylon.

#### (d) Election

The foregoing views perhaps create the impression that succession was only hereditary; but a few examples show that ministers and the *Saṅgha*, the community of monks, had a voice in the choice of a king. Occasions when a successor was elected to the throne are mentioned in the Chronicles. The MV refers to the election of king Thūlathana: 'When Saddhā Tissa died, all the councillors



assembled, and when they had summoned together the whole brotherhood of *bhikkhūs* in the Thūpārāma, they, with the consent of the brotherhood, consecrated the prince Thūlathana as king' (MV 33. 17). This was an election of a younger son to the throne in preference to the elder son Lañjatissa, who, in the view of the *Saṅgha* and the ministers was perhaps unworthy to hold the royal dignity. As a result of this, Lañjatissa is said to have treated the brotherhood 'slightingly and neglected them, thinking that "they did not decide according to age"'. This example shows us that a prince could not ascend the throne merely by right; but that he had to possess certain necessary qualifications demanded of a king. That this was the age-long Indian custom is seen by the following statement: 'But we have instances which show that heredity was often not the sole support by which a prince could get on to the throne. He was thoroughly examined by the ministers, and if found worthy and capable, then only was he declared fit for kingship' (Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 101). The 12th century also records a somewhat similar case when Jayabāhu I (A.D. 1114) was elected to the throne: 'The highest dignitaries and the ascetics dwelling in the district met together, and, without sending news of the monarch's death to the *ādipāda* dwelling in Rōhaṇa, they took counsel together, and when they had become of one mind they bestowed the consecration as king of Laṅkā on the *yuvārāja*' (CV 61. 1). The statement 'when they had become of one mind' suggests that the council was divided in its opinion to begin with, and that it was after discussion, perhaps of the merits, demerits and eligibility of the princes concerned, that unanimity was reached. The Galpota slab-inscription of Nissaṅka Malla refers to the selection of a king (see p. 45 above). In the 13th century, the successor of Parākramabāhu II was chosen by the community of monks: 'Hereupon he summoned the great community in great numbers, and the king asked them "which of these six princes, my sister's son and my own sons, is worthy of the royal crown?" . . . "O Great King, thy princely sons and this thy sister's son are all capable men and well instructed; they are all practised in fighting, crushers of the alien foe, and worthy of the royal crown as protectors of the laity and the order. But thy eldest son Vijayabāhu" . . . ' (CV 87. 39). The foregoing examples show that the community of monks had the chief voice in the choice of a king. This no doubt was due to the fact that the king was looked upon as the sole guardian of the *Buddhasāsana*. Codrington mentions that 'where the

succession was doubtful, the selection of the new monarch in practice lay with the principal ministers' (*A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 179). The necessity for such an election, or even consultation, no doubt arose only in cases where the heir was for some reason or other considered unfit to succeed. Under normal circumstances the heir succeeded to the throne, being spared such formality. 'In theory the sovereign was elected by the people, and the tradition of the right to choose or approve of the prince nominated to succeed appears to have survived even the tyrannies established by the last occupants of the throne' (Hayley, *A Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Sinhalese*, p. 41). P. C. Dharma's remarks on Ancient Indian Kingship sum up the position for us thus: 'Kings were hereditary as a rule. But the new kings could not succeed as a matter of right. They had to be formally elected by the people's assembly. The kings succeeded one another by the law of primogeniture . . . the succession of the eldest son to the throne of the father, unless he was disqualified, was the recognised rule . . . The son must be a prince qualified to succeed, by his virtue and education . . . Though it was the rule for the eldest son (unless disqualified) to succeed, the consent and approval . . . was necessary before he could be crowned' (*The Rāmāyana Polity*, pp. 14, 15).

#### (e) Inauguration

The inauguration was the most important institution relating to kingship. The ceremony seems to have been conducted amidst great pomp and revelry. This was a time-honoured ceremony which started in Ceylon with the consecration of Dēvānampiya Tissa, who, according to Paranavitana, was the first to be instituted king in Ceylon (*J.R.A.S.*, 1936, p. 456). The ceremony of *abhiṣēka* or consecration was held according to tradition from the earliest times in India. Unfortunately, it is difficult for us to fix upon the exact details of the ritual conducted in our inauguration ceremonies. There is no doubt that much of the Indian ritual was repeated here, and customs and traditions were established after the first consecration that was carried out under the instruction of the Emperor Aśōkā. The MV *ṭikā* embodies an account of the consecration of a king (*Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, ed. Malalasekara, Vol. I, p. 305). 'Thus it is written in the Sinhalese commentary of that portion of the Majjhima-nikāya known as Cūlasīhanādasuttavaṇṇanā: In the first place, he who wishes to be duly inaugurated as king

should obtain for this purpose three chanks (golden and otherwise), water from the Ganges river, and a maiden of Kṣatriya race. He must himself be ripe for the ceremony, and be a Kṣatriya of noble lineage, and must sit on a splendid *udumbara* chair, well set in the middle of a pavilion made of *udumbara* branches, which is itself in the interior of a hall gaily decked for the ceremony of *abhiṣēka*. First of all, the Kṣatriya maiden of gentle race, clothed in festive attire, taking in both her hands a right-handed sea-chank filled with Ganges water, and raising it aloft, pours the *abhiṣēka* water over his head, and says as follows: "Sire, by this ceremony of *abhiṣēka* all the people of the Kṣatriya race make thee their Mahārāja for their protection. Do thou rule over the land in uprightness and imbued with the ten royal virtues. Have thou for the Kṣatriya race a heart filled with paternal love and solicitude. Let them (in return) protect, and guard, and cherish thee". Next, the Royal Chaplain, splendidly attired in manner befitting his office, taking in both his hands a silver chank filled with Ganges water, and raising it aloft, pours the *abhiṣēka* water over his head, and says as follows: "Sire, by this ceremony of *abhiṣēka* all the people of the Brahmin race make thee their Mahārāja for their protection. Do thou rule over the land in uprightness and imbued with the ten royal virtues. Have thou for the Brahmin race a heart filled with paternal love and solicitude. Let them (in return) protect, guard, and cherish thee". (Next, the *Setthi* and the *Gahaṇṇi* do likewise). Those who address the above form of words pronounce, as it were, a curse upon the king as if they should say: "It is meet that thou shouldst rule the land in accordance with these our words. Should it not be so, mayest thy head split in seven pieces". In this island of Laṅkā be it known that a Kṣatriya princeſs, sent by Dhammāsōka, performed the ceremony of *abhiṣēka* over the head of Dēvānampiya Tissa with a right-handed sea-chank filled with water from lake Anōtatta. Previous to this no such ceremony was known (in Laṅkā)' (C. M. Fernando, *The Inauguration of the King in Ancient Ceylon*, J.R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XIV, No. 47, p. 126). This no doubt is an account recorded when the Indian ritual was yet fresh in the memories of the people here. With the passage of time this ceremony was very much modified in its details when it was not found possible to adhere to the very letter of Indian ritualism. During the discussion that followed the reading of the above article on the Inauguration of a King, it had been remarked that the later kings of Kandy were certainly spoken of and portrayed

as wearing a crown, and the question whether there was an actual coronation also had been raised. According to Coomaraswamy, the coronation was the third item of the ceremony, and *abhiṣēka* or sprinkling of the water took precedence over it in the Indian ceremony (*ibid.*). This order apparently underwent a change in the island, and at some time, the actual coronation seems to have taken precedence over everything else. We shall refer to this later.

The MV gives a short account of the articles that were necessary for the ceremony. Aśōka is recorded to have sent to Dēvānampiya Tissa all that was needed for consecrating a king, viz. ' a fan, a diadem, a sword, a parasol, shoes, a turban, ear-ornaments, chains, a pitcher, yellow sandalwood, a set of garments that had no need of cleansing, a costly napkin, unguent brought by the *nāgas*, red-coloured earth, water from the lake Anotatta and also from the Ganges river, a spiral shell winding in auspicious-wise, a maiden in the flower of her youth, utensils as golden platters, a costly litter, yellow and emblic myrobalans and precious ambrosial healing herbs, sixty times one hundred waggon-loads of mountain rice brought thither by parrots ' (MV II. 27). These may be compared with the list given in the Rāmāyana (see Appendix I). The CV mentions that Vikramabāhu I had made ready the ornaments and diadem, umbrella, and throne for the consecration, at the request of the court officials ; but he is said to have refused the festival saying ' what boots me the ceremony of the raising of the umbrella so long as the possession of Rājaraṭṭha is not achieved ' (CV 56. 4). This shows us that the spreading of the white umbrella was, as during the Jātaka times, a part of the inauguration ceremony of our kings. That a new pavilion (*pāsāda*) was built for the purpose of the coronation ceremony is shown by the CV when it says that Vijayabāhu I charged his followers with the preparation of a *pāsāda* for the purpose (CV 59. 2), and that he, being well versed in custom, performed the high festival according to tradition ' (CV 59. 8). Gajabāhu refers to the water of the royal consecration which will be poured over the head (CV 67. 16). The CV account of Parākramabāhu I's anniversary celebration of his coronation gives us an idea of the gorgeousness and the splendour with which the ceremony was conducted : ' At a favourable moment and under a lucky star the ruler (now) without rivals held the happy festival of the coronation (*mōlimāṅgalam*). The loud noise of the diverse kinds

of drums was then terrible as the raging of the ocean when lashed by the stormy wind of the destruction of the world. Elephants equipped with gilded armour made the royal road look as if it were traversed by lightning-flashing cloud mountains. The whole town, in which the colours of the horses gave rise as it were to waves, was in agitation like the ocean. By the variegated umbrellas and wreaths and the rows of golden flags the heavens were hid as it were on all sides. Garments were shaken (as in calling for three cheers today) and fingers snapped; the inhabitants of the town sent forth the cry: "Live, O King! Live!". Covered with arches of bananas and thickly studded with jars and wreaths, the whole universe consisted of a mass of festivals. Songs of praise were heard, hymned by many hundreds of singers, and the smoke of aloewood filled the firmament. Clad in many-coloured garments, adorned with diverse ornaments and bearing sundry weapons in their hands, practised warriors strutted around here and there with well-rounded limbs goodly to look at with their heroic forms, like rutting elephants. The many thousands of archers with their bows in their hands made it look as if the army of the gods trod the earth. Filled with hundreds of state chariots of gold, jewels, and pearls, the town looked like the starry firmament. While the mighty king, whose eye was large as a lotus flower, thus performed a long series of marvellous things; he ascended, adorned with a wealth of ornament, to the golden baldachin that rested on a couple of elephants covered with golden cloths, wearing on his head a diadem sparkling with the brilliance of its jewels, like to the eastern mountain when it bears the rising sun, vanquishing the fairness of the spring by the power of his own fairness and making moist the eyes of the women in the town by the water of the tears of joy. Thus beamed on by auspicious signs, after he had encircled the town with his right side turned towards it, he entered like unto the thousand-eyed, into the beautiful palace' (CV 72. 312). In the account of his first inauguration as king, which was held on a day considered auspicious, he is said to have 'placed the crown on his head, arrayed in all his jewels':

*nakkhattēna pasatthēna dīnē maṅgalasammattē  
dhāretvā sīrasā mōliṃ sabbābharaṇabhūsitō* (CV 71. 28).

The placing of the crown on the head does not seem to have been an important rite in the inauguration of kings in Ancient India. The early Indian accounts do not refer to a 'coronation' as such, but always speak of the ceremony of *abhiṣēka*, which seems to have

had precedence over all other ceremonies. Haug also points to the same fact when he says that the 'principal part of all these (*Abhiṣēka*, *Punarabhiṣēka* and *Mahābhiṣēka*) ceremonies consists in the sprinkling of holy water over the head of the kings' (*Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa of the Rigvēda*, ed. Martin Haug, Introduction, p. 66). According to the Jātakas, 'the king was seated on a fine chair of fig wood (*udumbara-bhadda-pīṭaka*) and was sprinkled with auspicious water from a conch with spirals turned right-wise . . . then the white umbrella with its festoons of gold was uplifted' (Ratilal Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 106). The Rāmāyana while describing Rāmā's consecration mentions the diadem (*kirīṭa*); but the account does not make it clear that the placing of the crown on the head formed a part of the ceremony of consecration (*Vālmikī Rāmāyana*, Bk. IV, canto 130, p. 606; see Appendix II). The Mahābhārata, whilst describing the consecration of Yudhiṣṭhira speaks only of the ceremony of *abhiṣēka* (anointing) and makes no reference to a crown (*Mahābhārata*, *Śānti-parva*, 40). The Edicts of Aśōka do not mention a coronation\*; but refer to the fact that he was anointed (*Edicts of Aśōka*, Murti and Aiyangar, Edict V, pp. 14-15). That this was the practice even in the age of the Guptas is made clear by the observations made by Salatore on the inauguration of the Gupta kings (Salatore, *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 172). The CV account (see above) of the coronation of Parākramabāhu I (12th century), makes us conclude that the coronation ceremonies of the succeeding century were also carried out in equal splendour. Parākramabāhu II is said to have adorned the fair town for his coronation (CV 82. 1). The anniversary of the coronation seems to have been celebrated by many kings. Bhuvanekabāhu II celebrated it every year in a manner worthy of the highest kingly power, and is also said to have held an opulent sacrificial festival in conjunction therewith (CV 90. 61).

The Raṁbāva slab-inscription of the 10th century (EZ 2. 2. 67) states: '*rada-vā (miṇivutṭnen pāhāyū) siya mundnen lo-uturā bisevnen bisesvā*', 'became king, was anointed on his head resplendent with the jewelled crown, with the unction of world-supremacy'. Nisānka Malla refers in the Galpota slab-inscription to his inauguration ceremony as *voṭunu maṅgula*, festival of coronation (EZ 2.

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\*Most writers on Hindu Polity seem to use the term 'coronation', when actually they refer to the *abhiṣēka*, e.g. Salatore, *Life in the Gupta Age*; Mookerji, *Hindu Civilization*; P. C. Dharmā, *The Rāmāyana Polity*; Griffith, *Rāmāyana*. See Appendix II.

3. 105). The author of SdhRv in translating ' *taṃ rajjē abhi-siñcimsu* ' says ' *mahatvū raja peraharin rāja kumīrayan ūtuḷu nuvarata gena voṭunu paḷaṇḍavā rājyayehi pihitavūha* ' (173). In this translation the author loses sight of the word ' *abhi-siñcimsu* ', 'sprinkled water', and instead refers to 'the placing of the crown'. This difference takes us back to the same expression used in connection with Parākramabāhu I (see above). Again, the SdhRv describing the coronation of Kāṣṭhavāhana (this story does not occur in the DPA) says: 'having placed the crown on his head, he was made king' (472). The Thūpa-vaṃsa and the Sdhlk too use the phrase ' *oṭunu paḷaṇḍa* ' (having worn the crown) in describing the attainment of kingship, which no doubt refers to the consecration (*Thūpa-vaṃsa*, ed. D. E. Hettiaratchi, p. 33, and Sdhlk 530). This is perhaps because by this time the principal act of inauguration was the placing of the crown on the head and not that of sprinkling the waters of consecration on the head of the king. The *abhiṣēka* of Dēvānampiya Tissa is stated to have been performed by a Kṣatriya maid sent by Aśōka. With the lapse of time this custom seems to have been discontinued, as the consecration of later kings seems to have been performed by either ministers, chaplains or even monks. The whole ceremony seems to have been borrowed from the Hindus and was modified later in certain details.

The account of Parākramabāhu I also points to the fact that the king was taken round the city (*pradakṣiṇā*) in procession after he was crowned: 'Then in gorgeous procession he left his palace, marched round the city with his right side towards it, like a fearless lion, stunned with amazement by his splendour the thronging people, and returned to the royal palace' (CV 71. 31).

In wording the message of King Suddhōdana asking for brides for his son Siddhārtha, the SdhRv translator adds the clause ' *bisō-varun ātamanā bāvin* ' that 'queens are necessary for coronation' (SdhRv 980). The Jātakas show that the queen was anointed chief queen, *aggamahēsi*, along with the consecration of the king (Fousböhl, *Jātaka*, IV, p. 407). It is likely that this was the custom even in Ceylon. This gains support from the fact that Paṇḍu-vāsudēva is said to have been only entrusted with the sovereignty of Laṅkā, but did not receive the solemn consecration, as he lacked a consort (MV 8. 17). The MV also records the consecration of Paṇḍukābhaya's spouse Suvanṇapālī as queen, on the occasion

of his consecration (MV 10. 78). As regards the consecration of the queens, it looks as if the king himself performed this, for MV states that Kāvantissa consecrated her (Vihāra-dēvi) as queen (22. 22).

#### (f) Harem

The harem (*antahpura*) was an important institution of royalty, and is referred to in almost all literary works. Indian sovereigns were privileged to have as many wives as they desired. In Ceylon too, the kings had their harems, termed *ōrōdha*, *antēpura*, and *itthāgāra* in the MV. The size of the harem no doubt varied with each king according to his will and pleasure. The CV refers to all the wives of Gajabāhu (70. 266) and to the women of the harem of Vijayabāhu I (60. 85). The Hāṭadāgē vestibule wall-inscription of Nissaṅka Malla states that he got 'queens from various countries, such as Kalinga, Veṅgi, Karṇāṭa, Gurjara, etc.' (EZ 2. 2. 95).

Intrigues with the queens are referred to in the Chronicles, and in some cases these intrigues led to the assassination of the king, or his flight. For example, Abhaya Nāga is said to have been in love with his brother's queen and to have slain his brother Vōhāra Tissa (MV 36. 42). Prince Mahinda, the *yuvarāja* and younger brother of Sēna II, is said to have committed an offence in the women's apartments and fled as a result of being discovered by the king. Recruits to the harem were no doubt selected from noble families, but occasions when women of lower birth were chosen are referred to; for example, one of Mahāsēna's wives was the daughter of a scribe, and was exceedingly dear to him. In the case of the chief queen, or *agga-mahēsi*, as Geiger observes, equality of birth was strictly enforced, and only her sons had a right to the succession. An instance when a royal father was slain by a son of a queen of unequal birth in order to usurp the throne is recorded in the case of Dhātusēna (CV 38. 80, 112). Geiger also observes that some of the kings had two *mahēsis* or two chief queens and that the mention of the title *agga-mahēsi* makes it possible that there was a difference in rank between the two (CV Introduction, p. xvi). The Potgul-vehēra inscription mentions a second head queen of Parākramabāhu: '*nara dēvassa dutiyaṃ yā aggataṃ gatā sā rājinī Candavatī*'. The words of the inscription are translated as 'second head-queen', but in a note, it is mentioned that it is a title of the sub-queen (EZ 2. 5. 241). Geiger himself states



that this does not support the above theory (CV Introduction, xvi). The slab-inscription of Udā Mahayā refers to Queen Kitā as of equal birth. The translator of this inscription adds a note to the effect that the word *rājna* denotes the wife of a king other than the crowned queen (EZ I. 2. 49). The Ruvan-mala gives the synonyms :

*bisev lada kät kat—mehesun hō bisav vē*  
*radū rājāna kät kat—navatā aṃbu du kalaturu.*

According to this the anointed queen is called the *bisava* or *mahēsi*, and *rājāna* denotes any other queen (*Ruvan-mala*, ed. Wijayasekara, p. 47, v. 259). The slab-inscription of Kassapa V states that Silāmeghavarṇa Abhaya was born of the ' *bisev rājāna* ', the anointed queen, as distinct from the other queens (EZ I. 2. 49). The Katara-gama pillar-inscription of Dappula V also refers to a jewelled wreath borne by the *agmehesnā*, the chief queen (EZ 3. 4. 223). The slab-inscription of Mahinda IV states that Sirisaṅgabō Abā was born of the anointed queen Dev Gon of equal birth and descent (EZ I. 6. 224). The SdhRv also recognises that queens were not debarred from wielding the sceptre, ' *bisōvarun rajakamaṭa hāki heyin* ' (SdhRv 441). This is attested by the reigns of a few queens who held sway in the island. The SdhRv also refers to an instance when a king sent his queen back to her parents as she was barren (SdhRv 304). Considering this, it seems quite probable that some Sinhalese kings consecrated a second wife as chief queen when the first was without issue. We have some proof of this in the consecration of a second queen by Vijayabāhu I. The CV states : ' The king, wishful for the continuance of his line, fetched from the Kaliṅga country the charming young princess . . . Tilōkasundarī by name, and had her consecrated as his chief queen ' (CV 59. 29). This view also gains support from the fact that only sons of the chief queen were considered eligible to ascend the throne. Another possibility is that two queens were consecrated as chief queens as a precaution in the event of one proving barren, so that it was not necessary to find a second queen if the first should be childless.

### (g) Recreation of Kings

Water sports and park amusements (*jala* and *udyāna krīḍā*) seem to have been the chief recreations of Sinhalese kings. These, with hunting, were ancient sports of royalty. According to the Jātakas (*Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 112), hunting was the most favoured outdoor sport of the king; but that hunting was a favourite pastime

with the Sinhalese kings is highly doubtful. The kings, especially of this period under review, being looked upon as *Bōdhisattvas*, could not have taken delight in hunting. After the establishment of Buddhism, says Seneviratna, we read of no kings going a-hunting (*Royalty in Ceylon, J.R.A.S., C.B., No. 71, pt. 2, p. 133*); but we find an instance in the Galpota slab-inscription of Nissaṅka Malla where he refers to one of his hunting expeditions. Here it is mentioned that a she-bear sprang before the king when he was hunting in the forest and that he laid her and her whelps dead at his feet (EZ 2. 3. 105).

The literary works of this period often refer to *diya keli* and *uyan keli* (water and garden amusements). Tradition demanded that a park and a beautiful pond were essential requirements of a king. Here the king sported with his queens. The Jātakas also refer to a special seat of the king in the park ' from where he watched the girls sing and dance while resting on the lap of one of his favourite queens ' (*Pre-Buddhist India, p. 114*). The inscriptions of Nissaṅka Malla refer to this kind of seat: for example, the *prītidānaka maṇḍapa*, from where he enjoyed the bliss of almsgiving (EZ 2. 4. 178). A seat from where the same king completed the function of lustral bathing is referred to in his Śiva-dēvālaya inscription (EZ 2. 4. 148). The same king in his Kaliṅga park gal-āsana inscription mentions the seat in his park from where he witnessed artistic performances of dancing and singing (EZ 2. 3. 134). This establishes beyond doubt that park amusements were very popular with our kings, and this accounts for the laying out of royal parks by them. The CV gives a lengthy description of the park that was laid out by Parākramabāhu I (CV 73. 95-112), and this will give us an idea of the parks and ponds of our kings. ' Again the ruler . . . had a private garden laid out in a region close to the king's house. As one felt that it showed by its beauty a likeness to the (heavenly) pleasure garden Nandana, and by lavishing charm charmed the eyes of men, it received the name of Nandana. Its trees were twined about with jasmine creepers and it was filled with the murmur of the bees drunk with enjoyment of the juice of the manifold blossoms. There campaka, asōka and tilaka trees, nāgas, punnāgas and kētakas, sal trees, pāṭali and nīpa trees, mangoes, jambu and kadamba trees, vakulas, coco-palms, kuṭajas and bimbijālakas, mālati, mallikā, tamāla and navamālikā shrubs, and yet other trees bearing manifold fruits and blossoms, rejoiced the heart of the people who went thither. Pleasant it was, and with

the cry of the peacocks and the gentle twitter (of the birds) it always delighted the people. It was furnished with a number of ponds with beautiful banks whose chief decoration were red and blue lotus flowers and which appropriated all that was the loveliest of the lovely. It was adorned too with a large gleaming bath-room supported by pillars resplendent with endless rows of figures in ivory, which was fair and like to a mountain of cloud pouring forth rain by (reason of) the showers of water which flowed constantly from the pipes of the apparatus, and which seemed to be the crown jewel of the beauty of the garden and ravished the eye. The garden was (further) resplendent with an extensive palace adorned with many columns of sandalwood, resembling an ornament on the earth's surface, that glittered, peerless, shimmering, and with an octagonal *mandapa* resembling an ear ornament. It was also adorned with another large, fair, charming *mandapa* that had the charm of a wreath of serpentine windings. There in the garden the Silāpokkharanī pond continually captivated the king, who was highest among rulers of the earth, who had attached the good without number to himself. Still more delightful was the garden by (means of) the Maṅgalapokkharanī (royal pond) and provided with the Nandāpokkharanī pond it looked like the divine garden of Nandana. Yet another pond gleamed there, filled with a stream of perfumed water gladdening the royal moon, and it was ever fair with rich beauty and splendour, furnished with the cave called Vasanta, and with bathing ponds' (CV 73. 95-112).

Archaeological discoveries give us an idea of the situation of the Kalinga Park and also its proximity to the royal palace. Further, the ruins discovered testify to the foregoing description of the CV, and therefore it is not possible to discard all the description as poetic exaggeration. An introductory note to the Kalinga park gal-āsana inscription states : ' The exact locality of the Kalinga Park, which we are told was formed by this king Nissaṅka Malla, has as yet not been definitely fixed. But if the original site of the present "lion-seat" is somewhere near the spot where it was unearthed, namely, just outside the ruin of the "Council Chamber", then the park must have occupied the open ground on the eastern side of it. Bell also admits the existence of a park here, for he says, " The ' Council Chamber ' and the ' Audience Hall ' each stood in its own enclosure, one wall pierced by two openings for mutual admission, sufficing to divide their premises north and south. The precincts of the ' Audience Hall ' were more spacious, allowing

width of some fifteen feet round the building on three sides, and in front running out east as a broad bay. Thence a flight of steps descended into the traditional 'King's Garden', on the farther side of which, directly opposite, was one of the *doraṭu* (entrance porches) into the Citadel" (EZ 2. 3. 131). But he identifies the garden with the Nandana Park formed by Parākramabāhu I some few years before, because of the existence within this area of ruined buildings, stone baths, etc., similar to those described in the account of the Nandana Park in the *Mahāvamsa* (quoted above). The truth may be that Nissaṅka Malla made just a few trifling alterations and improvements and re-named the park as *Kaliṅgōdyāna* (Kaliṅga Park) after the name of the land of his birth' (ibid.). There is no doubt that this royal park was in use during the next century (the 13th), especially as it had been renovated towards the end of the 12th century by Nissaṅka Malla.

As for water sports, we are told that Duṭugāmuṇu 'disported himself in the water the whole day through, together with the women of the harem' (MV 26. 10). The same king is said to have held a water-festival in the month of Jeṭṭhamūla in a tank which he had caused to be built (MV 25. 51). The Sandēsa poems afford us some information regarding water sports in general. There is no doubt that the kings also indulged in the same type of sports. These will be discussed in PART III under GAMES AND PASTIMES.

The descriptions in the KSiḷ give us an idea as to the nature of the park and water sports. The king is shown amusing himself amidst his queens, more in the enjoyment of sensual pleasure than anything else. The 10th canto describes the *udyāna krīḍā*. The king is said to have set forth accompanied by his army, ministers, queens, and musicians. The streets along which the king passed were beautifully decorated. The king was greatly pleased when the keeper showed the women the beauty spots of the park. One lady is spoken of as decking the chest of the king with tender leaves and thus enchanting him with her snare of lust. The king, while decking the cheek of one woman with the pollen 'drank of the sweetness (honey) of her face with the coral vessel, her lips':

*geṇa muvaraṅda ron—kataka patalē sadamin*

*muvamī häyī e niriṅdu—lavanata paḷaḷa oḍamin* (KSiḷ 490).

Thus we see that the king amused himself sporting about with his wives and listening to music. The water sports too are described

in the following canto. The king goes to the pond accompanied by his wives and enjoying the cool breeze laden with pollen. Swimming about, splashing water at each other and diving from the shoulders of one another are, even today, the main pleasures in bathing in a river or the sea. A lady is shown diving from the shoulders of the king :

*digāsiyaka niriñdu—nāñgeta sadoṃbaṭa hallaṭa*  
*lomudehen piya paḥas—nomā lada piya ura paḥas* (KSil 517),

'When a lady climbed the diving board, the shoulders of the king, he did not enjoy the pleasures of contact with her because his hair was standing on end'. There is no doubt that much of the description is conventional poetic exaggeration; yet it gives us an idea of the nature of the sports.

The KSil, also gives a beautiful description of a drinking scene—*āpāna krīḍā*. The king and the women are shown drinking to their fullest capacity, and dancing about singing. The king enjoyed himself thoroughly in the company of these women. The women were so drunk that they could not distinguish the shadow of their eyes in the vessels of honey; they thought it to be a *mānel* petal and blew at it. The king, seeing this, was beaming with smiles. While pretending to remove the flower that had fallen into the cup of mead, from the tresses, he kissed a lady on her lips :

*kataka bona mī vit—hī heta kiyañbu siñduvara*  
*duralannasin piñbiyē—muva mī gate naravarā* (KSil 305).

He clapped his hands so vehemently when the women sang melodious songs that his eyes were nearly drowned in his own tears, and his wristlets nearly gave way :

*liyaden antalirā—nañgata matakatana niriñdu*  
*nupupulē aṅga nuvanin—sulu delē nogilimat* (KSil 307).

This revelry of drinking, singing, and dancing went on till dawn of the day. We may be tempted to regard all this as mere poetic convention borrowed from Sanskrit; but such may not be wholly the case. Many of the ideas are undoubtedly Indian, but it is also likely that the poet, being a king, knew what he was saying—perhaps from his own personal experiences. If we admit that the writer of the poem was a king, we must agree that the poem was coloured by his own experience. The drinking scene is so beautifully described that it is difficult for anyone to believe that it was inspired by book-learning and not by experience. **Kumaranatunga,**

one of the island's leading scholars, threw a challenge, asking anyone to show any place in Sanskrit literature where such a drinking scene is similarly described. R. Tennakoon in his appreciation of the book remarks: '*ekati kav silu mini karuvan oye avanē dī nam okāvas raju siya sevañāllen muvā kala bava nam*', 'It is definite', he says, 'that king Okkāka herein reflects or portrays the writer king himself' (*Kav-silumiṇa Heḷa havula maṅgin*, 1946, July 6, p. 10). There is some truth in all this, and we cannot discard this part of the book as mere poetic convention. There is no doubt that some of it reflects the court life of the king at this time. It is likely that drunkenness and looseness were common within the royal harem.

#### (h) Royal Ornaments

A king seems to have had two sets of ornaments, one the royal insignia, and the other his personal ornaments. The five insignia of royalty and the sixty-four ornaments are often referred to in the literature. The five insignia of royalty were regarded as treasures to be carefully guarded, for if a king lost them it was almost as bad as losing his kingdom, and he who possessed them could claim kingship. This is why the Sinhalese kings were careful to carry away with them these five treasures whenever they had cause to flee from their capitals. Reference is made to a king who surrendered these: 'When in fight he fled, he not only surrendered his courage, but also his throne, his umbrella, his ornaments, and all else' (CV 76. 166). The Cōlas are said to have 'seized the *mahēsi*, the jewels, the diadem . . . the whole of the (royal) ornaments, the priceless diamond bracelet . . . the unbreakable sword, and the relic of the torn strip of cloth' (*chinnaṭṭikādhātukaṃ*). Regarding this Geiger remarks thus: 'W. translates: "and the sacred forehead band" and adds in a note "the term is of doubtful meaning, but it evidently refers to the fillet worn round the forehead"'. This translation of *chinnaṭṭikādhātuka* is perhaps not impossible. Apparently a piece of stuff is meant of the Buddha's dress which belonged as highly prized relic to the regalia of the Sinhalese kings' (CV 55. 17, n. 3). Kassapa is said to have fled to Malaya taking his comrades and the royal treasure (CV 41. 20). Another seized power together with the royal ornaments (CV 48. 89).

The five royal insignia were known to the Indians as the *rāja-kakudhabhaṇḍāni*:

*nikkhippa pañca kakudhānī kāsīnaṃ ratthavaddhanō  
vālavījanim unhīsaṃ khaggaṃ chattaṃ upāhanaṃ*

(*Samkicca Jātaka*, Fausböll, *Jātaka V*, p. 264).

In rendering the term 'rājakakudhāni' the SdhRv names the five, viz. *maṅgul kaḍuva* (royal sword), *hela kuḍaya* (white umbrella), *naḷal paṭa* (forehead band), *val vidunā* (yaktail fan), *ran mirivāḍi saṅgala* (royal golden slippers) (308). It also refers to the lustre of the polished gems of the forehead band (ibid., 939). The Sdhlk and the Pjv also refer to the same five (p. 186 and 113 respectively). These five were known from earliest times as essential belongings of a monarch. That these were necessary for a consecration ceremony is seen from the fact that Aśōka is said to have sent them with the other articles for Dēvānampiya Tissa's consecration (MV 11. 28). Geiger's observations regarding the royal insignia are of interest: 'To the articles of the regalia (*rājasādhana* or *rājabhaṇḍa*) belong also the umbrella (*chatta*) and the so-called *ekāvalī*, a chain consisting of one row of pearls. Their possession means at the same time that of the royal dignity. In times of danger, therefore, the first thing the king does is to secure the insignia (41. 20). A new king takes care to get hold of them in order to legalize therewith his possession of the throne . . . After the death of Mahālānakitti the Cōlas take possession of the diadem and the other valuables (*kirīṭādidhanaṃ* 56. 10). The Cōla king claims therewith symbolically the dominion over Laṅkā. When Aggabōdhi III flees, he takes the string of pearls *ekāvalī* with him. It is expressly said of Dāṭhōpatissa, that he became king without the *ekāvalī* (44. 127-8), thus something of his dignity is wanting. It is significant too, that when Saṃghatissa's royal umbrella by a mere accident falls into the hands of the rebel Moggallāna the army at once recognises him as the legitimate king (44. 18-20)' (CV 55. 16, n. 2). Geiger here refers to the *ekāvalī* as one of the royal insignia. The incident that he alludes to makes it amply clear that the *ekāvalī* was an essential treasure of the king. However, the other records do not show that this ornament was one of the five insignia of royalty (*kakudhabhaṇḍāni*). The other reference in the CV to the *ekāvalī* also shows that it was a highly valued treasure of the king, for it is said that Aggabōdhi IV made a rosary out of the *ekāvalī*, 'bearing in mind the splendid qualities of the Three Jewels :

*anussarantō sō tiṇṇaṃ ratanānaṃ guṇē varē  
ekāvaliṃ gahetvāna akkhamālaṃ akā kira* (CV 46. 17).

The personal ornaments of the king were sixty-four in number (*sūsāta ābharāṇa*). The literature often describes a king as being decked with the sixty-four ornaments, e.g., the Pjv describes a king as wearing the sixty-four ornaments and a golden crown: '*sū sātak ābharāṇa pālaṇḍa ruvan rasiṇ diliyena anargha vū oṭunnak pālaṇḍa*' (Pjv 283). The Thūpa-vaṃsa (ed. D. E. Hettiaratchi, p. 80) speaks of Duṭugāmuṇu as being decked in the sixty-four ornaments such as the *raṇpāṭa*, *ruvansōlu* . . . There is a difference of opinion regarding the number. According to the above reference the king wore sixty-four ornaments and a crown, thus making the number sixty-five. Some hold the view that the sixty-four included the crown. Mahinda IV's slab-inscription says: '*lakāḷa saha vuṭunā tamā barāṇin tulā ag arā*', 'wearing his ornaments including the beautiful crown, he mounted the scale-pans' (EZ 1. 6. 229). Nissaṅka Malla's inscription states that he, 'wearing the crown and his other ornaments (royal ornaments) mounted the scale-pans' (EZ 2. 2. 79, 2. 3. 106). These references do not necessarily help us to fix the number or to decide whether the crown was, or was not included in the sixty-four. It may be that the crown, being the most important ornament of a king, was specially mentioned. The references in the Sdhlk, too, confuse the issue. In one place it says: '*raṇ saḷu hāṇḍa raṇpāṭa . . . vuṭunu yana mē ādi vū sū sāta ābharāṇayen sārāhī*', 'wearing a golden robe and decked with the 64 ornaments as golden chain and crown' (Sdhlk 91). In the page previous to this it says: '*manahara vuṭunnak pālaṇḍa raṇpāṭa ruvansōlu ādi vū sūsāta ābharāṇayen sārāhuṇu rajatema*', 'the king, who wore a crown and was decked with the 64 ornaments as the golden chain . . .' (Sdhlk 90). The first reference obviously shows that the crown was one of the 64, while the latter reference points to 64 other than the crown. The CV also refers to the 64 ornaments when describing king Parākramabāhu II as being decked with the 64 ornaments, such as diadem, bracelet, and so forth. The exponents of Kandyān dancing also speak of 64 ornaments of Kohoṃbā Deviyo (God Kohoṃbā). According to the Kohoṃbā-yādinna these ornaments were presented by Malayarāja to God Kohoṃbā.

The number 64 may just be a number selected at random, probably to correspond to other numerical groups such as the 64 *kalās* (arts) and 64 *māyam* [Skt. *māyā*, art, deception, illusion (MW); deceptive appearance, (P.T.S. Dic.), S. *māyam* are coquettish deceptive appearances or artful ways specially of women]. Whatever this may be,







*acabana*  
(worn on the chest)

we give below our attempts to reconstruct the 64 ornaments. The items 1-46 in the following list are supported by at least two of the literary works: Sdhlk, Pjv, UmgJ, DṃbAs. The DṃbAs gives the largest number (61) while the others give only about half the number (see Appendix III for lists). Items 49, 56 and 61, viz., *jaṅghāpatra*, *pabaludam* and *siddatudam* have been selected solely on the authority of the Pjv. *Pabaludam* and *siddatudam* are included in the list given by H. R. Gunaratna in his *Saṅkhyā-nāma-akārādiya* (p. 71). The rest of the items 47-64 are included in the DṃbAs and have also been selected by Kumaranatunga (*Kāvya-śekhara-vivaraṇaya*, p. 46), Revata (*Siṃhala-mahā-akārādiya*), Jñānananda (*Glossary to Butsarāṇa*) and Gunaratna (*Saṅkhyā-nāma-akārādiya*).

1. *aṅgadābharāṇa* — bracelet (ornament); *aṅgada*, bracelet for the upper arm; *ābharāṇa*, ornament, decoration (MW).
2. *avulhara* — an elaborate jacket-like ornament made of beads and worn on the chest—worn by Kandyan dancers even today; describing what the *uracakka* [an iron wheel (put on the chest), as an instrument of torture in *niraya* (hell); *Jātaka*, ed. Fausboll, Vol. I, p. 363] looked like, the Pansiyapaṇas-jātaka-pota (Vol. 2, p. 779) says: ‘*ē mittavindakayā neḷum malak isa tabāgaṇa siṭinnāsē penī oḥu läya pastānakin yadamakin masātibennēya ē mūṭa avulharaksē peṇennē...*’, That man Mittavindaka appeared as if he was carrying a lotus on his head, and his chest was stitched in five places with an iron thread. This appeared to him as an *avulhara*. *avul* < *ākula*, entwined; inter-twined; *hara*, garland (of pearls), necklace, chain; ‘a jacket-like ornament worked in circular fashion with strings of beads, which are held together by other strings of beads radiating outward from the centre; at the joints of the two sets of strings of beads the strings are fixed on to a disc of ivory or buffalo horn; is worn on the chest and is held by six strings tied at the back, two on each side and one over each shoulder’ (Sedaraman, *Siṃhala-nāṭya-kalā*, p. 29).
3. *bāhudaṇḍi* — *bāhu*, fore-arm, the arm between the elbow and the wrist, *bāhudaṇḍa*, arm-staff (MW); sceptre? armlet? (EWP).

4. *ekāvāla* — Skt. *ĕkāvalī*, a single string of pearls, beads or flowers (MW); neck ornament; UmgJ gives *ekvāṭi*; considered an insignia of royalty (see above).
5. *galamutumāla* — string of pearls for the neck; *gala*, neck; *mālā*, wreath, garland, string of beads, necklace, rosary (MW); Pjv gives *gala*, DṁbAs *gal*.
6. *gelamutumāla* — *gela*, *gala* are synonymous; hence may be identical with *galamutumāla*; DṁbAs mentions both *gal* and *gela mutumāla* while the Sdhlk mentions *gelamutumāla* and the Pjv *galamutumāla*.
7. *gigirivalalu* — tinkling bangles; hollow bangles with small balls of metal inside (HJ).
8. *hastamudrikā* — signet ring; cp. *hasmunda*, *hasmudda*, signet (Carter); *mudrikā*, a little seal, seal-ring (MW); UmgJ gives *pērās*, king's ring, ring bearing the royal symbol (HJ); the word *hasmudda* suggests that the symbol took the form of a goose, *haṁsa*; *hasta* is fore-arm or hand; Skt. *mudrikā*, P. *muddikā*, signet ring, finger-ring (P.T.S. Dic.); hence *hastamudrikā* may even mean ordinary rings for the fingers.
9. *hastāṅguli* — literally fingers; these seem to have been some sort of ornament for the fingers, perhaps different from finger-rings; may have taken the shape of the fingers themselves, hence perhaps the name; the Hāṭadāge portico slab-inscription of Nissaṅka Malla refers to *ranāṅguli* (EZ 2. 2. 87), and it has been rendered as 'golden fingers' by the translator, who has added a note to say that Burrows renders it as gold rings; *aṅguli* > *āṅguli*; *ranāṅguli* and *hastāṅguli* are probably identical.
10. *hinasāda* — *hina* or *ina* means waist; *sāda* < *sajjā*, armour, mail (MW); armour worn round the waist (HJ); if this was a part of the armour, it is unlikely that it was one of the 64 ornaments; it may even be some sort of robe set with gems or worked otherwise; cp. *inahāḍaya*, worn by Kandyan dancers and 'made of

*kāṣṭha* cloth (glossy cloth such as velvet or satin) cut in the shape of an elephant's trunk ; it is decorated with silver bosses on which beautiful designs are worked and bright coloured tassels are hung round the edge at intervals and worn in front on the waist on the frills of the garment' (Sedaraman, *Siṃhala-nāṭya-kalā*, p. 29) ; the two are probably identical ; the Kāvya-śekharaṇya speaks of a forest-deity as being adorned in an *iṇasāda* which was bedecked with *muruta mal*, rubies or flowers of the *muruta* (*Lagerstroemia flosreginae*) tree (canto 10, v. 104).

11. *jaṅghāvalalu* — some sort of bangles for the calves ; DṃbAs gives *ṣāḍajaṅghāvalalu* ; *valalu*, *vala*, *valā*, *valaya*, all mean bangle (PurNv).
12. *kāḍukāṣṭhu* — T. ear ornament ; rings for the ear ; T. *kāṣṭhu* by itself means a bracelet (MTL) ; Kandyan dancers use what is called a *kāḍukāṣṭhu*, an ornamental piece of cloth worn on the groin. 'One end is taken between the thighs and tucked up at the back and the other end is tied up in frills on either side of the waist' (Sedaraman, *Siṃhala-nāṭya-kalā*, p. 30).
13. *karṇāvatamṣa* — may be a sort of hanging ornament for the ear ; *karṇa*, ear ; *avatamṣa*, a garland, ring-shaped ornament, ear-ring, crest (MW).
14. *karṇa-kunḍalābharaṇa* — seems a term used to mean ear ornaments in general ; *kunḍala*, bracelet ; *kunḍalākāra*, shaped like an ear-ring (MW) ; cp. T. *makarakunḍala*, ear-ring shaped like a *makara* (Oṭṭakkūttar, *Mūvar Ulā*, ed. Kaliyāṇacuntara Aiyar, p. 220) ; ear-rings went by the names of *karṇabhūṣana*, *karṇāṣṭra*, *kunḍala*, and *maṇikunḍala* signifying different varieties (Saletore, *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 425) ; *vaṭasak*, *koṇḍol*, *ṣaskān*, *ṣeda*, *kanabaraṇa* (PurNv).
15. *kaṭṭoḍam* — Sdhk and Thūpa-vaṃsa have *kaṭṭoḍam* ; DṃbAs and UṃgJ *ṣaṭṭoḍam* ; Revata and Kumarana-tunga give *kaccōḍam* ; it is difficult to say whether these are identical ; Skt. *kacchapa*, turtle, tortoise ;

*kaccha*, a particular part of a tortoise (MW); T. *kacca*, a kind of corset worn by women (MTL); *vaṭam* is a string of jewels or a chain of a necklace; *kaccu* is a belt, girdle, or sash (MTL); T. *kaṭṭu* and *vaṭam* can give *kaṭṭoḍam*, a kind of calf-ornament worn by a Pāṇḍyan king (*Mūvar Ulā*, p. 185); according to the MTL it is a necklace of beads; *kaṭṭoḍam* can therefore mean a necklace of beads, a jewelled girdle, or an ornament made of shell.

16. *kayipōṭṭu* — possibly a bracelet? (*South Indian Inscriptions ii*, 80, 7); T. *kai*, hand; *poṭṭu*, ornament.
17. *keyūrābharana* — a bracelet worn on the upper arm (MW); 'The *keyūra* and the *kaṭaka* should be worn round the middle of the length of the arms. The pendant should be suspended from the root of the arm and should be connected with the *keyūra* and the *kaṭaka*' (M); *bāhuvālaya*, *keyūra*, *aṅgada* are synonymous (AmK); *Vesaturu-dā-sanne* explains *khōmañca keyūram* as *ranmaya gāṭa hū da ranmaya hiṅdi paṭ saṭahana gelehi palaṅḍa-nāhayi yet me*; this refers to *keyūra* as a gold neck-ornament shaped like a date-palm leaf; it also speaks of *kāyūram gīveyyam ratanāmayam, hiṅdipaṭ saṭahan svarṇamaya grīvābharanaya*, a gold neck-ornament shaped like a date-palm leaf (*Vesaturu-dā-sanne*, ed. Hettiaratchi, p. 128, 660).
18. *kiṅkiṅkajāla* — tinkling bell net-work (EWP); *kiṅkini*, a small bell (MW); *jāla*, a net, collection, multitude (MW).
19. *makaraṭaṭa* — *makara*, a kind of sea monster, sometimes confounded with the crocodile, shark, dolphin, etc. represented as an ornament on gates or on head-dresses; *makara-kunḍala* is an ear-ring shaped like a *makara* (MW); 'The crocodile (*makara*) ear-rings should be put on the ears' (M); *ṭaṭa*, strand or cord; hence *makaraṭaṭa* should be a chain worked with a *makara*, or perhaps a chain suspended with a pendant shaped like a *makara*; ornaments are often made in the form of birds and animals even today, e.g. pendants in the

form of peacocks ; cp. T. *makara-ṣakuvāy*, head ornament shaped like an open mouthed shark (MTL).

20. *maṇikayivaḍam* — bangle of gems or jewels (Carter); *vaḍam*, e.g. *mal vaḍam*, strings of flowers ; garland, chaplet ; cp. *nāga-ṣaṭam* (*vaḍam*), armlet shaped like a coiled up cobra with outspread hood (MTL).
21. *maṇivalalu* — bangles set with gems or jewels ; cp. *jaṅghā-valalu* ; bangles are of different kinds ; ‘ On the forearms broad and ornamented *valayas* (*valalu*), were worn, while on the wrists we find single as well as double wristlets. Though generally the wristlets were not as broad as those worn on the forearm, sometimes they were as broad if not broader. At times the wrist was adorned with as many as six bangles with two extra larger ones in the beginning and in the end ’ (Saletore, p. 426).
22. *mutudam* — pearl strings ; Skt. *muktā-dāma*.
23. *mutuṣaṭa* — string of pearls ; seems identical with *mutudam* ; it is difficult to know what the difference between *ṣaṭa* and *dāma* was ; Skt. *dāma*, wreath, garland, string, cord (MW) ; perhaps *ṣaṭa* meant a single string or cord as in S. *ekṣaṭa*, *deṣaṭa*, etc., one-fold, two-fold, etc
24. *nāgavaḍam* — T. armlet shaped like a coiled up cobra with outspread hood ; ear ornament resembling a cobra's hood (MTL) ; also name of an ornament shaped like a cobra worn along the plaits of hair so as to cover the plaits of hair.
25. *naḷalṣaṭa* — forehead band ; Skt. *lalūṭa-ṣaṭṭa* or *ṣaṭṭikā*, tiara or fillet (MW) ; one of the insignia of royalty (see above).
26. *oṭunu* — crown (see below, see also *Architecture of Mānasāra*, translated by P. K. Acharya, p. 483 on crowns).
27. *ṣādābharana* — ornament for the feet (EWP) in general ; it is difficult to say whether this term is applied to any particular variety of foot-ornament ; ‘ Rings for the toes and anklets and leglets of various kinds have been current from an early epoch. The most favourite

among them was a chain band fringed with little bells, round the feet, or small metal shells filled with shots, which made a jingling sound when in motion. It was called *kiṅkini* and worn by both sexes' (Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. I, p. 236); the Vesaturu-dā-sanne explains the term *pālipādakaṃ* as *pādūbharāṇaya* (p. 129, 662 A).

28. *pādajāla* — an ornament for the feet; 'A belt should be put on round the knee-cap, and the feet should be ornamented with the ornaments' (M, p. 499); possibly a net-like ornament for the leg, a sort of net-work round the leg.
29. *pādāṅguli* — cp. *hastāṅguli*; a similar ornament for the feet; *pādāṅgulīyaka*, toe-ring (MW).
30. *pādasiri* — Sdhlk, *pādaśari*; Pjv, *pādasiri*; a foot-ornament; cp. T. *pādacaram*, anklet for women (MTL); also T. *kurankuceri*, ornament for the thigh; *ceri*, close fitting as bangle; *kuranku*, thigh (MTL).
31. *pāsalaṃba* — tinkling bell ornament for the feet, jingling anklet; synonymous with *saraṇavāla*, *salaṃba*, *tulakēla*, *pākeyuru*, *nuruva* (PurNv); cp. n. on *pādābharāṇa*; 'The chain (of the foot-ornament) is sometimes replaced by hollow tubes filled with shots. These are called *nūpura* in Sanskrit. They are called *Gujri*, from having been first introduced by the belles of Guzrat' (Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. I, pp. 236, 237); cp. *gigirivalalu* and *kiṅkinikajāla*.
32. *pādasāṅkhalā* — foot-ornament; cp. *pādasāṅkhajāla*, conch-shaped ornament for the feet (EWP); Skt. *śṛṅkhalā* chain, fetter; *śṛṅkhala*, chain, a man's belt (MW); cp. T. *caṭaṅkai*, string of small metal bells; string of gold or silver bells worn by children and women as an ornament for the feet or waist (MTL).
33. *paṣperahara* — probably a five-fold protective ornament; *perahara*, Skt. *parihāra*, protection, safety; *parihāraka*, an armlet (MW); Butsarāṇa refers to *perahara* and *paṣrūperahara* as ornaments of a queen (p. 293);



*paṣperahara* may be identical with *paṣrūperahara*; hence it may be an ornament with five forms of either birds or animals; cp. n. on *makaraṣaṭa*; the term *ṣūlipāḍakaṃ* is explained as *ṣāṣahayinudu-ṣerahara ṣahayinda yi yat me*, that is as if to say foot-ornaments — *ṣerahara* ornaments (*Vesaturu-dā-sanne*, p. 129, 662 BC); hence *ṣerahara* may also be a variety of foot-ornament.

34. *paṣrū* — probably a five-fold ornament like the *paṣperahara*; Butsaraṇa makes it clear that it is a chain ornament for the neck: *paṣrūvālayak karabāṇḍi bālakumārayaksē*, like a child wearing a *paṣrūvāla* on the neck; five-fold form-ornament (EWP); cp. *ṣaṅcāyudha*, necklace for children with a disc embossed with the figures of five weapons (*āyudha*).
35. *ṣatravalalu* — *ṣātra* in Sdh!k; possibly bangles made of broad sheets of gold, etc.; thick bangles or bangles in the form of leaves; *ṣatra*, leaf; cp. T. *ṣattiram*, a leaf-like ornament, and T. *valaya*, bracelet or armlet; 'The *valaya* (armlet) should be put on the root of the arm and the *dāman* (string bracelet) should be worn round the armpit (*kaṅṣa*)' (M); also cp. *tālaṣatram*, trinket for the ear (AmK); ear ornament in the shape of a palm leaf' (Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, p. 231); *ṣatra*, leaf-like ornament (Acharya).
36. *randam* — gold chains; or jewelled chains; cp. *ratnamālā*, necklace of jewels (MW).
37. *ranṣaṭa* — probably similar to *randam*; see n. on *mutuṣaṭa*; gold forehead frontlet (EWP); cp. *ratnaṣaṭṭa*, a jewelled band, a jewelled turban (Acharya).
38. *ransavaḍi* — gold waist-chain (EWP); cp. T. *savaḍi*, an ornament for the neck consisting of three or more gold cords, also ear-ornament worn by women (MTL); in Tamil *savaḍi* is a neck ornament; but the Sinhalese seem to use the term to mean a chain for the waist. It is difficult to say whether *savaḍi* meant the same in the period under review.

39. *ridīdam* — silver chains ; Skt. *rajata*, silver, gold, a pearl ornament, ivory (MW).
40. *ruvansōlu* — golden or jewelled staff (Carter); *naḷala bāṇḍi ruvansōluvehi māṇik gal ginivara kaḷa heyin ī tējasa*, the lustre produced by the polished (literally heated) gems of the *ruvansōlu* tied on the forehead (SdhRv 939) ; according to this *ruvansōlu* seems to be a gold or jewelled forehead band and not a staff as Carter makes out.
41. *ruvanvāla* — golden girdle (EWP) ; Skt. *ratnāvalī*, a string of pearls (MW) ; *āvali*, a row, range, continuous line, a series ; *ratna*, a gem, jewel, precious material (nine in number) ; hence *ratnāvalī* may be a string of any one of these or even of all these.
42. *saddam* — occurs in DṃbAs and Pjv ; Kumaranatunga, Revata, and Jñanananda all give *sakdam* ; if they are right it should be a string of shells ; *saṅkha*, shell, especially the conch-shell (used as an ornament for the arms (MW) ; Mitra refers to a hand-ornament : ‘ The well known conch-shell ornament (*saṅkha*) ; it is formed by cutting the shell into annulets, and eight or ten of them are arranged in a tapering form, and then mounted with gold beads, bosses, and other decorations ; some of the annulets are left white, while others are dyed with lac of a bright crimson colour ’ (*Indo-Aryans*, pp. 234, 235) ; If *saddam*, it may be *satdam*, an ornament containing seven rows or strings.
43. *tāḍaṅka* — *tāt(ḍ)āṅka*, an ornament for the ear (Acharya) ; T. *tāṭaṅkam*, a woman’s ear ornament (*Cūṭāmaṇi-nighaṅṭu*).
44. *tisaraḷaṭa* — synonymous with *mutuḷaṭa*, *mutuvāla* (HJ) ; *mutuvāla*, *tisarahara*, *muthara* are synonymous (PurNv) ; *tisarahara*, *tisaravāla*, *mutuvāla*, *haṃsaḷaṭa* are also synonymous (HJ) ; it is quite possible that these are identical ; a neck ornament (Revata) ; *tisara* means a *haṃsa*, goose, swan ; hence *tisaraḷaṭa* may have been a necklace in the form of a line or row of geese.

45. *udarabandhana* — waist-belt; ‘belly-band should be round the middle belly, and above that should be the *stana-sūtra* (breast string)’ (M).
46. *ūrujāla* — thigh ornament, perhaps worked in the form of a net; *ūru*, thigh, shank (MW).
47. *darśanamāla* — *darśana*, audience or appearance (before the public) (MW); probably neck ornament worn when the king gave special audiences.
48. *grīvālaṃkāra* — seems a term generally applied to neck ornaments; *grīva*, neck, the back part of the neck; *alaṃkāra*, ornament, decoration (MW).
49. *jaṅghāpatra* — probably a leaf-like ornament to cover the shanks.
50. *karṇasūtra* — possibly a string-like ornament for the ear; *sūtra*, thread, string, cord, girdle (MW); cp. *kaṭisūtra*, hip-chain, girdle (Mitra, Acharya).
51. *mevuldama* — synonymous with *kāsa*, *rasanā*, *hiṇudama*, *vāla* (*Ruvan-mala*); UṃgJ gives *rasanā*; belt, girdle, zone (as worn by men or women) but especially that worn by the men of the first three classes (MW); ‘It was made of various forms, but a fringe of bells was held in the highest favour, and known under different names. Sometimes it was worn tight like a belt, but at others, loosely like a garland of many rows’ (Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, p. 236); ‘The girdles had the names of *mēkhalā*, *hēmamēkhalā*, *kāñci*, *kanakakiṅkiṇi*, and *rasanā*, denoting some types’ (Saletore, p. 425); ‘In *Mēghadūta* a tinkling zone is mentioned, which was known as *rasanā*. It appears probable that zones with small jingling bells came to be known as *rasanā*’ (Kalyan Kumar Ganguli, *Jewellery in Ancient India*, p. 157, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. X, 1942).
52. *maṇibandhi* — Skt. *maṇibandhana*, a string of pearls, an ornament of pearls, the part of a ring or bracelet where the jewels are set (MW); cp. *maṇibandha*, an

ornament for the wrist, a string of pearls, collet (Acharya).

53. *muthara* — chain of pearls; the *hāra* (chain) should be round the neck. 'The *hāra* should be suspended over the chest from the upper neck down to the (part above the) heart' (M); 'A chain of 108 strings is called the *hāra*, and a half-chain of 64 strings is styled the *ardha-hāra*' (M, p. 498, n. 1); cp. note on *tisara-ṭaṭa*.
54. *mutusavaḍi* — waist-chain set with pearls; see n. on *ransasavaḍi*.
55. *nilmiṇisavaḍi* — waist-chains of sapphire; Skt. *nīlamanī*, sapphire (MW).
56. *ṭabaludam* — strings of corals; Skt. *ṭravāla*, coral (MW).
57. *ṭadakkam* — a pendant set with gems and suspended from a necklace (MTL).
58. *rajaṭasavaḍi* — silver waist-chains; see n. on *ransasavaḍi*.
59. *ranmiṇisavaḍi* — gem-set gold waist chain; *ran-miṇi*, gold and gems (Geiger, *An Etymological Glossary of the Sinhalese Language*); Skt. *hiranya*, gold (originally uncoined gold or other precious metal) (MW).
60. *ranṭetimāla* — strings of gold roundels; cp. what is known as the *ṭavummāla*, a necklace made of sovereigns attached to a gold chain.
61. *siddatudam* — strings of beads? of the size of white mustard seeds; Skt. *siddhārtha*, white mustard.
62. *saṭruvanvāla* — a string of the seven kinds of precious material.
63. *sivkotmāla* — possibly a chain to which were attached four-pointed (e.g. rectangular, square) pieces of gold or any other metal; Geiger derives *kot* from Skt. *kunta*, spear, lance (*An Etymological Glossary of the Sinhalese Language*); hence *kot* can be a point.

64. *tunkotmāla* — possibly a chain of the same sort as the *sivkotmāla* i.e. a chain to which were attached triangular pieces of gold or any other metal; see n. on *sivkotmāla*.

In the foregoing pages, EWP refers to E. W. Perera's article on the '64 Royal Ornaments in Ceylon', Notes and Queries, xxxvi, in the *J.R.A.S.*, C.B., Vol. xxiv. Here he observes that though the 64 ornaments of Sinhalese royalty are frequently mentioned in history, *sannes* and literature, a list of them is not readily available. He refers to five kinds of *oṭunu*, crowns, viz., *siddha* (celestial), *miṇi* (jewel), *siṃha* (lion), *vyāghra* (tiger), and *ruvan* (golden). He does not afford us much information regarding the 64 ornaments. The *DīṃbAs* mentions six kinds of crowns: *siddha*, *siṃha*, *raṇ* (gold), *ridī* (silver), *miṇi* (precious stones), *satruvan* (seven kinds of precious material).

We have already referred to the royal signet, *hasmunda*, of the Sinhalese kings. The *SdhRv* often refers to this ring, which was used as the State seal. The king is also described as wearing a costly silken robe and covering his body with as costly a silken robe: '*lakṣayak vaṭinā paḷasak peravagena*' (*SdhRv* 170), and '*lakṣayak vaṭinā raṇ saḷuvak hāṇḍa*' (*Sdhlk* 87). The slab-inscription of Mahinda IV also speaks of a white scarf, '*seveḷ bandna aṇa paraṇuren*'. Wickremasinghe translates *seveḷ* as white scarf (*EZ* I. 4. 240). The *Kāvya-śekhara* describes the king as wearing a 'white scarf':

*gata savbaraṇa sādi*  
*balamin isa seveḷu bāṇḍi*  
*kiruḷada tama pālāṇḍi*  
*tabū oḥu mudunatehi sirirāṇḍi,*

Looking at the body decked in all ornaments and the head beautified by the white-scarf, he placed the crown that he wore, on his (the prince's) head (canto 15, v. 14).

A simile worked out in the *Kataragama* inscription mentions the dress of the chief queen: '*Taraṅgavālā raḷi ot mahamuhund me nildiyul han numba gaṅga me daḷa leḷa mut harin hobnā Hat Udā girikuḷu me miṇi koḷulu paḷan Dambadiv poḷov ag mehesna paḷan miṇi subuḷuvak bandu nan siri lakaḷa . . .*', 'adorned with the varied splendour, comparable to a jewelled wreath worn by the

Chief Queen, the land of Daṁbadiv, the blue robe worn by whom is the great ocean containing rows of billows as if they were folds ; who is resplendent with the celestial river oscillating on the braided hair as if it were a string of pearls and the jewel ear-rings worn by whom are the mountain peaks Hat and Udā ' (EZ 3. 4. 223). The Sdhlk also mentions *paṭṭakāra*, *paṁutiliṅgam*, *kādukāṣṣu*, *koṇḍamal*, as the ornaments of a queen (*bisō paḷaṅdanā*) (Sdhlk 182). Queen Madri is said to have given as alms the following ornaments (*Daham-saraṇa*, ed. D. Dhammananda, p. 366). The Butsaraṇa (293 ; Sorata, 303) and the Pjv (129) give the same list ; but with a few variations and a few other terms which are also noted below. The names of these ornaments are listed in sequence and difficulty seems to have arisen in the separation of the different terms e.g. *dākan paṣevikan dasa aṅgātilaka* have been separated as *kaṁpaṣevi*, *kandasa*, *aṅgātilaka* and also as *dākan*, *paṣevikan*, *dasa aṅgātilaka* ; hence the variant readings in the different texts. In the Pjv these appear as *dākan*, *paṣevikandasa* and *aṅgātilaka*.

*agatilaka* — Skt. *agra*, foremost, chief, best, foremost part, top ; *tilaka*, a mark on the forehead (made with coloured earths, sandal-wood, or unguents, either as an ornament or a sectarial distinction) ; a kind of necklace (MW) ; *agatilaka* may therefore be an ornament worn in the centre of the forehead ; Butsaraṇa gives *dasa-aṅgātilaka* and the Pjv *aṅgātilaka* ; the Vesaturu-dā-sanne explains *mukhaṣhullaṁca* as *naḷalat hi paḷaṅdanā tilakābharāṇa da*, the *tilaka* ornament worn on the forehead, etc. (p. 129, 661 BC) ; Skt. *mukha ṣhullaka*, a kind of ornament (MW).

*aṅgullāsara* — ? possibly an ornament for the fingers ? ; Butsaraṇa and the Pjv give *aṅgul dasaru*.

*bāhumutu* — may be chains of pearls for the arm ; Butsaraṇa gives *bāhu mutuvāla* and the Pjv *bāhudanḍa* and *mutuvāla*.

*depaṭavidyā* — S. *depaṭa* means twofold ; Skt. *vidyā*, a small bell (MW) ; probably an ornament with two rows of small bells ; cp. *gigirivalalu*.

*ekvāṭi* — probably identical with *ekāvāla* (see above).

*galamutu* — pearl chains for the neck? cp. *galamutumāla* (see above).

*hini* — probably identical with *hinasāda* (see above).

*kandasa* — *kan*, ears, Skt. *daśā*, skirt or hem (MW); probably an ornament worn on the edge of the ears?

*kanapasevi* — ?

*kesvāla* — ornament worn on the plaits of hair or knot of hair; strings of pearls were worn on the knot of hair.

*māṇikmālā* — jewelled necklaces.

*minidam* — chains of gems or jewels.

*nilmātraka* — ? Butsaraṇa gives *nilmātrā*: *nil*, Skt. *nīla*, blue, sapphire; *mātraka*, cp. Skt. *mātrā*, an ear-ring, jewel, ornament (MW).

*oṭunu* — crowns.

*pāḍagam* — anklets.

*pādāṅguli* — ornaments for the toes; cp. *hastāṅguli* (see above).

*pādakaṭaka* — Skt. *kaṭaka*, a bracelet of gold or shell; T. *kaṭakam*, armband, bracelet (MTL); hence similar ornaments for the feet.

*pādamudu* — rings for the feet?

*pasrū* and *pasperahara* — (see above).

*ranmaravāḍi* — golden slippers.

*siravalalu* — *sira* may be Skt. *śiras*, head; hence some sort of ornament worn round the head?

*vālamutu* — cp. *mutuḥaṭa* (see above).

The Butsaraṇa and the Sdhik (96) also mention the following:—

*kaba* (Butsaraṇa)—cp. P. *kambu*, a conch, shell, a ring or bracelet (made of shell or gold), worn on the wrist.

*sadamṅā* (Sdhlk) — T. *catāṅkai*; (*Cilappadikāram*, ch. 6. 84); see n. on *pādasāṅkhalā*.

*oravasun* (Sdhlk) — Skt. *uras*, chest, breast, bosom; *vasana*, cloth, garment, ornament worn by women round the loins, dress; *oravasum*, *oravāsuma*, breast-cover, breast-plate? (*The Sinhalese-English Dic.* ed. Ratnasuriya and Wijeratne).

*vijaya vastra* (Sdhlk) — mentioned as a *bisō pālaṅdanā*; S. *pālaṅdanā*, P. *pil(!)andhana*, Skt. \**pinandhana*; (cp. Skt. *pinaddha*, *apinaddha*, *pinaddhaka*; P. *pilandhati* is to adorn, put on, bedeck; *pilandhana* is embellishment, ornament, trinkets (P.T.S. Dic.); Skt. *pinaddha* is fastened, wrapped covered, dressed, armed; *pinaddhaka*, dressed, covered, clothed (MW); S. *pālaṅdanā* usually meant an ornament; but considering the meanings of the P. and Skt. terms it may be conjectured that *pālaṅdanā* may also have meant dress, clothing as well; hence *vijaya vastra* may have meant some sort of garment, dress, clothing or robe which was worn on festive occasions — e g. celebration of a victory, etc.; Skt. *vijaya*, victory, contest for victory, triumph, a kind of military array; *vastra* garment, raiment, dress, cloth (MW).

*kakusaṅda* (Sdhlk) — ?



## CHAPTER III

### ADMINISTRATION

We have very little information regarding the real nature of the administration of the island at this time ; but we can form some idea of its chief elements by examining the conditions that prevailed before and after. It is unfortunate that the inscriptions mostly deal with immunities granted to temples or individuals. The king no doubt was the supreme head of the state, and was assisted by a council of ministers. 'A council undoubtedly existed just as one did in the last days of the Kandyan kingdom, but we can only guess at its functions' (Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 42). The King, being supreme in matters both civil and military, was probably at liberty to act according to his wishes ; but he was guided no doubt by custom and tradition. How far he disregarded the wishes of the Council it is difficult to say ; but it may be that he usually acted in accordance with its wishes though he was never bound by its decisions. The Vēvālkāṭiya slab-inscription of Mahinda IV speaks of the lords who sat in the Royal Council, and also of the promulgation of the regulations in accordance with mandates delivered by the King in Council (EZ 1. 6. 251). Queen Līlāvati is said to have created a council of wise, brave and faithful ministers (EZ 1. 5. 181). The fifteenth century inscription of Parākramabāhu VI states that the king vouchsafed, after due inquiry, edicts fit to be carried out in the world, seated on the lion-throne surrounded by his ministers in the auspicious palace of Jayavardhanapura (EZ 3. 2. 67). The Polonnaruva Council-chamber inscription of the tenth century refers to the settlement of disputes regarding a Tamil allotment by the gentlemen who sat in the Assembly (*sabāyē hindna samdaruvan*) (EZ 4. 1. 40).

The apex of the whole administration was the king, and next stood his ministers who were in charge of the various departments, such as finance, war, etc. At the head of the board of ministers was the Chief Minister (P. *mahāmacca*, *mūlāmacca*, *mahāmatta* ; S. *maha-āmati*, *agamāti*). Lower down in the ranks were various chief governors of provinces, of districts, and village headmen, who enjoyed a certain amount of independence in matters of local

administration. The Kaṇḍavuru-sirita (ed. D. B. Jayatilaka, p. iv) states that King Parākramabāhu II was wont to listen to certain officers who informed him of any new enactments, etc., which were perhaps promulgated by them in their respective territories or spheres of duty, and that the king would either reprimand the officers or ratify the regulations according to whether he was annoyed or pleased with them. That the villages enjoyed a certain amount of freedom in the management of their internal affairs is also brought out by some of the inscriptions, which record various immunities granted to certain maintenance villages. 'Royal control', says Codrington, 'was exercised by officials who went on circuit annually, somewhat in the manner of the English assizes, to administer justice and collect the king's dues, and this was still done as late as the early seventeenth century' (*A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 43). The Badulla pillar-inscription of Udaya III requests the people to inform the secretariat of the State Council of any illegal acts committed by the officers who thus came on circuit (EZ 3. 2. 81). The same inscription gives an idea of the immunities a village enjoyed and also shows the kind of rules enacted for purposes of local administration (EZ 3. 2. 74). The inscription also refers to the desire of kings to have first-hand information regarding the conditions of the country. To achieve this kings sometimes toured the island. For example, Nissaṅka Malla refers often to the fact that he toured Tri-Siṃhala. Nissaṅka Malla was wont to travel throughout Laṅkā, inspecting completely, 'like a *nelli* fruit' in his hand, villages, market-towns, seaport towns, cities, and many other places in the three kingdoms, including Devnuvara, Kālaṇiya, Daṃbadeṇiya, and Anurādhapura (EZ 2. 3. 141). The SdhRv also mentions that kings were wont to tour the country in disguise. King Gajabāhu is said to have gone about the city in the night. Stories of this nature are often related in connection with the kings of Kandy. The VismSn, too, refers to kings riding about in the streets on elephants (IV. 36).

Codrington's account gives us a glimpse of the administrative system in the twelfth century, and it is most likely that the same system was followed during the succeeding century, at least as far as the general principles were concerned. He states: 'With Parākrama Bāhu I we once more gain an insight into the government of the country. While still only ruler of the "Southern Country"', he reorganized the administrative system of his principality, and it is probable that he introduced the reforms then made

into the government of the whole island on his securing the crown. The sub-king's country before his time was ruled by two ministers, the "Adigars of Laṅkā", who, doubtless as in the last days of Kandyan rule, divided the supervision of the whole realm between them. Parākrama, with the object of obtaining a better revenue, separated "all the land of great value", in all probability the royal villages which in later days always contained the most fertile lands, and placed it under a third minister, perhaps the one known in the fourteenth century as the "Adigar in charge of the palace". We also hear of twelve governors of provinces, of eighty-four rulers of smaller districts, and of chiefs in charge of the borders, all with military and probably also with civil jurisdiction' (*A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 68). The Nikāya-saṅgraha attributes to Parākramabāhu the reorganization of the system of administration, and he is said to have effected laws and regulations (*vyavasthā*) to ensure the continuance of the system so organized. He seems to have asserted his kingly power, put an end to the 'leadership of the many' (*bahu nāyakatvaya*) and established instead a centralized form of government (ed. Kumaranatunga, pp. 20, 21).

The SdhRv refers to the mode of proclamation of decrees, orders of the king, enactments, endowments, etc. A drummer went round the city or village beating his drum at short intervals, and the people questioned him as to what it was all about and learnt the orders. The MV states: "Tomorrow the enshrining of the relics shall take place", thus proclaimed the king by beat of drums in the city, by which all that must be done is set forth' (MV 31. 32).

Decrees, enactments, etc., came into effect only after such documents had been stamped with the royal seal. This is shown by the SdhRv, which says: '*liyannan liyālū paṭkaḍeyi rajjuruwan lū oppuva nisā ētemē sanhas vīda*' (55). The inscriptions bear evidence that this was the practice even in the preceding centuries, e.g. the Nāgama pillar-inscription states '*hasin paṃaṇu koṭ vadāḷa taṇa bimhi*', In the '*taṇa bima*' (grass land) which had been assigned with (His Highness's) seal as a *paṃaṇu* (heritable grant) land (EZ 2. I. 16).

#### (a) The Council of State

' Luckily the inscriptions on the pillars of Nissaṅka Malla's "Council Chamber" at Poḷonnaruva supply us with definite infor-

mation as to its (council's) constituent members. These were the *Yuvarāja* otherwise known as *Māpā* or sub-king; the *Ēpās* or princes; the *Senevirat* or commander-in-chief, often a member of the royal family; the "Principal Chiefs" or *Adigars*; and the Chief Secretary with his subordinates, who all sat on the king's right hand; on his left were the governors of provinces; the chiefs of districts; and the principal merchants, doubtless under their official head the *Situ-nā*. But we are still without knowledge as to the powers of this body' (Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 68). Though Codrington gives the composition of the council and this has been accepted by Mendis, we cannot assert that all officers mentioned in the list did actually form the council. The inscription may be referring to some general state assembly, and it is probable that the council itself may have been formed only by the personnel who sat on the king's right-hand side. The division of the officers thus into two wings is in itself very significant. It is unlikely that subordinate officials such as the governors of districts were members of the Council of State. Further, if this assembly met daily as the *Kaṇḍavuru-sirita* states, it was impossible for all the chiefs of provinces and districts to have come to the capital every day from all parts of the island. Therefore the reference in the *Kaṇḍavuru-sirita* to a *raṭanāyaka* (Provincial Chief), and a *disānāyaka* (District Chief) among the officers who sat in some sort of assembly (see below), seems probably to refer to the two Chiefs of the Province and the District wherein the capital was. We have definite information that those who held the positions of *raja*, *yuvaraja*, *senevirat*, *āpā*, and *māpā* fell into the chief category (see below). By *raja* here is meant the provincial rulers, as those of *Rōhaṇa*, *Malaya* and *Vanni*. The CV also refers to the monarchs of *Vanni* and also to the ruler *Virabāhu* in the time of *Parākramabāhu II* (CV 88. 87, 90). We do not know whether these principal officers formed something like a Cabinet. The *Moragoda* pillar-inscription of *Kassapa IV* and the *Vessagiri* slab-inscription refer to officers who came by order of a Supreme Council (*ektān samiyen ā*) (EZ 1. 5. 206). Explaining the word '*ektān*', Wickremasinghe says that it may be a derivative of Skt. *eka + āsthāna* 'the one (or supreme) assembly as distinct from other assemblies (ibid. n. 2; see also EZ 3. 2. 107). This reference seems to indicate that there was an assembly which was distinct from all other councils. The *Kaṇḍavuru-sirita* further states that later on in the day the king (*Parākramabāhu II*) sat on the throne surrounded by the following officers:—

*sēnānāyaka* — Commander-in-Chief.

*ēkanāyaka* — The One (*ēka*)—Chief (*nāyaka*), the Supreme Chief. The *Haṃsa-śandēsa* (ed. Godakumbura, v. 50) whilst describing the royal assembly or the ministers of state refers to *Ēkanāyaka* after making reference to the princes and he has been given precedence over *Vikramasiṃha adikāram* who is mentioned only in the following verse. We may claim him as the Chief or Prime Minister, *mahā māti*. The verse has *māti mahantē*, which form no doubt has been used to ensure the rhyme in the verse. Godakumbura however explains that *mahantē* was the village from which *Ēkanāyaka* came. It is most unlikely that he would have been referred to in this manner. It is also likely that *Ēkanāyaka* may have been the personal name of this minister.

*bandāranāyaka* — Chief of the Treasury.

*disānāyaka* — District Chief; the Alutnuvara slab-inscription records that the *disānāyaka* was one of the officers who testified to an undertaking (EZ 4. 6. 270); the Aṃbagamuva rock-inscription (A.D. 1058-1114) refers to *dasanāvan* which is rendered as governors of districts by Wickremasinghe (see below); the term occurs as *disāpati* in later records.

*adhikaraṇanāyaka* — Chief Justice.

*sāmantanāyaka* — probably Chief Provincial Dignitary; Geiger states that *sāmanta*, in his opinion, was purely a military title. 'It has the same meaning as our word "officer", corps-commanders of various ranks subject to the Commander-in-Chief (CV, pt. I, Introduction, p. xxvi); *Samannā* occurring in places such as Maṅgul Mahalē *Samannā Araksamaṇan* in the Badulla pillar-inscription may probably refer to *sāmantanāyaka*' (EZ 3. 2. 78).

*arthanāyaka* — Chief Economic Adviser.

*gajanāyaka* — Superintendent of elephants.

*raṭanāyaka* — Provincial Chief.

*mudalnāyaka* — Chief Accountant ?

*badunāyaka* — Chief Revenue Officer.

*dahampasaknā* — Ecclesiastical Commissioner; the Gaḍalādeniya rock-inscription records a grant made by Min Dahampasaknā (EZ 4. 2. 109); Nikāya-saṅgrahava (p. 21) mentions that *dahampasaknā* was one of the chief State officials under Parākramabāhu I; Aśōka, in one of his rock edicts states that *dharmamahāmātras* were appointed by him to enforce the laws of *Dhamma* and that these had not been in existence before: 'I appointed *Dharmamahāmātras*. They are commissioned to promote the welfare of and *Dharma* among followers of all religions; to promote the welfare and happiness of the virtuous . . .' (*Edicts of Aśōka*, ed. Sirinivasa Murti and Aiyangar, p. 15).

*mahaviyatnā* — probably Minister of Education.

*mahanākatīnā* — Chief Astrologer; and (?) Astronomer Royal.

*mahavednā* — Chief Medical Officer; reference is made to *mahavednā Rak* in the Poḷonnaruva council chamber inscription of the 10th century; 'The reading *mahavednā*', says Paranavitana, 'is very doubtful. *Mahavednā* "the Chief Physician" occurs in the Nikāya-saṅgrahava as one of the principal functionaries of the state under Parākramabāhu I. The cognate title of *Suḷvednā* "the Junior Physician" is found in an inscription of the reign of Parākramabāhu I, found at Anurādhapura. But the word has not been met with in any other document of the 10th century' (EZ 4. 1. 44).

*siṅgānā* — P. *asiggāhaka-nāyaka*; with reference to this title Geiger observes: 'Amongst the officials in personal contact with the king are the umbrella-bearer (*chattagāhaka*) and the sword-bearer (*asiggāhaka*). . . The title *asiggāha* was, like that of the umbrella-bearer, without doubt one of high rank. Moggallāna I gives his sister in marriage to his sword-bearer Silākāla and entrusts him with the guardianship of the Hair Relic'

(CV, pt. I, Introduction, III, p. xxviii). On the chief of the *setthīs* was bestowed the title of *asigāhaka* (S. *kaḍugannā tanaturu*) and he was enjoined to keep watch day and night with sword in hand at the *Bōdhi* tree (BovGp, p. 143).

*dahamgeyinā* — probably a Minister of Justice ; the CV records a rebellion caused by three officials one of whom was the *dhammagēhakanāyaka* (59. 16) ; Geiger has rendered this term as the President of the Court of Justice (ibid.).

*mahaveleñdnā* — Chief Merchant, Trade Commissioner ? cp. modern Secretary to the Board of Trade. The *SiṃBō* tells us that the chief of the *veḷaṅḍa kula* was given the title of *mahaveḷaṅḍanā* and that he was enjoined to supply, with the help of his merchants, vessels for holding mustard and incense — *abamalā* and *suvaṅḍadummalā* (p. 221) ; *malā* means vessel ; cp. P. *mallaka*, a bowl, a cup, a vessel (P.T.S. Dic.). The *Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya* explains *dhūma taṭṭakaṃ* as *dum malā—suvaṅḍa dum malā yi* (pp. 224-25) ; P. *taṭṭaka* means a bowl for holding food, a flat bowl, salver (P.T.S. Dic.). *SiṃBō* (ed. Dhammaratana, p. 213) reads that the *mahaveleñdnā* had to supply *aba* (mustard), *lāja* (parched rice) and such other incense. *BōvGp* says *siddhatupā elavanu koṭa*, to supply vessels for mustard ; *ḥā*, *ḥātra*.

*siṭunā* — Chief *Setthi*. We are told that the title of *mōriya siṭu* (P. *mōriya setthitthānaṃ*) was conferred on Prince Dharmagupta enjoining him to blow the conch at the Festival of the *Bōdhi* tree (*SiṃBō*, p. 220) and that the title of *asigāhaka* was conferred on the chief of the *setthīs* (ibid. see also under *siṅgānā*).

*mulaṅginā* — probably superintendent in charge of the royal kitchen ; S. *mulu* means food ; cp. *mulutāṅgē*, kitchen ; ' In the Tamil inscriptions of South India, the food offered to the deity in temples is called *amudu* (Skt. *amṛta*, ambrosia) ; and it is probable that the same usage prevailed in the Buddhist shrines of Ceylon. The word *mulu*, used in Sinhalese literature to describe food offered in temples, and also for the victuals served

to the king, can etymologically be identical with *amṛta* (EZ 3. 2. 219). The title *mulurākinā* was bestowed on the chief of the *arakkāmi kula* (clan, family or caste of cooks), and he was enjoined to see that the supply of rice for offerings was maintained (SiṃBō, p. 221); *mulurātinā* in the BovGp (p. 144).

*arakmēnā* — Chief Conservator.

*mahadoranā* — probably chief officer of the royal household, perhaps similar to the Lord Chamberlain or a chief of the Gate (Palace) Mudaliyars (*vāsala mudali*) referred to in the Haṃsa-śandēsa (v. 54). The SiṃBō states that the title of *doranā* was bestowed on the chief of the *balat kula* and that he was enjoined to stand guard at the entrance (*dorakaḍa*) to the *Bōdhi* house (p. 221).

*kiliṃnā* — this term occurs in a few inscriptions, but it has been left untranslated; it occurs as a part of the name of some state officials, e.g. Kiliṅ-Golabāgama Bahaṭusivim (EZ 1. 5. 200), Kiliṅ-Gavayim (EZ 2. 1. 18); in a footnote to the first example Wickremasinghe offers *Kāliṅga Gōṭhābhaya-gāma* as an explanation; *Mahakiliṅgam Kiliṅ Lokeyim* occurring in the Kaludiya-pokuṇa inscription is rendered as *Kiliṅ Loke* of *Mahakiliṅgam* (*Mahā-Kaliṅga-gāma*) by Paranavitana (EZ 3. 5. 269); the word *kiliṅgun* also occurs in the literature. The SiṃBō tells us that title *kiliṅgunā* was bestowed on the chief of the *kiliṅgu kula*, and that he was enjoined to supply fresh flowers to the *Bōdhi* tree through the *kiliṅgun*, his clansmen or followers (p. 221, BovGp, p. 144). S. *kiliṅgu* is equivalent to P. *kuliṅga* (ibid., p. 140); Skt. *ku + liṅga*, having bad marks (MW). Madovita Jñanananda Thēra explains *kiliṅgun* as *napuṃsakayan* (eunuchs) (*Butsarāṇa Glossary*). The Vesaturu-dā-sanne explains *māgadha* in *sūtamāgadha vaṇṇitē* (*Jātakatṭhakathā*, ed. Widurapola Piyatissa Thēra, pt. VII, pp. 423, 424) as *kiliṅgunvisin*, by *kiliṅgun* (*Vesaturu-dā-sanne*, ed. Hettiaratchi, p. 4); *māgadha* means scent-seller (P.T.S. Dic.), and professional bard or panegyrist of a king, one who informs



a Rāja of what occurs in bazaars, also an unmarried woman's son who lives by running messages or who cleans wells or dirty clothes, etc. (MW). We may mention here that *kiliṅgun* who were employed to supply flowers may have been expected to remove the old flowers and clean the place. It is also interesting to note that certain words such as *kiliṅgun*, *balatun*, *kuḍasalā*, *arakkāmi*, *kuru kudun* often occur together. The BovGp mentions certain occupational groups (termed *kula*): *kiliṅgu*, *balat* (guards), *pehera* (weaver), *kuṃbal* (potter), *sūda* (cook) (p. 140); the Butsaraṇa mentions *kuru kudun*, *kuṇḍasalā*, *balatun*, *kiliṅgan* (p. 283). These references seem to indicate that these persons were more or less of the same rank or status which does not seem to be high. In the inscriptions too, *kuḍasalā* and *kiliṅg* often come together and also *dunuvāvan* and *balatun* (see also under *arakmēnā* below). According to the inscriptions *kiliṅg* was one who was sent to set up pillars of Council Warranty (EZ 2. 1. 19). He seems therefore, to have been a high ranking officer.

*kaṇunā* — Chief Officer of Popular Cults. The BovGp records that the chief of the *kaṇu kula* (P. *kaṇṇa*, precept, rule, practice) was given the title of *kaṇunā* and was enjoined to supervise the supply of food and *ladapasmal* (parched grain, broken rice, white mustard, jessamine buds and panic grass) to the *Bōdhi* tree (p. 144). He may also have had either to perform the offerings or see that they were performed (SiṃBō, p. 221).

Compared with this list, that quoted by Codrington from the inscriptions seems to be incomplete; or it may be that the council of Parākramabāhu II had a larger personnel. Codrington concludes that at the head of the principal merchants was the *siṭunā*; but we shall see later that the merchants were represented by the *veleṅdnā*, the Chief Merchant, and that the *siṭunā* was quite a distinct official who represented the *setthis*.

The Nikāya-saṅgrahava refers to the following as the principal functionaries under Parākramabāhu I: *adhikāra*; *senevirat*; *āpā*; *māpā*; *mahalāṇa*; *maharāṭinā*; *anunāyaka*; *sabhāpatinā*; *siṭunā*; *siritlēnā*; *dulēnā*; *viyatnā*; *mahavedanā*; *mahanākātinā*; *daham-*

*pasaknā* (ed. Kumaranatunga, p. 20). These have been rendered as Justiciar ; Commander-in-Chief of the Forces ; Heir Apparent and Aide-de-Camp to the king, and virtually First Viceroy ; Heir Presumptive and Second Viceroy ; Secretary of State ; Minister of the Interior ; Second Minister of the Interior ; President of the Council ; Director of Commerce ; Chief Legal Adviser ; Under Secretary and Keeper of the Rolls ; Chief Intelligencer ; Chief Medical Officer ; Chief Officer of the Calendar ; Minister of Education respectively by C. M. Fernando in his translation of the *Nikāya-saṅgrahava* (p. 20).

*sabhāpatinā* — According to Paranavitana the word is first noticed in the pillar inscription of Kassapa IV. 'It . . . is also mentioned in two other unpublished fragmentary inscriptions of the tenth century ; one from a place named Doṃbavaḷagama . . . and the other from a village called Kuñcikulama . . . His function . . . was to preside over the meetings of the Council of State . . . Possibly there were two of them who functioned by turns' (EZ 3. 5. 271, 272). The CV refers to ministers who were headed by the President — *sabhāpatiṭṭhapahutikē' maccē* (67. 64).

*dulēnā* — Fernando (above) seems to consider this officer as the Under Secretary, perhaps attributing the meaning of P. *dutiya*, Skt. *dvitīya* to S. *du*. Etymologically this does not seem possible as *du* cannot be derived from these words. No other instance, where *du* is used in this sense, is known. *Du* here is probably from *dūta*, meaning messenger, envoy, ambassador, negotiator. Hence *dulēnā* was probably a secretary in charge of foreign affairs.

*anunāyaka* — just means Deputy Chief ; even though Fernando considers him to be the Deputy or Second Minister of the Interior (see above), it is not possible to be certain as to whose deputy he was.

The Pjv states that the following titles were bestowed on the princes who came to Ceylon with the *Bōdhi* tree : *lakmahalē* ; *jayamahālē* ; *vilbāmula rāja* ; *maha rāṭinā* ; *maha siṭunā* ; *koturugānā* ; *sakdānā* ; *arakmēnā* (721). Of course we do not have sufficient evidence to assert that some of these titles such as *sakdānā*, *koturugānā*, *vilbāmularāja*, were in use during the period under review.

*vilbāmula rāja* — SimBō records that the title of *malaya rāja* was conferred on prince Candagutta and that he was enjoined to beat golden drums at the festivals of the *Bōdhi*, and also that *Vilbā danavva* was given to him as a heritable grant. The place where *Vīrabāhu*, son of *Vijaya* and *Kuveṇi*, lived was known as *Vīrabāhu janapada*, which later came to be known as *Vilbā janapada* (p. 220 and BovGP, p. 143).

*maharāṭinā* — Prince Devagutta was given the title *lakmaharāṭi* and he was entrusted with the task of taking the *pirit pān* (protective water made so by chanting the *parittas*) round the city on the royal elephant (SimBō, p. 220); cp. *raṭanāyaka*.

*koturugānā* — P. *bimkāragāhakatṭhāna* (BovGp, p. 143); Prince Suriyagutta was entrusted with the sprinkling of the *pirit pān* on the *Bōdhi* tree with a golden vessel on the occasion of the Festival and the title *koturugānā* was bestowed on him (SimBō, 220); *kotoru*, *keṇḍiya*, a small metal pot.

*sakdānā* — The Pjv states that Prince Sisigot was given the title of *sakdānā*, Chief of the conch-shell service. According to the SimBō it was Prince Dharmagupta who was entrusted with the blowing of conches; though he was given the title *mōriyasitū* (p. 220). According to the Pjv Prince Damgot (Dharmagupta) was given the title *mahasitunā* (721).

## (b) Officers of State

Next in command after the king was the *yuvarāja*, who was considered the heir to the throne. At times, the *uṣarāja* was also spoken of as *yuvarāja*, and the titles were sometimes used without much discrimination. Aggabōdhi III consecrated his younger brother *Māna* as *uṣarāja*, and he is later described as *yuvarāja*. In the same way *Mahinda* was the *uṣarāja* of *Agbō II*, and is subsequently called *yuvarāja*.

‘The dignity of *uṣarāja*’, says Geiger, ‘is a position of trust carrying with it certain rights, apparently a share in the business of government. It seems to have been a matter of the king’s pleasure whether to have such a support in his royal office or not’ (CV Introduction, p. xx). The Chronicle speaks of a *yuvarāja* in almost every reign, and kings are also said to have appointed

*uparājas*. Geiger also observes that one became *yuvarāja* either by virtue of the right of succession, or, if necessary or desirable, the position of *yuvarāja* was conferred like an office or title. The investiture of an *uparāja* was a solemn ceremony, and one had to be consecrated as such; but in the case of a *yuvarāja* no such consecration is spoken of (*ibid.*). King Parākramabāhu II conferred the dignity of *yuvarāja* on his younger brother Bhuvanaikabāhu and made over to him a part of the kingdom (CV 82. 4). We hear of two *uparājas* in the reign of Kīrtiśri Rājasimha: 'To show the world that he respected his royal brothers as himself, he assigned the two *uparājas* vehicles and retinue and every kind of distinction, making them thus completely contented . . .' (CV 99. 84). The SdhRv refers only to a *yuvarāja* in the lists of officers, e.g. *raja, yuvarāja, maha āmati; raja, yuvarāja, senevi* (268, 450).

Two other titles borne by the princes of the royal family were those of *ādipāda* and *mahādipāda*. The title of *ādipāda* (*āpā*) first occurs in CV 41. 34, when King Silākāla is said to have conferred the dignity of *ādipāda* on his eldest son Moggallāna. On the second he conferred the title of *malayarāja* (41. 35). This shows, as remarked by Geiger, that conferment of that title acknowledged the right of succession. We hear of the case of Mahinda I, who reigned as *ādipāda*, as he did not wish to be consecrated king. The slab-inscription of Udā Mahayā states that he received at the very instant of his birth the unction of Governor and Heir-Apparent, *āpā-yuvarad* (EZ 1. 5. 188), thus showing that both titles were borne by one person, the heir-apparent. This indicates that it was not considered necessary for a prince to reach a definite age to be thus honoured. We are also told that Udaya I had little children and that he bestowed the dignity of *yuvarāja* on his eldest son; the others he made *ādipādas*, and his daughters he made queens (CV 49. 3). There is one other title, that of *mahādipāda* (also *mahāpā, mahapā, māpā, mahayā*) which also seems to have been borne by the heir-apparent. We first hear of it when Aggabōdhi I confers the title of *mahādipāda* on his sister's son (CV 42. 38). The thirteenth century pillar-inscription of Bhuvanaikabāhu speaks of himself as *mahapā*, which title he seems to have held under his elder brother, Parākramabāhu II (EZ 3. 5. 288). The MV, on the other hand, states that Bhuvanaikabāhu held the dignity of *yuvarāja* (CV 82. 4). Referring to the above inscription Paranavitana remarks that the inscription records the grant of land to a *piriveṇa* by the

heir-apparent *māpā* Bhuvanekabāhu ; this prince held the office of *yuvarāja*, which is very often synonymous with *māpā* (EZ 3. 5. 287). The Pjv states that Parākramabāhu bestowed the titles of *yuvarāja* and *mahapā* on his brother (737). Here we have an instance of a prince who perhaps held both titles. Earlier we recorded the case of one who held the titles of *āpā* and *yuvarāja*.

Referring to the title of *mahādīpāda* Wickremasinghe remarks that this was a ministerial title higher in rank than that of *āpā*. This is made clear by the fact that princes are often referred to as attaining kingship after holding the dignities of *āpā* and *mahāpā* ; e.g. ' Enjoying the regal dignities of governor and sub-king, and being proficient in the science of arms, in religion, and in all arts and sciences, he, in due order of regal succession, received the sacred unction, and wearing the crown assumed supreme sovereignty ' (EZ 2. 3. 115). This reference also gives us an idea of the requirements of a prince who aspired to kingship. The pillar-inscription of Bhuvanaikabāhu Mahapā (EZ 3. 5. 286) and the Nāgama pillar-inscription of Udā Mahapā definitely show that the *mahapās* and the sub-kings wielded great authority. These two *māpās* made endowments on their own authority. The phrase ' Udā Mahāpā had assigned with (his own) seal as a *paṃuṇu* land ' shows that the sub-king himself had a seal of his own which he used in attesting documents of state, as the king his signet ring (EZ 2. 1. 19).

Considering the foregoing facts, we may conclude that a king normally chose the title which he desired to bestow on the princes of the royal house ; generally the eldest, or the heir-apparent was made either *yuvarāja* or *mahādīpāda*, and the other princes of royal blood *uṇarājās* or *ādīpādas*.

### Purōhita

Another official who wielded great influence in the king's court was the formidable personage, the *purōhita* or chaplain. He was the king's adviser on all matters, and hence a trusted companion of the king. The institution of the *purōhita* seems to have been maintained even up to the last phases of the Sinhalese kingdom. Pandit Puññaratana Thēra states that Delgoḍa Vijetunga Atapattu Mudiyanse held this post under Rājasimha II (*Lankāve-purā-tattvaya*, p. 77). The first chaplain mentioned is Canda in the time of Paṇḍukābhaya (MV 10. 79). Dēvānampiya Tissa is said to have bestowed the title of *purōhita* on a brahmin (MV 11. 26). Queen

Anulā is known to have been in love with Damila Niliya—a brahmin who was the palace priest. Vikramabāhu II is said to have caused the performance of salutary sacrifices by the house-priest and other brahmins (CV 62. 33). The Oruvala sannasa of Parākramabāhu VIII, 15th century, records the granting of land to two brahmanas who served as chief domestic chaplains (EZ 3. 2. 68). The Pjv also refers to the fact that a *purōhita* reigned for six months during the intrigues of Lilāvati (p. 724).

Literary works, such as the SdhRv, make copious references to *purōhitas* ; and they have been depicted as being very familiar with the king. The appointment of a brahmin par excellence to this office was in keeping with all Indian tradition ; but it is difficult to say whether the post was always held by a brahmin ; that this was not so in the later periods is seen by the appointment made by Rajasiṃha II. Irrespective of the person who held the post, we see that the *purōhita* occupied a place of great eminence in the king's court, being the personal adviser of the king in all matters spiritual, temporal, official or private. As in India, he had a powerful influence because of his religious knowledge, and because he was versed in various sciences, astrology, omens, etc. He advised the king on when to do a thing, and when not to, thus wielding great influence on him.

### Commander-in-Chief

The *sēnāpati* or Commander-in-Chief of the army was of recognised importance in the Sinhalese court. Literature constantly speaks of commanders who wielded great power, and were able even to depose a king. Generally, therefore, it was a trusted relation of the king who was raised to this honour, and the investiture was often conducted ceremonially. We hear of the important campaigns, and of the part played by *sēnāpati* Dēva during the time of Parākramabahu I. The CV records the treachery of *sēnāpati* Mitta, who caused Vijayabahu to be put to death (CV 90. 2). The beginning of the thirteenth century saw the investiture of Laṅkādhikāra Lolupālākuḷu Duttāṭi Ābōnāvan as *sēnāpati*, who established Sāhasa Malla on the throne : ' For this unique act of loyal service . . . His Majesty, in the first year of his reign, invested him with the rank of *senevirat* and appointed him as his prime minister ' (EZ 2. 5. 229). Here we see an instance of a *senapati* who held two portfolios, that of *sēnapati* and of prime minister. The *sēnapati* seems

also to have been entrusted, in addition to his own duties as commander-in-chief of the army, with other state duties, in keeping with the Kṣatriya custom whereby military officers took a share in the administration of the country during peace time. With reference to this office, Geiger makes the following remarks: 'Head of the whole army is, however, the *sēnāpati*. His position was without doubt one of extreme importance, and the king only granted it to a man in whom he had the fullest confidence. Dhatusena appoints his sister's son *senapati* (CV 38. 81). In the same way Parakramabāhu II, in the war against the Jāvakas, entrusts the highest command in the army to his sister's son Vīrabāhu (CV 83. 41). I do not think, however, that the conclusion is warranted that this position was reserved for the *bhāgineyya*. He could indeed become *sēnāpati* if he had the necessary qualifications and if he possessed the confidence of the monarch, but the king was not bound in his choice by conditions of relationship' (CV pt. I, Introduction, pp. xxvi-vii). This officer was normally in charge of the army, but on occasions of great wars the king himself seems to have taken charge of the supreme command.

The Kandavurusirita mentions five chief officials: *panca pradhāna maha senaga—raja, yuvaraja, senevirat, āpā, maṣa*, thus showing that they were the chief officials of state under Parakramabahu II. 'Raja' here probably refers to the provincial rulers who ruled in the provinces, acknowledging the supremacy of the king. The Masulipatam plates of Amīnaraja II mention several high officials of state as the vassal kings, *purohita, sēnapati*, etc., thus giving us a parallel from the Indian continent (EI Vol. 24, p. 273).

### The Ministers

The actual working of the administration was carried on by a Council of State, which consisted of a certain number of ministers who held different portfolios. We have already seen that the administration was divided under different heads, as, for example, Finance, Law, etc., and that each department was placed under a ministry, at the head of which was a minister. It also seems likely that there were other ministers who were not heads of such departments. We are not in a position to give the exact number of ministers in a Council of State. This no doubt depended on the will of the king. It is also difficult to gather what exactly the function of a

minister was. As far as the duties are concerned, the Pjv (18) only states that because they were constantly engaged in performing the different duties entrusted to them by the king, they were also expected to have a knowledge of the *dhamma*. Referring to the title ' *amacca* ', minister, Geiger observes that it certainly was one of general meaning and that it was used alike for civil and military officials (CV pt. I, Introduction, p. xxv). Therefore we can only state that a king had a number of ministers, of whom those who were in charge of departments bore titles indicative of their office.

We are told that Dēvānampiya Tissa had his nephew Mahāriṭṭha as his Chief Minister, along with whom he sent his Chaplain, his Treasurer and another minister as envoys to Aśōka (MV II. 20). King Parākramabāhu separated the finance administration from that of the army and made them over to two supreme officials (CV 69. 29). He is also said to have separated all lands of extraordinary value and placed them under a minister for whom he created the ' Office of the Interior ' (*antaraṅgadhura*). Referring to this Geiger adds a note that Parākramabāhu must have created two chief ministries, ' a ministry of war and one for internal administration, each with a highest official at the head ', and that for simplification the latter function was locally divided into two parts, to which was added a third embracing in particular the administration of the mines. He also points out that the compiler is here describing the system of administration set up in certain works of the Nīti literature, and that it was of course possible that Parākramabāhu himself adopted this system (CV pt. I, p. 285, n. 3). Certain gifts and goods, etc., sent by Parākramabāhu I seem to have been seized by force on the way to Kāmbōja. Parākramabāhu, hearing of these insults, summoned his ministers and took counsel : ' Either the capture or the slaying of the king of Arimaddana must be effected. Thereupon there spake a distinguished official of the public accounts the Damiḷādhikārin, by name Ādicca . . . ' (CV 76. 38). Queen Mittā is said to have taken counsel with the highest dignitaries and ascetics, and when they were agreed, consecrated Jayabāhu as king (CV 61. 1). The Galpota inscription of Nissaṅka Malla states that he appointed ministers of justice and put an end to injustice in the island (EZ 2. 3. 117). The same inscription also states that he appointed yet other ministers and officials and provided them with ' livings ', serfs, cattle, permanent grants, and inheritances, gold and silver vessels, domestic utensils and other riches. The ministers



seem to have come to the court in the morning to pay their homage to the king. This is shown by the well-known story of Subha (MV 35. 51). The Kaṇḍavuru-sirita also mentions that five chief officers paid homage to the king daily.

The appointment and dismissal of ministers were entirely in the hands of the king. The first official act of the king, immediately he was consecrated, was the appointment of his officers of state, and the bestowal of honours and titles as a mark of recognition on persons of his choice. Parākramabāhu II, after holding the ceremony of his consecration is said to have received, on account of his learning, the title of ' *kalikāla-sāhitya-sarvajña-ṇḍita* '. This may have been conferred on him by either the ministers or the brotherhood of monks. On his younger brother he conferred the title of *yuvaraja* (CV 82. 3). Aggabōdhi IV, gifted with right views, ' bestowed office according to worth without preference, and by showing favour in accordance with rank, clans, and so forth, he won over these to himself ' (CV 46. 4). Such titles and endowments were sometimes withdrawn : we are told that King Dhatusena, who being ' wroth with those belonging to noble clans or to kinship villages who had attached themselves to the Damiḷas, deprived them of their villages . . . But to all the people . . . and . . . his ministers, who were the companions of his misfortune, he brought contentment ' (CV 38. 38). Moggallāna I is said to have destroyed over a thousand, ministers and others belonging to the same houses or families, who attached themselves to his father's murderer (CV 39. 35). King Jeṭṭha Tissa is said to have commanded that the treacherous ministers be slain and their bodies impaled on the stakes round his father's pyre (MV 36. 121). The SdhRv refers to occasions when the ministers were banished from the kingdom (239). Thus we see that the king got rid of anyone who incurred his displeasure. It was incumbent on the part of the ministers to visit different parts of the country on official business. The CV records the visits paid by Dēva-Patirāja to various parts of the island (ch. 86). The SdhRv refers to an interesting episode connected with the minister Lakuṇṭaka Atimbaru of King Duṭṭu-gāmuṇu. It is said that he once went to a village called Mahamuni in Digamaṇḍulla on some official business, and there he fell in love with a beautiful girl, named Sumanā and married her (851).

All these officers of state enjoyed a certain amount of privilege in respect of the offices they held. On them were bestowed land, serfs, cattle, heritable lands, gold, gems, clothes and ornaments, in accordance with their positions (EZ 2. 2. 90). To the *yuvarāja*, for instance, the Southern Country was given, and he enjoyed the revenue derived from this part of the land. The *Sdhk* relates the story of a man named Tissa who lived in a certain village in Ceylon. His father instructed him in the science of weapons and showed him to the king; and from this time onwards he served the king loyally and became a trusted servant. The king, being pleased with him, appointed him a minister and made over Māgama to him (672). There is no doubt that people who went out of office, or were divested of such dignities, laid aside their claims to such grants, except perhaps under special circumstances, when the king assigned to them whatever remuneration he pleased for the services they may have rendered him.

### Royal Preceptor

The *SdhRv* also refers to a royal preceptor or *rājaguru* in the story of Kāṣṭhavāhana. It is very likely that in Ceylon the post was held by a monk at the court. We have definite proof that such a post existed in the 12th century from the reference made to it in the slab-inscription of the Veḷāikkāras: 'The Royal Preceptor (*rājaguru*) and grammarian Mugalan Mahā Thēra of Uturuḷamuḷa, who is endowed with piety and virtuous conduct and with a knowledge of all *Śāstras* and *Āgamas* . . .' (EZ 2. 6. 254). This not only establishes beyond doubt that there was such an office, but also gives the necessary qualifications of one who held the post. We hear that during the time of Gōṭhābhaya a Cōḷan monk named Saṅghamitta was employed as teacher of his two sons Jeṭṭhatissa and Mahāsēna, and that Mahāsēna wrought many an evil deed under the influence of this monk (MV 36. 116, 37. 13; *Nikāya-saṅgrahaya*, p. 13). Next we hear of Aggabōdhi I keeping piously to the instruction of the *bhikkhu* Dāṭhāsiva and living according to the law (CV 42. 22). In a foot-note to this, Geiger adds that Dāṭhāsiva apparently took a post at court corresponding to that of *purōhita* in the Indian courts. The CV also records that 'a grandson of King Dāṭhōpatissa, who had undergone the ceremony of world-renunciation in the Order of the Holy Buddha, dwelt full of faith, practising asceticism, controlled by discipline, self-controlled in spirit, as hermit in a solitary spot. The gods, who had pleasure

in him, praised everywhere his virtue. When the ruler of Laṅkā heard of his excellence . . . he sought to gain him as his counsellor . . . had him fetched and made him take up his abode in a finely-built *pasada*. The king . . . ruled the people in justice, walking in the way marked out by his advice . . . Since that time the sovereigns of Laṅkā make a bhikkhu spend the night in a small temple of the gods, and place him, if he has found favour with the deity, in the leading position, and when they protect Order and people, they act according to the counsel of the ascetics who hold the leading position' (CV 57. 31). In a note to this passage, Geiger adds that it is not clear which king is meant. He suggests Mānavamma : ' The whole passage is very curious. We are told here of a *Mulatṭhana*, that is (according to v. 39), the position of a premier and highest counsellor. It is held by a *bhikkhu* who must be confirmed in it by a kind of oracle. This confirmation again is granted by the *dēvatās*, another proof of the way in which Buddhism is interwoven with popular ideas' (CV, pt. I, p. 196, n. 2, 4). It is quite likely that the '*mulatṭhana*' referred to herein does not refer to a premier, but to the position of a chief monk, and is, no doubt, thus termed as a mark of the highest recognition and honour, as the monks are always considered to be on a higher pedestal than any laymen. The passage also establishes beyond doubt that a monk held the position of a royal adviser from the time referred to above, though it is not clear what reign is meant. The reference to such a position in the time of Aggabōdhi I shows that this post may have originated about this time ; and probably the office referred to is that of the *raja-guru*, who must have always been the most eminent monk of the day. It is quite likely that this post may have been identical with that of the *purōhita* during certain times. From the very origin of this post, the *purohita* has remained an *ācāriya*, teacher of the king. What often happened in India was that the teacher of the king in his youth was ultimately appointed to the post of *purōhita*, when the latter ascended the throne. We have definite evidence that this post continued up to the last phases of the Sinhalese kingdom. The early years of the 14th century saw the appointment of a *rājaguru* by Parākramabāhu IV : ' To the office of royal teacher the king appointed a Grand Thera from the Cōḷa country, a self-controlled man, versed in various tongues and intimate with philosophic works' (CV 90. 80). We also hear of a number of royal preceptors under the Kandyan kings, as for example the well-known poet, Attaragama Rāja-

guru Baṇḍāra, a pupil of Saṅgharāja Saraṇaṅkara. We also hear of Moratoṭa Dhammakkhanda Thēra, the royal teacher of Rājādhirājasimha. The following verse from the Moratoṭa-vata establishes this, and also throws light on the CV passage quoted above regarding the appointment of a royal preceptor :

*metun lakata oba vāni viyatek nāta tevaḷābaṇa peḷarut dānenā  
mevan mahimaval visituru kara kara yedilā nima nāti guṇa varuṇā  
etān paṭan avavādē pihitā delovin vāḍa sādā kiyanā  
utum rājaguru tanaturu moratoṭa teriṇḍuṭa deviyangen lābunā*

(*Moratoṭa-vata*, ed. Albert de Silva, v. 61). This verse states that Moratoṭa Thēra received the office of *rājaguru* at the hands of the gods. This indicates that the tradition recorded in the CV was current even at the time of the Kandyan kings. Certain Indian States yet continue this practice of having a *rājaguru*, and we have an example from Nepal State where Pandit Hemarāj holds the office.

### Seṭṭhi

This term *seṭṭhi* (S. *siṭu*) is rendered as foreman of a guild, 'city-man', banker, wealthy merchant, in the P.T.S. Dic. Whatever the English term we hit upon, the references make it clear that this was a titular rank bestowed on certain wealthy citizens as a mark of social eminence and recognition by a king. The Jātaka stories show that when a king came across a very rich man he honoured him with the conferment of this title. The stories also indicate that these *seṭṭhis* did a certain amount of work for the king. The investiture no doubt was carried out ceremonially, as was the custom in India. It is difficult to say whether all these titular lords had any hand in the administrative affairs of the land ; but all *seṭṭhis* seem to have been represented by one chief *seṭṭhi*, who seems to have had a place in the Council of State. The Kaṇḍavuru-sirita, giving a list of officers to whom the king gave orders daily, mentions the *siṭunā* (*daham geyi nā, maha veḷeṇḍanā, siṭunā*), thus showing that he had certain official duties to perform. This reference also makes it clear that the *siṭunā* was an officer different from the *maha-veḷeṇḍnā* (chief merchant).

The CV records a revolt caused by three officers, namely the Head of the Umbrella-bearers (*chatta-gāhaka-nātha*), the President of the Court of Justice (*dhammagēhaka-nāyaka*), and the Chief of the *seṭṭhis* (*seṭṭhinātha*), during the time of Vijayabāhu I (CV 59.

17). The Nikāya-saṅgrahaya, too, mentions the *siṭunā* as an officer of state during the time of Parākramabāhu I (*Nikāya-saṅgrahaya*, ed. Kumaranatunga, p. 20). The Maḍavala rock-inscription also refers to a high official by the name of Jōti Siṭāṇa, who has set his signature to a grant of land along with the *āpā* (EZ 3. 5. 236). The Gaḍalādeṇiya slab-inscription of the 16th century mentions *siṭu* in a list of officials, viz. ' *raja, yuvaraja, āpā, māpā, siṭu senevirat adhikāra ātuluṅvū kavarataram kenakuntat*' (EZ 4. 1. 22).

We have a parallel to our *setthinātha* in the Indian inscriptions. The position of our chief *setthi* seems to have been similar to that of the *śrēṣṭhins* mentioned in the Indian inscriptions. The Damodarpur copper-plate inscriptions give us valuable information regarding this position. An interesting historical fact revealed by these plates is that the *viṣayapatis* (District Commissioners) 'appear to have been aided in their administrative work (*saṃvyavahāra*) by a Board of Advisers, which is found to have been constituted of four members representing the various important interests of those days : (1) the *nagara-śrēṣṭhin* (the most wealthy man of the town), representing, perhaps, the rich urban population; (2) the *sārthavāha* (the chief merchant), representing, perhaps, the various trade-guilds; (3) the *prathama-kulika* (the chief artisan), representing, perhaps, the various artisan classes; and (4) the *prathama-kāyastha* (the chief scribe), who may either have represented the *Kāyasthas* as a class, or have been a Government official in the capacity of a Chief Secretary of the present day' (EI, Vol. 15, p. 128). In a note to the term *nagara-śrēṣṭhin*, it is stated that he probably represented the various guilds or corporations in the town, or the rich urban population, and that the word *śrēṣṭhin* came to mean a 'banker' in later days (*ibid.*, p. 131, n. 4). Another title used in the plates is *kula-śrēṣṭhin*, which is explained in a note as the foremost person in the company of artisans. According to this, the *nagara-śrēṣṭhin* was only the richest man in the particular city, and there would have been at least one in every *viṣaya* (district) to help the *viṣayapati* (District Commissioner). Considering these, we may say that our *siṭunā* was either the representative of the *setthis*, of whom there may have been a good number, or the foremost rich man in the capital. Therefore it is justifiable to equate our *siṭunā* with the *śrēṣṭhin* of these inscriptions, who seems to have held a high position in the court. That the *śrēṣṭhin* was a high official of state is shown by the Masulipatam plates of Ammarāja II, who is

recorded to have issued a command in the immediate presence of several high officials, the vassal kings, the *antahpura-mahumatra*, the *purōhita*, the *amātya*, the *śrēṣṭhin*, the *sēnāpati*, the *śrīkarāṇa*, the *dharmādhyakṣa*, and twelve *sthān-ādīpatis* (EI, Vol. 24, p. 273). The Bannahli plates of Kṛiṣṇavarman II record that the king was advised to make the grant referred to in the plate by the *śrēṣṭhin* Haridatta (EI, Vol. 6, p. 17). The Khamkhed plates of the time of Pratāpaśīla record that the grant was written by the *śrēṣṭhin*. So do the Badakhimedi copper-plates (EI, Vol. 23, p. 79). Thus we see that the *śrēṣṭhin* of the Indian inscriptions took a leading part in the affairs of the state. It is quite probable that the position in Ceylon was much the same. The presence of two officers representing similar interests is quite clear from the references to the *siṭunā* and the *maha-veleṅdnā*, and the references in the Indian inscriptions help us to distinguish these two officials. The position, therefore, must have been that the *siṭunā* represented the rich (other than the merchants) or high finance, while the *maha-veleṅdnā* stood for the merchant guilds or corporations, or the merchants in general.

Attention must again be drawn to the question whether the term *setṭhi* was a title always conferred on a person by a king. The stories often speak of the bestowal of this title on wealthy citizens. The MV tells us that Dēvānampiya Tissa bestowed the rank of *setṭhi* (*setṭhittam*) on his treasurer or accountant (*gaṇaka*) :

*adā sēnāpatitṭhānaṃ tutṭhō 'ritṭhassa bhūpati,*  
*ṭpōrōhiccaṃ brāhmaṇassa, daṇḍanāyakataṃ pana*  
*adāsi tassāmaccassa, setṭhittam gaṇakassa tu*

(MV II. 25b, 26).

The note added to the comments on the Damodarapur copper-plate inscriptions of Kumāragupta I, of the fifth century, A.D. (see above) shows that during the early times the term did not refer to a banker as such. Originally, therefore, the *śrēṣṭhin* was only the 'foremost man' in a town. We also have evidence that this term *setṭhi* (T. *etṭi*) was conferred on rich merchants even in the Tamil country. In explaining the term *etṭi* which occurs in the Cilappatikāram, V. V. R. Dikshitar states : 'The merchants were the wealthiest community in the land, and the king befriended them by honouring them with titles. *Etṭi* was one such title' (*Cilappatikāram*, Introduction, p. 39). Swāminātha Aiyar, in his commentary on the Maṇimēkalai, states that the term *etṭi* is a title that was conferred on the

people of the *vaiśya* caste : *vaiśyar perum pattaḥ peyar* (*Maṇimē-kalai*, Swāminātha Aiyar's commentary, 1931, p. 47). The Madras T. Lexicon also explains the term as 'title of distinction conferred on persons of the *vaiśya* caste'. In the choice of the persons upon whom this title was to be conferred, the king may have been guided by the wealth a person possessed. It can be conjectured that as time went on, the *śrēṣṭhins* and the 'rich men' came to be identical, so that at a certain stage the rich men, the majority of whom may have been bankers, came to be known as *śrēṣṭhins*. Though it is not possible to say when this actually came about, yet one may hazard the conclusion that up to, and during, the thirteenth century the term *seṭṭhi* (*siṭu*) had not come to mean a banker in general, but remained a titular rank.

### Treasury Officials

The literature also speaks of various officials of the Treasury other than the head of the Treasury or Chief Treasurer. Some of these officers are referred to as *ayakāmi*, those who keep records of the income. The same officers are perhaps referred to by the term *bhaṇḍārapotun*, keepers of the treasury books, used in an inscription of Nissaṅka Malla (EZ 3. 3. 151). Geiger's remarks about these officers may be noted here : 'Several official titles are formed with the word *potthakin*, namely, *bhaṇḍāra-*, *ādi-*, *mūla-*, and *jīvita-potthakin*. We shall see that it is probably a case here of various synonymous designations for one and the same office. According to its origin *potthakin* has reference to an official who in some sphere or other has to do with book-keeping, the making of lists and inventories. Now *bhaṇḍārapotthakin* is of itself intelligible. It probably corresponds to *koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa* "overseer of the provision house" in the Kauṭaliya. The title is borne (72. 182) by an officer of Parākramabāhu I, Kittī by name. But the same Kittī is also described (72. 27, 207) as *ādipotthakin*. This, therefore, is probably a synonym of *bhaṇḍārapotthakin* and means simply "first or highest *potthakin*". But the same meaning is also attached to *mūlapotthakin*, which is the title of Māna (75. 139, 140), another officer of Parākrama. I may point to *mūlatṭhāna* (57. 38) "the first, the highest and most influential position", the foremost office in the state. My impression is that *jīvita-potthakin* has the same meaning. This title is also applied to Kittī (74. 90), as well as another official of Parākramabāhu, Mandin by name (70. 318 ; 72. 161). It should be remembered that the Skt. *jīvita* means

“livelihood, food”. By *bhaṇḍāra* was meant the necessary food-stuffs which were under the supervision and control of the *poṭṭhakin*’ (CV, pt. I, Introduction, p. 29). That the office of *bhaṇḍārapoṭṭhakin* was known in South India is seen when it is said that accounts were recorded in the *baṇḍāra-poṭṭagam*: ‘Charitable grants, which were tax free, were registered in the *vari-poṭṭagam*, and money accounts were recorded in the *baṇḍāra-poṭṭagam* (Venkateswara, *Indian Culture through the Ages*, p. 119). According to Venkateswara the *baṇḍarā-poṭṭhakin* had to do with accounts and not with foodstuffs.

Geiger in his explanation makes out that *ādipoṭṭhakin*, *bhaṇḍārapoṭṭhakin*, *mūlapoṭṭhakin*, *jīvitapoṭṭhakin* were synonymous (see above). One reason he advances is that Kitti is referred to by at least three of these titles (see below). This view he puts forward, no doubt, considering the Kittis to be one and the same person; but a few other possible explanations make it difficult for us to assert that only one individual is referred to by the name Kitti. The descriptions of the battles of Parākramabāhu I refer to more than one person of the same name and also to more than one who bore the same title: Kēsadhātu Rakkha, Kēsadhātu Buddha, Adhikārin Rakkha, Adhikārin Kitti, Daṃḍādhikārin Rakkha, Mahālēkha Rakkha, Saṅkhanāyaka Rakkhaka, Bhaṇḍārapoṭṭhakin Kitti, Ādipoṭṭhakin Kitti, Jīvitapoṭṭhakin Kitti, Daṇḍanāyaka Kitti, Bhaṇḍārapoṭṭhakin Bhūta, Jīvitapoṭṭhakin Maṇḍin (see CV, chs. 72, 74). These no doubt make it clear that more than one person of the same name is referred to. The Ādipoṭṭhakin Kitti does not appear to be identical with Bhaṇḍārapoṭṭhakin Kitti. It is also likely that one of these Kittis was later honoured or given the title *jīvitapoṭṭhakin* perhaps as a mark of recognition of services rendered during war. Similar seems to have been the case with the title *Daṃḍādhikārin*.

The CV tells us that Ādipoṭṭhakin Kitti was sent along with Adhikārin Rakkha to take up a position at Maṅgalabēgāma (72. 160). It is also said that Mahālēkha Rakkha and Jīvitapoṭṭhakin Maṇḍin and two Daṇḍanāyakas Saṅkhadhātu and Kitti were sent to Pila-*viṭṭhi* (on the borders of Kālavāpi) (72. 162). It is again mentioned that Mahālēkha Rakkha and Bhaṇḍārapoṭṭhakin Kitti marched to Kāṇamūla having left Kālavāpi (72. 182), and that they returned to Kālavāpi later (72. 193). We are here faced with the question as to who Bhaṇḍārapoṭṭhakin Kitti was, as the only Kitti who is



recorded to have gone to Kālavāpi is the Daṇḍanāyaka Kitti, brother of Daṇḍanāyaka Saṅkhadhātu, and Ādipotthakin Kitti was away in Maṅgalabēgāma. Were Daṇḍanāyaka Kitti and Bhaṇḍārapotthakin Kitti identical? (the same person may hold two titles). Both these seem, however, to be different from Ādipotthakin Kitti. We are told in another place later on, that the king gathered his army together and re-distributed them again: Mahā-lēkha Rakkha, Kammanāyaka Añjana and Ādipotthakin Kitti were sent to Kyānagāma; Ādipotthakin Kitti who first went to Maṅgalabēgāma is now replaced by Adhikārin Rakkha (72. 207). No mention is made of the position of Bhaṇḍārapotthakin Kitti. These references show that the possibility of there being two or three Kittis is not ruled out. The CV (74. 90) records that Adhikārin Kitti and Jīvitapoththakin Kitti were sent to Dīghavāpi. One may now consider with some justification that these two Kittis were the Daṇḍanāyaka Kitti and Ādipotthakin Kitti for they may have been given these two titles *adhikārin* and *jīvitapoththakin* respectively later on. Now we see that it is not easy to consider the titles *ādi*-, *mūla*-, *bhaṇḍāra*- and *jīvitapoththakin* as synonymous. These titles were probably indicative of the different aspects of book-keeping or accountancy that prevailed at the time. The reference to Bhaṇḍārapotthakin Bhuta (72. 196) shows us that there were more than one *bhaṇḍārapoththakin*. We may therefore conjecture that these were also general terms meaning treasury official or 'book-keeper' of whom there may have been many.

Considering the titles *ādi* and *mūlapoththakin*, we see that both terms *ādi* and *mūla* can mean chief, first or principal, thus indicating a Chief or Principal *potthakin*. If the terms were used in this sense, then the two titles may be considered identical; but there is also the possibility that *mūla* meant money, or capital. If so, the title *mūlapoththakin* could also be a general term for an accountant or book-keeper who kept accounts of money or capital (cp. *mudal potun* in the Pāpīliyānē inscription). The term *jīvita* meant life, existence, subsistence, maintenance, livelihood (MTL and MW cp. S. *divel*). *Jīvitapoththakin*, therefore, may have designated an officer who recorded maintenance or subsistence grants to people. T. *potthakam* has been rendered as land register (MTL, SI, Vol. 3, p. 80). Now we can say that these titles were indicative of the varying status of, and the different work performed by, the officers of the treasury or a department of accounts.

The SdhRv also refers to officers who were engaged in the distinct work connected with revenue and expenditure and also of recording the income or revenue (127). The same officers are no doubt referred to in the Giritale pillar-inscription of Udaya II : ' Officers of the two treasuries and the two departments . . . ' (*deruvanā de kamtān*) (EZ 3. 3. 141). According to Paranavitana, the two departments referred to are those of revenue and expenditure (ibid., also see 3. 3. 143). The term *āyapothhakin* is explained as '*dravya ā kākāspan hevat lēkam*' in the Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya (p. 7). The SdhRv also refers to a title *mudalpat* (335); *pat* here is perhaps identical with *pan* of the Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya, meaning books, and account books are no doubt meant. The Pāpiliyānē inscription refers to the title *mudalpotun* : '*vihārayak karavana lesaṭa rāṇivāsala kāriyehi niyukta sikurā mudalpotunṭa vadāḷa mehevarin pasvisidahasak dhana viyadam koṭa*', on the orders to build a *vihāra*, Sikurā, the *mudalpotun* who was engaged in office in the Queen's mansion, spent twenty-five thousand (*Katikāvatsaṅgarā*, ed. D. B. Jayatilaka, p. 43). Therefore *mudalpat* may have been an officer of the treasury similar to, or even identical with, that of *mūlapothhakin* of the CV.

The CV also refers to the treasurers of Gajabāhu's father, and to the fact that Parākramabāhu I separated the administration of the treasury from that of the army (69. 27, 29). Hence it is clear that the king's treasury was administered by a set of officials who recorded the revenue and expenditure and who worked under a superior, the *bhaṇḍāranāyaka* or chief treasurer.

### Adhikārin

The inscriptions of this period refer to an official called the *adhikārin*, which title also occurs in the CV. Geiger's views on this may first be noted here : ' Nor is it easy at times to determine whether a word is merely a general term for an official, or whether it is associated with a strictly defined sphere of action. This is the case, for instance, with *adhikārin* and *adhināyaka* (*adhinātha*). These terms almost certainly represent a difference in degree ; for according to 70. 278, Parākramabāhu conferred on the Adhinātha Māyāgēha as a reward for his military services, the dignity of an *adhikārin* (*adhikāripadam*). The title Damiḷādhikārin may be mentioned here. It is borne by one of the two Rakkhas, the generals of Parākramabāhu (75. 20, 69 ff.), further by a *gaṇakāmacca*

named Ādicca (76. 39 ff.) ' (CV, pt. I, Introduction, p. 25). The Batalagoḍa-vāva slab-inscription dated in the fifth year of Queen Kalyāṇavatī (A.D. 1207) refers to the benefactions made to a shrine by an officer, *adhikārin*, named Cūḍāmaṇi, Lord of Maṅgalapura (EZ 4. 2. 80). Referring to this, Paranavitana remarks : ' That part of the record containing the titles of this dignitary is mutilated ; and, we are, therefore, deprived of the means by which we could have ascertained what the position he held was. There is no other mention of this officer, so far as I know, in the records of the period ' (EZ 4. 2. 75). We have references to these officers in the succeeding century. The Gaḍalādeṇiya rock-inscription refers to ' *raja yuvaraja adhikāra senevirat arthanāyaka* ' (EZ 4. 2. 100), and the word *adhikāra* has been rendered in this context as ' officers of state ' by Paranavitana. Other records also show that there were *adhikārins* of high status designated by the titles *Laṅkādhikārin* and *Damaḷādhikārin*. Gajabāhu is said to have bestowed the office of *adhikārin* on the chief Māyāgēha, and that of *Laṅkādhikārin* on Saṅkhanāyaka Kitti (CV 70. 278).

The Adhikārin Rakkha, who was stationed at Maṅgalabēgāma, is said to have fought with the enemy . . . again with Adhikārin Nātha and to have put him and his army to flight (CV 70. 297). These references seem to indicate that these titles were conferred on officers in recognition of the military services rendered by them (see also Introduction to CV, pt. I, III). Reference is also made to these officers as executing civil duties of an administrative nature. The Galapāta vihāra rock-inscription of about the 12th century states that a dignitary named Minda who held the office of *Demaḷa-adhikārin* was administering the Pasyodun district (EZ 4. 4. 198). Referring to the same inscription, Paranavitana adds that ' the official title Demaḷa-adhikārin is known from the *Mahāvamsa* to have been current in the reign of Parākramabāhu I ; and names such as those of the dignitaries figuring in this epigraph were borne by personages who flourished in the reign of that monarch or in the decade or two that followed it. The official titles such as Demaḷa-adhikāra, found in the document, are not known to have been in vogue in the Daṁbadeṇiya period, though of course we cannot definitely assert that they had fallen into disuse ' (EZ 4. 4. 199, 200). Though Paranavitana makes this statement, the references to these two officials, namely *Laṅkā-* and *Demaḷa-adhikāra* by the author of the SdhRv suggest that these titles were used during the Daṁba-

deṇiya period. In translating the Pāli passage ‘*amma sasurō kira tē kōsala raññā saddhiṃ āgatō, tassa kataragēhaṃ paṭijaggitabbaṃ, raññō kataraṃ uḥarājādīnaṃ katarānīti*’, Dhammasēna Thēra says: ‘*puta, toḥagē mayilaṇuvō kosol rajjuruvan vahansēt kāṇḍavūgena avuya.toḥagē mayilaṇuvanta navātānata kavara geyak nilakaramōda ? yuvarajjuruvanta . . . laṅkā-adhikāra demaḷa-adhikāra mudalpat ādīvū ē ē denāta kavara kavara geval . . .*’ (SdhRv 335). Here we see that the writer in translating the one term *yuvarājādīnaṃ* has given a series of other officials with whom, we have no doubt, he was familiar. The mention of the two *adhikārins* proves that he knew of their existence. Hence we have not the slightest doubt that these titles were used in the Daṃbadeṇiya period. We see no reason to presume that these posts fell into disuse, since they were very conspicuous in the immediately preceding period. Further evidence to the effect that these were known in the beginning of the 13th century is afforded by the slab-inscription of Sāhasa Malla, which refers to two officers who held the title *Laṅkādhikāra*, one of whom, Ābonāvan, is said to have been imbued with ministerial qualities such as learning, virtuous conduct, family (or caste) propriety, and the like, and being observant of justice, etc. (EZ 2. 5. 227). It may also be noted that this title was very much used during the Kandyan times. ‘At this period (during Parākramabāhu I) they seem to have been chiefly military commanders of whom several are named. In modern times the *adikāram* or *adigars* became the chief ministers of the kingdom with administrative and military duties . . . the country was administered by chiefs of the *disāwanēs* and *raṭas* under the two chief ministers of state known as *adigars*’ (Hayley, *A Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Sinhalese*, p. 47). It is difficult to ascertain what exactly their duties were ; but there is no doubt that they were high officials of state in whom both administrative and military duties were combined.

### Patirāja

The Pjv records that Parākramabāhu II carried out immense religious activity through one of his ministers, Dēva-Patirāja, who was a true believer in the Triple Gem (see also CV 86. 4). Mayūra-pāda Thēra is said to have composed his religious treatise *Pūjāvāliya* at the request of this minister and is also said to have sent it to the king through him (Pjv 46, 754). The Pjv refers to him as

*agamāti* (Chief Minister) of the king (Pjv 12); but the CV calls him only a minister, viz. ' But which of my dignitaries has the capacity to accumulate a blessing of merit . . . Now there is my dignitary (*amacca*) Dēva-Patirāja . . . ' (CV 86. 3). The Eḷu-attanagalu-vaṃśaya also mentions him as a minister well known for his religious faith and devotion, and states that he belonged to the *Dunukēvatuvaṃśa* (*Eḷu-attanagalu-vaṃśaya*, ed. Kumaranatunga, p. 48). This title also appears later in the Gaḍalādeniya rock-inscription of the 14th century, where many *pratirājas* are mentioned. Parana-*vitana*, commenting on this name, says: '*Patirāja*, occurring in this as well as in several other names of persons figuring in this record, is obviously a title . . . In the printed editions of these works, the word, however, is given as *pratirāja* ; and Sinhalese pandits take it as a compound of Skt. *prati* and *rājan*, and interpret it in some way to mean " viceroy ". But the Skt. compound *pratirāja* means " enemy king ", and is altogether inappropriate for the title of a state official or courtier. Our inscription mentions a number of *pratirājas* who flourished in the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu IV, and probably there were others who had this title at that time. All of those could not have been " viceroys ". Moreover, the inscriptions invariably use the form *patirāja*, and as it is reasonable to assume that the contemporary documents used the current form, we may take *pratirāja* as due either to the ignorance of copyists, or to the pedantry of the modern editors of the literary works. We may therefore take this word as a compound of Skt. *pati* and *rājan*. The material part of the compound is *pati*, " lord ", and *raja* is most probably suffixed as an honorific, precisely as it occurs in the Sinhalese word *senevirada* (Skt. *sēnāpatirāja*) . . . *Pati* and *prabhu* being synonymous, the title *patirāja* and *prabhurāja* might have had the same significance, and were possibly adopted by the feudatory nobles who, in mediaeval Ceylon, wielded a good deal of influence, like the feudal barons of contemporary Europe. The title *pratirāja* first occurs in the thirteenth century and continued in use till about the end of the fifteenth ' (EZ 4. 2. 108, n. 1).

The references to the minister Dēva-Pratirāja, or Dēva-Patirāja in the CV, Pjv, and the Attanagalu-vaṃśaya suggest that this was his name. The CV says: ' Dēvapatirāja by name ' ; and the Pjv has ' *Dēvapratirāja nam amātyayā* ' (745) ; the Attanagalu-

vamśaya also has ' *Dēvaḥprativāja namvū amātyayāṇan yavā* '. The Sidat-sañgarāva refers to him as Patirajadev. Hence it is not unreasonable to conclude that this was the name of the minister, and that in later times *ḥprativāja* or *ḥpativāja* may have been used as a title, as supposed by Paranavitana.

### Mahalē and Arakmēnā

We must agree with Paranavitana as far as his view regarding the meaning of the term *araksamaṇa* is concerned (EZ 3. 2. 99). There is no doubt, as suggested by Codrington, that this official had some connection with the office of *arakmēnā* which is identical in meaning, guardian or protector-in-chief. We may even go a step further and suggest that these two offices were identical, if *araksamaṇa* was actually a title of office (cp. *mahaleyaḥhu . . . varā arak mehe kāmiyak*) (EZ 1. 3. 118). Going on the information afforded us by Paul E. Pieris that *kuṇḍasāla* was the name of the building in which the 17th century kings kept their treasures (*Ceylon : The Portuguese Era*, p. 320), Paranavitana tries to make out that the term *kuḍasalā*, occurring with *araksamaṇa* in the inscriptions, meant treasury officials, whose chief was the *mahalē*. We may agree that the *kuḍasalā* were in the service of the *mahalē*, the Chief Secretary ; but it is difficult to subscribe to the view that *kuḍasalā* were treasury officials (EZ 3. 2. 99, 100 ; 4. 4. 190, n. 9).

In the first place, we are doubtful of the fact which Paul E. Pieris has tried to establish, and we cannot ascertain definitely the connection between the terms *kuṇḍasāla* and *kuṇḍasalā*. Pieris's authority for his conclusions is a verse, in the Kustantīnu-ḥaṭana (ed. D. M. Samarasinghe, v. 137), which has been rendered into English thus : ' And the *Mandapas* and balconies and the stout Kunda Sāla of many stories, they must be built again ' (*Ribeiro's Ceilao*, translated P. E. Pieris, p. 218, 153). This verse does not afford us any evidence to show that this building (*kuṇḍasāla*) was where the king kept his treasures. In my opinion, *kuṇḍasāla* here, meant a building (*sālā*) in a lake or a tank (*kuṇḍa*). T. and Skt. *kuṇḍa* also meant a pool, tank, a hollow in the ground for the sacred fire, spring or basin of water, especially consecrated to some holy purpose or person (MTL and MW). Pieris himself states that ' a stream winding down from the hills led to a marsh which occupied the site of the lake of today, and in the midst of it was the Kuṇḍasāla . . . (*Ceylon : The Portuguese Era*, p. 320).

Secondly the Sinhalese literary sources bear evidence to show that *kuṇḍasalā* did not mean a treasury official. Paranavitana himself refers (EZ 4. 4. 190, n. 9) to the fact that this word occurs in the But-sarana (p. 283): '*kuru kudun ḷadaruvan hā kuḍasalā balatun hā arakkāmiyan kiliṅgan visin*'. Here *kuḍasalā* occurs with other words meaning, the lame and hunched (*kuru kudun*), children (*ḷadaruvan*), sentries (*balatun*), cooks (*arakkāmiyan*), eunuchs (*kiliṅgan*) (*But-sarana Glossary*). [*balat* and *kiliṅg* also occur in the inscriptions: *dunupā-balat paḍi meheyā ättan*, archers and those of the paid services (EZ 3. 2. 104, 105); *dunuvā balatun*, archers and guards (EZ 3. 139. 141); *dunuvā balatun* occurring in the pillar inscription in the Colombo Museum has been rendered as archers and royal messengers (EZ 4. 5. 252); these and *kuḍasalā* are persons who are prohibited from entering certain premises (EZ 4. 4. 191). The SiṃBo states that the title of *doranā* was bestowed on the chief of the *balat kula* and that he was enjoined to stand guard at the *Bōdhi* tree (221)]. These occurrences are an indication that the word meant a person considered unfortunate or of low rank. Madovita Jñanananda Thēra in his Glossary to the But-saraṇa derives *kuṇḍasalā* from Skt. *kuṇḍa* + *chaṭā*. *kuṇḍa* means an adulterine, a son of a woman by another man than her husband while the husband is alive (MW), and *chaṭā*, a mass, assemblage, number (MW) which Jñanananda Thēra interprets as *paraṇa*, line of descent. T. *kuṇḍa* also bore the same meaning as the Skt. (MTL; cp. *Cilappadikāram*, Commentary, 10,219—*karṇalindu vēseyā-na!*). This certainly corroborates the view that *kuḍasalā* was a low-born person. The Vesaturu-dā-sanne also throws some light on this term. Here the term *cēla* occurring in the text *khujjacēla-pakākiṇṇēti khujjēhi cēva cēlamakēhi ca ākiṇṇō* is explained as *ladaruvan hā kuṇḍasalayin kiyatmāyi* (ed. Hettiaratchi, p. 4, para 11 and p. 136 resp.). The P. term *cēlakā* means: 1. one who is clothed, 2. a standard bearer, cp. Skt. *cēḍaka*, P. *cēṭa* and meaning E. knight Ger. knecht; knave (P.T.S. Dic.), *cēṭa*, a servant, a boy, a slave (MW, and P.T.S. Dic.). Hence perhaps the translation of *cēla* as *ladaruvan* (boys), and *kuṇḍasalayin* (servants), cp. Pkt. *cēḍa*, *cēḍaga* boy, servant; P. *cēṭaka* seems to have been used in a derogatory sense: cp. *duṭṭha-cēṭaka*, miserable fellow; *bhātika-cēṭakā*, rascals of brothers (P.T.S. Dic.). Reference is made in the pillar inscription in the Colombo Museum to *Kuḍasalā Deṭyasaya* who guarded the shrine of a *Bōdhisattva* statue (EZ 4. 5. 252 and n. 5).

These references establish beyond doubt that about the 12th century the word *kuñḍasalā* or *kuḍasalā* meant a servant or one of low rank ; but it is difficult to say that in the inscriptions it meant a person of so low a rank. We can now say that the term *kuḍasalā* in the inscriptions also did not mean a treasury official, but someone, e.g. a standard bearer, in the service of the *mahalē*, or a representative of his. Who he was, and what actually his status was cannot be ascertained without further evidence.

This goes against the view (based on *kuñḍasalā* as treasury officials) that the *mahalē* was in charge of the Treasury. Considering the duties of the *mahalē* as can be gathered from the inscriptions we can see that he almost always had to set his hand to immunity grants (EZ 1. 5. 175 ; 4. 4. 185), or set up edicts (EZ 3. 2. 81 ; 2. 1. 48). If *araksamaṇa* was an additional title of the *mahalē*, then we see that he was responsible for instituting regulations as well (EZ 3. 5. 269). These duties which seem to have been performed by the *mahalē*, do sufficiently indicate that his work was connected with orders, decrees, etc. enacted by the Council and that he had nothing to do with the Treasury as such. It may also be mentioned that treasury officials are mostly mentioned in combination with terms such as *bhaṇḍāra-*, and *mūla-* (see above).

Coming back to the title *araksamaṇa* we see that it has very often been used in combination with the title *mahalē* (e.g. EZ 3. 2. 81 ; 3. 5. 274 ; 1. 5. 168, 174). *Araksamaṇa* is sometimes referred to without the title *mahalē*, e.g. Vaṭṭrak Kasbā Raksamaṇa (EZ 3. 5. 269). Wickremasinghe treats this term *mahalē* as showing line of descent and translates it as 'in the family of' the Chief Secretary (EZ 1. 5. 171). This is not accepted by Paranavitana (EZ 3. 2. 99, 109). The Kāvya-śēkharaya states that the Prince Sumitta, who came to Ceylon with the *Bōdhi* tree, was given the title *jayamahalē* and that he was enjoined to guard the *Bōdhi* tree (canto 15, vv. 12, 13). This book also speaks of a family of *jayamahalēs* (ibid. v. 17), and also states that Parākramabāhu VI was the grandson of the *Jayamahalē* who belonged to the Lambakarnas (ibid. v. 20). The Pārakumbā-sirita refers to the conferring of the same title, and also states that it was conferred to be handed down from generation to generation: '*kulaṇḍapuren ena lesa demin jayamahalāna tanaturu*' (v. 11) Thus we can see that this title must have come down from family to family, and it is quite likely that the members of the family were referred to as being 'in the line of *jayamahalēs*'. One



may now conjecture that the case was similar with the *mahalēs* as has also been suggested by Wickremasinghe.

In an inscription at Koṭṭangē we are told that Lōkē Arakmēnā was given a *ḥamunu* (heritable) grant for 'valour shown in disposing of the Cōlas' : *soḷin sādḥā dun daskamaṭa* (EZ 4. 2. 88). Parānavitana points out that *das* here may either be Skt. *dakṣa* (valour) or *dāsya* (service) (ibid., n. 2). If *sādḥā* meant 'disposing of' in this context, as indicated by him (ibid., n. 3), then it is most likely that *das* meant valour. If so, we have an example of an *arakmēnā* who was skilled in war. Now one wonders whether it is fair to consider him an official of the treasury. Of course it must be remembered that even an ordinary soldier could have been rewarded for valour shown in battle. It is therefore, not possible to accept for certain that the *arakmēnā* was a military officer. It may even be that this particular *arakmēnā* was a good soldier or even a military officer. It is therefore not safe to generalise on this instance alone.

We are told that Sumitta was appointed *jayamahālē* (*laṅkā jagatī mahālānō*, BovGp, p. 143), and was enjoined to see that the customs, etc. relating to the offerings to the *Bōdhi* tree were duly carried out and also maintained (*Pārakumbā-sirita*, v. 11). The Kāvya-śēkharaya and the SiṃBo tell us that he was entrusted with the guardianship of the *Bōdhi* tree : *mahabō raknā lesa* (canto 15, v. 17 ; SiṃBō, p. 219). Now we see for certain that the *jayamahālē* had to do with guarding the *Bōdhi* tree as well as the maintenance of the rules relating to its worship. The Pjv tells us that the title of *lakmahālē* was conferred on Prince Bōgot and that the title of *arakmēnā* was conferred on Prince Jutindhara (p. 721). The Pjv does not specify what their duties were ; but the SiṃBō records that Jutindhara was responsible for the security measures or that he was enjoined to provide 'watch' during the Festival : *mahabō maṅgulehi ārakṣāva kevetva yi* (p. 220). The slab-inscription of Nissaṅka Malla states that Lōkē Arakmēnā was entrusted with the restoration of the Mirisavāṭi and other *vihāras* (EZ 2. 2. 83). Here, too, we cannot be certain that this was the specific duty of this official, as it may be that it was only in this particular instance that the *arakmēnā* was entrusted with the restoration of *vihāras*. It is quite likely that the kings appointed someone to look after the temples, monasteries, and other religious establishments. Considering the SiṃBō statement that the *arakmēnā* had to do the police

work at the festival, one may conjecture that his duties were more or less of the nature of those of Police Officers. The Skt. word *āraṅṅaka* or *āraṅṅika* means one who guards or protects ; patrol, watchman, a village or police magistrate (MW). This lends support to the view that the *arākmēnā* was probably a Chief of Police, the chief of the *arāṅ meḥē kāmi*, who were probably police patrols, watchmen or police officers. Reference must be made to yet another difficulty regarding the interpretation of these titles, that is, that the possibility of some of these terms considered by us as titles, were probably personal names, showing line of descent, cannot be excluded. This cannot be decided until further evidence regarding the usage of titles and names is available.

### Territorial Officers

The SdhRv often refers to a class of officers known as *mudali*, which is a Tamil word meaning 'first man'. Dhammasēna Thēra, the author, however, uses this term in translating the Pāli term *gāmaḅhōjaka*. The references also make it clear that this officer seems to have been in charge of a village or a number of villages for purposes of internal administration. The Pjv, too, refers to these officers (510). It says that certain people carried tales to the mudaliyars and roused their anger against others. The references in the SdhRv are numerous : e.g. '*ek danav vāsi minisek gammudalīn daknaṭa ennē . . . gammudalīnṭa demi kiyālā*', is the translation of the Pāli, '*janapadassa manussō gāmaḅhōjakamaḅ passitum āgacchantō . . . gāmaḅhōjakassa dassāmīti . . .*' (SdhRv 497). It is interesting to note that the term *gāmaḅhōjaka* is explained as '*tumā vasana gama vaḷañjanuvā*', one who enjoys the village in which one lives, in the Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya in the same context as given above (DhpAGp, p. 158). The SdhRv and DhpAGp again give the same renderings, viz. *gammudali* and *gamvaḷañduhaṭa* respectively (106 and 33 resp.). Again the SdhRv in translating the Pāli, '*saṭuttadāraṅṅamaḅ gāmaḅhōjakamaḅ tēsaḅ dāsaḅ . . . adāsi*' says: '*aḅbudaruvan piṭinma gammudaliyā unṭa . . . dunha*' (258). The DhpAGp explains *gāmaḅhōjaka* in this context as '*gam-ladu*' (89). These references show that during this time there was an officer of state who was known as *mudali*, and that no such title was in use at the time of the DhpAGp. The Palkuḅbura sannasa shows that this title, *mudali*, was used in later times : '*was pleased to command in the midst of the mudaliyars (mudaliḅḅdu) whilst seated on the lion-throne . . .*' (EZ 3. 5. 247).

The officer referred to may have been in charge of either one village or more than one, the extent of his jurisdiction perhaps varying according to the size of the village or villages. The SdhRv refers to a *mudali* in charge of a hundred villages (182). It also seems likely that these village headmen were appointed from amongst the people of the village itself. This officer may also have enjoyed the revenue from the village, in which he lived, as his emolument, as the term ' *gam-ladu* ' itself indicates.

Another official, no doubt of a higher rank, is mentioned in the SdhRv in rendering the Pāli terms ' *āyasādhakō* ' and ' *āyuttaka purisō* ', as ' *raṭa-vicarana dhurayaku vāniyaha* ' (815). By this is perhaps meant a local official with judicial authority in the village, without distinction as to the nature of the cases that might be tried by him. In another context the SdhRv uses the term ' *raṭa-nāyaka* ', referring very likely to the same official (816). This indicates that there was during this time an official known as *raṭa-nāyaka* (district headman) in charge of a division known as *raṭa* (district). The inscriptions refer to this officer as well as to a ' *disā-nāyaka* ', who was perhaps in charge of a *disā*, province. The Poḷonnaruva Council-chamber inscription of the tenth century states : ' By the command of Mahamal Bud. By Diyävalla Kasbā who has received (the governorship of) the district of Maharaṭ in the province of (Giri) vaḍunnā, and by Hivaḷā Agbō, who has received (the governorship of) the adjoining district ' (*Mahamal Budāhu vajanin (Giri) vaḍunnā-danaviyehi Maharaṭ-lad Diyavällä Kasbāyahu isā v(e)ta-raṭ-lad Hivaḷā Agboyahu isā . . . EZ 4. 1. 41*). That district headmen (*raṭ-ladu*) or keepers of district record-books (*pas-ladu*) should not appropriate the *melāṭṣiṇ*, etc., is recorded in the Īripinniyāva pillar-inscription of the same century (EZ 1. 5. 167). In the introductory remarks to the Poḷonnaruva inscription quoted above, Paranavitana points out that Maharaṭ was in a Danaviya called Girivaḍunna, not known from other sources. A *danaviya*, therefore, he says, was a territorial division larger than a ' *raṭa* ' (EZ 4. 1. 39). *Raṭ-ladu*, Wickremasinghe says, was probably an officer of the rank of *raṭē rāla* in later times (EZ 1. 3. 111, n. 4). The Aṃbagamuva rock-inscription also refers to a class of officers called ' *dasanāvan* ', which is rendered as governors of districts by Wickremasinghe (EZ 2. 5. 216). In an explanatory note to the term he equates it with the Skt. *disānāthānām* or *disā-nāyakānām*. He further states that *dasa-nā* may be the title of

the chief administrative officer of a *dasa-gam*, 'group of ten villages' which term is explained by him in the introductory note to the Vevälkäṭiya slab-inscription of Mahinda IV. 'We are confronted', he says, 'with the technical term *dasa-gama*, of which the meaning is ambiguous. We know that *gama* is Skt. *grāma*, "village". But whether *dasa* should in the present instance be connected with Pāli *dasa*, "ten", or with *dāsa*, "a slave", it is difficult to decide. The fact, however, that the *dasa-gāmā ättan*, "inhabitants of *dasa-gama*", seem from the context to belong to a class higher in the social scale than that of the ordinary serfs with hardly any proprietary rights, as well as the expression *dasa-gamaṭ ekeka nāyakayan*, "each chief of the *dasa-gama*", suggests the possibility of the existence of a system of dividing the country for administrative purposes into groups of ten villages as prescribed in the Hindu Law Books of Manu, Viṣṇu, and others. Compare also the term *dāśa-grāmika* in the Khālimpur Plate of the Buddhist king Dharmapāla-dēva. According to the late Professor Kielhorn, it probably means "an officer in charge of a group of ten villages". On the other hand, the absence of any reference to such a system in Sinhalese literature so far as we know, and the occurrence of terms such as *sivur-gam* (Skt. *cīvara-grama*), "villages that supply robes to the priesthood", *gabaḍa-gam*, "royal villages", and *ninda-gam*, "villages assigned for the exclusive use of the grantee", lead us to think that *dasa-gama* may after all be nothing more than a village occupied by the serfs attached to a temple' (EZ I. 6. 243). The Alutnuvara slab-inscription of the fifteenth century refers to *raṭa-nāyakas* and *disā-nāyakas* of the Satara Kōralē (EZ 4. 6. 270). The Sdhk relates the story of a minister Siva, who was sent as *gamabhōjaka* to Māvaṭu *paṭungama*. Siri-Saṅgbō Udā in his Badulla pillar-inscription of the tenth century lays down that the office of district headman, *raṭ-nā*, should not be given to a Tamil, and that daughters also should not be given in marriage to them (EZ 3. 2. 80). Thus these references help us to conclude that there were three kinds of officers, namely, *gam-lad*, *raṭ-nā*, and *disā-nā* (village headman, district headman, and provincial headman or governor respectively), in ascending order of rank.

The title *gam-lad* seems to be identical with that of *gam-mudali* in the SdhRv, which also mentions that people were in the habit of taking presents to these officers (497), and that very often these officials were insulted by the people, perhaps when dissatisfied with any of their decisions (Pjv 510). These gifts may have

been some sort of court-fee given to the mudaliyars who were vested with judicial powers and it is very likely that the biggest fee had the best deal. The manner in which the CV refers to the *gāmabhōjakas* whilst describing the conduct of the royal officers and princes during the time of Jayabāhu I when there was strife and unrest in the country, makes us confirm our view regarding these officers : ' Like the *gamakabhōjakā* wholly and ever void of all dignity, their mind bent on destruction without end, wholly lacking in royal pride, false to their own or to others' welfare, without any restraint in their efforts : thus lived all these rulers forsaking the path of (good and ancient) custom '(CV 61. 73). The *gāmabhōjaka* seems to have been an important officer in the local administration in India during post-Vedic times : ' The *gāmabhōjaka* or headman of the village was paid by the king, but was probably a chief elected by the villagers . . . Ordinary quarrels among the villagers went to him for settlement, and he could fine the guilty. He was to see that the villagers led a regular life and were free from trouble . . . In one case we are told of a villager who beat a *gāmabhōjaka* who had been guilty of misconduct and drove him out of the village. The name *gāmabhōjaka* seems to show that he was in enjoyment of certain rights in the village . . . We are told by Manu that there were officers who were lords of villages ranging from 1 to 1,000. It may therefore be presumed that the *gāmabhōjaka* was a prominent magistrate of the village, who also received some remuneration from the state' (Venakateswara, *Indian Culture through the Ages*, pp. 61, 62). The position in Ceylon seems to have been much the same.

### Other Royal Officers

In addition to all the officers above mentioned, the State also employed a large number of others in administrative and executive capacities. These officers had subordinate officers who carried out the orders. The State also seems to have had a sort of patrolling police force that looked after the towns and villages. The literary works mention occasions when thieves were captured by these watchmen of the towns and villages (SdhRv 854, 828) The Pāli expression ' *rājapurisā naṃ gahetvā raññō dassēsūṃ* ' is translated in the SdhRv as ' *gam-rakavallu geyaka hasukoṭagena gasā alvāgena rajjuruvanta pāvūya* ', the village watchmen caught them in a house and showed them to the king. The Sdhlk, too, mentions that thieves were waylaid by village watchmen (192). These references show that central as well as local governments employed

watchmen or officers who patrolled towns and villages during the night. The MV records that Abhaya became the *nagaraguttika* in the time of Pandukābhaya, and also states that there were *nagaraguttikas* (guardians of the city) from that time onwards. The statement quoted above from the SdhRv hints that a certain amount of manhandling was also practised by these officers.

The kings seem to have had quite a large number of employees as personal officers. In the first place, there were the palace guards; then there were the bodyguards. The inscription of Sēna I refers to the gentlemen of the bodyguard (*mekāppar*) (EZ 3. 5. 269; 3. 6. 290). The Kaludiyapokuṇa inscription of the tenth century refers to *Mekāppar-Vādarum*, which is 'obviously an official title . . . We know *mekāppar* is a Tamil title and it means "bodyguard", but the form *vādārum* of the verb *vadāraṇavā* (Skt. *ava* +  $\sqrt{\text{dhr}}$ ) "to declare" or "order" is puzzling. The verbal noun *vādāruma* (pl. *vādārum*) does not suit the grammatical construction, unless we take, *mekāppar-vādārum* as a *bahu-vr̥hi* compound meaning "he who possesses the commanding of the bodyguard", in other words "commander of the bodyguard" (EZ 1. 5. 193). The king also had his personal attendants and domestic servants, who were engaged in different duties, such as attending on the king at the bath, driving his chariot, etc. He also had a gate-sentry. Then there were the *rāja-purisā* or royal officers (Sdhlk 451), who were engaged in the carrying out of various orders. The inscriptions refer to these royal officers who visited villages either for the collection of revenue, or in search of miscreants; and the people are advised to report any illegal act on their part to the officials of the secretariat of the State Council for redress, (e.g., EZ 3: 2. 81). In the Aṃbagamuva rock-inscription employees of the royal family are prohibited from entering the lands dedicated to the Sacred Footprint (EZ 2. 5. 218).

### (c) Administration of Justice

The administration of justice was one of the primary functions of the state. 'One of the most striking features of Sinhalese institutions', says Hayley, 'is the elaborate judicial system which existed throughout the island. The development of the courts seems to have followed much the same lines in Ceylon as in England' (*A Treatise on the Law and Customs of the Sinhalese*, p. 58). The king, as in all other matters, was the supreme arbiter in matters pertaining to law and order, and was expected to administer justice

himself. The SdhRv says : ' *voṭunu paḷan rajadaruvan adhikaraṇavehi hunamana bāvin* ' (238). The kings are often advised to rule righteously, by which is meant a conscientious, rightful and impartial discharge of judicial duties. Though the king was the highest court of appeal and supreme dispenser of justice, in everyday life justice was administered by judges appointed by the king. The Chronicles also refer to the fact that the king himself sat in judgment at certain times.

The Ministry of Justice seems to have been under the chief Minister of Justice, the *adhikaraṇanāyaka*. The necessity of administering justice impartially and without prejudice is often brought out by the stories. The ideal set up was of the highest order, and therefore the standard of justice maintained was expected to be high, though instances are not wanting when these guardians of law and order fell below the expected ideals. Instances of miscarriage of justice due to bribery and corruption, attachments and personal grievances are also noted, e.g. ' *yam kenek kerehi musuppu ättēvī nam boru yukti kiyāla . . . śāsanika vūvot pakṣabala ladin . . . nāvata atlas kāpiya . . . tavada yam kenek pohosattu vū nam nohimi vūvan himikarava nulūvot gahaṭak vādahetī yana bhayin ayuktiyama yukti-koṭa kiyat da* ', if displeased with any one he would regard falsehood as truth . . . if dealing with government having party power . . . again having taken bribes . . . fearing that some harm be done to him if anything unjust done by one who is rich is not upheld (SdhRv 780). This reference shows that the wealthy, as often happens, influenced judicial activity, as did partisan feeling. If the judges could thus have been influenced, there is little doubt that witnesses were still more often influenced unduly by offers of bribes. The SdhRv refers to bribes to witnesses: ' *des kīvavunṭa dēna atlasak sē* ' (55). The inscriptions also refer to such illegal practices. Thus the Badulla pillar-inscription of the tenth century says: ' In the days gone by, the subordinate officials of the magistrate in charge of the market transgressed the regulations . . . exacted fines illegally and received presents contrary to custom ' (EZ 3. 2. 78). That corruption prevailed in Kandyan times is shown by Knox: ' For it is a common saying in this land, that he that has Money to see the Judge, needs not fear nor care, whether his cause be right or not. The greatest Punishment that these Judges can inflict upon the greatest Malefactors, is but Imprisonment, from which Money will release them ' (Knox, p. 84). As is shown by this reference,

it is likely that corruption was largely practised only by the subordinates. The keen sense of justice of the kings is brought out by the references in the Chronicle: Eḷāra ruled 'with even justice toward friend and foe (MV 21. 14) ; Tissa reigned with a knowledge of law and tradition (MV 36. 27) ; Aggabōdhi judging according to justice, rooted out unjust judges' (CV 48. 71).

Courts of Law are often mentioned as *adhikaraṇasālā*. The Prīti-dānaka-maṇḍapa rock-inscription of Nissaṅka Malla states that he suppressed injustices in many places through courts of justice (EZ 2. 4. 175). The Galpota inscription of the same king also states that ministers of justice put an end to injustice (EZ 2. 3. 117). These prove that the king appointed judges or ministers to carry out the legal administration. The Pjv refers to the handing over of the administration of justice to ministers on certain occasions (227). There is no doubt that there were courts of law established in many parts of the island, where cases were tried as is done today, both sides of the cases being heard: '*ubhaya pakṣayen ma ādyanta asā gannā daḍek da*' (SdhRv 365). The people also seem to have had a right of appeal to the king against judgments delivered by the judges or ministers. The judges seem to have acted independently of the king at least on some occasions, and at times against his wishes (see MV 37. 38). It was, of course, the king's prerogative to set aside any orders or judgments delivered by his officers. Reference is also made in the inscriptions to royal officials who go annually on circuit to administer justice (EZ 1. 6. 251).

The CV refers to a Law Book compiled during the time of Kalyāṇavati: 'bent on doing good, had a text-book compiled which had Law as its subject' (CV 80. 41). This book is not extant today, and we have no further information regarding it; therefore we are not in a position to know exactly what its nature was. One may conjecture that, what was popularised in the island may have been a code of the laws of the country, or even a law-book based on the *Dharmaśāstras*. We also have evidence to show that the proceedings at court-houses were recorded and preserved for future guidance, as in the time of Udaya I: 'Judgments which were just he had entered in books and kept in the royal palace because of the danger of violation of justice' (CV 49. 21).

Justice seems to have been symbolised by a pair of scales, as in modern times. This is shown by the SdhRv when it renders the



Pāli ' *athēkadivasam vinicchayē kūṭaṭṭaparājitāmanussā bandhulam āgacchantam disvā mahāviraṇam viravantā vinicchayaamaccānam kūṭaṭṭakaraṇam tassa ārōcēsum. so vinicchayaṇ gantvā taṇ aṭṭam tīretvā sāmikamēva sāmikamakāsi. mahājanō mahāsaddēna sādhuṇkāraṇ pavattēsi . . . sō tatō paṭṭhāya sammā vinicchi* ', as ' *yuktiyak bāṇa pārādi ekek bandhula mallayan hunnavun dāka adhikaraṇanāyakayan atlas kālā karana ayuktiya kiva. ū ē asā adhikaraṇayata gosin yuktiya tarādiyak sē mādahat va vicārā*', one who had lost a trial, having seen Bandhulamalla, reported to him the injustice done by the ministers of justice who had taken bribes. He having heard this conducted the trial and decided the case justly like a pair of scales (306). The SdhRv writer thus renders the Pāli version very forcefully, no doubt because he was keenly aware of the injustices and corruption prevalent during his day.

### Crime and Punishment

We read of various forms of punishment and torture inflicted in the process of carrying out Justice. The punishments were at times so severe that it is difficult to say they quite fitted the crime. No doubt the forms of punishment in existence in India were practised here, and were of various kinds, such as fines, imprisonment, mutilation, banishment and death.

Treason was considered one of the worst crimes and was punished with death, mutilation or banishment. The SdhRv refers to these different forms of punishment meted out to traitors, as, for example, ' *mē rājadrōhiyā vēda at pā hō kāpuva mānava hula hō nāṅguva mānava . . . sampat hāragatot maṭa ayinādan siddhaveyī . . . mūsāparādha tānāttahu raṭin neriyayi varada nāta*', This is a traitor. His hands and feet should be cut off or he must be put to death . . . If I were to confiscate his wealth I should be guilty of stealing . . . but if I banish him it is not wrong (239). The book also refers to other instances when ministers were banished or imprisoned for conspiring against the king (ibid. 395). These no doubt were Indian, but we have no hesitation in asserting that these were the punishments meted out to traitors here, as is also shown by the Chronicles and inscriptions. We also have evidence to show that whole families were put to death in Ceylon for the treachery of one member. An inscription of Nissanka Malla boldly declares that ' those who pay obeisance to persons of the same class (*govi*) as themselves and render them the honours due to kings, and

those who accept from them offices and titles, shall indeed be called traitors—such people with their families and their worldly possessions will be rooted out as soon as a royal prince appears' (EZ 2. 4. 164). It further states that those who have committed an evil act such as destruction of life, and also those who have taken poison, destroy themselves alone; while treason destroys those who have committed it together with their families and their associates. Therefore they are admonished not to harbour thoughts of treason (EZ 2. 4. 163). The MV refers to Ilanāga, who ordered that the Lambakarṇas who had opposed him be yoked two and two behind one another to his car and bade his soldiers then to strike their heads off, but being admonished by his mother, he recalled the order to behead, and instead commanded that their noses and toes be cut off (MV 35. 40). Jetṭhatissa commanded that 'the treasonous ministers be slain and (their bodies) be impaled on stakes round about his father's pyre' (MV 36. 121). Severe punishments were meted out even to monks who were proved guilty of high treason. King Kaṇirajānutissa is said to have taken sixty monks captive with all that was theirs, and flung them into caves called Kaṇira (MV 35. 11). Parākramabahu I had hundreds of rebels impaled and several hanged on the gallows and burnt to ashes (CV 75. 162). The CV speaks of Parākramabāhu II (thirteenth century) as more humane, for he inflicted as most severe penalty only imprisonment and set free those whose heads were to be cut off (CV 83. 4). It is not clear whether he thus sympathised with the traitors, but this must have been his general attitude to criminals. The fifteenth century slab-inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu VI refers to similar punishments meted out to rebels, thus showing that these were in force prior to the fifteenth century, for it is unlikely that the monarchs changed their codes of law frequently 'To anyone behaving in submission, neither loss of property nor loss of limb nor loss of life shall be inflicted' (EZ 3. 5. 281).

Cases of theft are the most discussed in the SdhRv, where the stories show that the punishments meted out in cases of theft and robbery were very severe. The stories record instances of execution and impaling in cases of robbery. Impaling was intended to inflict torture on criminals. The SdhRv says: '*ekvīta nomarā duk gena miyana lesaṭa divas hulāṭa nāṃgūya*', without killing him at once, he was impaled so that he may suffer and die (852). Another common form of torture was the tying of the hands

behind the back and marching the robber to the place of execution while beating him with thorny whips (SdhRv 393). These forms of punishment are also recorded in the Sdhlk (259, 242), and by Parakramabahu himself in his VismSn, where we have first-hand information coming from a king himself. That the thieves had to suffer very great torture is shown by the Sdhlk which says: '*rajaṭpuruṣayo oḥu ṭiṭitala hayā bāṇḍa siyalu sarīrayehi uḷu sunu galvā ratmal vaḍam kara ṭalaṇḍavā hisa ṭas koṇḍayak koṭa bāṇḍa ē nuvara kōvē mahavē ādivū ē ē vīthi sandhiyehi siṭuvā gena kaṭusāmiṭi ādiyen ṭiṭa ṭalā ṭahara dahasgaṇan gasvamin mesē noyek vicitra vadha keremin vadha bera gasvā gena hulak kara tabā . . .*', 'The royal officers tied their hands behind their backs, applied powdered tile-dust on their bodies, put garlands of *ratmal* (red flowers) round their necks, tied their hair in five knots, marched them through the streets of the city, beating them with thorny whips on their backs at every junction, thus inflicting diverse torture, they were made to march carrying a spike, to the accompaniment of the execution drum' (242). This no doubt directly refers to what took place in India from the most ancient times, but we have to presume that something of this nature was known in Ceylon, too, for the VismSn refers to the same type of torture and adds that the people who had gathered to see the 'procession' gave the criminals various kinds of food, such as rice-cakes and betel, and also incense and flowers: '*ōhaṭa minissu kāvumu du vālaṇḍiyayutu dā du malgaṇḍa-vilavunu du bulatu du dennāha*' (VismSn III. 64). It also refers to the mutilation of hands and feet of thieves (VismSn 392). The CV helps us to establish beyond doubt that these punishments were in use here when it refers to binding the hands behind the back, impaling and mutilation: 'He had their hands bound fast to their backs, chained to a stake and burnt in the midst of the flames blazing up around them' (CV 60. 42). Knox while portraying the Kandyan kings as naturally cruel gives us an account of the tortures inflicted by them by way of punishment: 'He seems to be naturally disposed to Cruelty: For he sheds a great deal of blood, and gives no reason for it. His cruelty appears both in the Tortures and Painful deaths he inflicts, and in the extent of his punishments, viz. upon whole Families for the miscarriage of one of them. For when the King is displeased with any, he does not always command to kill them outright, but first to torment them, which is done by cutting and pulling away their flesh by Pincers, burning them with hot Irons clapped to them to make them confess of their Confeder-

ates ; and this they do, to rid themselves of their Torments, confessing far more than ever they saw or knew. After their confession, sometimes he commands to hang their two Hands about their Necks . . . and so to lead them thro' the City in public view to terrify all, unto the place of Execution . . . At the place of Execution there are always some sticking upon Poles, others hanging up in quarters upon Trees, besides what lies killed by Elephants on the ground, or by other ways' (Knox, p. 63). We may conclude that these types of punishments may have been resorted to by the kings from the earliest times. In cases of theft, too, King Vijayabāhu IV seems to have been very considerate towards the criminal. ' Many thieves who had committed thefts even in the royal palace, turned to him when punishment overtook them. They gave up their anguish and fear, and unharmed, without suffering the loss of a limb, their lives were spared ' (CV 87. 48). This reference throws light on the fact that cases were tried by judges and that the guilty had the chance of appealing to the king for mitigation of sentence. The SdhRv refers to the fact that thieves caught in villages were produced before the Headmen, who perhaps had the right to deal with such cases. The MV speaks of Vōhāratissa as having set aside (bodily) injury (as penalty), and thereby he is said to have received the name Vōhārika, meaning versed in Law and Tradition (MV 36. 28). But this law does not seem to have lasted long. Execution by cutting off the head with an axe is also referred to. Mention is also often made of the executioners themselves (VismSn 846), who were no doubt in the permanent employment of the State. The execution block is referred to as the *damgeḍiya* (SdhRv 648). The Sdhlk also speaks of the confiscation of all property and wealth of those guilty of thieving, and the destruction of generations of families for stealing treasures or property belonging to the royal princes (425, 426). Hurling of thieves from mountain tops and getting elephants to trample them are mentioned, but we have no other corroborative evidence to establish these practices as being in vogue in Ceylon during these times. Knox provides some evidence to show that elephants served the Kandyan kings for executing malefactors : ' The King makes use of them for Executioners, they will run their Teeth through the body, and then tear it in pieces, and throw it limb from limb. They have sharp Iron with a socket with three edges, which they put on their Teeth at such times ' (Knox, p. 36).

The imposition of fines is also recorded. Fines seem to have been imposed for violation of the orders of the king, and such other offences as quarrelling, assault, etc. The inscriptions afford us an idea of the system : ' If the case be an aggravated assault and not murder, a fine of fifty *kalañdas* of gold shall be exacted as damage to life. Should this not be feasible, " *gedad* " shall be exacted. If assailants are not detected, the *dasagam* shall pay fifty to the State ' (EZ 1. 6. 250). This quotation brings us to the question of collective responsibility of the *dasagam* area, which enjoyed a certain amount of independence. Occasions when assailants hid themselves or broke away from prison are not unusual, and in such cases it was the duty of the village to help in bringing the culprit to book. On the other hand, if they did not succeed in doing so or refrained from action, the people were collectively held responsible, and fined. The same inscription states : ' If offenders are not detected, the inhabitants of the *dasagam* shall find them and have them punished within forty-five days. Should they not find them, then the *dasagam* shall be made to pay a fine of 125 *kalañdas* of gold to the State ' (EZ 1. 6. 250). Commenting on this inscription, Wickremasinghe says : ' Whatever the actual significance of this term " *dasa-gam* " may be, we learn from the inscription that within the *dasa-gam* justice was administered by means of a Communal Court composed of Headmen and responsible householders subject to the authority of the King in Council, " the Curia Regis ". In its democratic character, this tribunal differs from the courts prescribed in the Hindu Law books unless the judicial assemblies mentioned by Nārada include such an institution. This village court was empowered to carry into effect the laws enacted by the king in council and promulgated by his ministers. If could, for example, investigate cases of murder and robbery, exact the prescribed fines from law-breakers, and, in certain cases even inflict the punishment of death. Moreover, the collective responsibility which lay upon the inhabitants of the *dasa-gama* for producing offenders within a limited time, the fines imposed upon the whole community in case of failure, the system of compensation for offences, and the surety required for good behaviour as stated in lines 15-19 and 35-37 remind us strongly of certain administrative features of the Saxon and Norman periods in English history, such as the institution of tithing and frank-pledge, and the *bôt* and *wite*. Another point of resemblance to early English administrative methods is to be seen in the references both here and in other tenth and eleventh century

inscriptions to royal officers who, like the itinerant justices or members of the Curia Regis of the Norman kings, went on yearly circuits in the country, not only to settle important disputes, but also to promulgate new laws and see that the Government dues were properly collected' (EZ 1. 6. 244).

Most of the fines levied as punishments enriched the royal treasury and were no doubt a good source of income to the State, but on certain occasions such fines were handed over to religious or public institutions, as is sometimes done even today. 'The fines which had been exacted after making due inquiry in the village shall not be appropriated by the State, but shall be handed over to the *pariveṇa*' (EZ 2. 1. 14).

We have already made reference to the sympathetic attitude of King Parākramabāhu II, 'to whom pity was the highest'. 'The CV states that for people who deserved prison he ordained some lighter punishment, and reprimanded them; on those who should have been banished from the country he laid but a fine of a thousand *kahāpaṇas*; and on those who deserved a fine he looked with indignation, and with words of rebuke he made honest men of them' (CV 83. 6). Thus we see that he punished the offenders with imprisonment and fines, and in certain cases set them free with a mere admonition to be of good conduct, thus avoiding the use of capital punishment and banishment. Though drastic penalties may have been done away with by him, no doubt other kings resorted to them. The island's long history has known occasions when death under torture was inflicted. For example, we have the well-known story of Keḷaṇitissa, who burnt a monk in a cauldron of boiling oil: '*tel kaṭārayehi lā givigasā maravayi vidhāna kaḷaha*' (Sdhk 439). The Vēvālkāṭiya slab-inscription of Mahinda IV of the eleventh century records that those who effaced brand-marks shall be made to stand on red-hot iron sandals (EZ 1. 6. 251). The tenth century Badulla pillar-inscription also records that should one causing trouble not fall into the hands of the officers, such unusual punishments as beating with clubs and punishments by torture may be inflicted (EZ 3. 2. 81). Another inscription of the eleventh century records the punishments meted out to cattle-lifters: 'Those who have slaughtered buffaloes, oxen, and goats shall be punished with death. Should cattle be stolen and not slaughtered, they must be branded under the armpit. If the nature of the offence cannot be determined, they shall be beaten' (EZ

1. 6. 250). The Sdhlk also refers to the tearing of the jaws in cases when royal orders were transgressed (221). It is difficult to conclude that this was a punishment common at this time, as no other references are made to it.

A traditional custom that prevailed in India was the release of prisoners on certain special occasions, as the coronation or the birth of a prince. It is quite likely that this custom was preserved in Ceylon. The CV makes one such reference to the occasion when Vikramabāhu II, filled with joy at the birth of a son, set many free who were bound in fetters in prison (CV 4. 41). All infliction of punishments depended on the wishes of the king. The Pjv refers to this when it says: '*yamsē rājadrōha kala puruṣayek ula annā varada ātivat rajahugē prasādayen massak pamaṇa dadadī ē drōhayen gālavēda*', 'Just as a traitor who deserves to be impaled, escapes with a small fine if he wins the king's heart' (630). Thus it was in all matters connected with the administration of justice.

A word about the administration of temple property, the large extent of which was a marked feature in mediaeval Ceylon, seems necessary. The observations made by Codrington gives us some idea of the position regarding these lands: 'The temple administration was controlled by the priests through the means of lay wardens and a host of officials. The villages enjoyed considerable immunities; by these no royal officer could impress coolies, carts and oxen, or cut down trees, or remove criminals who had taken sanctuary. Varying provisions applied to murderers; in some cases they were driven out and arrested outside the village limits, in others they were to be tried and punished with exile. In one instance provision was made that public officers might enter and demand their surrender only, and that on the expiry of every two years the royal officials on circuit might require the persons of the perpetrators of the "five great crimes", but not others. Offenders who had committed lesser offences seem to have had safe sanctuary. The privileges above mentioned touching forced service and felling of fruit trees, in one instance specifically given as palmyrahs and coconut trees, form an illuminating commentary on the conditions existing outside the temple lands. On the other hand, strict regulations existed for the control of crime in the temple villages. The Headman and the householders had to give security. In a case of murder they were bound to inquire, record evidence, and have the murderer killed; in one of house-breaking they had

to restore the goods to the owner and have the thieves hanged. If the criminals were not detected, the village on failure to have them punished within forty-five days was liable to a fine of 125 *kalañdas* of gold, about half pound troy, a large sum for those days. In cases of violent assault not involving loss of life, the fine or "life price" was 50 *kalañdas*, which the village also had to pay on failure to punish the crime . . . Identification security was also insisted on in the case of villagers coming from outside. Failure of the village in these matters was dealt with by the royal officers on their circuit' (*A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 43).

We learn from the *Sdhik* that a fine was imposed on adulterers. The Nandiya story makes this clear when it says that those guilty of adultery suffer great ignominy and will also have to stand punishments such as fines, etc. The story of the Sōmadatta Brāhmaṇa shows that they were mercilessly handled by the king's officers : ' *matu paradārayehi santoṣayaṭa risi yana paridden atin payin talā marā durvala koṭa piṭitala hayā bāñda . . .* ', 'his hands were tied at the back, he was beaten, kicked and weakened, thus making him give up any further desires of misconduct' (*Sdhik* 272).



## CHAPTER IV

### REVENUE AND LAND TENURE

Revenue and taxation were the mainstay of the State, and revenue from land seems to have been the chief source of income. We have already seen that a separate department was established to deal with matters pertaining to finance. It is likely that the local governing bodies were entrusted with the collection of revenue ; and we are also told that officers from the central government went round annually, either to collect taxes themselves or to see that they were collected by the local authorities. The inscriptions point to the fact that the people had to pay a certain tax on account of their holding land, and, in addition, they had also to pay other taxes. In discussing taxation in the twelfth century, Codrington says : ' Nissañka Malla claims to have reduced the excessive demands of his predecessors and fixed the revenue (*aya*) at  $1\frac{3}{4}$  *amunams* on the *amunam* sowing extent for the best paddy land, at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  for that of medium quality, and at  $1\frac{1}{4}$  for the poorest ; the additional cash payments were fixed at six, four, and three " *aka* " coins respectively. The Hindu law books regard the demand of  $\frac{1}{6}$  or  $\frac{1}{12}$  as reasonable, a tax of  $\frac{1}{4}$  being sanctioned only in emergencies. Taking the average yield of the best paddy land other than under the great tanks as fifteen-fold, we find that Nissañka's revenue therefrom amounted to 11 per cent. This king has also been credited with the exemption from taxation of chena land, that is, jungle land periodically burnt and cultivated . . . Chena land paid its quota in the early seventeenth century' (*A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 47). We have no direct evidence either in the literature or the inscriptions so far to ascertain the exact rates and the different taxes levied during the thirteenth century ; but it is not unlikely that taxes similar to those levied in the twelfth century continued to be so levied in the succeeding years.

The SdhRv makes only general reference to taxation. It mentions a ' *raṭa badda* ', a land tax, and also ' *sungam* ', rendered as ' *aya badu* ', perhaps taxes in general, which were levied at this

time. The Pāli '*suṅkaṃ dadāmi*' in the Kumuduppālānīta story is rendered into Sinhalese as '*raṭa hunnāṭa nuṃbavahansēṭa baddak dīlā hiṅḍimi*', I shall live paying you a rent for living in this country (SdhRv 373). This cynical statement undoubtedly indicates that the people had to pay a tax merely for their existence, a sort of 'poll-tax', as at the present day. The Pjv (685) also refers to two taxes, '*is ran*' and '*mas ran*', which seem to be respectively a tax on each head (*his* or *is*) and a monthly tax [cp. *mas ran*, *is ran*, *davas ran* (*Daḷadā-sirita*, ed. Sorata, p. 54)]. The Jātaka aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya explains '*his ran*' thus: '*hisakaṭa massak dunamānavayi nohot hisakaṭa metek ran dunamānavayi kiyā mesē minisun atin gannā his ranāyi*', '*his ran*' is a tax of a *massa* or a certain amount of gold pieces charged upon each head or individual' (*Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya*, p. 12). The SdhRv also refers to Kāṣṭhavāhana doing away with a tax by beat of drum: '*nuvara suṅgam haranā lesaṭa bera lavā*' (473). The word *suṅgam* seems to have come into Sinhalese from Tamil. The Skt. form is *śulka*, which meant a tax, toll or customs, and also a bride's purchase-price. The Sinhalese form of this word is '*sun*' or '*suk*', T. '*suṅga*', and P. '*sunka*'. Another form used is '*sut*', as in '*sut vat*'. In the Tēsakuṇajātaka, in a manuscript of the Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya, the word is explained as '*thalajalapaṭhēsuyana tanhi thalapaṭhayehi aya nam noyek mārgayehi suṅgam ādiyayi. jalapaṭhayehi toṭa sut vat nāv yātrādī aya hā maha muhudin upadinā mutusak ādi . . .*' Thus we see that it is here explained as a road and water transport tax, customs, and also a tax on pearl-fishing, etc., in the sea. The Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya also explains '*imē assē suṅkatōpi mōcessati*' as '*mohugē vikrama duṭuvō suṅvat gannā tānin mē asun suṅvat koṭasa povā nogannāha. eheyin mē saindhava tema sesu aśvayan suṅvat gannā tānin povā muṅdannēyayi kī*' (*Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya*, 149). Here it seems to refer to a road-toll which was charged at a certain place, on every horse that passed that point, and seems similar to a toll one has to pay today for the use of a certain road or highway. The DhpaGp throws no light, as it just explains the term *suṅka* as *suṅvat*. The Badulla pillar-inscription of Udaya III of the tenth century also refers to a similar toll that was levied on trade: '*gam van baḍu gāmā vikkā misā genā yet sutvat no gannā isā noṭṭū viki baḍiyehi dīna sut-vat ganut. . .*', 'Toll-dues should be levied on commodities brought into the village, only if they be sold within its limits; but not on those that are only passing through it. In the case of those

commodities sold without being shown . . . double toll dues should be taken ' (EZ 3. 2. 79).

A few other particular kinds of taxes are also referred to in Nis-saṅka Malla's inscriptions. The Kantalāi gaḷ-āsana inscription refers to the ' *ṭisaṃburu vata* ' and ' *kāti aḍa* ' which he is said to have remitted for all times (EZ 2. 6. 288). The *ṭisaṃburu vata*, according to Paranavitana, was apparently a tax on fallow or barren land (EZ 2. 3. 117, n. 11). ' *Kāti aḍa* ', he says, ' is equivalent either to Skt. *kṣatriya + ardham*, P. *khattiya — aḍḍham*, " royal half " . . . or Skt. *Karttrī + ardham*, " bill-hook share ", most probably a technical term for a tax on grains raised on jungle-covered dry land, the bill-hook (S. *kātta*, plural *kāti*), being the weapon chiefly used in clearing the land of brushwood. . . . The reference is undoubtedly to the tax on chena produce ' (EZ 2. 2. 72, n. 6).

These references give us an idea of the type of taxes that were imposed in ancient Ceylon. The kings maintained the right or power to remit or impose any taxes considered necessary. The MV shows that Duṭugāmuṇu pondered over the necessity of introducing a new tax to enable him to complete the building of a temple : ' It is not possible to levy a tax, yet if without a tax I build the Great Thūpa, how shall I be able to have tiles duly made ' (MV 28. 5). This shows that the treasury could not afford the expenditure incurred on the building, and hence the king was contemplating a new tax.

Death-duty seems to have been levied from early times. Codrington says : ' Certain lands were given by the king for life, and in these and others which had escheated a *marāla* or death-duty became inherent, and was exacted at every succession for a re-grant to the heir. A *marāla*, amounting usually to one-third of the deceased's movables, or, if no male heir had been left, to the whole, was levied in the Sinhalese country on all estates. This custom was not peculiar to Ceylon, and in India told with much severity on the great men, all of whose movables usually were seized by the king at death. The principle underlying this impost was the royal claim to the soil, a claim also seen in the Tamil and Sinhalese countries in the recovery of the " soil-burning " fee (*bim puluṭu*) before the cremation of a dead body was allowed. In its origin it seems to have been analogous to the renewal fees on *ṭāttam* leases in Malabar. In Ceylon, however, it practically became a tax on succession. In the Kandyan country it was not levied on women,

and was abolished about the middle of the eighteenth century, though the last king revived it in its most severe form at least on the death of one chief' (*A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 49). We may mention here that J. de Lanerolle disagrees with Codrington's view regarding *bim-puluṭu* which in his opinion is the same thing as *bing-mila* (*J.R.A.S.*, C.B., Vol. XXXIV, p. 230), and he also states that there is no justification for assuming that any tax levied on cremation was indicative of the king's ownership to forest or land (*ibid.*, p. 214). The slab-inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu VI of the fifteenth century speaks of *marāḷa* : ' Of one *maḷāra*, half shall be left to the owner. When an estate is being given to another, the principal house and garden and the sowing (extent) of an *amuṇa* of seed shall be left to the (original) owner of the estate ' (EZ 3. 5. 281). Paranavitana, explaining this, says : ' *Maḷāra* appears to be the earlier form of *marāḷa* which occurs in copper-plate inscriptions of the period. The form *maḷāra* also occurs in an unpublished rock-inscription, at Gaḍalādeniya, of a king named Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu, where we read *ātvagē duva vāṭuṇu kenekungē maḷārayaṭa himi kenek nātuva tibē nam jarāvāsava tibena vihāra karavīmaṭa pudanuvat* (if there be no person entitled to the *maḷāra* of a person who had fallen whilst running in elephant hunts, the same may be dedicated for the repair of dilapidated monasteries). The word *maḷāra* most probably is derived from Skt. *mṛta* " dead " and *hāra* " what is taken ", and would etymologically mean " what is taken from dead persons ". According to Sinhalese institutions, when a person died all his movable properties passed to the king if he had no male heir ; otherwise, one-third of it belonged to the king. The custom was in vogue during the Portuguese period in the territories under their rule . . . In this particular instance, the *maḷāra* of those persons of the Four Kōraḷas who had acted treasonably would have been confiscated by the king, but in pursuance of the policy of reconciliation, already noted, the king was satisfied with only half a share ' (EZ 3. 5. 285). This duty amounted to one-third of the movables of a deceased if he left a son, and the whole if he had none (EZ 3. 2. 55). The SdhRv speaks of the same institution : ' *siṭāṇan maḷa niyāva asā kosol rajjuruvō sampat himivanta nisi darumalu kenekun nāti kalata mē sampat kavurun santaka vēdāyi vicārā rajadaruvanta vēdāyi kī kalhi* ', ' having heard of the death of the *setṭhi*, the king inquired as to who would become the owner of the wealth when the deceased left no heir, and learnt that it was the king who came into possession of such wealth ' (867).

The king also had claims to any ownerless property and to any treasures that were discovered. This is brought out by literary works such as the *SdhRv* and *Sdhlk*. The cowherd story in the latter refers to a woman who was thoroughly frightened by the people for secretly enjoying a treasure that she had found. The setting of the story is in a place called *Uturālu*, in *Rajaraṭa*. It says: '*nidāna nam rajadaruvan santaka bava nodanuda*', 'Do you not know that treasures belong to the king?' (*Sdhlk* 425). According to Lanerolle forests and wildernesses unreclaimed and untenanted by men belonged to the king (*J.R.A.S.*, C.B., Vol. XXXIV, p. 217).

The law of treasure trove in ancient India, as expounded by the law-givers, may be noted here. At first sight we should expect the king, as owner of the soil, to take the whole of a treasure trove or mine. But he did not do so, because the finder or occupant had partiary rights ('in India the land was held under a tenure, in some respects similar to *colonia partiaria* of France and Italy'). As *Manu* shows, the king by his prerogative over the soil took half; the Brahmans normally had a valid claim to the other half (see Appendix IV). As far as Ceylon was concerned, it is difficult to say, owing to lack of evidence, whether any system such as this was in operation in the island during this time.

Another source of revenue was the system of fines levied on various defaulters, and this no doubt brought a considerable amount of income to the Crown. These have been discussed in the chapter on the Judiciary.

### Land Tenure and Endowments

The records of this period afford us very meagre information regarding the system of land tenure in the thirteenth century. An examination of the earlier periods will help us to form an idea of the system probably in use at this time; and for this it is best to repeat some observations made by Codrington: 'The superior tenures were *pamuṇu* ("possession") and *ukas* (mortgage). *Pamuṇu* were granted by the king, or in his principality by the sub-king, under seal, and included all grants to temples and charitable institutions as well as those to important chiefs; in the case of the last-named a small quit rent was often, if not always, imposed in the form of a payment of oil to the Tooth relic or to some temple. *Pamuṇu* holders had full rights over the jungle in their lands. Judging from the Indian practice, it would depend

on the wording of the grant whether the land conveyed was alienable or heritable or both. The *ukas* has to be compared with the Malabar *otti* or usufructory mortgage. Outright sale is considered disgraceful, hence a mortgage, under which the payer of the money enters into possession of the land, while the original owner retains an indefinite right of re-entry on payment of the debt . . . We know practically nothing of the land tenure outside the temple villages, but there can be little doubt that in the main features there was no difference and that the king merely took the place of the priestly overlord . . .

History often recounts the grant of men and women slaves with other movable property to temples. The unpublished documents connected with the dedication of land to Pepiliyāna vihāra in the fifteenth century show that these slaves were largely artisans, blacksmiths, potters, lime-burners, and the like ' (*A Short History of Ceylon*, pp. 44-48).

As an example of the grant of movable property, we can quote the slab-inscription of Queen Līlavatī of the end of the twelfth century : ' Her Majesty granted in perpetuity three *yālas* . . . thirty serfs, one hundred and fifty oxen and buffaloes ', and this grant was made to an alms-house (EZ 1. 5. 182). The Kevulgama inscription of Sāhasa Mālla, A.D. 1200, records a grant to Gulpiṭi-But for valour shown in battle : ' There were given to him, having been made a *pamunu* holding and enrolled, from the time of sealing with the signet the counterparts of this (all) within the four pillars set up on the land appurtenant to Vālimāḍa *liyadda* in Māndivāk Saṃvālla of the Pihiṭi Kingdom (to wit) the field, the serfs, and the plantations, the woodland and the grassland ' (EZ 3. 5. 235). The pillar-inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu Mahapā, of the thirteenth century, at Anurādhapura, records a grant to a *piriveṇa* : ' This is the stone inscription set up in order to (proclaim) that the area belonging to this Kavudāvatta was granted by His Highness Śri Bhuvanekabāhu Mahapā, the son of . . . Vijayabāhu, to the *piriveṇa* constructed in the name of His Highness ' (EZ 3. 5. 288). A rock-inscription at Koṭṭangē of the thirteenth century, ascribed to Lōkeśvara II, records the grant of a village named Kalama to the general Lōkē Arakmenā, in recognition of services rendered in defeating the Cōlas. It is interesting to note the boundaries of the said grant : ' On the east, the pillar at Kappalagoḍa, on the south, the silk-cotton tree, standing by the side of the high road, on the

west, the *gātakos* (a species of jak) tree standing on the side of the hill, on the north, the *āṭaṃba* tree (a species of mango) standing near the mountain stream' (EZ 4. 2. 88). The second inscription of the same place tells us that a *Mahā Thēra* of the Vilgammula fraternity granted to the *Saṅgha* the *ṣamuṇu* village called Kalama and some other lands belonging to him. Parana vitana comments that this *thēra* was a grandson of Lōkē Arakmenā, to whom the village was originally granted. His connection with the Vilgammula fraternity is also shown by the stipulation in the first inscription that any disputes concerning the lands in question were to be settled by a *Mahā Thēra* of that institution (EZ 4. 2. 88-89). This shows that the *thēra* came into possession of the land as it was heritable. Parana vitana remarks that *ṣamuṇu* lands were heritable, as distinct from *divel*, held ex-officio. This is shown by the Oruvēla sannasa of the fifteenth century, which records that the grant should continue in the lineal descent of the children and grand-children (EZ 3. 2. 68).

The SdhRv also records the grant of lands, movable property, and serfs. It mentions two types of tenure, *ṣamuṇu* and *batgama* (315, 339, 634, 712). The Pāli words '*taṃ ca gāmaṃ yathā sukhaṃ paribhōgaṃ katvā adāsi*', in the Mahāli-paṇha are rendered into Sinhalese as '*Macala gamat ṣamuṇu koṭa dunha*', he granted the village of Macala as a heritable land. The SdhRv also renders the Pāli word *kammakāra* as *rajadaruvaṅgē batgama parivāra*, 'the people of the *batgama*' (712). The Gaḍalādeṇiya rock-inscription also refers to 'seed from a *batgama*'; and in a note to this Parana vitana states that a *batgama* in Kandyan times was a royal village tenanted by the people of the *Padu* caste (EZ 4. 2. 107, n. 3). The Sdhlk records that Kaḷakandēṭatis gave Māgama as a *batgama* to his minister Saṅgha (617), and that King Kāvantissa granted a village as a *bat-gama* to the hero Nandimitta (Sdhlk 481). According to Codrington, *batgama* is the older name for *vidānagama*, a village governed by a *Disāva* in office or other chief as King's *Vidāna*, and not by the *Gabaḍā Nilame*. Such a village was usually inhabited by people of low caste liable to public service (*Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon*, p. 25). The word '*gama*' did not mean 'village' only, but it also meant 'land', 'landed property or estate'. Etymologically it meant 'a collection or group' (see Lanerolle, *J.R.A.S.*, C.B., Vol. XXXIV, p. 211). The term '*gamvara*' in *gamavara aṭakut dunha* (SdhRv 398, DPA aṭṭha *gāmavarē*, II, 46) is explained as 'eight gifts of land' (*A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language*).

These references show us that the system of land tenure prevalent during the thirteenth century was hardly, if at all, different from that of the preceding century. The king was the sole owner of the land, which was given out to people by his grace either for a payment, or in return for some kind of service. Some lands were private endowments, *panuṇu*, which were heritable and granted as gifts to individuals or institutions (the nature of the religious endowments recorded by the inscriptions are discussed by W. M. Warnasuriya in the *University of Ceylon Review*, April, 1943). Other lands were held ex-officio by various state officials and also for service rendered to the king, as is seen in the time of Parākramabāhu VI, who granted villages to scribes for copying books. Whether the rates of payment as established by King Nissaṅka Malla were altered or changed we cannot say.

Some kings of Ceylon seem to have practised the common Indian custom of donating wealth equivalent to one's weight. The inscriptions of the twelfth century refer to this practice (e.g. EZ I. 4. 129). The CV, too, records a few instances of this *tulābhāra* ceremony. Vijayabāhu I is said to have dispensed alms to the poor of a weight equal to that of his body, on three occasions, and Parākramabāhu I is said to have allotted yearly alms equal in weight to his body. It is quite likely that this custom was followed in Ceylon even during the century under review. The grant of boons to those with whom the king was pleased for some reason or other was much practised in India. The SdhRv refers to such boons. We have no direct evidence of them at this time, but we may conjecture that kings of Ceylon may have bestowed them. The kings also no doubt withdrew any privileges they had granted when the recipients abused them or were found guilty of some transgression. This is referred to in a tenth century inscription: ('The servant responsible) shall be turned out after taking back the maintenance (lands) that are in his possession' (EZ 3. 5. 229).



## CHAPTER V

### COINS AND CURRENCY

The SdhRv and the Pjv mention *kahavaṇu*, *masu*, and *ran* as money. Money is often mentioned only by numbers or amounts, as for example 'siyak vaṭanā gasaṭa desiyayak dī . . . desiyayak vaṭanā . . . sārasiyayak dī . . . ' (Pjv 462) ; ' lakṣa lakṣa vaṭanā palas dekaḥ ' (SdhRv 553) ; ' oḥu piṭa dahasin būṇḍi piyallak tabā ' (Sdhlk 168). ' In Ceylon ', says Codrington, ' from the reign of the first king Vijaya onwards money is mentioned, usually by numbers only, e.g. " a thousand ", " a hundred thousand ", and the like, *kahāpaṇas* being understood . . . *Kahāpaṇas* first appear by name in chapter XXI. 26 (MV), in which it is recorded as an act of munificence that the Tamil king Elāḷa spent 15,000 *kahāpaṇas* to replace fifteen stones of the *thūpa* on Cētiyapabbata or Mihintale, accidentally broken by his chariot. His Sinhalese conqueror Duṭugāmuṇu B.C. 161-137, rewarded the archer Phussadēva with a heap of *kahāpaṇas* . . . and the designer of the Ruvanveli Dāgoba with " a pair of garments worth a thousand and ornamented shoes and 12,000 *kahāpaṇas* " (MV 30. 14). As wages for the workmen employed on the Brazen Palace, he deposited 800,000 of gold (*hirañña*) at each of the four gates . . . The Ṭikā commenting on the first of these two passages explains that the amount was 100,000 *hiraññas*, each reckoned at eight *kahāpaṇas*, and this may be a genuinely ancient tradition ' (*Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 11). Codrington also mentions that the use of the term *kahāpaṇa* was continuous, though it was doubtless applied to more than one coin (*ibid.*, p. 12).

The commentaries dealing with the *Vinaya*, too, deal with money : ' Dealing with a case of theft of timber by a disciple, Buddha asked an old monk, formerly minister under the King of Magadha, for what amount stolen a thief would be sentenced to corporal punishment, imprisonment, or banishment. The monk replied " For a *pāda* (quarter), or property worth a *pāda* ". Now at that time at Rājagaha five *māsakas* were a *pāda* , . . . twenty *māsakas*, therefore, were then equal to one *kahāpaṇa* . . . The ancient scholium embodied in the *Vinaya* text explains *jātarūpa* by *satthuvaṇṇa*, " colour of the Teacher ", and *rajata* as meaning the *kahāpaṇa*, and the base metal, wooden or lacquer *māsaka* " which are

current ", and includes both *jātarūpa* and *rajata* under the common term *rūpiya*. Buddhaghōsa explains *jātarūpa* as a name of gold (*suvaṇṇa*) in the same way, and includes under *rūpiya* chank shells, coral, silver, and gold, following the Pāṭimokkha, while by *rajata* are meant *kahāpaṇas* and other current money. He adds that the *kahāpaṇa* is of gold, or silver, or the " common " one, *sc.* of copper, and gives at length details of the base metal, wooden, and lacquer *māsaka*. This commentary is repeated almost word for word in Sāriputta's Pālimuttaka-vinaya-vinicchaya-saṅgaha, the *Ṭikā* on which gives the further interesting information that by the *māsaka* made of the fruits or seeds of trees is meant the tamarind seed. A similar use of bitter almonds as money in Gujarat in the 17th century is recorded in Tavernier's Travels, Part II, p. 2 . . . The conclusions to be drawn seem to be that in the 5th century the *kahāpaṇa* was of all the three metals . . . and in all probability the *kahāpaṇa* had then long ceased to connote a piece of a particular weight and had come to mean the standard coin of the day . . . *māsaka* had ceased to be the name of any one particular coin, though perhaps not so as a weight; for the gold *māsaka* must be the gold *kahāpaṇa* . . . *Māsaka*, therefore, by the 5th century, must have come to signify " coin ", " money ", just as *salli*, *kāsi*, at the present day . . . in mediaeval Ceylon, the *kahāpaṇa* was a coin of gold, in weight one-half of Manu's piece of 80 *raktikās* ' (*Ceylon Coins and Currency*, pp. 12, 13) The Pjv also mentions a variety of *kahāpaṇas*—' *soḷos dahasak nīla karṣāpaṇa saṅkhyāta vū ran dī* ' (556). In discussing this coin Codrington observes that ' the *kahāpaṇa* of Magadha . . . consisted of 20 *māsakas* and is known in the Commentaries as the *nīla* or " faultless " *kahāpaṇa*. The Ceylon tradition, which seems to be as old as Buddhaghōsa, represents it as a coin of gold divided into 20 *māsakas*, that is, *mañjādis*, of the same metal, and thus equal to the *kaḷañda*; according to the 14th century version of the Ummagga Jātaka it was composed half of *māḍha* gold and half of alloy. The *pāda* or " quarter " of the Ceylon School was five *māsakas* . . . If the Ummagga Jātaka version is to be trusted, five *māsakas*, the quarter of the Ceylon *nīla kahāpaṇa*, would also contain five *guñjās* of pure gold . . . The *nīla kahāpaṇa* therefore should be 57.6 grains of silver and not of gold, or, in other words, was the eldling ' (*Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 13) The Pjv gives the value of a *nīla kahāpaṇa* as 20 pieces of ' *ran* ', which were in use : *bāvahara ranin vissek nam nīla karṣāpaṇaven ekak vevi* ' (556)

Therefore by *ranin* was meant perhaps a *māsaka*. The Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya (p. 81) explains *hirañña* as *amu ran* (unwrought gold) and *masu ran* (*masu* gold).

' The *māsaka* (S. *masaka*, later *massa*), according to the Vinaya, was the one-twentieth of the *kahāpaṇa*, and a coin of small value or a substitute therefor. Though the precious metals doubtless were weighed in Ceylon, as in South India, by the *māsaka*, which was identified with the *mañjūḍi* seed, no ancient inscription, definitely referring to the *māsaka* as a weight seems to have been discovered. In those few, in which the word occurs, it can be referred to land ; . . . the sub-divisions of the *kiriya* are given as the *paya*, the *massa*, and the *kāna*. The *kiriya* . . . was treated as being a *karsha* or *kahāpaṇa* of land . . . The *payaka* or *paya* is undoubtedly the quarter (Pāli, *pāda*) ; the *māsaka* or *massa* presumably is the twentieth ' (Ceylon Coins and Currency, p. 15). The SdhRv seems to throw some light on the *māsaka* as a weight when it says : ' *demasen tun massen, dasa kalaṇḍin visi kalaṇḍin panasin sātīn* ' (890). This ascending order no doubt indicates that the *massa* formed a certain fraction of the *kalaṇḍa*, though it does not actually state how many *massas* formed a *kalaṇḍa*. This also indicates that the *massa* was used as a weight as well.

In one place the SdhRv renders the Pāli ' *aṭṭha kahāpaṇa* ' as ' *aṭṭa massak* ' in the Maraṇa-paridīpana-vatthu (204). It is very likely that the author was here thinking in terms of the cost of flowers in his day, and was not giving the equivalent of the Pāli.

Another mode of currency seems to have been weights weighed in terms of seeds of paddy. The SdhRv renders the P. ' *pādamattampi na agghati* ' as ' *satalis viyaṭakut novatṭi* ' ; further it continues : ' *mū viyaṭa gaṇanin vīnam eksiya sāṭa viyaṭak vitara demhayi* ' (SdhRv 497). According to this we see that a *pāda*, one-fourth, is equivalent to forty seeds of paddy. Now we have :

20 <i>ran</i> (pieces of)	=	1 <i>kahāpaṇa</i>
5 <i>māsakas</i>	=	1 <i>pāda</i>
20 <i>māsakas</i>	=	1 <i>kahāpaṇa</i>
1 <i>pāda</i>	=	40 <i>viyaṭas</i> (paddy seeds)
1 <i>kahāpaṇa</i>	=	160 <i>viyaṭas</i>

The SdhRv also mentions a series of currency in the story of Sirimā. The DPA says : ' *rājā pañca satāni datvā gaṇhantūti bhērim cārāpetvā kañci ganhakam adisvā adḍhateyyāni satāni dvē*

*satāni satam paññāsam pañca vīsati kahāpaṇē dasa kahāpaṇē pañca kahāpaṇē ēkaṃ aḍḍham pādam māsaṃ kūkaṇikaṃ datvū sirimaṃ gaṇhantūti bhērin cārāpetvū*. The SdhRv translates this as 'raj-juruvō agaya aḍu karannō kahavaṇu dahasin bhāgavū pañsiyayeka in bhāgavū desiya pañaseka in bhāgavū eksiya pas visseka in bhāgavū desāta kaḷan satara akeka, in bhāgavū ektis kaḷan de akeka, in bhāgavū pasaloḥ kaḷan paseka, in bhāgavū aṭa kaḷan akeka in bhāgavū satara kaḷan dasa viyaṭeka, in bhāgavū dekaḷan pas viyaṭeka . . . ek kaḷan deviyaṭa samārekūyi . . . asū viyaṭak dīlū . . . satalis viyaṭak . . . deviyaṭa samūrak . . . ek viyaṭa yeḷa hamuvak . . . (623). Now we have—

half of 125 <i>kahavaṇu</i>	=	62 <i>kaḷaṇdas</i> and 4 <i>akas</i>
half of 62 <i>kaḷaṇdas</i> and 4 <i>akas</i>	=	31 <i>kaḷaṇdas</i> and 2 <i>akas</i>
half of 31 <i>kaḷaṇdas</i> and 2 <i>akas</i>	=	15 <i>kaḷaṇdas</i> and 5 <i>akas</i>
therefore 1 <i>kaḷaṇda</i>	=	8 <i>akas</i>
half of 8 <i>kaḷaṇdas</i> and 1 <i>aka</i>	=	4 <i>kaḷaṇdas</i> and 10 paddy seeds
one <i>aka</i>	=	20 (twenty) paddy seeds, <i>viyaṭa</i> (' <i>visi viyaṭak ā kaḷa eda akek vē</i> ', <i>Yōga-ratnākara-ṛaya</i> , v. 284)
half of 2½ paddy seeds	=	1 paddy seed and 1½ <i>amu</i> seeds
therefore 1 paddy seed	=	3 <i>amu</i> seeds.

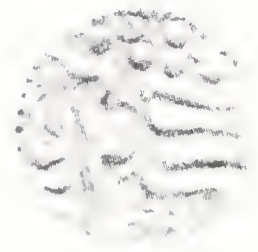
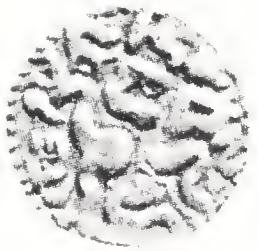
This tallies with the *Yōga-ratnākara-ṛaya* table as given by Modder (*J.R.A.S.*, C.B., Vol. XII, p. 176).

*aka* is again referred to in the SdhRv and the Pjv. The SdhRv renders the DPA phrase '*pañca māsaka mattam*' as '*ran dā akak*' and '*pañca māsaka mattam*' is explained in the DhpaGp (p. 130) as '*pasviyaṭa pamaṇak*' (SdhRv 388); '*akek nūta massek nūta*' (Pjv 232). The value of a *pala* is given as two *akas*. Again, the *Mulusika-gāṭapada-vivaraṇaya* explains the phrase in the *Mulusika* "goods worth a *pala*" by "goods of the amount, the taking of which involves expulsion from the Community, or any goods worth 2 *akas* of *masuran* : here two *akas* of *masuran* equal one part if the now existing *kahavaṇuva* be divided into four parts each of two *akas*" (*Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 53). Codrington also gives the following table of gold coins of mediaeval Ceylon :

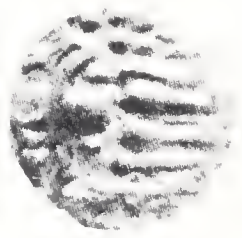
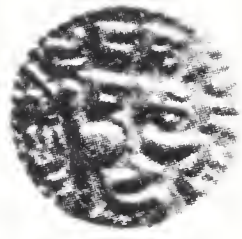
<i>kahavaṇuva</i> ,	about 68-70 grains
<i>aḍa kahavaṇuva</i> ,	about 34-35 grains
<i>pala</i> or <i>dēka</i> ,	about 17-17.5 grains
<i>aka</i> ,	about 8.5-8.75 grains
(?) <i>massa</i>	about 3.4-3.5 grains (ibid.).



MEDIAEVAL SINHALESE COINS



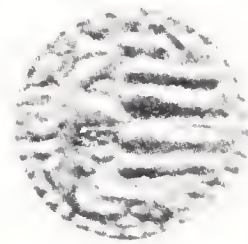
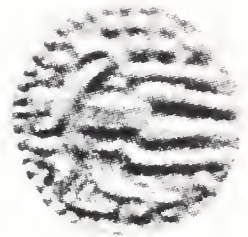
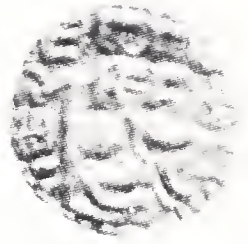
Base Gold  
VIJAYABĀHU I



Copper

PARĀKRĀMABĀHU I

White Metal



Copper

NISSANĀKA MALLA (Śrī Kāle(n)ga La(n)kēja)

White Metal

The Pjv also refers to the letters stamped on the face of the coins when it says: '*alleka tubū maseka akuru daknavunsē*' (499). Codrington's account of the 13th century coinage may be noted here: 'The coins of the Sinhalese rulers of this period are traditionally known to the people as *Daṃbadeṇi kāsī*, "Daṃbadeṇiya money", a designation correctly indicating the dynasty by which they were last struck. According to Casie Chetty, they were styled by the Tamils *peykāsu*, "demon money", *peypperumān-kāsu*, "demon king's money", or *Irāvaṇaṇ-kāsu*, "Rāvaṇa's money". With the exception of the "lion" coin of Parākramabāhu, and the rare eighths, this coinage is of one type, closely following that of the later gold pieces of Vijayabāhu I (A.D. 1055). The human figure, however, is even less well executed. On the obverse, the normal head consists of an irregular oblong, the right side being a vertical line, from which project three horizontal strokes representing the nose, mouth, and chin; the bottom is also horizontal, while the back and top are formed by a curved line bulging outwards at the crown of the skull. The forearm is bent sharply down, the elbow being shown as an acute angle; the hand grasps the hanging lamp. The *dhōti* is shown as on type III of Vijayabāhu I, the line between the legs being very fine and often obliterated. . . . The lotus plant, with the exception of the finials, is a fine line, and is often absent. To the right are five balls, while to the left on some coins, is a faint trace of the outermost symbol. On the reverse the head and crown are as on the obverse, with the exception of one coin of Parākramabāhu, which has a tuft in place of the *makuṭa*. In the hand is a chank shell. The left leg is perpendicular, and nearly in a line with the body. The legend is more regular than the Cōḷa, from which the script differs slightly. The *āsana* usually is represented by a straight line, from which four or five short lines project, . . . but it is often faint or omitted' (for details see *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 64).

Sir W. Elliot in his *Coins of Southern India* (p. 110) has propounded the interesting theory that the Ceylon type of coin was derived from the Gupta coinage and Codrington while confirming Elliot's view went further and opined that it went back to even the Kushan dynasty. He seems to have been inclined to connect the reverse squatting figure with the 'conch type' of Candragupta II. He further remarks that the attitudes of the figures on either side are common in Indian art, and that the figures on the reverse may be compared

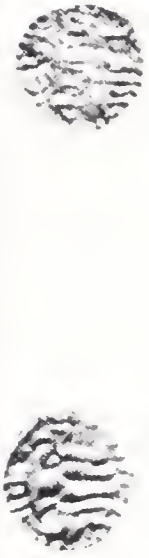
with the Yaṭṭhāla *dāgāba* seal (Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 495) and the Dēva in the Hiṅdagala fresco (*Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 72). Marshall is of opinion that the Greek idea of a coin—' a round piece with a ruler on one side and a religious type on the other '—profoundly influenced the Indian coinage through the Kushans down to the Muhammadan conquest throughout India as far as Ceylon. He traces the Parākramabāhu type (12th century) to Kaniṣka (see John Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 862).

The SdhRv also refers to a system of usury : *mudala siṭiyadīma pholiyenma prayōjana viṅḍināsē* ' (418). It is likely that it was possible for the people to deposit certain sums of money on interest with a guild or some such corporation. What actually the rates of interest were the book does not say. In the case of loans the interest must have in all cases depended on the security placed.



MEDIAEVAL SINHALESE COINS

Eighth, Copper  
DHARMĀŚŪKA DĒVA



Copper  
DHARMĀŚŪKA DĒVA



Copper  
PARĀKRAMA-  
BĀHU II



Copper  
CŌḌA GAṄGA



Copper  
LĪLĀVATĪ



Copper  
SĀHASA MALLA





## CHAPTER VI

### WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Moggallāna's Abhidhānappadīpikā gives various schemes of weights and measures (194, 267-269, 479, 484). Referring to these weights given by Moggallāna, Rhys Davids observes that his tables cannot be entirely relied upon as evidence of Indian or even of Ceylon usage. One of his tables of weight as copied and calculated by Rhys Davids in his Numismata Orientalia (p. 14), is as follows :—

2	<i>guñja</i>	=	1	<i>māsaka</i>	(a seed of phaseolus)
5	<i>guñja</i>	=	2½	<i>māsaka</i>	= 1 <i>akkha</i> (a seed of the <i>Terminalia bellerica</i> )
		=		<i>karṣha</i>	
40	<i>guñja</i>	=	20	<i>māsaka</i>	= 8 <i>akkha</i> = 1 <i>dharāṇa</i> = (Ś. <i>kaḷaṇḍa</i> )
200	<i>guñja</i>	=	100	<i>māsaka</i>	= 40 <i>akkha</i> = 5 <i>dharāṇa</i> = 1 <i>suvanṇa</i> (gold)
1,000	<i>guñja</i>	=	500	<i>māsaka</i>	= 200 <i>akkha</i> = 25 <i>dharāṇa</i> = 5 <i>suvanṇa</i>
		=	1	<i>nikkha</i>	(an ornament for the neck)
400	<i>guñja</i>	=	200	<i>māsaka</i>	= 80 <i>akkha</i> = 10 <i>dharāṇa</i> = 2 <i>suvanṇa</i>
		=	½	<i>nikkha</i>	= 1 <i>phala</i> (fruit)
40,000	<i>guñja</i>	=	20,000	<i>māsaka</i>	= 8,000 <i>akkha</i> = 1,000 <i>dharāṇa</i>
		=	200	<i>suvanṇa</i>	= 50 <i>nikkha</i> = 100 <i>phala</i> = 1 <i>tulā</i> (scale)
800,000	<i>guñja</i>	=	400,000	<i>māsaka</i>	= 160,000 <i>akkha</i> = 20,000 <i>dharāṇa</i>
		=	4,000	<i>suvanṇa</i>	= 1,000 <i>nikkha</i> = 2,000 <i>phala</i> = 20 <i>tulā</i>
		=	1	<i>bhāra</i>	(load).

The figures in heavy type are given by Moggallāna, and the rest has been calculated from them. 'On careful inspection', says Rhys Davids, 'it will be seen that we have here at least two tables, and the connection between the two, which Moggallāna establishes by making one *phala* equal ten *dharāṇas*, is probably fictitious; for as far as *nikkha* the weights are applicable to substances of great value and small bulk, and the rest *vice versa* to things of small value and great bulk. It is incredible that hay and gold should have been measured by one scale. None of these words are used in the published Pali texts in the sense of definite weights, except perhaps *phala* and *māsaka* . . . The *guñja* is another name for the *rati*' (*Numismata Orientalia*, p. 14). He also states that this table varies

almost throughout from those given by Skt. authorities, and adds that ' it is curious that Moggallāna does not mention in the table the only measure of weight actually found in use, viz., the *kāca* or *kāja*, a pingo-load, that is, as much as a man could carry in two baskets suspended from a pole carried across his shoulder '. He further states that ' according to Childers, the word *kahāpaṇa* itself meant primarily a small *weight*, and that our authorities differ hopelessly about the weight of a *karsha* : the Sanskrit authorities making it equal to sixteen *māshas*, each of which equals two-and-a-half *māsakas* equals five *ratis* ; while Moggallāna makes the *akkha* (which, teste Böhtlingk-Roth, is the same as the *karsha*) equal two-and-a-half *māsakas* equals five *ratis* (that is equal to one *māsha*) ' *ibid.*, p. 4).

The above table shows the *kaḷaṇḍa*, a weight referred to in the literary works of the period, in its relation to other weights given by Moggallāna. The SdhRv also establishes beyond doubt the use of this weight in the monetary system of the period, as we have already seen. The Pāli ' *dēvasikaṃ sōlasa kahāpaṇa paribbayēna* ' is rendered into Sinhalese as ' *davas patā ma soḷos kaḷaṇḍak viyadam koṭa* ', having spent 16 *kaḷaṇḍas* daily (SdhRv 621). This is also shown by an inscription of the 11th century which states that a fine of 125 *kaḷaṇḍas* of gold was levied (EZ 1. 6. 250), and also by the phrase ' *mal mila soḷos kaḷaṇḍak* ', 16 *kaḷaṇḍas* as price of flowers (EZ 1. 3. 87). The Eppāvaḷa inscriptions mention that one *ṭaya* of land was sold for eight *kaḷaṇḍas* of gold (EZ 3. 4. 191). Herein we must observe that the monetary system was closely connected with the metrological ' In Ceylon the number of *kaḷaṇḍjus* in the *ṭalam* varied with the article weighed from eight to ten or twelve, and in the 17th century to twenty. According to the Sinhalese commentary inserted in the medical work Sārārtha Saṅgraha, the first kind of *ṭalam* is used in weighing all liquid poisons, the second all spices, and the third all kinds of roots. It was this last which was employed by the goldsmiths. The weight of the *mañjāḍi* or *madaṭa* also seems to increase with the dryness of the locality ' (*Ceylon Coins and Currency*, pp. 8, 9). The Badulla pillar inscription of the 10th century prohibited weighing with *mudaḍi* weights which were not stamped. *madaḍi*, a rare form of *madaṭa* or *madaṭi* is the twentieth part of a *kaḷaṇḍa* (EZ 3. 2. 80).

Two other weights mentioned are *aka* and *vīyaṭa*, both as weights of gold. The Pjv uses *vīyaṭa* (paddy seed) with reference to wealth

in general. These weights have already been discussed under coins (see above). The following table from the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, as given by Codrington, will show the paddy seed in relation to the other weights :

4 <i>vīha</i>	=	1 <i>guñja</i>			
8 <i>vīha</i>	=	2 <i>guñja</i>	=	1 <i>māsaka</i>	
20 <i>vīha</i>	=	5 <i>guñja</i>	=	2½ <i>māsaka</i>	= 1 <i>akkha</i>
160 <i>vīha</i>	=	40 <i>guñja</i>	=	20 <i>māsaka</i>	= 8 <i>akkha</i> = 1 <i>dharana</i>
800 <i>vīha</i>	=	200 <i>guñja</i>	=	100 <i>māsaka</i>	= 40 <i>akkha</i> = 5 <i>dharana</i> = 1 <i>suvanṇa</i>
1,600 <i>vīha</i>	=	400 <i>guñja</i>	=	200 <i>māsaka</i>	= 80 <i>akkha</i> = 10 <i>dharana</i> = 2 <i>suvanṇa</i> = 1 <i>phala</i>
25 <i>dharana</i>	=	5 <i>suvanṇa</i>	=	1 <i>nikkha</i>	
100 <i>phala</i>	=	1 <i>tulā</i>			
2,000 <i>phala</i>	=	20 <i>tulā</i>	=	1 <i>bhāra</i>	

According to the *Yōgārṇava*, the table is as follows :—

8 <i>vī āṭa</i>	=	1 <i>madaṭa</i>		
160 <i>vī āṭa</i>	=	20 <i>madaṭa</i>	=	1 <i>kaḷaṅḍa</i>
480 <i>vī āṭa</i>	=	60 <i>madaṭa</i>	=	3 <i>kaḷaṅḍa</i> = 1 <i>huna</i>
1,920 <i>vī āṭa</i>	=	240 <i>madaṭa</i>	=	12 <i>kaḷaṅḍa</i> = 4 <i>huna</i> = 1 <i>phalama</i>
20 <i>vī āṭa</i>	=	1 <i>aka</i>		
160 <i>vī āṭa</i>	=	8 <i>aka</i>	=	1 <i>kaḷaṅḍa</i>

The old Tamil table of these weights is given below for comparison (from Codrington, p. 10) :

4 <i>nel</i> (paddy)	=	1 <i>kuṇṇi</i>		
8 <i>nel</i>	=	2 <i>kuṇṇi</i>	=	1 <i>mañjāḍi</i>
16 <i>nel</i>	=	4 <i>kuṇṇi</i>	=	2 <i>mañjāḍi</i> = 1 <i>kāṇam</i>
160 <i>nel</i>	=	40 <i>kuṇṇi</i>	=	20 <i>mañjāḍi</i> = 10 <i>kāṇam</i> = 1 <i>kaḷaṅḍu</i> (molucca bean)
320 <i>nel</i>	=	80 <i>kuṇṇi</i>	=	40 <i>mañjāḍi</i> = 20 <i>kāṇam</i> = 2 <i>kaḷaṅḍu</i> = 1 <i>kaisu</i>
1,280 <i>nel</i>	=	320 <i>kuṇṇi</i>	=	160 <i>mañjāḍi</i> = 80 <i>kāṇam</i> = 8 <i>kaḷaṅḍu</i> = 4 <i>kaisu</i> = 1 <i>phalam</i>
100 <i>phalam</i>	=	1 <i>tulam</i>		
2,000 <i>phalam</i>	=	20 <i>tulam</i>	=	1 <i>phāram</i>

Comparing these tables, Codrington states that they, 'whether of India or Ceylon, have a close family resemblance. For purposes of metrology and numismatics, the island cannot be separated

from the mainland, the very names of many of the weights being derived from the Tamil, a fact sufficiently explained by the geographical position, as well as the constant intercourse between the two countries' (*Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 8). It may be noted in passing that these weights of *kaḷaṇḍa* and *mañjāḍi* are used even today in weighing gold and medicinal ingredients.

### Measures of Length

The measures of length referred to are: *aṅguli* (finger breadth), *viyata* (span), *riyana* (cubit, fore-arm length), *gavu* and *yōjana*. The *aṅguli* and *viyata* are mentioned in connection with the length of a small piece of *kihiri* wood, and the SdhRv refers to some flowers, made of gold, which were about a span in size. Measures of *riyana*, *yaṭṭhi* and *isba* (*usaba*) are used as land-measures. The SdhRv also mentions some of these measures, viz., ' *isub gaṇanin visi isbak vitara hā yaṭa gaṇanin sārasiyayak yaṭa hā rivan gaṇanin dedās aṭasiyayak rivan vitara diga paḷalaḷa ḍti bima*' (592). According to this statement 20 *isabas* = 400 *yaṭa* = 2800 cubits, that is, 1 *isaba* = 20 *yaṭa* = 140 cubits. This tallies with Moggallāna's table as given by Rhys Davids (*Nymismata Orientalia*, on the ancient coins and measures of Ceylon, p. 15) :

36 <i>paramāṇus</i>	= 1 <i>aṇu</i>
36 <i>aṇus</i>	= 1 <i>tajjāri</i>
36 <i>tajjāris</i>	= 1 <i>rathareṇu</i>
36 <i>rathareṇus</i>	= 1 <i>likkhā</i>
7 <i>likkhās</i>	= 1 <i>ūkā</i>
7 <i>ūkās</i>	= 1 <i>dhaññamāsa</i>
7 <i>dhaññamāsas</i>	= 1 <i>angula</i> (finger-joint, inch)

12 *angulas* = 1 *vidatthi* (span)

24 *angulas* = 2 *vidatthi* = 1 *ratana* (cubit, fore-arm) = *hattha*

168 *angulas* = 14 *vidatthi* = 7 *ratana* = 1 *yaṭṭhi* (pole, walking-stick)

672 *angulas* = 56 *vidatthi* = 28 *ratana* = 4 *yaṭṭhi* = 1 *abbhantara* (interval)

3,360 *angulas* = 280 *vidatthi* = 140 *ratana* = 20 *yaṭṭhi* = 5 *abbhantara* = 1 *usabha*

268,800 *angulas* = 22,400 *vidatthi* = 11,200 *ratana* = 1,600 *yaṭṭhi* = 400 *abbhantara* = 80 *usabha* = 1 *gāvuta*

1,075,200 *angulas* = 89,600 *vidatthi* = 44,800 *ratana* = 6,400 *yaṭṭhi* = 1,600 *abbhantara* = 320 *usabha* = 4 *gāvuta* = 1 *yōjana*

1 *kōsa* = 500 bow-lengths.

The Pjv, too, mentions these measures in ascending order, viz. ' *aṅgaleka viyateka riyaneke yaṭeka isbeka gavuveka yodaneke siyak yodaneke* ' (p. 5).

The distances between certain towns as given in the SdhRv and the Pjv will help us to deduce the relation between certain distances :

From Sāgala to Sāvatti,	480 <i>gavu</i> (SdhRv 440) ;
From Buddha's residence at Sāvatti up to the river Candrabhāgā,	480 <i>gavu</i> (SdhRv 441) ;
Sāvatti to Sakaspura,	120 <i>gavu</i> (SdhRv 697) ;
Devram to Kuraraghara,	480 <i>gavu</i> (SdhRv 880) ;
Kusinārā to Rājagaha,	25 <i>yōjanas</i> (Pjv 681) ;
Rājagaha to Visālā,	8 <i>yōjanas</i> (Pjv 424) ;
Sāvatti to Sakaspura,	30 <i>yōjanas</i> (Pjv 497) ;
Kalutoṭa to Bentōta (in Ceylon),	1 <i>yōjana</i> (Pjv 746).

The SdhRv also makes 300 *yōjanas* equal 1200 *gavu* (75), thus giving 4 *gavu* as equal to 1 *yōjana*. This is also established by the two distances given from Sāvatti to Sakaspura, viz. 120 *gavu* equal 30 *yōjanas*. Again the SdhRv renders the Pāli *satta yōjana* as 28 *gavu*, giving the same result. This is in agreement with the Nava-nāmāvaliya and other glossaries as quoted in the EZ, Vol. 2, p. 82, n. 5.

7 <i>ūkā</i>	= 1 <i>vīyaṭa</i>
7 <i>vīyaṭa</i>	= 1 <i>aṅgala</i>
12 <i>aṅgal</i>	= 1 <i>vīyaṭa</i>
2 <i>vīyaṭ</i>	= 1 <i>riyana</i> (P. <i>ratana</i> , cubit)
4 <i>riyan</i>	= 1 <i>baṃba</i>
7 <i>riyan</i>	= 1 <i>yaṭa</i>
20 <i>yaṭa</i> or 35 <i>baṃba</i>	= 1 <i>isba, isiṃbu</i> (P. <i>usabha</i> )
80 <i>isiṃbu</i>	= 1 <i>gavuva</i>
4 <i>gav</i>	= 1 <i>yōjana, yoduna</i>

The note also adds that a Sinhalese *gavuva* is equivalent to about 3½ English miles according to Clough. ' Taking the *vidatthi* or span at 8½ to 9 inches, and the *ratana* or cubit, (which should be measured from the elbow to the end of the *little* finger only) at from 17 to 18 inches, the *yōjana*, according to Moggallāna's scale would be equal to between 12 and 12½ miles, and this is the length given by Childers ; but I think it is certain that no such scale as Moggallāna here gives was ever practically used in Ceylon. The finger

joint, span, and cubit, may have been used for short lengths ; the *usabha* for longer ones ; the *gāvuta* and *yōjana* for paths or roads ; but I doubt whether any attempt was made in practice to bring these different measures into one scheme' (*Numismata Orientalia*, p. 15). The distance from Kalutoṭa to Bentoṭa, given in the Pjv will help us to fix the mileage according to use today. The 26th mile-post from Colombo is at the northern end of the northern bridge at Kalutara. The 38th mile-post is at Alutgama, close to the turn to the railway station ; and it is about half-a-mile to the southern end of the southern bridge at Bentoṭa, that is, almost opposite the Rest House. Therefore, we could take the distance from bridge to bridge, that is from Kalutara bridge to Bentoṭa bridge, as  $38\frac{1}{2}$  minus 26, that is approximately  $12\frac{1}{2}$  miles. The distance given in the Pjv is one *yōjana*, and this tallies exactly with the distance of the *yōjana* as given by Childers. We now see that Moggallāna's scheme also tallies with this length, thus establishing his system of linear measurers, as shown by Rhys Davids in a foregoing paragraph. This makes it difficult for us to agree with Rhys Davids when he says that such a scale as given by Moggallāna was never practically used in Ceylon, but on the contrary the present evidence makes it quite reasonable to conjecture that such a system may have been known for practical purposes.

The system used by the Hindus may also be noticed in passing. Barnett observes that the Hindus used both a long and a short *yōjana* ; the former contained 32,000 *hastas*, or eight *krōśas*, and amounted to about nine miles, and the short was exactly one-half of the long. The word *yōjana* is also used by some writers to denote vaguely a day's march, which on an average amounted to about 12 miles but varied according to the circumstances (L. D. Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, p. 218). Nissaṅka Malla also records that he fixed the distance of a *gavu* and called it the Nissaṅka *gavu*. He is said to have set up mile-posts in their proper places (EZ, Vol. 2, p. 91).

The length *baṁba* is used in the SdhRv in measuring depth, e.g. of a pit (937). *Baṁba* is used even today to measure depths, as for example of a well, etc., and also as a square measure, e.g. *gal-baṁbaya*, a square *baṁba* of stone. The SdhRv renders the Pāli ' *aṭṭha usaba vitthārāya nadiyā* ' as ' *ek dahas eksiya visi riyān paḷala āti gaṅga* ' (985). According to this rendering, one *usaba* is equivalent to 140 cubits, and this agrees with the table given in the Navanāmāvaliya (see above).



We have :  $8 \text{ usaba} = 1,120 \text{ cubits}$   
 $1 \text{ usaba} = 140 \text{ cubits}$

According to the Nava-nāmāvaliya  $1 \text{ usaba} = 35 \text{ baṃba}$ , and  $1 \text{ baṃba} = 4 \text{ cubits}$ . Therefore  $1 \text{ usaba} = 140 \text{ cubits}$ .

The glossary to the SdhRv gives—

$35 \text{ baṃba} = 1 \text{ usaba}$

$7 \text{ cubits} = 1 \text{ yaṣṭi}$

$20 \text{ yaṣṭi} = 1 \text{ usaba}$  (SdhRv *Granthi pada-vivaraṇaya*).

This table agrees with that of the Nava-nāmāvaliya.

The cubit seems to have been of two varieties, the ordinary *riyana*, and the *vaḍu-riyana* (carpenter's cubit). Constant reference is made to the *vaḍu-riyana*, e.g. '*vaḍu-riyanin satara riyān pamaṇa cintā-māṇikyaya*' (SdhRv 694); '*vaḍu-riyanin doḷos riyān usa āti byāma prabhā*' (SdhRv 395). SdhRv also renders the Pāli '*aṭṭha paññāsā hatthubbhēdaṃ*' as '*vaḍu-riyanin aṭa panas riyana*' (SdhRv 130). According to this the Pāli '*hattha*' is rendered as '*vaḍu-riyana*', and the same figure, 58, is given as in the Pāli. This reference therefore does not point to a difference between '*hattha*' and '*vaḍu-riyana*'. Skt. *hasta*, P. *hattha* is the hand or fore-arm as measure, a cubit; a measure of length from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger = 24 *aṅgulas* or about 18 inches (P.T.S. Dic. and MW). The SdhRv also uses the term *sama-riyana*, thus differentiating the *vaḍu-riyana* from the ordinary *riyana*; e.g. '*sama-riyanin eksiya satalis riyanak usaya*' (132). This is the rendering for the Pāli *usabhamattam*. Therefore, one *usaba* is equal to 140 *sama-riyan*. But we have already seen that 1 *usaba* is equal to 140 *riyan* (cubits). Therefore, we have to take *sama-riyan* as a term for *riyan* itself, and no doubt used to distinguish the ordinary *riyana* from the *vaḍu-riyana*. However, these references do not help us to ascertain the relation between the two. Carter's Sinhalese-English dictionary says that one *vaḍu-riyana* is about a yard. But it is quite unlikely that the *vaḍu-riyana* was double the *riyana*. We also have already seen that the Pāli *hattha* has been rendered as *vaḍu-riyana*, and this shows that the *vaḍu-riyana* is the measure from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger = about 18 inches (see above). According to MW, Skt. *aratni* (P. *ratana*, S. *riyana*) is the cubit of the middle length, from the elbow to the tip of the little finger. The P.T.S. Dic. explains *ratana* as a linear measure and mentions that the Abhidhānappadīpikā gives it as equal to 12 *aṅgulas*, or 7 *ratanas* = 1 *yatṭhi*. Now

we see that the *vaḍu-riyana* was the length from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger = 24 *aṅgulas* and that the *riyana* was the length from the elbow to the tip of the little finger = 12 *aṅgulas*. The lengths given in *aṅgulas* make the *vaḍu-riyana* double the length of the *riyana* and shows how Clough arrived at his conclusion; but when fore-arm is taken as the measure, the difference can never be 12 *aṅgulas*. We may, therefore, say that the *vaḍu-riyana* differed from the *riyana* by the difference in length between the elbow to the tip of the little finger and the elbow to the tip of the middle finger—that is roughly by about 2 *aṅgulas*.

### Measures of Capacity

The measures of capacity mentioned in the Pjv and the SdhRv are *yāla*, *pāla*, *amuṇa*, *kiriya*, *kurīṇiya*, *nāḷiya*, *manāva*, *lāssa* and *tiṃba*. The tablets of Mahinda IV of the 10th century at Mihintale refer to *payala*, *kiriya*, *yahala*, *nāḷiya*, *ḥaya*, *aḍmanā* and *ḥata* (EZ I. 3. 98). The tables given by Rhys Davids help us to ascertain the relation between these :

4 <i>ḥasata</i>	(handfuls or <i>kuḍuba</i> )	=	1 <i>ḥattha</i>	or	<i>nāḷi</i>
16 <i>ḥasata</i>	=	4 <i>ḥattha</i>	=	1 <i>āḷhaka</i>	or <i>tuṃba</i>
64 <i>ḥasata</i>	=	16 <i>ḥattha</i>	=	4 <i>āḷhaka</i>	= 1 <i>dōṇa</i>
256 <i>ḥasata</i>	=	64 <i>ḥattha</i>	=	16 <i>āḷhaka</i>	= 4 <i>dōṇa</i> = 1 <i>māṇikā</i>
10,24 <i>ḥasata</i>	=	256 <i>ḥattha</i>	=	64 <i>āḷhaka</i>	= 16 <i>dōṇa</i> = 4 <i>māṇikā</i>
	=	1 <i>khāri</i>			
20,480 <i>ḥasata</i>	=	5,120 <i>ḥattha</i>	=	1,280 <i>āḷhaka</i>	= 320 <i>dōṇa</i> = 80 <i>māṇikā</i>
	=	20 <i>khāri</i>	=	1 <i>vāha</i>	( <i>sakaṭa</i> , cart-load)
11 <i>dōṇa</i>	=	1 <i>ammaṇa</i>			
		10 <i>amuṇa</i>	=	1 <i>kumbha</i>	

Clough gives :

5 <i>kurunis</i>	or <i>yālas</i>	=	1 <i>ḥarrah</i>
12 <i>kurunis</i>	=	1 <i>ḥāla</i>	
8 <i>ḥarrahs</i>	or 160 measures	=	1 <i>amuṇa</i>
40 <i>lāhas</i>	=	1 <i>ḥāla</i>	
4 <i>ḥāla</i>	=	1 <i>amuṇa</i>	= about two acres.

(*Numismata Orientalia*, p. 18, n. 3). He also makes the following observations: ' . . . *karīsa* = 4 *ammaṇas* (Moggallāna). *Karīsa* seems to have been the measure of extent really in use in Ceylon in the 5th century; it is used quite independently of *ammaṇa* (which does not occur as a measure of extent till much later) . . . Like all

other Ceylon measures of extent, it is derived, not from any measure of length, but from a measure of capacity, the Tamil *karisu* . . . (Sinhalese) always measured land by the quantity of seed which could be sown in it ; and the peasantry do so still in practice . . . The *ammaṇa* (T. *ambana*) now varies in different parts of Ceylon from 5 to 7 bushels and a half . . . The *nāḷi* in use in the island is larger than the Tamil one. The Magadha *nāḷi* is the right measure. It is said in the Great Commentary that one Sinhalese *nāḷi* is equal to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  of this Magadha *nāḷi* . . . The *nāḷi* was a liquid as well as a dry measure . . . The original meaning of the word is “ *piḷe* ” or “ *reed* ”, then the “ joint of a bamboo ”, and hence the measure, either dry or liquid, which such a joint would contain ; or, as a measure of extent, the space over which the seed contained in such a measure could be sown. As the size of different bamboos differed, we can understand the origin of the difference in the size of the measure . . . in the inscription referred to . . . *yāla*, *kiriya*, and *ḷaya* are used as measures of extent, the *kiriya* being four *ammaṇas*, while the *nāḷiya*, *aḍamanā* and *ḷata* are used as measures of capacity ; the *ḷata* being the same as *ḷasata*, a handful, and stated by Clough to be the eighth of a seer, that is, the 256th part of a bushel, while the *aḍamanā* is probably another name for *nāḷi*’ (*Numismata Orientalia*, p. 18, 20). The Badulla pillar and the Eppāvaḷa inscriptions refer to *ḷadda* : a *ḷadda* of oil and a *ḷadda* of chunam (EZ 3. 2. 79 ; 3. 4. 194 resp.). The term *ḷadda*, Skt., *ḷrastha* is synonymous with *ḷata* (EZ 3. 2. 94).

Paranavitana makes the following observations regarding the measures : ‘ The relationship between the earlier and the later systems of Sinhalese land measurements is made clear by two passages in the *Saddharmaratnāvaliya* . . . The word *aḷḷakarīsa* occurring in the *Dhammapadatḷḷakathā* is rendered by *ek yāla doḷos amuṇa* . . . We know that a *yāla* is equivalent to twenty *amuṇas*, therefore one *yāla* and 12 *amuṇas* is equivalent to 32 *amuṇas*. Hence a *karīsa*, Sinhalese *kiri*, is equivalent to four *amuṇas*. Again, the word *aḷḷakarīsa* in the *Dhammapadatḷḷakathā* is translated as *biḷuvata dāmunak* . . . According to this, half a *karīsa* is two *amuṇas*, therefore one *kiri* is the same as four *amuṇas*. Thus a *ḷaya*, which is one-fourth of a *kiri*, is shown to be equivalent to an *amuṇa* (sowing extent) according to the present-day usage. The English equivalent of an *amuṇa* of paddy field cannot be exactly ascertained, but Clough gives it as from two to two-and-a-half acres. The price paid in the 10th century for this extent of rice field was eight *kaḷaṇḍas* of gold ’ (EZ 3. 4. 189). He also makes a few other remarks

regarding some of these measures. He distinguishes between *payala* and *pāḷa*. ' *Payala* is obviously a term of land measurement. It is probably the same as *paya*. It is doubtful whether *payala* is, as Dr. Wickremasinghe assumes, the same as *pāḷa*, a measure of capacity, also used as a term of land measurement from the 12th century onwards. There is no evidence to show that terms denoting measures of capacity were used in Ceylon before the 12th century to indicate the areas of fields. Moreover, *pāḷa* is invariably spelt with a cerebral "ḷ", whereas the "l" of *payala* is dental' (EZ 4. 4. 175, n. 6). The Tōṅigala inscription of the fourth century mentions *hakaḍa* and *amaṇa* (EZ 3. 4. 177). 'The word *hakaḍa* is derived from the Pāli *sakaṭa*, which originally meant "a cart", but also has the secondary meaning of a measure of capacity, i.e. as much as would be contained in one cart-load. *Sakaṭa* is the same as Sinhalese *yahaḷa* or *yāḷa*, for the phrase " *sakaṭa-sahassa-mattam* occurring in the *Jātaka* 1. 467 has been rendered *dāsak yāḷa* in the 14th century Sinhalese translation of that work. Not only in meaning, but etymologically too, the two words are identical . . . *Vāha* is another word which has the same significance as *sakaṭa* . . . *Sakaṭa* was the highest term in this system of measurement with which we are familiar from the Pāli writings. It was divided into twenty *ammaṇas*, a word occurring in Tamil as *ammaṇam*, in modern Sinhalese as *amuṇa* . . . The Pāli word *ammaṇa* has also the meaning of "a trough", and it may be presumed that an *ammaṇa* measure was originally as much as could be held in a wooden trough used for storing grain, etc. According to the modern and mediaeval usage in Ceylon, an *amuṇa* is sub-divided into 4 *pāḷas* (derived from Pāli *piṭaka* through *pekada*) . . . The original meaning of the word *piṭaka* was "basket", and this term, therefore, must have its origin in a "basketful", just as *sakaṭa* originally meant a "cart-load", and *ammaṇa* "a troughful". These three terms are instructive as to the way in which the measures of capacity used in ancient India and Ceylon had their origin. In primitive times commodities like grain were bought and sold in such natural terms of measurement as a "cartload", a "basketful", a "handful", etc. These, of course, could not have had the precise value at every place and occasion in which they were used, and a considerable amount of uncertainty must have prevailed in the transaction of business. When the organisation of society was more developed, and with the increase of trade, the precise values of these primitive

terms of measurement were standardised, and the relation which each of them bore to the other was fixed' (EZ 3. 4. 183).

The next large measure is the *lāssa*, the capacity of which is given by the SdhRv as four *nāli* (*satara nāli gannā lāssen*) (774). The VismSn refers to this measure, showing how milk was adulterated: '*lāssak pamaṇa kirchi noyck lāsu diya vatkaḷada*' (IV. 256). This reference, as well as the statement that oil should be supplied at the rate of a *lāha* measure a week, in the Rāmbāva slab-inscription, show that this was used as a liquid measure as well. The Pjv mentions that gold was measured with a *lāsu*: '*baḍa sāleka vī māna harinnāsē lāsuvalin ran māna māna det*' (p. 322). This no doubt deals with an extraordinary situation, and therefore we cannot deduce that the *lāsu* was used generally for measuring gold, when normally it was measured by weight. The Badulla pillar-inscription refers to a measure called the *gaṇa-lahassa*: 'Commodities should not be measured with *lahasu* measures other than the *gaṇa-lahassa*' (EZ 3. 2. 79). 'In this word the reading *gaṇa* is not certain. This seems to have been the name of a standard measure. South Indian inscriptions afford us the names of several such standard weights and measures used in the Tamil country, e.g. *Viḍel viḍugu kal*, *Rājakeśari nāli*, or *Rājakeśari marakkāl*. If the above reading is correct, the measure seems to have received its name either from a guild or the community of monks, the word *gaṇa* being applicable to either of these. The former is more likely to have been the case. A *lahassa* (modern Sinhalese *lāha*) consists of four *nāli* (Tamil *nāli*)' (EZ 3. 2. 95). The Oruvela sannasa (EZ 3. 2. 68) of the 15th century also refers to the *lāha* measure.

The Pjv mentions the *tiṃba* as a measure of capacity. The Sdhlk renders the P. *doṇam* as *tiṃbak* (570), thus equating a *dōṇa* with a *tiṃba*. The P.T.S. Dic. gives the capacity of a *tumba* as 4 *nāli*, and that of a *dōṇa* as 4 *ālhaka* generally. Carter's Dic. gives its equivalent as half a bushel. According to the previous paragraph a *laha* was found to be 4 *nāli*, and the P.T.S. Dic. gives *tumba* as equal to four *nāli*. Therefore one *laha* equals a *tumba*. The above table also equalises one *tumba* with one *ālhaka*, regarding which the P.T.S. Dic. gives Buddhaghōsa's explanation, '*cattārō patthā ālhakāni doṇam*', i.e. 4 *patthas* or *ālhakas* equal one *dōṇa*. According to the above table one *dōṇa* equals four *tumbas*. Therefore the Sdhlk rendering of *dōṇa* as *tiṃba* cannot be correct. Further, the SdhRv establishes the table as correct when it says 16 *nāli* equal

one *dōṇa*, ' *magadha nāliyen soḷos nāliyak* ' is the rendering of the DPA reading *tandūla-dōṇassa oḍanam* (SdhRv 837). The VismSn throws light on the same when it states that

4 <i>miṭa</i> (handful)	= 1 <i>kuḍuba</i>
4 <i>kuḍubas</i>	= 1 <i>nāli</i>
16 <i>nāli</i>	= 1 <i>drōṇa</i> = 12 <i>nāli</i> from a <i>Maḡadha nāli</i> (IV. 137).

The Yōga-ratnākaraya (ed. K. A. Perera, 1930, vv. 283, 285, 286) gives the following scheme of weights :—

3 <i>tala</i> (sesamum) seeds	= 3 <i>amu</i> (a kind of millet ( <i>Paspalum scrobiculatum</i> ) seeds.
3 <i>amu</i> seeds	= 1 <i>vī āta</i> (paddy seed)
8 <i>vī āta</i>	= 1 <i>madāta</i>
20 <i>madāta</i> seeds	= 1 <i>kalaṅda</i>
3 <i>kalaṅdas</i>	= 1 <i>huna</i>
4 <i>hunās</i>	= 1 <i>ḡalama</i>
2 <i>ḡalamas</i>	= 1 <i>kuḷuṅdula</i>
2 <i>kuḷuṅdulas</i>	= 1 <i>ḡata</i>
4 <i>ḡatas</i>	= 1 <i>nāḍuṁba</i>
4 <i>nāḍuṁbas</i>	= 1 <i>lāsa</i>
4 <i>lāsas</i>	= 1 <i>drōṇa</i> .

The Pjv refers to another measure—the *uḷakkuva* (p. 49). The Sinhala Mahā-Akārādiya of Revata Thēra equates this with a *ḡata*, one-fourth of a *nāli*. The *manāva* meant half a *nāli*, as it does even today. This is shown by the SdhRv when it says : ' *mē sāl nāliyen ulukāṅdak ḡisam nam manāva manāva bāgin devēlakūta āta* ', If out of this *nāliya* of rice, gruel were to be made, it would be sufficient for two meals, a *manāva* each time (773). These measures of *nāli* and *manāva* are used even today in measuring the doses of Ayurvedic medicinal mixtures (*kasāya*, decoction). The table as in use today is

2 <i>kālas</i> (quarters—usually teacupful)	= one <i>manāva</i> , and
2 <i>manāvas</i>	equal 1 <i>nāli</i>

The Sdhk also shows that the *nāliya* was used in measuring out ghee, honey, etc. (p. 15).

Both the SdhRv and the Pjv refer to the *kurunīya*, which is in use even today, specially for measuring paddy. The Revata Akārādiya equates it with one *lāha* or 4 *nāli*, and also gives 10 *kurunīs* as equal to one *ḡāla*. The glossary to the SdhRv gives the same measure

of one *kuruni* as equal to one *lāsu*, in explaining the term *ṣallāsa* as *ṣan lāsa*, equal to 5 *kurunis*.

The VismSn refers to a distance beyond which a monk is not expected to look: '*viyadañḍu ṣamaṇak balannēyi*', in rendering '*yuga-mattadasō siyā*' (I. 155). *yuga* is the yoke of a plough, and *yuga-mattam* therefore indicates a distance equal to the length of the yoke of the plough. The P.T.S. Dic. also explains the term as only a little (viz., the most necessary) distance ahead. In Sinhalese, the *viyadaṇḍa* is also termed *viya gaha*, and is generally the term applied to the yoke-pole of a cart, to which the bullocks are tied. The Revata Akārādiya gives the length as four cubits.

The SdhRv also refers to a measure of height, e.g. '*sat talak ṣamaṇa ahasa*', about the height of seven *tāla*-trees or palms into the sky (430; '*āsa sat talak ṣamaṇa ṣānanāṅgalā*', having risen into the sky to a height of about seven palm-trees (605). The MV indicates height in the same way (MV 31. 11; 17. 44). This shows that the height was considered in terms of a tall tree, the *tāla* or palmyra in this case. This is the case even today. Compare, for example, the modern usage *ṣol gahak vitara uha* (as tall as a coconut tree), and *ṣuvak gahak vagē* (thin and tall like an arecanut tree).

Some passages throw light on the measurement of area. Thus '*magē uyana nam ayamin vitarin vaḍu dahas dahas riyān ātiyēya. esē heyin ek yāla doḷosamuṇak vaṣ yannāvu maha bimeka*', My field is a square each side of which is 1,000 carpenter's cubits in length and is of one *yāla* twelve *amuṇas* of sowing extent (Pjv 321). In another place the book uses the expression '*riyanak tāna aba dāmuṇak gannā heyin*', meaning that an area of one square cubit will hold two *amuṇas* of mustard-seed (Pjv 50).

We thus see that land was measured according to the sowing extent.

We also gather that certain standard weights and measures were used. That a standard weight of a *madadi* was used as early as the 10th century is shown by the Badulla pillar-inscription, when it states that weighing should not be done by *madadi* weights which are not stamped (EZ 3. 2. 80). This shows that the Government took care that no cheating was done in weights, and that weights used were stamped officially. The scales for weighing and the *nāli* for measuring are mentioned. It is quite likely that the *nāli* was a standard measure in use.

## CHAPTER VII

### MILITARY ORGANISATION AND WARFARE

The island's history shows that foreign invasions and internal civil dissensions were of frequent occurrence. Most kings were in constant fear of foreign invasion or internal strife, and had to maintain powerful armies. The campaigns of Parākramabāhu II described at length in the CV show the strength of his military organisation. The army was under a commander-in-chief, *sēnāpati*, and various divisions were under other subordinate generals. In important wars the king himself undertook the supreme command. Codrington, discussing the military organisation, says: 'The traditional "four-fold army" in India was composed of elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers. In Ceylon in the period before the twelfth century, we find the king in battle usually mounted on an elephant. His royal parasol was the rallying point of the army, and, as in South India, the king's flight or death entailed the rout of his host; an instance of this is seen in the account of Kassapa I's defeat by his brother. Occasionally, princes were mounted on horses, but these were always a luxury in the south, being imported at heavy cost. In the twelfth century there is no indication of the existence of organised units of elephants, chariots, or cavalry in Ceylon; indeed the thickly-wooded nature of the country in which the operations took place, renders it very doubtful whether they could have been used to any extent. This is noteworthy, as during the Portuguese period in the Low-Country elephants were employed in siege operations as well as in the van of the army. In the period under consideration, a division consisted of infantry with the accompanying baggage train; the generals were carried in palanquins, and were distinguished by their parasols. The bulk of the troops presumably then, as certainly in later days, consisted of local levies, and was stiffened by various select corps, such as the "moonlight archers", recruited for night work, and the regiment of mace-bearers. These may be the "eight bodies of skilled foot-soldiers", said to have been organised by Parākramabāhu I. In the opinion of the foreigners the efficiency of the troops was low, and Marco Polo states that in his day, at the end of the thirteenth century, the authorities employed "Saracens" or Muhammadan mercenaries.



Under Parākramabāhu I, the Ceylon records mention by name Canarese, the Kēralas, and the Tamils; the Vēlakkāra force had continued to exist since the days of Vijayabāhu I. In the 13th century, Rajputs are mentioned' (*A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 69).

The army is always referred to as four-fold. The literature, the chronicles, and the inscriptions do likewise, as, for example, an inscription of Nissaṅka Malla (later 12th century) states that he proceeded to India attended by his four-fold army (EZ 2.2.90). Another inscription of the 12th century refers to the four-fold army of elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry (EZ 2.3.142). The CV refers to a heroic army of troops, elephants, chargers and chariots. The KSiḷ refers to a *sivuraṅga senaṅga*, four-fold army, and describes it as

*tahata sarahaminavi—desenāṅgāhi nan baḷa rās,*  
*ātaruva ihi asaruvan—pālaṁbini vam poroḷa gat* (v. 662),

The numerous soldiers equipped with various weapons and clad in armour, lined up with the horse and elephant divisions. The Daṁbadeṇi-asna also gives us some information regarding the army of the Daṁbadeṇiya period. According to this book, the army at this time consisted of 990 elephants and 890 horsemen. The free personnel of the army that received wages from the king numbered 24,25,000 Sinhalese, 12,000 Tamils, and also 900 archers. The army also contained technicians and workmen, such as stone-masons, potters and washermen numbering 900, 790 and 800 respectively. The Asna also gives us a full list of officers and service corps which are given below in the same order as they appear in the Asna :

*miṇi van bālayō—miṇi*, Skt. *maṇi*, jewel, gem; *van*, Skt. *varṇa*, a covering, cloak, mantle (MW); the reading *bāla* may be *baḷa*, Skt. *bhaṭa*, mercenary, hired soldier, warrior (MW); hence possibly a battalion of soldiers wearing gem-set armours or apparel; cp. *miṇi kavada*, jewelled armour—'*miṇi kavada porōnā yōdha mulak sē*', like a battalion in jewelled armour (Revata Akārādiya).

*svalakkāra bālayō*—probably T. *cavaḷaikkārar*, a caste of weavers in the Tinnavelly district (MTL); cp. also T. *cavalakkārar*, a class of fishermen or ferrymen (ibid.).

*konta bālayō*, spear, lance; battalion of lancers.

*vēlakkāra bālayō*—the inscriptions make reference to a number of classes of *vēlāikkāras* (EZ 4.4.194; 2.6.252); 'From time

immemorial it was a custom in India, and perhaps in Ceylon too, for loyal and faithful servants who failed to carry out the orders of their king or of their master, to kill themselves, and it was not uncommon for kings to have soldiers who took the oath (*vañcinam*) that they would do away with their lives if any misfortune befell the king . . . These were called *Vēlaiikkāras*' (EZ 2.6.251, n. 3; see also *ibid.* p. 250).

*lēkam bālayō*—Skt. *lekha*, writing, letter, document; *lekhaka*, writer, clerk, scribe; *lekhana*, scratching, scraping, lancing; may therefore be a battalion of messengers, clerks; lancers were mentioned before.

*agampaḍi*—(*mūkula* and *netti*); T. *akampaṭi*, service in a sanctuary or inner apartments of a palace (MTL); Codrington states that in the north of Ceylon, the term *agampaḍi* was used to signify a particular caste whose duty it was to attend to business within the palace or the temple; apart from the Tamil districts, appeared as a caste apparently only in Demaḷa Hatpattuva and the neighbouring country; the term is indicative of the mercenaries or a class of mercenaries in the employ of the Sinhalese king, a body corresponding to the *paḍikāra hēvāpannē* or standing army of the Kandyans composed largely of foreigners; four classes are noted—*rāja agampaḍi*, mercenary soldiers employed in the palace; *mukukala agampaḍi*, collectors of cash tributes; *netti agampaḍi*, a division of the army; *bāla agampaḍi*, camp followers and serving people of the army (see Codrington, *Mediaeval Mercenary Forces in Ceylon*, *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. III, No. 9, pp. 387-90; and H. Puññaratana Thēra, *Laṅkāvē-ṭurā-tattvaya*, p. 96). The *agampaḍi* army has been known even from the earlier times; the Nikāya-saṅgrahaya (p. 20) refers to an *agampaḍi* army girt with golden daggers (*van siri ban*) of Parākramabahu I, which was 24 lakhs and 25,000 strong. Puññaratana Thēra considers this an army collected from South India (*Laṅkāvē-ṭurā-tattvaya*, p. 95). He also states that these troops were South Indian Maravars who were well known for their skill in war. The *Mayūra-sandēśa* also makes reference to an *agampaḍi* army :

*vikum dādi daṇaya biñḍa rudu ruṇun gatā  
taram vādi ṇadavi nan tiyu sirin yutā  
adam ada nokala laka aṇa sakin gatā  
agamṇoḍi senāṅga veta yaḷi sitan setā (153).*

Here the author requests the God to bestow prosperity (victory) on the *agamṇaḍi* army, which is free of all evil and which destroys the pride of the enemy. In the *saṇne* to this verse, Dipankara Thēra states that this army was 24,25,000 strong.

The CV also records that during the 13th century the army consisted of Indian as well as Sinhalese divisions. What actually took place after the assassination of Vijayabāhu IV is described thus: 'They began in the first instance to hand over their pay to the chivalrous Āriya warriors, at the head of whom was Ṭhakuraka. But these declared: "We have at all times been people who one felt must be won over. Now ye must under all circumstances, first of all by good pay, win over the Sīhala warriors and make them contented". And none of them now accepted the pay. "Be it so", answered others. They paid all the Sīhalas their money, and then called upon the Āriya to take their pay. But again they refused, with the words, "Our pay shall be handed to us later; we shall not take it now" . . . Ṭhakuraka . . . took his sharp sword and in a moment swiftly struck off the Senāpati's head . . . now when here-upon a great hubbub arose in the town, all the Sīhala soldiers who were a mighty force, banded themselves together . . . all the Āriya and Sīhala warriors united and brought the King, their Lord Bhuvanekabāhu . . . to the town of Jambuddōṇi and with reverence consecrated him King. From that time onward the King made the whole double army obedient to his will by assigning them salaries and the like . . .' (CV 90.16 etc.): In a footnote to the words 'Āriya warriors' Geiger says that these must have been South Indian mercenaries. In a note to Āriya dynasty, 63.15, he says that what is meant is the Āriyan dynasty of the Pāṇḍyas, in Southern India. The CV itself states that Āryacakravartin was a Damiḷa general (90.44). The Venerable Thēra quoted above seems to consider this army as of Āryan Kṣatriyas from North India

(*Laṅkāvē-ṭurā-tattvaya*, p. 97). This account bears further evidence that the armies were paid by the state, as is stated in the *SdhRv*.

*rajuṭa tēvakara siṭina atāvudayō*—armed guards who attended on the king ; T. *tēvai*, business, need, necessity, slavery, (MTL) ; *ata*, hand and *āvuda*, weapons ; those carrying arms or weapons in their hands.

*saḷu vaḍannō*—*saḷu*, Skt. *śāṭaka*, garment or gown, cloak ; *vaḍanava*, carry, develop, serve, supply ; hence those who supplied garments or literally garment 'servers' ; in this context and the following the term *vaḍannō* meant officers whose concern it was to see that the king's requirements of the things specified were made available to him. Hayley translated the term as 'Master', e.g. *saḷu vaḍannō*, Master of the Wardrobe (see Hayley, *A Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Sinhalese*, p. 52). Hocart renders *vaḍana* as 'presenting', e.g. *diyavaḍana nilame*, Water-presenting officer (*The Temple of the Tooth in Kandy*, p. 12). The term has also been rendered as chief, e.g. *saṅḍun vaḍannō*, 'sandalwood chiefs'. This term *vaḍannō* necessarily meant those who attended on royalty or the Tooth Relic.

*diya vaḍannō*—those who supplied the king with water ; 'water servers' ; Master of the bath ; cp. *diyavaḍana nilame*, 'water-presenting officer'.

*bat vaḍannō*—food servers.

*tel vaḍannō*—oil servers.

*nānu vaḍannō*—T. *nānam*, fragrant substance, unguents for the body, perfumed oil for bathing, scented hair-oil (MTL) ; unguent or perfume servers.

*bulat vaḍannō*—betel servers.

*kaṭuru vaḍannō*—camphor servers.

*saṅḍun vaḍannō*—sandalwood servers.

*ṭalis vaḍannō*—shield bearers.

*chatra vaḍannō*—umbrella bearers.

*cāmara vaḍannō*—yak-tail bearers.

*ṭavan vaḍannō*—those who fanned, 'fanners'.

*mal vaḍannō*—those who supplied flowers, flower servers.

*kapuvō*—P. *kaṭṭaka*, barber, hair-dresser, attendant to the king (P.T.S. Dic.) ; officiating priests or barbers (for higher ranks).

*kiliṅguvō*—cp. n. on *kiliṃnā*, p. 92.

*nākātiyō*—astrologers or astronomers.

*vedavaru*—physicians.

*bāṭṭavaru*—(SdhRv 1006) ; Skt. *bhaṭṭa*, panegyrists or bards.

*ṭulavaru*—cp. T. *ṭulavar*, sages, chieftains, dancers, actors, artisans, mechanics ; hence a battalion of any of these.

*gabaḍā nāyaka*—Chief Storekeeper.

*baṇḍāra nāyaka*—Chief Treasurer.

*raṭa-nāyaka*—District Chief.

*artha nāyaka*—Chief Economic Adviser.

*gaja nāyaka*—Chief Superintendent of Elephants.

*badu nāyaka*—Chief Revenue Officer.

*mudali nāyaka*—Chief of the Mudaliyars.

*bulat geyi bālayō*—attendants of the betel-store.

*rahas geyi bālayō*—officers of the secret services.

*taṭu geyi bālayō*—attendants of the bed chambers ; cp. T. *taṭ-tam taṭtu*, plate, salver, sleeping room, bedding (MTL).

*savari bālayō*—probably identical with *cāmara vaḍannō* ; cp. T. *cavaram*, yak, false hair used by women in toilette.

*mēru bālayō*—cp. Skt. *meruka*, fragrant resin, incense (MW).

*mallavayō*—fighters, wrestlers.

*aṭabāgē mura ṭiris*—guards corps from Aṭabāge (place near modern Gampola).

*vaga ṭiris*—spies.

*kotmalē aṭapeṭiyē vāddō*—Vāddās from the eight divisions of Kotmale.

*ṭolu vāddō*—Vāddās armed with clubs ; (some Vāddās hunted with clubs).

*mas vāddō*—fishermen (Carter) ; hunters.

*oṭunu paṇḍitavaru*—those who made crowns ; a class of smiths whose speciality was making crowns. In common jargon potters are also referred to as *paṇḍita*.

*śuddhācārīhu*—*ācārī* are smiths ; hence a class of smiths.

*baḍāllu*—goldsmith, silversmith (Carter).

*aṅḍuvaḍuvō*—pincer makers.

*liyana vaḍuvō*—carvers.

*ī vaḍuvō*—arrow makers.

*baḍahālayō*—potters.

*kulu pottō*—wicker workers.

*kalālgasannō*—cp. *kalāla*, mat ; mat weavers.

*radav*—washermen.

*āmbāṭṭayō*—barbers (for lower ranks).

*bali batuvō*—cp. *bali bat* in modern usage—those who live on rice or food offered at sacrifices or ceremonies ; *bali*, offering, oblation, any offering or propitiatory oblation, especially an offering of portions of food, such as grain, rice, etc. to certain gods, semi-divine beings, household divinities, spirits, men, birds, etc. (MW) ; hence perhaps camp followers or menial servants.

*kāli naṭannō*—*kāli* dancers, entertainers ; perhaps dancers dedicated to the goddess Kālī.

This list shows us that the army was accompanied by some of the high officials of state, as the *baṇḍāra nāyaka*, Chief Treasurer, and the *arthanāyaka*, Chief Economic Adviser. The army seems to have been complete in all respects ; it had a medical corps, which indeed was of vital importance. The presence of a *nākāṭiyā*, astrologer, suggests that certain undertakings or ventures, such as attacks, may have been launched at auspicious moments.

The armies were of considerable size : Duṭugāmuṇu's warriors are said to have been 11,110 in number. Reviews of troops seem to have been held to ascertain the strength of the forces, and perhaps as an inspection of the army (SdhRv 59). The CV refers to such a review held by Kīrtiśrī Rājasimha (CV 99. 42). The soldiers wore some kind of armour, and were equipped with various weapons. They were also trained in the art of warfare and in sciences such as archery, *dhanu śilpa* and *āyudha saraṁba* (SdhRv 309). For defence they employed a shield : ' *phahara vālahīmehi phalakāyudhayak vānivū* ' (SdhRv 252). In one passage of the MV a soldier's armour is stated to have been of buffalo-hide (74. 73). The literature refers to a variety of weapons which were used in war as well as on other occasions. The SdhRv mentions the following :

*aḍa yaṭi*—(114, 852) ; The Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya (pp. 35, 68 and 139) and the Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya (p. 101) explain P. *satti* as *aḍa yaṭi* ; P. *satti* (Sdhlk 473, CV 69. 20), Skt. *śakti*, spear, lance ; ' The *śakti* (spear) is represented as being two cubits long, with a steady side-way movement. It has a sharp tongue, a horrible claw,

and makes a sound like a bell . . . It is as broad as a fist and goes very far. It must be taken up and thrown with two hands' (Gustav Oppert, *On the Weapons, Army Organisation, and Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus*, p. 13). The Vesaturu-dā-sanne explains *tōmaramkusa* as *aḍa yaṭi hā akusu* thus showing that the *tōmara* and the *aḍa yaṭi* are the same (p. 117).

*dunu*—(156, 862); bows; the Dañbadeṇi-asna (ed. Ranasinghe) mentions a large variety of bows: *yon dunu*, Arabian bows; *tattāri dunu*?; *gal dunu*, pellet bows; *maṭṭan dunu*, even or level bows; *ran dunu*, golden bows; *ridi dunu*, silver bows; *ruvan dunu*, bows decked with (the seven kinds of) precious material; *māra dunu*, *māra* means fatal, is also the name of a tree—hence *māra dunu* may be bows that delivered particularly fatal shots? or even bows made of the wood of the *māra* (*Adenantha pavonia*). It is difficult to know for certain whether this wood was used for making bows. A few other names (e.g. *kalu*, *kaluvāl*, *paṅgam*) also seem to indicate the wood that was used for the bows. Here too we are faced with the same doubt. Spittel and Seligmann tell us that the Vāddās used various kinds of wood for their bows as well as the bow-strings: 'At Henebedda the wood of the *kobbevel* (*Allophylus cobbe*) is used for the bow; a sapling is peeled and shaved down until the desired amount of flexibility is obtained, it is then stained black. The bow string is made of the bast of a tree called *aralu* (*Terminalia chebula*) . . . ' (Seligmann, *The Veddas*, p. 324). 'The staves of the *ath-dhuna* (hand-bow) which shoots arrows, as well as of the *gal-dhuna* (pellet-bow) are made of the *gatawela* tree (*dhunu-gaha* or bow tree) *ulkandhe*, *kobwela*, or *maha-kekela-gaha*. The pellet-bow is usually strung with *niyande* or bowstring hemp, the other bow with *araluwel*, the inner sheath of the bark of the *aralu* tree' (Spittel, *Vanished Trails*, p. 251). *māra paṅgam dunu*? *paṅgam* is a kind of creeper bearing a bitter fruit (Carter), the creeper may have been used even for the bow string?; *mālakkam dunu*? cp. T. *mālakam*, *vempu*, margosa; *Ōlakkam dunu*?; *kalu dunu*? literally black bows—*kalu* is also a kind of wood, *Diospyros melanoxylon*, a large erect tree

with thick bark exfoliating in scales (Spittel, *ibid.*, p. 257); *kaluväl dunu?* *kaluväl*—an odoriferous creeper (*Agallochum*), the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* gives *kālīyam* [a kind of (shiny) sandalwood (P.T.S. Dic.)] as equivalent; *naḍa haṁbu dunu?*; *māḍa haṅgu dunu?* according to the *AmK māṅḍa haṅgu* is *ajaśringī*, a plant. MW explains it as goat's horn or the shrub *Odina Wodier*, the fruit of which resembles a goat's horn; *us dunu*, simple long bows, generally exceeding the height of the user by one to three spans (Deraniyagala, *Sinhala Weapons and Armour*, J.R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XXXV, p. 114); *miṭi dunu*, 'smaller but thicker bows, and probably a more efficient form' (*ibid.*), short bows; *candra vaṅka dunu*, bows curved like the moon (probably the crescent moon is meant); *sūrya vaṅka dunu*, probably bows circular like the sun?; *trivaṅka dunu*, bows with three bends, three-fold-bent bows; *sindūran dunu*, Skt. *sindūra*, minium, red lead, a kind of plant; hence bows painted with red lead or made of *sindūra*.

Deraniyagala observes that the best bows are 'shaped like a fish's back and are three cubits long, measured off the owner's arm. This length might be reduced if desired, but the length removed should not exceed one span. In the best bows, the arrow shafts are half the length of the bow' (*ibid.*).

*kaḍu*—(pp. 187, 305, 990, Pjv 178; *asi* Pjv 174); swords; the *Daṁbadeṇi-asna* also refers to a large variety of swords; *raṇ kaḍu*, golden swords; *riḍi kaḍu*, silver swords; *miṇi kaḍu*, gem-set swords; *sat ruvaṇ kaḍu*, swords of the seven kinds of precious material; *aparā kaḍu?*; *gurjara kaḍu*, probably swords from Gujarat; *pāṇḍi kaḍu*, swords from Pāṇḍya; *vaḍiga kaḍu*, swords from the Vaḍiga country; *jīna kaḍu*, swords from China? (*cīna*); *malaya kaḍu*, swords from Malaya; *madura kaḍu*, swords from Madura; *teliṅgu kaḍu*, swords from the Telugu country; *jāvaka kaḍu*, swords from Java; *vaṅga kaḍu*, swords from Vaṅga (Bengal); *ayōdhya kaḍu*, swords from Ayodhyā; *dāt kaḍu*, swords with saw-like edges—if the reading is *dāt*, it may be a variety of swords to be held with both hands?; *dāra kaḍu*, Skt. *dhāra*, sharp edge, blade (especially of sword, knife, etc.) (MW); S. *dāra*, sharp edges, hence sharp edged swords or swords with sharp blades, cp. sharp-edged (*tīkṣaṇa-dhūram*) discus (Chakravarti, *The Art of*



*War in Ancient India*, p. 171), may even be swords with more than one blade or edge ; *sirivāl kaḍu* ? ; *dilena kaḍu*, shining swords ; *lelena kaḍu*, flashing swords ; *visī* or *vīsi kaḍu*, throwing swords, cp. *visi hella*, ' throwing spear ' (Deraniyagala, p. 114) ; *dhavala kaḍu*, white or dazzling swords ; *vak kaḍu*, bent or curved swords ; *dik kaḍu*, long swords ; *luhuṇḍu kaḍu*, short swords. According to the Sdhk the swords were sharpened with the file (*pīri gā*) (518).

*ī*—arrows ; the CV refers to medicines preserved in cow horns for the healing of venomous wounds caused by poisoned arrows (70. 49) ; it also records that the Jāvaka warriors who invaded Ceylon in the time of Parākramabāhu II used poisoned arrows ; reference is also made to a variety of arrows called *gōkaṇṇaka*, Skt. *gokarṇa* (76. 48).

*konta*—(852, 990, Pjv 178 ; *Vesaturu-dā-sanne*, p. 134) ; synonymous with *tōmara*, *beṇḍuvala*, *vilkot* (*Ruvan-mala*) ; javelin, lance ; described as ' possessed of a very sharp point, piercing straight through the arms of the combatant . . . like the *śakti* . . . a weapon with edges like a ploughshare . . . has a wooden body and a metal head ' (see Chakravarti, p. 167).

*siri*—(565) ; cp. Skt. *churikā*, *chūrikā*, *churī*, knife, dagger (MW) ; synonymous with *iḷukkōlaya*, *ḥatara* (*Ruvan-mala*).

*teḥ*, *teb*—(418, 852) ; *anina āyudha viśeṣayak* (D. B. Jayatilaka, *SdhRv Glossary*), a weapon for piercing, pricking ; hunting-spear (Carter) ; cp. Skt. *tīvra*, sharp, severe, violent (MW) ; *Vesaturu-dā-sanne* explains P. *tipḥāhi* as *muvan marana kākūlu tebin*, with the sharp piercing *teba* used for killing deer (p. 120).

The Sdhk mentions the following (57, 473) :

*bheṇḍivāla*—(also Pjv 174) ; cp. Skt. *bhiṇḍipāla*, *bhiṇḍivāla* ; Chakravarti (p. 167) considers it as belonging to the generic class of spears ; is described as flung ; Oppert defines it as a crooked club—' has a crooked body ; its head, which is bent and broad, is a cubit long, and it is a hand in circumference. It is first whirled thrice and then thrown against the foot of the enemy ' (Oppert, p. 13). Lakshmanswami Mudaliar also considers it a heavy club

with a broad and bent tail end ; cutting, hitting, striking and breaking were its uses (see *War in Ancient India*, p. 106). P. *bheṇḍi* is identical with *bheṇḍu*, a kind of missile used as a weapon, arrow (P.T.S. Dic.). cp. T. *ḥiṇṭiv(ḥ)ālam*.

*candra cakra*—? cp. *cakrāyudha* (*Daṁbadeṇi-asna*), steel quoit with plain cutting perimeter (Deraniyagala) ; *cakra* (Pjv 174), is a discuss or sharp circular missile (MW) ; the uses of the *cakra* were felling, whirling, rending, breaking and cutting (see Lakshmanswami Mudaliar, p. 109 ; Oppert, p. 15 ; Chakravarti, p. 171) ; *candra* may be the name applied to one variety of the *cakra* to distinguish it from another variety of the same weapon.

*itti*—boar-spear ; ‘ an ornamented type of the Bandarawela-Badulla area, which possesses a heavy triangular head about six inches long, two-and-a-half wide, and a strong seven-foot haft ’ (Deraniyagala).

*karavālārdha*—? cp. T. *karavālam*, dagger, poniard (MTL) ; Skt. *karavāla*, a sword, scymitar, *karavāli*, a kind of sword (MW) ; Skt. *ardha*, half, part.

*mutṭuru*, *miṭṭuru*—? cp. T. *miṭṭāru*, *mut-kol*, a kind of goad for horses.

*ḥalaṅga*—large shield ; the smaller is the *ḥalasa* or *ḥaliha* ; the shields ‘ are among the earliest defensive armour. Stone carvings at Anuradhapura show heart-shaped as well as circular bucklers. A large shield standing nearly as high as the owner’s shoulder appears on a fifteenth century stone slab from Horana. In shields the number and the relative positions of the handles differ. In some there is only one, others possess two sets, either parallel to each other or at an angle. At times there is a pad on which the arm rests, and the handles might pass completely through and be rivetted with copper rivets on the external surface ’ (Deraniyagala).

*ḥattiram*—an arrow according to the Tirukkurrāḷattala Purānam (II. 39).

*suraga*—?

*tōmara*—see n. on *konta* ; Vesaturu-dā-sanne explains *tōmara* as *aḍa yaṭi* (p. 117).

The Pjv (174) mentions the following :

*ēkadhārā*—S. *dāra* means a sharp edge ; a variety of weapon with a sharp edge or blade ? cp. *dāra kaḍu* (above).

*dvidhārā*—double edged or bladed weapon ?

*kamṣana*—Skt. *kamṣana*, swinging, shaking, a kind of weapon (MW) ; probably a weapon that is swung at an object ; cp. *karṣaṇa*, a dart thrown by the hand like the *tōmara* (Chakravarti, p. 168).

*kaṇaya*—a sort of spear or lance ; cp. T. *kaṇaiyam*, club ; also T. *kaṇai*, arrow (MTL) ; ‘ a metallic rod both ends of which are triangular ; is held in the middle and is 20, 22 24 inches long ’ (Chakravarti, p. 168).

*keṭēri*—axe, mattock ; *keṭēriyen ṣalā* (Pjv 526), having rend or split with the mattock ; ‘ Various modifications of the *keṭēriya* exist, some bifurcated weapons, resembling the Indian Khond or Gond ones, others possessing a crescent head with the cutting edge along the concave margin and a spike at the back of the “ head ”, while others are only feebly crescentic with a concave edge instead of the usual convex one ’ (Deraniyagala).

*muguru*—clubs or maces ; Skt. *mudgarā*, any hammer-like weapon or implement, a hammer, mallet (MW) ; the Daṁbadeṇi-asna refers to some varieties of *muguru* : *siṅurās muguru* (also SdhRv 144), four sided (faced) clubs ; *aṭās muguru* eight sided (faced), octagonal clubs ; *tunās muguru*, three sided (faced) clubs ; ‘ Sukra (ch. IV, section vii, I. 424) refers to it (mace) as octagonal (*aṣṭāśra*) in shape . . . It may be of three shapes, viz., *sthūlāgrā* (pear-shaped), *caturaśrā* (quadrilateral) and *tālamūlākṛti* (shaped like the root of palmyra)’ (see Chakravarti, p. 169). Reference is also made to round maces a hand in circumference (see Oppert, p. 21) ; *ṣatās muguru* ? the reading may even be *ṣasās*, pentagonal ; *loho muguru*, metal clubs ; *miṇi bāṅdi muguru*, gem-set clubs ; *ridī muguru*, silver clubs ; *dāra muguru*, sharp-edged clubs, see n. on *dāra kaḍu* ; Clubs ‘ are amongst the most primitive of

human weapons and were first made of wood, which were later studded with stone flakes, spikes or metal points, until eventually the wood was completely replaced by metal. The Sinhala name is *muggara* or *mugura*, and the early chapters of the Mahāvamsa frequently mention the fact that the regiment of club-bearers consisted of unusually powerful men. The usual iron mace is the *yakkadava* (*yagadāva*), a type of weapon fancied by Gajabāhu's giant warrior Nila' (Deraniyagala). Another variety of the club mentioned is the *valataḍi* (Daṁbadeṇi-asna, cp. T. *valai-taḍi*, *valai* to bend, *taḍi*, hew down, cut off, kill, destroy, also staff, rod, club, cudgel, hence *valai taḍi* is a curved cudgel used as a weapon (MTL) ; cp. S. *taḍi bānava*, beat, hammer, clout ; Oppert speaks of *vala taḍi* as a variety of the boomerang (*āstara*) : ' When thrown a whirling motion is imparted to the weapon which causes it to return to the place from which it was thrown ' (Oppert, p. 19).

*soṭiya*—(Pjv 596) ; *hella*, spear, javelin (Carter). The Pjv states that the *soṭiya* was tied to the thigh. It must hence be a sort of dagger and not a spear or javelin as made out by Carter.

The Pjv also mentions a group of five weapons, *pañcāyudha* (84, 385) : *dunu*, *muguru*, *kaḍu*, *siri*, *aḍa yaṭi*, Revata Thēra gives the following five : *dunu*, *muguru*, *paṭkohol* (lance), *pārā valalu*, quoit with spikes or a serrate perimeter (Deraniyagala), and *aḍa yaṭi*. The MV states that Vijaya was armed with the five weapons (7. 16). Gajabāhu's soldiers and king Dāṭhāpabhuti were also armed with the five kinds of weapons (CV 70. 229 ; 41. 48). Clough gives the five as sword, bow, battle-axe, spear and shield. The *pañcāyudha* are well known to the Sinhalese. The figures of the five weapons are embossed on gold discs which are worn as ornaments (specially by children) as a safeguard against evil.

Deraniyagala in his article on ' Sinhala Weapons and Armour ' gives an interesting account of the various weapons and the uses to which they were put, and also the various beliefs connected with some of them. His general remarks are also of interest : ' The study of Sinhala weapons ', he says, ' reveals North Indian, South Indian, and Arab influences, and it is interesting to note the existence of some kindred weapons in such remote areas as the Malayan

archipelago and Australia. The extensively artistic decoration, which is essentially circinate scroll-work, and the fact that it reaches its highest development as fretwork, which reduces weight without sacrificing the strength of a weapon, are noteworthy. To the casual observer some parts of ornamentation appear meaningless, but unless the efficiency of a weapon was enhanced thereby, the artisan seldom employed superfluous ornamental projections' (J.R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XXXV, No. 95, pt. 3, p. 30).

Coming to actual fighting, we see the CV describing the battle of the Sīhalas with Candrabhānu, in the 13th century, in the following manner: 'The fearful Rāhu, namely Virabāhu, with his terrible appearance completely destroyed Candrabhānu in the fields of heaven, namely battle. He placed his heroic Sīhala soldiers here and there and began to open fight with the Jāvaka warriors. The good Sīhala warriors, sure in aim, the archers, shattered in pieces with their sharply pointed arrows, in the battle the countless number of arrows whizzing against them with their poisoned tips, which were shot swiftly one after the other by the Jāvaka soldiers from a machine' (CV 83. 42). Codrington observes that temporary fortresses played a great part in the wars of the 12th century. 'Such a stronghold consisted of a stockade "not to be shaken by elephants"', furnished with a gate and surrounded by a ditch strewn with thorns; the approaches through the surrounding forest were blocked by barricades of trees. In one instance a gang of housebreakers armed with sharp-edged deer-horns was dispatched to effect an entry into a fort of this kind. In a stronghold of exceptional strength, described at length in the *Mahāvamsa*, a central tower of four stories was surrounded by two concentric stockades, between which lay a ditch twenty to thirty cubits wide, strewn with thorns and spikes. This ditch was some 700 feet round. Beyond the outer stockade lay another similar ditch, and beyond this a row of spikes and a thorn-fence with a deeper ditch outside. The whole was surrounded by an open space cleared in the forest. The approaches were defended by concealed pits dug in the paths, commanded by archers in ambush. In the attack on this fortress we read of stones hurled from engines, of reeds fired and thrown among the enemy, and of fire-darts. Permanent fortifications were found only in the case of cities. At Poḷonnaruva in the 12th century and at Kūruṅāgala and Vātagiri in the 13th, we

hear of ramparts, watch-towers, gates and gate-houses' (*A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 70).

There is not the least doubt that such fortresses existed in the 13th century, and the SdhRv refers to such when it says: ' *yōdayek saṭan bima balakoṭuvak koṭa gena saturan hā saṭankarannē* ' (284).

Siege-warfare also seems to have been practised. The aggressor would besiege a city and would call for surrender or battle. An inscription of the 12th century also mentions such demands. 'There he dispatched heralds and champions to demand single combats and army-contests, and prepared for war' (EZ 2. 3. 119). Army encampments are also referred to, e.g.: ' *avut nuvara samīpayehi kaṇḍavuru bāndagena hiṇḍa rajjuruvaṇṭā kiyā evannāhu rājjaya hō deva nohot apa hā samaga saṭan hō karava* ', Having set up an encampment near the city, he sent messengers demanding their surrender or asking for battle (SdhIk 99). The Bōpiṭiya slab-inscription of Kalyāṇavatī refers to the fact that her strong hold (*kaṇḍavura*) was broken up through the Tamil insurrection (EZ 2. 4. 192). Cunning and strategy were largely practised; for example, the MV tells of a cunningly planned battle of Duṭugāmuṇu, when parasol-bearers and figures of a king were placed elsewhere to deceive the foe while actually the monarch himself took his place in the innermost body of the troops (MV 25. 56). The use of a martial drum is also mentioned in the SdhRv (738). It is likely that the commencement of the battle was announced by the beating of a drum (*saṭan bera*). When a battle was won, conches of victory (*jaya sak*) were blown. The CV speaks of such drums, trumpets and conches during celebrations of victory. Various honours and gifts were bestowed on warriors who showed great valour in battle. For this purpose, such warriors were presented to the king, perhaps at an assembly or congregation held for this: ' *saṭan jayagat kenekun rajadaruvaṇṭa pāṇṭa gena yannāsē* ' (SdhRv 432). The army in general also might be rewarded when triumphant in battle: ' *saturan kavara lesin vuvat sādihā lū senaṅgaṭa prasāda devaṇṭa vuva mānava* ' (SdhRv 241). One 13th century rock-inscription at Koṭṭangē proves this beyond doubt when it states that a *paṃuṇu* land was given for valour shown in the disposing of the Cōlas: 'To this (village) Kalama, granted as a *paṃuṇu* (to exist so long as) the sun and moon

endure, by His Majesty, the Emperor Sirisaṅgabō Lokeśvarabāhu, who is descended in unbroken succession from the lineage of the illustrious Mahā Sammata and who is like unto an adornment of the Kalinga dynasty, to Loke Arakmenā, for the valour shown in disposing of the Cōḷas ' (EZ 4. 2. 88).



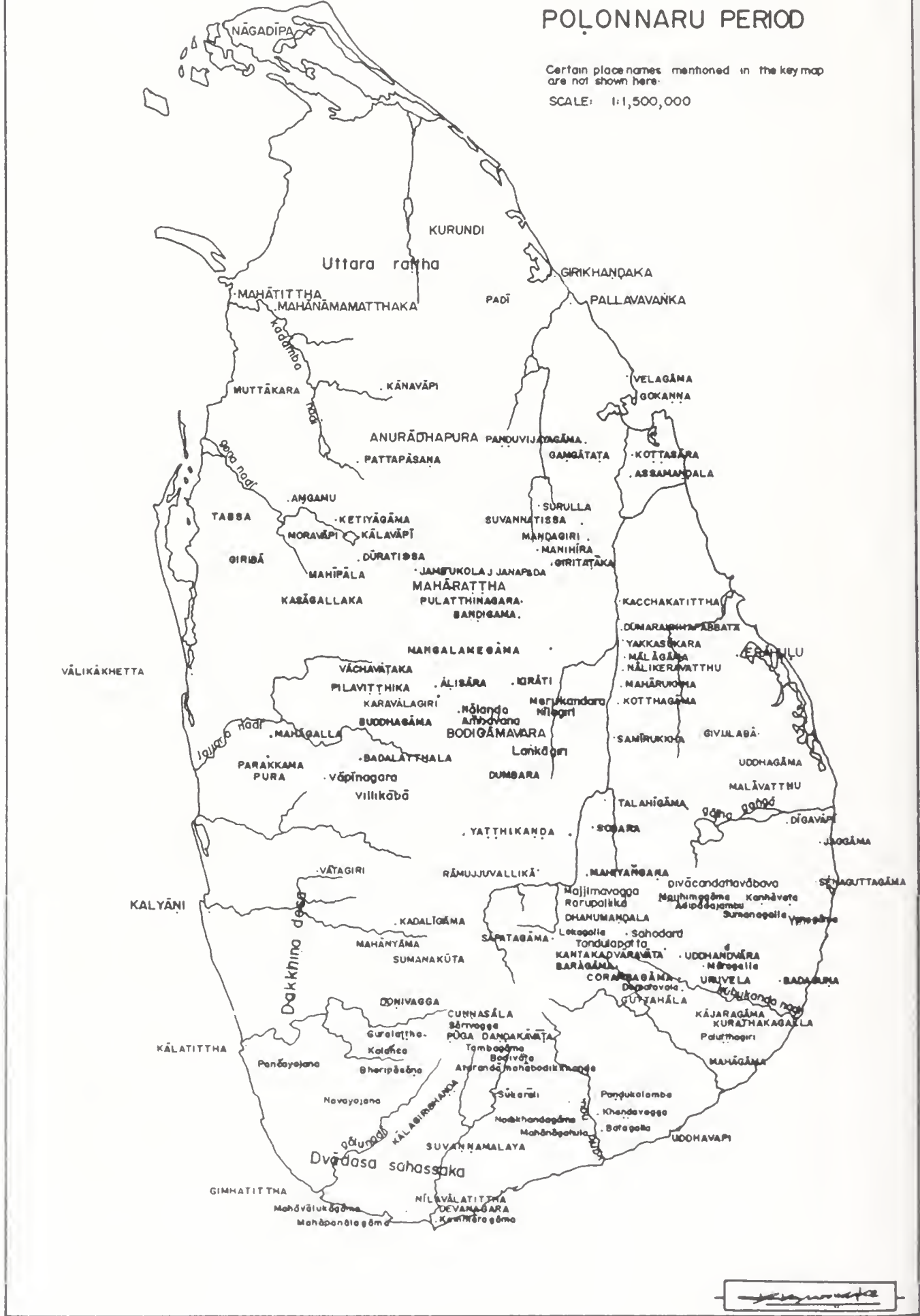


PART II

RELIGIOUS

# CEYLON POŁONNARU PERIOD

Certain placenames mentioned in the keymap are not shown here  
SCALE: 1:1,500,000



## CHAPTER VIII

### RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS CULTS

We now enter into an examination of the religious beliefs which were no doubt the dominant influence of the day. The philosophical material relating to Buddhism at hand is vast ; but we do not propose to discuss this, as it has already been dealt with by various students of Buddhism. Our attempt is to get a glimpse of the popular mind and the practices and beliefs of the day. The books of the period are mainly religious. For example, the SdhRv can be termed an exposition of the theory of *karma*, cause and effect. It deals with stories which show the working of *karma*, that good deeds, words and thoughts are conducive to good results, while evil thoughts, words and deeds are forerunners of evil consequences. At the end of every story, the people are admonished to do good and refrain from evil. *Dāna* is the topic mainly dealt with ; but *sīla* is not lost sight of. *Dāna* alone cannot lead to final emancipation or attainment of *Nirvāṇa*, without the practice of *sīla*. Hence the people are advised to practise at least the five precepts (*pañsil*) in their everyday life and the eight and ten precepts (*aṭṭa* and *dasa sil*) according to their convenience. The writer's description of *dāna* and *sīla* will give us an insight into the entire work. ' *Dāna* is a noble cause of divine and other happiness. As it is a support for all prosperity, it is like a kinsman unto all beings. It rescues those in adversity. . . It will stand in good stead as a sufficing condition for attainment and will lead one to the desired attainment of one of the three *bōdhis* (enlightenments) '. Having thus laid down the good results of *dāna*, he further admonishes one to put on the armour of *sīla* : ' One should not be merely satisfied with the practice of *dāna* ; but should also practise at least the five precepts. *Sīla* is the foundation for material as well as spiritual good. Whatever ornaments one may wear, there is no ornament like *sīla* . . . If there be a ladder to ascend to the portals of heaven, it is the ladder of *sīla*. *Sīla* is a mansion unto the aspirants to *Nirvāṇa* ' (SdhRv 29).

Most of the tales in the book are similar to the *Jātaka* tales, and there is no doubt they wielded great influence, as did the *Jātakas*, in moulding the character of the people. The constant references to the

*Jātakas* in the literary works also indicate that the people of that day were quite familiar with the *Jātaka* tales themselves. The national character was the result of a union of thought and behaviour that was brought about by the overwhelming influence of the Buddhist religion. Hence we may say that the roots of our culture lay in religious principles. The whole society was knit together by this bond of religion, which exercised its control over all spheres of life, whether political, economic or social. The background of all these was Buddhism. The lives of kings, as we saw earlier, were moulded according to religious principles. The kings were enjoined to practise all virtues recognised by the religion. They were above all the supreme protectors of the Faith, which was the religion of the State. The king, being the greatest champion of the religion, did all within his power to maintain it as a living force in the lives of his people. The influence of the *Saṅgha* in matters of State has already been referred to earlier. We thus see that our culture was determined by the religion which played the greatest part in the daily lives of the people.

The considerable influences that other religious systems, such as Hinduism, wielded in the island have already been discussed in the Introduction. We also saw how Buddhism adjusted itself from time to time to changing circumstances or outside influences. The centuries prior to the 13th brought the island much into contact with Hinduism and Mahāyānism, and the Thēravādins were compelled to adapt themselves and their religion to suit the new impacts. This accounts for the entrance of Hindu and Mahāyāna ideals into the fold of the Thēravāda (Hīnayāna Buddhism), which was practised in the island. We shall now go on to study the popular religious beliefs and practices of this time.

The cults of Hinduism that wielded a considerable influence on the inhabitants of this island must have been practised and preached by people who had come from different parts of India. Whether they had any real converts, it is difficult to surmise; but no doubt the people adopted many Hindu and Brahmanic rites and ceremonies, and included them in their own Faith. The political history shows that the South Indians, headed by Māgha, spared no pains to establish their religion. The damage done by him to the cause of Buddhism has already been referred to in the Introduction. The influence of their religion certainly lingered through the ages that followed, and we hear of heretical sects and their practices taking

root in the island. The CV says: 'The monarch (Māgha) forced the people to adopt a false faith and he brought great confusion into the four sharply divided castes' (80.75). The Chronicles also often refer to the Hindu cults, beliefs and practices that were followed in Ceylon, and to the various kings who practised them side by side with their own religion or as a part and parcel of the latter. The presence of a *purōhita* itself shows to what an extent the kings indulged in Brāhmanic rites. The literature of the period refers copiously to Hindu gods, brahmins, heretics, ascetics, *Vēdas* and sacrifices. These references are really in connexion with Indian settings; but here and there the writers show their personal acquaintance with these practices, and were no doubt keenly aware of the consequences that followed them. Perhaps these writers, such as Dhammasēna and Buddhaputta, while inculcating the fundamentals of Buddhism, also sought to popularise the doctrine with a view to checking the devastating influence of other faiths. This evidence that there were adherents of other faiths in the island is corroborated by testimony from the Chronicles and other books of later periods, such as the Sdhk. That these writers were also greatly conscious of the ruin that sham ascetics and monks brought upon the cause of religion, as well as on themselves, is shown by the derogatory and spiteful references to them: '*siṃha sam peravi kānavilunṭa siṃha taram nāttā sē yahapat taram nātāt lābhaya nisā sasun vāda mahanava māṇik tibiyadī tirivāna poḍi gannā sē tama tamangē labdhi pirimasamin karana sāsana vilōpaya dāka*', having seen the harm done to the cause of religion by monks who had entered the Order for personal gain . . . (SdhRv 64); '*tavus vesin dala maṇḍulu valkalā ādiya ātiva mahanava*', ordaining themselves like ascetics in turban and bark-garments (ibid. 477); '*Vēda igēṇa sūtra hū karalā sak hāragena hōma koṭa āvidim pamaṇakata pāvati bāvahara seyin bamuṇuya kiyat mut*', termed brahmins according to usage merely on account of their wandering about having learned the *Vēdas* and wearing the sacrificial cord and carrying the conch . . . (ibid. 912); '*raṅga maṇḍaleka purāmāṭṭu pānā kenekunsē kabal gat at ātiva raknā tapasak nātāt udara pōṣyaya nisā dora dora' siṭa siṅgat*', begging from door to door, shell in hand, for their bellies' sake like dancers on a stage . . . (Sdhk 15). The last reference to ascetics who joined the fold for their bellies' sake and went about begging clad in the garb of ascetics like actors on a stage, levels a biting attack and shows utter contempt for such hypocrites and their practices.

The books also refer to *hōma* as well as other sacrifices that were held on various occasions. It is quite likely that some of these practices were followed during these times. We have definite evidence of a king who held a *hōma* sacrifice in the 12th century. He was Vikramabāhu II, who performed not only various Buddhist rites, but also Hindu ceremonies, to make sure that everything was done to gain a son. 'Rites like the *hōma* sacrifice and others held to be salutary, he had performed by the house-priest and other brāhmaṇas versed in the *Vēda* and the *Vēdāṅgas*' (CV 62.33). The CV also refers to Vēdic rites performed by Gajabāhu (CV 64 15). These examples testify not only to the fact that these were observed in Ceylon, but also to the fact that brahmins lived in very close association with the court circles. The SdhRv also refers to certain other sacrifices (*biliyam*) (805); but it is not clear what actually they were. In one place it mentions a sacrifice or offering of blood of the neck: '*boṭuve leyen topaṭa biliyam keremi*'; in another of flesh and blood: '*masin hā leheyen*' (ibid. 350). It may be noted in this connexion that even to-day the villagers resort to such forms of offerings in their devil-dancing ceremonies, when they are supposed to sacrifice a fowl, and cheat a devil or evil spirit with a man presumed to be dead. The pretended offering of blood to-day, may be a survival of the actual sacrifice of animals at that time.

The literary sources of the later centuries prove the presence of other religious sects, and also show that the *Vēdas* were studied in the island. It is quite likely that the *Vēdas* were well known and were studied even during this time; for their study could not have been a later innovation in the educational system of the island. We hear much about the brahmanical practices during the time of Rāhula; and the Girā-sandēśa in giving an account of studies conducted at the Vijayabā-piriveṇa tells us that the *Vēdas* were also studied:

*dāpuṇu sitin iṇda kara vehera pūraṇa*  
*bamuṇu rāseki vedarut karana dāraṇa*

(Girā-sandēśa ed. D. Paññasara, v. 214). This makes it clear that the educational authorities at this time had to cater for a set of brahmins, who no doubt lived in the island. These brahmins may not have been the only ones who studied the *Vēdas*, for it is very likely that others also took to them.

Another work, the Buduguṇālaṃkāraya, affords us much evidence regarding the extent of the influence of these heretical faiths. The

author of this work denounces vehemently not only such non-Buddhistic practices, but also the *nigaṇṭhas*. Vīdāgama Thēra has levelled the most scathing attacks on them. The reader is asked to give up entirely those wicked *nigaṇṭhas*, who had entered the fold for their bellies' sake; but the writer also shows due regard to the noble brāhmaṇas, when he advises the people to work for the welfare of the world with the help of the brāhmaṇas well versed in the *Vēdas*. He also denounces the Vēdic *yāga* practices as utterly useless; it is, according to him, sowing pebbles in the hope of reaping *suvañḍāl* paddy. Biting satire is seen further when he compares the brahmins who run to the sacrificial feast, to the fish that rush at the bait thrown to them (vv. 134, 158, 536).

The inscriptions too refer to brahmins. We have already seen that a king was pleased to grant some lands to two brahmins for the valuable services rendered to him (EZ 3.1.64). A Tamil slab-inscription from Pālamottai records the donations to the god Śiva, in memory of her husband, by a brahmin lady Nāgaiccāni (EZ 4.4. 195). In addition to all this evidence to show that other faiths held firm ground in the island, we also have direct evidence from the Sdhk, which relates the story of a Sivaite *paribbājaka* of the province of Rōhaṇa. We shall have occasion to refer to this story later.

There was yet another influence to be reckoned with, that of Mahāyānism. Though the SdhRv does not betray any such tendency, yet the Pjv shows instances of the Mahāyānic influence that was felt at this time. The first chapter shows the minister Dēva-Patirāja admonishing Parākramabāhu to aspire to Buddhahood: '*himi pinvat rajakhu budubava pātīmehi upēkṣā vanu noyedeysi. Buduvannaṭa vahā prārthanā kaḷa mānava*', A noble wise king like you should not show indifference to the ideal of Buddhahood. You should soon aspire to be a Buddha (Pjv 12).

Paranavitana gives us an account of the influence and the spread of Mahāyāna in Ceylon, and refers to epigraphical evidence, which establishes its prevalence. He speaks of an inscription containing invocations to Tārā and Avalōkitēśvara, representing advanced stages of the Tantric cult and affording evidence that Mahāyāna gods and goddesses were objects of popular worship. Images of Avalōkitēśvara and Vajrapāṇi belonging to the 9th century have been found. He also refers to Abhayagiri sects such as Uttaramūla and

Mahānetraprasāda-mūla, that flourished till the advent of the Portuguese. Thus he has established the existence of Mahāyāna Buddhism up to quite modern times (*Ceylon Journal of Science*, Vol. II, Section G).

The SdhRv throws out a hint which may be construed to show this influence. The Pāli phrase '*tumhākaṃ mayā ēsa dinnō*' is rendered in Sinhālese as '*mā buduvaṇṭa noṇatata tela daruvan nuṃbavahansēṭa dan demi*', I offer this child unto you even though I do not aspire to Buddhahood. This may be a passing reference to the *Bōdhisattva* cult then in existence.

Reference should also be made to Nātha worship recorded in the rock-inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu V. The object of it is to register a donation of lands to god Nātha of Senkaḍagala and the god of the *nā* tree of unspecified location. In the introductory remarks to this inscription, Parānavitana observes that 'long before the city (Kandy) gained political importance, it enjoyed a reputation as a seat of the god Nātha, whose temple is still one of the most important among the many shrines at the place. I have elsewhere proved that the god Nātha is the same as the Mahāyāna Bōdhisattva Avalōkitēśvara, to whom at one time most of the Buddhist world owed allegiance and who still commands the veneration of millions of devotees in China, Japan, Tibet and Nepal' (EZ 4.6.307). The MV refers to Ilanāga as being won to the faith in the Bōdhisattva (35.30). The prevalence of the worship of Sumana, who is identified by Parānavitana with a principal Mahāyāna Bōdhisattva, is additional evidence.

### Religious Cults

The religious cults may be examined here in a little more detail. Primitive religion has often been the attitude of man towards the natural forces and phenomena of the universe, which he has looked upon as the manifestation of some higher or supernatural element or Being. These, in his opinion, controlled the whole universe. With all its power and influence Buddhism failed in its attempt to eradicate this notion. The result was that it embraced within its fold these beliefs, which in time became so closely interwoven with it as to be part and parcel of it. Buddhism was so much of a philosophy that it had nothing concrete to offer to the common man, who, as a result, grasped the various non-Buddhistic beliefs and practices from Hinduism and Brāhmanism, which afforded



tangible forms of worship. Ultimately Buddhism itself adopted such forms. Hence the temples, *dāgābas*, etc. As tolerance was one of its fundamentals, it permitted these heretical practices to go on side by side, and Hindu gods and Buddhist images were worshipped within the same portals. The theory of *karma* was perhaps too abstract for the ordinary man. Hence he grasped the Hindu gods and practices that satisfied his curiosity and answered his essential needs. For refuge in times of adversity, as a cure for all ills, men prayed to the gods who, they believed, were omnipresent in every part of the universe. These primitive practices have gone on from ages past and have persisted up to the present day. These agencies which were worshipped fall into two categories, the benevolent and the malevolent. To the former belong the gods and *devatās*, and to the latter, the *yakkhas*, *pisācas* and other evil spirits. Before we go on to deal with cults connected with the latter, one or two important cults connected with gods have to be examined.

Most important of these were Śiva and Viṣṇu cults, which were and are still widespread. In many a Sinhalese home one may see Viṣṇu being worshipped, with other planetary gods such as *Śani* (Saturn) who is considered dangerous. Literary works refer to these gods and the cults connected with them. The SdhRv admonishes the people to give up faith in Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara and take refuge in the Triple Gem: '*sujanayan visin viṣṇu mahēśvarādi bhakti nātiva tunuruvanhi ma bhakti ātiva*' (516). The SdhIk affords definite evidence regarding the prevalence of these cults in Ceylon, and also gives some details of them. The Paṇḍaraṅga story in this book relates the doings of some followers of Iśvara at Māgama in Rōhaṇa. The story relates that the ministers living in this province wanted to give alms, when a certain Śaiva praised the virtues of a *paribbājaka* who lived in the cemetery. He described him thus: 'Iśvara is the creator of the whole world. Any good or evil that may befall man is due to him. There lives in the cemetery, a follower of his. He applies ash on his body. His mouth is covered with his moustache and his beard covers his chest. He wears a turban and is dressed in a dirty rag . . . When the people went to see him with alms they found that he had mis-conducted himself with a woman the previous night and had drunk toddy, and at this time he was found fishing' (SdhIk ed. B. Saddhatissa, p. 689). The Pjv refers to the worship of the Śiva *liṅga*: '*pudava . . . śiva liṅga deviyān hō*' (342). The KSiḷ mentions that women could

attain heavenly bliss without worshipping gods, if they are devoted to their husbands (v. 535). Reference may here be made again to the Tamil slab-inscription of Pālamottai, which records a donation to Śiva in the temple named Ten-Kailāsam (southern Kailāsam) at Kantalai.

The story connected with Rājasimha and related in the CV, not only indicates that the cult of Śiva was practised up to his time ; but also shows clearly what conditions led men to embrace such faiths. ' But one day the King, after he had brought a gift of alms, asked the Grand Thēras full of anxiety : " How can I undo the crime of my father's murder ? " . Then the wise Thēras expounded him the doctrine, but could not win over the wicked mind of this fool. They spake : " To undo the committed crime is impossible " . Full of fury like some terrible poisonous snake which had been struck with a stick, he asked the adherents of Śiva. The answer they gave him that it was possible, he received like ambrosia, smeared his body with ash and adopted the religion of Śiva ' (CV 93.6). Certain archaeological discoveries and ruins point to the prevalence of this cult prior to the 13th century. We refer to the Śiva-dēvalē number 1 at Poḷonnaruva, which has been assigned to the 12th century by Fergusson (*History of India and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. 1, p. 248). We also have a Śiva-dēvalē number 2, dated in the reign of a Tamil king of the Cōḷa dynasty, who ruled in South India A.D. 1070-1073. It is to the period of the conquest of Ceylon by the Cōḷas that these Hindu temples and other bronzes belong. ' The images ', says Sir P. Arunachalam, ' are those of Śiva, his consort Pārvatī, the bull Nandi, the Sun-God, etc. The most important of the bronzes discovered is that of the dancing Śiva, Naṭa-Rāja ' (*Poḷonnaruva Bronzes and Śiva worship and Symbolism* J.R.A.S. C.B. XXIV, No. 68, pt. 2). In this connexion we may also draw attention to the references in the later Sandēśas, which describe many *dēvalēs* and *kōvilas* dedicated to various forms of Śiva, such as Sudarśana and Bhairava. ' The author of Tisara-sandēśa says that this god Sudarśana is constantly honoured and worshipped, that he increases the joy in the hearts of people and that he is engaged in ruling the universe ' (N. R. Ratnaike, *Glimpses of the Social, Religious, Economic and Political conditions of Ceylon from the Sandēśas*, pp. 46-47). The Bhairava-kōvila was situated at Sītāvaka. Reference should also be made to the temple of Umā, consort of Śiva (*ibid.*).

## Viṣṇu Cult

Though we have not as much evidence to establish the prevalence of Viṣṇu-worship, we see that it existed in Ceylon, though perhaps it was not as widespread as the cult of Śiva. Adikaram is of opinion that the cults of many Hindu gods and goddesses, such as Viṣṇu, Kārttikeya, Nātha and Pattini, which cult has persisted up to the present day, came to Ceylon with the Cōḷans (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 90).

In connection with the cult of Viṣṇu, we may mention the confusion that arose between Upulvan and Viṣṇu. Parānavitana states that Upulvan, the most popular of the local gods, is now considered to be the same as Viṣṇu and that he is believed to be one of the future Buddhas. He also suggests that Upulvan may be a local name for Avalōkitēśvara\* (*Mahāyānism in Ceylon*, Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G, Vol. 2, pt. I, pp. 66, 67). Ratnaïke gives an account of Upulvan: 'Upulvan seems to have been the most popular of the Buddhist gods of the time. Several Sandēśas, the Mayūra Kōkila, Parevi and Tisara, are addressed to him. The abode of the god is described as being at Devi-nuvara (Dondra). The Parevi speaks of him as protecting the Buddhist religion in Ceylon, accepting the words of the Buddha just before his *parinibbāna*. Kōkila and Mayūra refer to him as Kihirāli Upulvan, probably in reference to the traditional story of his image being made of *kadira* wood. That Upulvan was distinct from Viṣṇu at this period can be proved from references both in the Kōkila and Tisara-sandēśa . . . The confusion about these two gods seems to have come at a later period, probably during the time when Viṣṇu worship spread far and wide in South India, with the result that the original temples built to the sacred memory of Uppalavaṇṇa are today identified as those of Viṣṇu' (*Glimpses of the Social . . . Conditions in Ceylon from the Sandēśas*, p. 43). It may be noted that the *dēvālē* (near the Buddhist temple) at Dondra is now considered a Viṣṇu *dēvālē*.

We learn from the CV that during Parākramabāhu II's time, his nephew Viṛabāhu betook himself to Dēvaṇagara, worshipped there the Lotus-hued god and celebrated for him a divine sacrifice (CV 83. 49). Geiger in a note to this adds: ' "Blue-coloured" is the name of Viṣṇu. Here for the first time we have a notice of the

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\* He now identifies Upulvan with Varuṇa (*The Shrine of Upulvan at Devundara*, pp. 44, 46, etc.).

shrine of Viṣṇu celebrated in the middle ages. According to tradition it was built in A.D. 760. It was plundered and destroyed by the Portuguese in 1588. It is significant that Vīrabāhu offered his sacrifice of victory in a Hindu sanctuary. At the same time, however, he builds a *pariveṇa* for the Buddhist Order, thus putting his attitude towards their parity beyond doubt. Even today a Hindu *dēvālaya* and a Buddhist *vihāra* stand side by side in Dondra' (CV pt. 2, p. 152, n. 3). The CV again tells us that this *dēvālē* was repaired by Parākramabāhu II: 'Then when the monarch learned that in the sacred town of Dēvanagara which was a mine of meritorious work, the shrine long since erected to the lotus-hued god, the King of the gods, had now fallen into decay, he betook himself to the superb town and in rebuilding the dwelling of the King of the gods, like to the heavenly mansion of the King of the gods, he made of it an abode of all riches . . . Hereupon he determined to celebrate every year in the town, an Āsāḥī (month of June-July) festival for the god' (CV 85. 85). It is perhaps this festival that is carried on annually to this day. This reference from the CV is ample evidence to show that the cult was much followed during the reign of Parākramabāhu II. Parākramabāhu IV is said to have built a temple to the lotus-hued King of the gods, where he placed a statue of the god and celebrated a sacrificial festival, in the district of Māyādhanu (now Sītāvaka) (CV 90. 100). What is noteworthy here is that Geiger has identified the god, referred to in the above passages, with Viṣṇu, no doubt basing his conclusions on colour (CV pt. 2, p. 152, n. 3). This view does not seem to be correct, for the Pāli stanzas refer to the god as Uppalavaṇṇa, e.g., *Dēvass' uppalavaṇṇassa dēvarājassa mandiraṃ* (CV 85. 85).

The epithet *dēvarājassa* is misinterpreted by Geiger in the above renderings, to mean King of the gods. This no doubt is the literal sense; but here the term seems to be merely honorific, and it therefore only means noble god. We see this in the usage of even today, where gods of whatever calibre are styled *diviyarājayō*: e.g., *siyalu diviya rājayō pin ganitvā* (may all gods partake of this merit) and *sūrya divya rājayō* (Sun-god). We do not normally use the epithet 'King of the gods' when we refer to Viṣṇu. This is an epithet of Śakra. Therefore we may say that the references in the CV are to Upulvan, and not to Viṣṇu. The traditional story that Upulvan was charged with the protection of the island helps us in arriving at this decision. Kumaranatunga adduces further proof

to show that there were two gods Viṣṇu and Upulvan. He points to Candravatī, the consort, and Dhanu, the son of Upulvan, mentioned in the Parevi-sandēśa (vv. 205-6) and asks the question whether Viṣṇu had a wife by this name or such a son. He also quotes from the Laṅkātilaka rock-inscription which mentions Viṣṇu and Upulvan as two gods (*Tisara-sandēśa-dīpaniya*, p. 76). The Sdhk records that Vijaya was protected by Upulvan who had had orders from Śakra to guard the island of Laṅkā in accordance with the wishes of the Buddha (395; see also MV 7. 5). The Mayūra-sandēśa refers to the traditional story of Śakra's order to Upulvan to be the guardian of the island :

*devrada laka rakinuva kaḷa niyōvinē*  
*devrada himi devnuvaraṭa vaḍina dinē.*

In the *sannaya* to this verse, Dipankara Thēra identifies *devrada himi* with Viṣṇu, but it is generally accepted that it was Upulvan who was charged with this responsibility, as the story appears in the other sources. In the *sannaya* to verse 158 of the same Sandēśa, *deviṅdu* has again been identified with Viṣṇu (*Mayūra*, ed. V. Dipankara, v. 113, pp. 48, 68).

It is quite likely that interpretations of this nature gave rise to the existing confusion. If, on the other hand, the confusion had already arisen, then these interpretations doubtless made the confusion worse confounded.

Upulvan being considered the guardian of the island, it is likely that Vīrabāhu held his sacrificial festival after victory at the Upulvan-dēvālē and not at a Viṣṇu-dēvālē, as supposed by Geiger. Therefore, we may with the foregoing evidence surmise that the *dēvālē* at Dondra was dedicated to Upulvan during the 13th century.

The prevalence of the cults of Viṣṇu and Śiva is proved beyond doubt by two references in the SdhRv. The author, in rendering the Pāli sentence ' *antōdēvatā namassitabbā* ' in the Visākhā story, says: ' *ātulata deviyō vānda yuttāhayi kivūya. viṣṇu īśvarādī devīyan laṅkoṭa tabā ganṭat piḷivanda?* ', You have said that ' inside gods ' should be worshipped. What, is it possible to have Īśvara and Viṣṇu by ' one's side ' ? (344); and again in translating the Pāli ' *ēkaccē bali-kammēna āyācanāya maṅgala-kiriyāyāti* ', he says: ' *samahara kenek biliyam kaḷa kala sanhiṅdeyi kivūya, samahara kenek dēvatā ārūdhanāven sanhiṅdeyi kivūya, samahara kenek viṣṇu īśvarādīnta pūjā kaḷa kala sanhiṅdeyi kivūya* ', Some said that the evil

could be destroyed by sacrifices, some that it could be by propitiating gods, others that it could be by paying homage to Viṣṇu and Īśvara, etc. (SdhRv 805). We may say that in the rendering of these statements the writer has been alive to his environment.

One more point, even though it may confuse the present issue further, must be raised here. We have already shown that the confusion between Viṣṇu and Upulvan may have been due to colour, as they are both painted blue. We would here, like to hazard the question whether it was possible that Kṛṣṇa was worshipped in the form of Upulvan, or was it even Rāma, who was thus worshipped after his alleged victory over Rāvaṇa? Both Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are painted black or blue, and are considered to be incarnations (*avatāras*) of Viṣṇu (Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. 1, p. 119). Rāma or Rāmacandra, the ideal hero of the Hindus and the husband of Sītā, has been widely worshipped in India, and of his worship in Ceylon, we have direct and definite evidence. The Kōkila-sandēśa refers to a Rāma *kōvila* in Jaffna: ‘*sobaman ramiñdu suraniñdu babalayi epura*’ (*Kōkila*, ed. W. F. Gunawardhana, v. 255). Here the author refers to the building of the bridge to land Rāma’s army in Ceylon. This temple was no doubt put up by the Tamils, who occupied the north of the island. The question now is whether this Rāma-worship, which was known to the north, spread southwards in some form or other. Can it be in the form of Upulvan? We saw that Rāma was black or blue, and black was often confused with blue. We see this in the case of Kṛṣṇa, who, as his name itself indicates, is black; but he is often painted blue. If it was not Rāma, who was thus worshipped, could it then be Kṛṣṇa? When we consider how widespread and popular the cult of Kṛṣṇa was in India (see Gopinatha Rao, Vol. I, p. 200), it seems unlikely that it did not leave its impress on the island of Ceylon.

Such being the position, it is not unreasonable to raise the question whether Kṛṣṇa-worship was not known in Ceylon. If it was known, could it have been in the form of Upulvan? One obvious objection to this view is Upulvan’s close connexion, according to the traditions, with the Buddhist religion. As for Rāma-worship, it is quite likely that he came to be worshipped after his alleged victory over Rāvaṇa, and the people may have looked upon him as a protector.

### The Sun-god

Among the bronzes of Poḷonnaruva was an image of the Sun-god (*Poḷonnaruva Bronzes and Śiva Worship and Symbolism*, J.R.A.S. C.B., XXIV, pt. 2, No. 68, p. 220), which stands on a lotus in an erect posture with lotus in either hand. The Pjv refers to the worship of the sun in connexion with a Jātaka tale (p. 63). It is quite likely that the worship of the sun was prevalent at this time. Even today the people look upon him as a guardian, and he, besides other gods, is often requested by them to partake of the merits they acquire by the performance of meritorious deeds.

### Sumana

The worship of Sumana has persisted to this day. Paranavitana identifies him with the *yakkha* Sumana, mentioned in the *Āṭānāṭiya-sūtra*, and thinks that this *yakkha* was later elevated to the dignity of a *dēva* (*Pre-Buddhist Beliefs in Ceylon*, J.R.A.S., C.B., XXXI, p. 308). In his article on Mahāyānism in Ceylon, he has identified him with Samantabhadra, one of the eight principal *Bōdhisattvas* of the Mahāyāna, prominent in Chinese Buddhism, green in colour, and riding on an elephant. The principal seat of this cult is the Saman-dēvālē at Ratnapura. The CV attests his worship in the time of Parākramabāhu II. It states that the minister Dēva-Patirāja set up an image of Saman at Adam's Peak, at the shrine of the Foot-print: 'Dēvappatirāja agreed with "aye" and betook himself in the first place to Gaṅgāsiripura. There he had fashioned a magnificent image of Sumanadēva furnished with all the fair bodily signs and decked it out with ornaments of gold and jewels. But after that he wished to visit the Samantakūṭa. He took the image of the god (Sumana) along with him in festive procession, set forth, betook himself first to the village Bodhitaḷa, and began from here to build bridges . . . Then he betook himself to the Samantakūṭa, showed veneration to the sacred Foot-print, set up in the courtyard of the *cētiya* of the sacred Foot-print the image of the god (Sumana) and erected a *maṇḍapa* for the holy Foot-print. Round about it he had a wall built, and discerning as he was, had the *maṇḍapa* fastened with strong chains to iron pillars in this wise to secure it, and then again he sacrificed for three days to the sacred Foot-print with lamps and the like' (CV 86. 18-31). Adikaram states that Sumana is a local deity, and that according to the *Papañcasūdanī* his daughter Kāli was married to Dīghataphala, a tree-deity at Rājagaha in India (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 152). Geiger

notes that this god was the local guardian spirit of Adam's Peak (CV pt. 2, n. 7). The MV mentions Sumana in connection with a visit of the Buddha to the island: 'The Prince of Dēvas, Mahā Sumana of the Samantakūṭa mountain, who had attained to the fruit of entering into the path of Salvation, craved of him, who should be worshipped, something to worship' (MV 1. 33). The Sāvul-sandēśa tells us that he wears a crown and a pair of earrings (vv. 185, 191). Some verses are also addressed to his consort and son (vv. 200, 201).

### Other Practices

Paranavitana in his article on Pre-Buddhist beliefs in Ceylon refers to the memory at least of Brahmanic sacrifices which was preserved in Ceylon even after the introduction of Buddhism (J.R.A.S., C.B., XXXI, p. 302). The MV mentions the destruction of the temples of Brahmanic gods by Mahāsenā (37. 41). The SdhRv also speaks of various sacrifices and temples of gods (*kōvil*): 'māgē raṭa deviyan nāti kōvil sē' (331). The Sdhlk refers to a temple of a god at Anurādhapura in the time of Duṭugāmuṇu: 'Anurādhapura samīpayē pura deviya kōvil asa' (471). Mention is also made of offerings to the Fire-god. The Pjv says: 'gini deviyan hō pudava', either worship the god of fire (342). Both the SdhRv and the VismSn disapprove of this practice as not conducive to well-being; it is therefore likely that traces of this worship were found even at this time: 'varṣa satayehi yam kaḷa vahni pūjāvaka ātada eyaṭada vadā . . . utumi', It is nobler than offerings to a Fire-god for a hundred years (VismSn 819); 'havurudu siyayak mulullehi gini deviya pidū nam . . . gini deviyaṭa kaḷa pūjāven pirena kisit pinak nāti heyin . . .', Even if one were to make offerings to the Fire-god for a hundred years, no merit will accrue to him (SdhRv 515). We see the writer here denouncing these heretical practices as valueless for gaining salvation, or even heavenly bliss. Hence it is quite reasonable to conclude that these rites were practised in that age on some occasions. Reference may here be made to a practice which seems a remnant of this fire-worship. In certain parts of the island in the Southern Province, it is the practice in some homes to worship the lamp after it is lighted in the evenings. More widely prevalent is the practice of worshipping the fire that is lighted for the first time on New Year's day. Blowing with the



mouth to put out a lamp is a taboo which is widely observed today.

### Tree Worship

Commonest among other beliefs was the idea of a god or *dēvatā* inhabiting an inanimate object. The Pjv refers to gods inhabiting mountains and trees (704). It also refers to gods that live everywhere in the universe—on the tops of hills, in rocks, trees, creepers and even in *pila* (*Tephrosia purpurea*) trees and grass (419). The most important of these were the tree-gods, who according to belief had power to help the people in their needs. Tree worship was widespread, and has persisted up to the present day. The people believe that they could ask favours of a tree-god, and in return for his beneficence he was rewarded with offerings of various kinds. Hanging of banners, lighting of lamps, offering figures of gold or silver, washing with milk, are some of the modes in which the tree-gods were propitiated, and these are of every day occurrence in the island even today. It is the refuge of the gods that the people always sought—‘*deviyangē pihitayi*’ is the commonest expression that one can hear in a village. Before they undertook any new work, whatever its nature, it was the custom to invoke the blessings of gods at the very outset. This was a sort of general appeal to all gods; but appeals to particular gods or *dēvatās* were as common. A large tree was generally believed to be the abode of a powerful god. Even today in some villages one comes across banyan trees where offerings to tree-gods are made. The ground around such trees is kept clean and lamps are lit at night. The SdhRv says: ‘*mesēvū gasaka ānubhāva sampanna dēvatā kenek ātamānava*’, In a tree of this sort there must be a powerful god (27). Reference must again be made to the rock-inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu V, which records the grant of lands to Nātha and the god of the *nā* tree (*nāgasa deviyān*). ‘The god of the *nā* tree, who figures here in the company of Nātha and is a joint beneficiary with regards to the lands granted by this document, has no such respectable antecedents and he seems to be no more than one among the myriads of *dēvas*, who, according to the beliefs of Sinhalese Buddhists, haunt many a tree of remarkable size and hoary age found in the countryside. The *nā* (*Mesua ferrea*) is considered to be a tree particularly fancied by *dēvas* of this class in the selection of suitable abodes for themselves and their families’

(EZ 4.6.307). The VismSn refers to a tree-god in a *midila*\* tree at Situlpahuva, near Tissamahārāma (III, 57). In explaining the term 'cētiya rukkham' it says: 'deviyan vesetiya minisun visin pidiya yutu ruka', the tree that should be worshipped by people as an abode of a god (VismSn 192). The book also refers to ant-hills which were considered sacred and where offerings were made: 'biliyam piṇisa tum̄basa sisāla piyal', the rags that were hung around the ant-hill as offering (VismSn 165).

The story of how a certain man was helped by a mountain deity is related in the same book. A man on his way to Situlpahuva came to cross-roads, and did not know which way to proceed. Then a mountain-god showed him the right direction pointing with his hand: 'Situlpavvaṭa yannē demansandhiyakāṭa pāmiṇa mē maga dō mē maga dō hōyi sitamin siṭiyē . . . parvatayehi vasana dēvatāvek ata dik koṭa mē maga yayi . . .' (VismSn 57).

An important practice in tree-worship seems to have been the prayer for a child by the favour of a tree-deity: 'dēvatā ārādhana-yen darukenekun ladim nam yehekāyi sitā' (SdhRv 27); 'topagē ānubhāvayen daru kenekun ladim nam . . . kaḷa upakārayaṭa . . . mahat satkāra karavamiyi kiyā', If I shall have a child by your favour, I shall show you great honour as a mark of gratitude (SdhRv 27). The fulfilment of this request is also referred to (ibid., 27). It is uncertain whether this same request was made of tree-gods in the period under survey; probably it was. Today we see the same thing; but the general practice today is to ask this kind of favour of a more powerful deity, such as the god Kataragama. Thousands

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\* P. *maṇila* (*Viśuddhimagga*, P.T.S., p. 313); cp. Malayalam *manilla* (*Mimusops dissecta*, Rh., Gundert, *Malayalam-English Dic.*); see also *Index Kewensis* III, *Plantarum Phauerogamarum—Mimusops dissecta*, Buch-Ham. ex A. DC. in D.C. Prod. viii, 205 = *hexandra* = Roxb., modern *Manilkara hexandra*, Dubard—S. *palu*; also cp. T. *maṇilā-āttā* or *irāmacittā* (*rāmasītā*) (MTL), S. *anōna*, *anōda* or *ātā* (*Anona reticulata*, *squamosa*, *muricata*), custard apple. I am inclined to think that *maṇila* is either *palu* or a variety of the genus apple, e.g. S. *jūl*, *jivul*, *divul*, elephant or wood apple (*Feronia elephantum*, Rut.) — both plants are very common in the Hambantota District. P. *maṇila* has been rendered into English as rose-apple (*Viśuddhimagga* translation, Pe Maung Tin, *The Path of Purity*, pt. II, p. 360). Rose-apple is a variety of *Eugenia jambos*, S. and P. *jambu*, a tree rare or hardly grown in the district referred to. Rhys Davids leaves it untranslated (*On the Divine States*, p. 18). M. Dharmaratna in his paraphrase renders it as *midella* (VismSn III, p. 61), genus *Barringtonia*, no doubt led by the form *midila*.

flock to the shrine of this god at Kataragama, 12 miles from Tissamahārāma, many with offerings, largely figures of gold or silver, which represented the child, if a child was desired, or the person otherwise benefited.

The SdhRv makes humorous reference to female deities saying that they too give birth to children like human beings (739).

Referring to tree-worship in pre-Buddhist Ceylon, Paranavitana observes that ' worship of trees seem to have been intimately connected with that of the *yakṣas* and the cult of the *caityas*. Some of the *stūpas* mentioned in the *piṭakas* and which are said by Buddha-ghōsa to have been *yakṣa* sanctuaries, are sacred trees or groves . . . The (Bo-)tree was an object of popular worship in India before it was appropriated by the Buddhists . . . ' (J.R.A.S., C.B., XXXI, p. 318).

### Yakkha Cults

Foremost among the malevolent category of spirits were the *yakkhas*. The fear of these made the people endeavour to find ways of propitiating them and counteracting the evils caused by them—spells, charms, sorcery and magic. Paranavitana discusses the *yakkha* cults that were prevalent in pre-Buddhist Ceylon, and states that the *yakkhas* were worshipped in Ceylon in the earliest times; but during the period under survey, although they were propitiated, no adoration as such is recorded. The commonest belief in this respect was the idea of possession by a *yakkha*, and this belief seems to have been current in India from pre-Buddhistic times. The SdhIk describes Gōṭhaimbara's wife as possessed by a *yakkha*. Immediately she was possessed, she dropped the vessel of toddy that was in her hand, fell unconscious on the ground and rolled about, emitting white froth and then lay with eyes turned up: ' *ōtomō e keṇ ehi alvāgena siṭi rā oḍama bima helā visamjñava bima āta māta peralemin mukhayen sudu peṇa piṭat koṭa viruddhava peraliyāvū üs ātiva uḍa balā hottiya* ' (493). The SdhRv also describes one possessed by a *yakkha* as falling on the ground with face twisted back: ' *āṅga āviṣṭavalā nomiyana lesaṭa kara aṃbarū mūṇa piṭi kara dasāvata tabālā bima helāluva* ' (839). The usual places supposed to be haunted by these *yakkhas* were the burial grounds and forests.

### Exorcism

The remedy for all this lay in ceremonies of exorcism, which were conducted in various ways. Reference may here be made to the

Cōlan monk who is said to have been well versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of spirits and so forth (MV 36. 113). *bali* offerings, *tovil* ceremonies (devil dancing) and *pidēni* (offerings) were held to relieve a patient. These were conducted by a *yakādurā*, one versed in the art of exorcism, etc. The very terms used in the SdhRv themselves suggest that *tovil* ceremonies were probably known at the time. The terms used are : *yakādurā*, *pidēni*, *vilakku*, *kaḍaturū* and *bāli*, which are all terms used in connexion with demonology today. The writer's similes too point to his acquaintance with these activities, e.g., ' *vesa bāñda pānā ruvak men* ', like a form presented in a different guise (SdhRv 89); ' *yakāduranta lamvū pisācayaku men da* ', like a *pisāca* who had come near a sorcerer (ibid. 80). Some of the requisites necessary for ceremonies are also mentioned, viz., ' *lada pas mal hā pān numusu kiribat* ', five kinds of ' flowers ' [P. *lāja-pañcamāni pupphāni*, a cluster of ' flowers ' with *lāja*, fried or parched grain as the fifth—*sun sāl* (broken rice), *heḷa aba* (white mustard), *saman kākūlu* (jessamine buds), *ītana* (panic grass), and *lāja*, S. *lada*. These are used on occasions of religious significance, e.g. *pirit*, and on other respectful occasions today], and milk-rice (ibid. 508); sacrifices, *bali* or *pidēni*, are offerings of food, etc. to the spirits. Another way of appeasing the *yakkhas* was with blood. The use of a fowl in today's ceremonies answers this need. All these ceremonies were conducted with recitation of charms or *mantras*. Hence the SdhRv statement that by the power of incantations the evil wrought by *yakkhas* will be dispelled : ' *pralaya mantrānubhāvayen yakṣōpadrava duruveyi* ' (806). Other superstitious beliefs are also connected with these beings, for example, it is very commonly believed even now that certain foods—especially those fried and prepared in oils—should not be eaten if one has to go out of the house. The *yakkhas* are supposed to be fond of these foods : ' *amanuṣyanta priyavū daḍamas, kuḍamas, piṭi kāvum, tala muruvaṭa ādiya nokāyutuya* '. The belief today is that if one should eat any such food, one should at least drink some water before leaving the house. The practice of throwing a bit of food out into the open from any food that is brought from outside, and also the keeping of a piece of iron, e.g. a nail, or putting some saliva in a corner of the wrapper, are some of the present-day superstitions rather widely observed, to counteract any evil influence on the food.

Paranavitana states that in spite of the adoption of Buddhism as the national religion, the earlier *yakṣa* worship flourished side by

side among the masses and has persisted down to modern times (*Pre-Buddhist Religious Beliefs in Ceylon*, J.R.A.S., C.B., XXXI, p. 317). It will be useful to explain some of the terms referred to as terminology connected with demonology.

*bali* ordinarily means an offering similar to *pidēni*; but in demonology it has now come to mean particular kinds of offerings or sacrificial ceremonies such as *Īśvara bali* (offering to Īśvara), *Brahma bali* (offering to Brahmā), *nāgarākṣa bali* (offering to Nāgarākṣa), *ṣantī bali* (offering or ceremony with thirty-five *bali* figures), *kalukumāra bali* (offering to Kalukumāra) (see *Bali-kavi-ṣota* manuscripts, University of Ceylon Library). It also must be mentioned that the term *bali* came also to mean the figure of the *dēvatā* or *yakkha* made of clay or drawn, and the whole ceremony was named after the particular figure. People also resorted to these ceremonies as a safeguard against the evil influences of the planets—*graha dōṣa*, e.g. *senasuru baliya*, offering to Saturn (see also Knox, *Ceylon*, p. 122). *pidēni* is the term applied to another kind of offering to the *yakkhas*, and is done on a minor scale. The word itself means offering, and any ceremony in these cults will have a certain amount of *pidēni* or offerings. The ceremony is generally known as *pidēni dīma* (*dāmīma*), giving of an offering. The *pidēni* consist of a few *taṭu* (sort of trays made with young coconut leaves, to hold the offerings of food, etc.). *vilakku* are a variety of small torches made by wrapping cotton rags round ekels and small sticks such as of the plant *kāṣṭhiyā*, (*Croton lacciferum*), and are used in all ceremonies of these cults. *kaḍaturāva* is a curtain cloth, held between the patient and the *pidēni* so as to prevent the patient seeing the *pidēni*. *yakādurā* (exorcist) is the demonologist, who is well versed in the art of exorcism and other ceremonies connected with these cults. *tovil* is a general term for any of the ceremonies connected with all these practices, and covers a large number of forms such as *bali*, *hūniyam*, *raṭa-yakun*, *sanni-yakun*, *mahasōn samayama*, etc., which are conducted according to the demand of the occasion. It is interesting to note that *raṭa-yakuma* is connected with fertility and is conducted when a woman desires to have offspring. The *kōlama* is also considered a similar pregnancy rite. Which of these were practised during the period under review it is difficult to say; but we may conjecture that most of them may have been in use throughout the centuries. Some light is thrown on this fact by W. A. de Silva in his article on Sinhalese magic and spells (J.R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XXX,

p. 202). He says: ' The similarity of some of the words in the old Maldivian and old Sinhalese, specially as seen in charms and incantations, opens a wide field for inquiry as to the identity of the aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon and Maldives. A number of charms contains words of Telugu, Canarese and the languages of the Deccan '.

### Charms

Charms are of two kinds—malignant and curative, referred to also as black and white in magical rites. The use of the curative charm is often mentioned in the SdhRv, e.g., in case of bites of poisonous reptiles such as the snake. Making the snake itself to extract the poison is known even today: ' *nayi lavā daṣṭa kaḷa mukhayen viṣaya uravā māt nirviṣa koṭa* ' (SdhRv 100); ' *ē ē viṣayaṭa pratiniyata mantrādiya tibiyadī anik mantrādiyakin viṣa bāmin siṭiyadī vadāgena yana viṣayak men* ' (SdhRv 47). The second quotation refers to the increase of the effects of poison by the use of a wrong *mantra*. The SdhRv also refers to a charm used during confinement. In cases of labour, water is charmed by reciting incantations and given to the patient: ' *prasava duk kiyā āvavunṭa matuṭa povana pānak men* ' (737). This seems to be quite similar to the chanting of the Aṅgulimāla-pirita on such occasions. It is also the practice to drink water that had been charmed by reciting the *parittas*. The book mentions a malignant charm used to destroy the beauty of a person: ' *sōbhā nātikarana mantrayak* ' (SdhRv 924). The Sdhlk refers to another charm by which the limbs of a person could be severed. The incantation must be recited the necessary number of times, and the air blown out of the nose; whatever limb this air touches will drop from the body (138). The same process could be adopted to kill a person: ' *mantra pīrivahā nāsā vātayen minisun marana mantrayak* ' (ibid. 138). The charms of this variety known to the people are many, and among them are love charms which can be used to win the love of a woman. This is also done by the use of a drug, commonly known as ' *inā behet* '. W. A. de Silva refers to the Maraṅgana-sāhālla, which describes the temptations to which Prince Siddhārtha was subjected by the Evil One. It also describes in general the preparation of the love-drug and its uses (J.R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XXX, p. 193). The CV speaks of people who were skilled in the preparation of magic potions and versed in spirit incantation (CV 66. 1 38).

The Daṃbadeṇi-katikāvata affords further evidence of these practices. It shows that these had even penetrated to the monks, and this is why it was found necessary to include a rule ordering them not to resort to propitiating the *yakkhas* for the cure of various illnesses: ‘*upan rōgaya nisā yakun keḷavīm bili tibīm bali bat kiyavīm ādi nosaruḥ dā nokatayutu*’ (*Katikāvat-saṅgarā*, ed. D. B. Jayatilaka, p. 19).

The story of the merchant Nandiya in the *Sdhik* gives interesting information on certain of these practices. Here it is stated that a minister of Ceylon, Siva by name, was fascinated by the beautiful wife of Nandiya. When she refused to accede to his wishes, he planned to kill her husband, who had gone to a foreign land for purposes of trade. He made inquiries as to who was capable of undertaking the task of killing one who was away. This was undertaken by a certain man; and he, getting together the necessary offerings, etc., went to a cemetery and, finding a corpse which was intact, made the offerings and started his incantations. When he had sprinkled the charmed water on the dead body, a supernatural being took possession of it and immediately the dead body stood up and asked the conjuror what he was to do. He then handed a sword to this spirit and bade him go and kill the merchant Nandiya, who was sailing back at this time. When this spirit appeared on board the ship, the sailors were terribly alarmed; but the pious merchant, undaunted, asked all the people on board to exert love, *maitrī*, or meditate on the *mettā bhāvanā*, universal love. The *yakkha* was hence unable to harm anybody on board. He returned to the conjuror, who sent him back three times; but at the fourth time the *yakkha* returned and killed both the conjuror and the minister (660). It is the belief even now that if the conjured being fails to do the bidding of the conjuror, he will kill him. Hence it is at the risk of his life that a conjuror undertakes such work. Ceylon does not stand alone in beliefs of this nature, which seem to have spread throughout the world. The *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* relates a number of similar stories. It is observed in the *Ocean of Story*, the translation of the above work, that ‘all races at all times have naturally shown the utmost interest in the condition of the dead and their behaviour in the unknown land. The manner of the person’s death and the mode of his life or any unusual phenomena noticed immediately after his death are all important factors which have helped to foster the belief that the spirit of the dead man being unable

to rest in peace, comes to visit the scene of his former life, perhaps with the intent of revenge, or through dissatisfaction with the present abode. Hence ghosts, spirits, vampires play a very important part in the beliefs and superstitions throughout the world'. The *vētāla* in Hindu fiction appears as a mischievous goblin. 'He is always ready to play some rather, grim, practical joke on any unwary person who chances to wander near burning-ghats at night, for here are corpses lying about or hanging from stakes, and what more effective means could be formed to frighten the life out of the humans than by tenanting a corpse' (*The Ocean of Story*, ed. N. M. Penzer, Vol. VI, p. 136). The Sinhalese parallel to the *vētāla* of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara is the *pilli* or *pillu*, and the conjuring of these spirits is well known in the island. In India the *yakkhas* do not seem to have been considered malignant as a rule, but in Ceylon they seem to have been always regarded as harmful to human beings.

What Barnett observes about the magical rites in respect of India applies with even greater force to conditions in Ceylon. He says : 'No less important in Indian life is secular magic—astrology, divination, necromancy, and every variety of the black art. Astrology is still a prosperous and crowded profession to which the whole population looks for guidance in its daily affairs; and there is even now a good market for the kindred of the less important trade of the magician' (*Antiquities of India*, pp. 183-184).

### Rākṣasas

*Rākṣasas* and *piśācas* also fall into the category of malevolent agents, and no doubt were as much feared as the *yakkhas*. It is a common practice with parents even today, to frighten their children by referring to the *yakkhas* and *rākṣasas* and other such evil spirits. The SdhRv describes a *rākṣasa* as having a rough head as large as a mountain, eyes like the sun, teeth like elephant-tusks, trunk as high as a mountain, hands and feet like palm-trees, huge nose curved in the centre, and a large mouth like that of a cave (965). The Sdhk gives a far more exaggerated description : 'The frightful body was like a large black mountain, mouth an opening on a mountain-side, two tusks jutting out of the mouth, two eyes like two blazing balls of iron, deformed nose flat at the end, copper-coloured beard like flames of fire that rises in whirls, a moustache like a rough bush of *paṁba* (*Lygodium*) creepers, a large belly like a dark rain cloud, legs like mortars, nails smeared with blood and sharp like the blade of a sword, and roaring like thunder' (89). No ceremonies or rites of



propitiation, etc. are referred to in the literature of the period under review, in the case of *rākṣasas* and *piśācas*.

### Pretas

Another class of spirits were the *prētas*, the spirits of the departed. It was commonly believed that miserly people who died were re-born as *prētas*. This indeed is the view expounded by the religious teaching itself. Hence the popular beliefs. Buddha himself is said to have preached the Tirōkuḍḍa-sutta, dealing with the propitiation of deceased relations. Many a religious ceremony is performed for this purpose. Buddhism itself owes this cult to Brahmanism, and it no doubt proved quite a successful means of encouraging the laity to be generous to the clergy.

The common man believes that these *prētas* come and live in various parts of the house, in nooks and corners and cause much discomfort to the inmates. The only way to relieve them is to perform religious ceremonies such as giving of alms, etc. and pass on the merit to them, for they are incapable of doing anything themselves. They haunt the houses and cause trouble to their living relatives. Sometimes, as in the case of the *yakkhas*, people are possessed by them, and various magical rites have to be performed to get rid of them. The common method is the '*prētayā bāṇḍīma*', literally the binding of the *prēta*. *mantras* are chanted and a nail is struck on a piece of wood, which is then thrown into some place, such as the attic—the nail is sometimes driven into a tree with sap. Thus it is believed that the spirit has been nailed to the wood and will give no more trouble. There is no doubt that these beliefs and rites were prevalent in Ceylon from very early times and have been handed down from generation to generation. The CV refers to ceremonies connected with the dead, carried out during the reign of Parākramabāhu I: 'The two *adhikārins* Mañju and Kitti by name, without omitting any honour due to his rank, carried out the ceremonies of the dead' (CV 74. 144). What is here meant is the propitiation or thanks-giving or remembrance-ceremonies that the living are obliged to carry out in the name of the dead relations, and not any exorcism ceremonies and such like.

Geiger has made the following observation in this connection: 'According to the Brahmanical view as it is here and often expressed in ceremonial, the deceased before he is admitted to the world of the manes, becomes a *prēta*, a "roaming soul". The *ekoddiṣṭa-śrāddha* is offered to the *prēta*' (CV pt. 2, p. 35, n. 1). In India

ceremonies connected with the dead are called *śrūddha*. In Ceylon today the first ceremony held on about the third day after the cremation or burial is called the '*mataka baṇa*', sermon delivered for the benefit of the dead. Transference of merit to these departed beings is also referred to in the slab-inscription of Kalyāṇavatī: 'Caused a share of the merit to be transferred to all the varied ghosts of the departed, whether kindred or not' (EZ 4. 5. 260).

### Nāgas

'The *Nāgas* are semi-divine beings in the form of snakes. They are always held to be zealous worshippers of the Buddha and of his teaching. They are represented in human form with a snake's head growing from between the shoulder-blades over the head' (CV pt. 1, p. 59, n. 6). The kingdom of the *nāgas* was believed to be within the earth. The MV refers to the *nāga* kingdom in the sea, covering half a thousand *yōjanas*. It also refers to *nāgas* of the mountains and to eighty *kōṭis* (crores) of snake-spirits, 'dwellers in the ocean and on the mainland' (MV 1. 48, 51, 62).

We may note here the observations of Gopinatha Rao: 'The *Nāgas*', he says, 'are according to *Purāṇic* authorities a race of serpents who inhabited the *Pātāla-lōka* or the nether regions. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Varāha Purāṇa* give the origin of the *Nāgas*. By Dākṣyaṇī, the daughter of Daksha, Kaśyapa begot the seven serpents beginning with Vāsuki. Their progeny increased and the world was flooded with serpents, to the great detriment of man. The latter complained to Brahmā, about the hardships caused to them by the serpents. Brahmā summoned the serpents to his presence and cursed them to be ruined by the imprecations of their mother, which she uttered in the *Svāyambhuva-manvantara* and banished them to the *Pātāla-lōka* with the command that they should not bite any human beings, except those who were predestined to die a premature death or those that were really bad . . . In historical times, portions of India were inhabited by a race of men who went by the name of the *Nāgas* and they are said to have formed the majority of persons who joined the newly started Buddhist religion . . . The *Nāgas* are believed to have been born on the *Pañcamī tithi* of the bright half of the month Śrāvaṇa and the whole of India offers *pūjās* to the *Nāgas* on this day, except the Draviḍa brāhmanas' (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. 2, pp. 554, 555). The question as to the form of the *nāgas*, whether they are human

or not, has been discussed by Vogel in his volume on Indian Serpent-Lore. He says: 'The distinguished German indologist, the late Professor Hermann Oldenberg, reckons the *Nāgas* to belong to that class of demonical beings which is best represented by were-wolves. They appear, indeed, often in human shape, as is also the case with were-wolves, tiger-men and swan-maidens . . . The conception of a substantial unity between animal and man, which during the Vedic period is met with only in certain survivals, finds an expression in the beliefs in the beings like were-wolves. Presumably, the "tiger-men" belong to this class, and certainly do the *Nāgas*, which seem to be men, but in reality are snakes. According to an ancient Buddhist text, their serpent nature manifests itself on two occasions, namely, during sexual intercourse and in sleep' (*Indian Serpent-Lore*, Introduction, p. 2).

The *nāga* is depicted as very powerful and dangerous, and its connexion with Buddhism is manifest from religious texts. In this serpent cult, Ceylon does not stand alone. Vogel shows how widespread this cult has been in India from earliest times: 'It is the cobra which under the name of *nāg* is worshipped up to the present day in large parts of India. The *Nāga* of Indian mythology and folk-lore is not really the snake in general, but the cobra raised to the rank of a divine being . . . it is evident that the *Nāga* in his animal form is conceived as the hooded snake. Mucalinda shelters the Buddha against the inclemency of the weather, by spreading his hood over the Master's head. Śēsha carries the earth on his thousand-fold hood . . . The evidence of Indian art points to the same conclusion. The *Nāga*, represented either in a purely animal or in a semi-human shape, is always characterised by the snakehood' (ibid. p. 27). The figures of the *Nāgas* found in almost all parts of India show the popularity of the cult. 'The *Nāga* figures which guard the entrance to the Buddhist sanctuaries of Ceylon are clearly derived from the anthropomorphic type of India proper. The earliest specimen found at Anurādhapura shows a close affinity to the *Nāgas* of Amarāvati. The *Nāgas* of Ruwanwāli Dagaba, which Vincent Smith assigns to the early centuries of the Christian era, must belong to a considerably later period' (ibid. p. 43). Vogel points out that real ophiolatry—the cult of the live serpent—is found only in western and southern India, where it has existed to the present day in a form undisguised; while in the north it figures only as a worship proffered to certain gods and saints for

protection against dangerous reptiles (and in many cases these divine protectors themselves were conceived in the semblance of snakes) (ibid. 268).

Serpent-worship is prevalent in the whole of South India, and no doubt this was responsible for the development of the cult in Ceylon. It is the cobra that is held sacred here, as is also the case in Ceylon. Vogel says that the higher castes considered it a sin to kill it, and believe that the man who does so will be stricken with all kinds of misfortune (ibid., p. 270). This indeed is the position in Ceylon even today. To kill a snake is considered a grave sin by everyone irrespective of caste, and cobra killing especially is believed to cause great misfortune. The Sinhalese treat the live animal with all kindness and respect. It is even addressed with due respect as ' *nayi hāmi* '. Vogel also observes that a benevolent household snake is considered by some as a deceased ancestor who has taken up residence in the home. This is a common belief in Ceylon. If a snake frequents a certain house, it is at once looked upon as a dead relation of the household. This also accounts for the honour and respect shown to the *nāgas* in general, and also explains to some extent why the people are generally loath to kill or even harm a snake. These beliefs, along with the position they occupy in the religious texts, largely account for the cult of snakes. The Kōkila and the Parevi sandēśas refer to a *Nāga-kōvila* somewhere near Wellamaḍama, near Dondra. Ratnaïke commenting on these verses, says that ' this is reminiscent of the *nāga* or snake-worship which is considered to have existed in Ceylon at a very early time. In Parevi-sandēśa the temple is described as being full of young lovers who came to see the attractive women who had come there, thinking that they were *Nāga* damsels ' (*Glimpses of the Social . . . Conditions from the Sandēśas*, p. 48). The Kōkila-Sandēśa verse is—

*savana savana satiyehi vādahiñdina lesa*  
*lelena daraṇa vāḷalū mudaliñdu vilasa*  
*karana paññiñdu peṇarāñdi nārada sakasa*  
*sobana nāga kōvila daku mituru tosa*

(ed. W. F. Gunawardhana, v. 44),

O friend, gladly see the temple of the *nāga*, whose figure is beautifully made with a spread hood and coils resembling Mucalinda, the

*nāga* king, on the occasion when he gave shelter to the Buddha. The SdhRv refers to this cult in connexion with the story of the *nāga* king Mahā-Dōṇa, in the stories dealing with the Maṅgala-sutta, etc. (963).

Finally passing reference may here be made to the earliest inhabitants of the island, who are referred to as *Nāgas* and *Yakkhas*. Opinion seems to be divided as to the race of these inhabitants. But whatever it may be, we now have definite evidence of the prevalence of a snake-cult in Ceylon from very early times.

## CHAPTER IX

### SUPERSTITIONS AND MYTHOLOGY

#### The Evil Eye

Superstitious beliefs connected with the *yakkhas* have already been dealt with. These and a host of similar beliefs are current amongst the Sinhalese today, and have no doubt, been handed down from the most ancient times. Amongst these is the belief in evil-eye (*äsvaha*), which is also believed in by some peoples in India. The belief is that evil consequences can be brought about by the look of a person. It is clear that intentions of such a look must necessarily be wrought with evil. Associated or cognate with the evil-eye are two other evils, namely, evil-mouth (*kaṭa vaha*), and evil-breath (*hō vaha*). Therefore, a person who is supposed to possess the power of one is necessarily believed to have the power of the other two, although he may exercise the powers jointly or severally. If one looks at a beautiful child and remarks that the child is most handsome, then, according to the belief, the child will become emaciated and lose all its beauty. Some magical performances have to be gone through to save the child. One such common ceremony resorted to on occasions of this nature, is that of ' *dehi kāpīma* ', literally ' cutting lime '. *mantras* or incantations are chanted and the limes are cut. Abbott refers to a similar practice in India: ' If a man is victimized by evil-eye, four lemons are placed on his shadow ; these have to be cut all at one blow and the pieces thrown in four directions, care being taken that no two halves of any one lemon are thrown in the same direction ' (*The Keys of Power*, p. 28). In cases of *äsvaha* recourse is had even today to what is called *äsvaha vatvra mätirīma* (charming of evil-eye water), which is considered to be equally effective for one or all of the three evils. W. P. Wijetunga, in his article on ' Some beliefs among the Sinhalese ', explains the treatment thus: ' At early dawn the water is taken into a new earthenware vessel by the " charmer ", who takes care not to talk to anybody till the work is done. The incantations having been repeated the required number of times, the water is given to the " patient ", who drinks a little and splashes his face with some more. The process is repeated three or four times a day for a couple of days. While reciting the spell the

“ charmer ” stirs the water with a sprig of lime leaves which he leaves in the vessel. The quicker those leaves undergo decay and discoloration in the water, the greater is presumed to be the incidence of the evil-eye and its cognate “ evils ” against the “ patient ” ( *The Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, p. 150).

Reference is made to this belief in the evil-eye in the KSiḷ. It is stated here that the king looks at his own face in a bowl of oil every morning. This, no doubt, is due to the belief that it is a bad omen to see an evil person first thing in the morning. Hence the kings must have followed the Indian practice of looking at their own faces in oil before they saw anybody else. This practice is also mentioned both in the Kāvya-śekhara and the Kav-miṇi-koṇḍola :

*iṭu devīyan nāmāṇḍa*  
*ṣansil rāgena mananaṇḍa*  
*raṇṣaya gitelā soṇḍa*  
*balā siya muvataṁbara maharada,*

having paid homage to the chosen deities and recited the five precepts, and having looked at his lotus-face in the bowl of ghee (Kāvya-śekhara, VIII, v. 13). The same idea is expressed in :

*sobaman ran baṇḍana ṣirū suvaṇḍa gitel tuḷehi lakala*  
*tamuvaṇ naraṁbā siri dāka yali ṣansil gena manakala*

( *Kav-miṇi-koṇḍola*, v. 351).

Martin Wickramasinghe has taken these statements quite literally and asked the question whether we are to believe that ancient Sinhalese kings used a bowl of oil instead of a mirror ( *Siṁhala-sāhityayē-nāṅgīma*, p. 47). He has lost sight of the belief in the evil-eye and the precautions taken against it. The Kaṇḍavurusirita makes it quite clear that Parākramabāhu II observed this practice, when it states that he looked at his own face in a vessel of ghee and caused that oil to be given to religious mendicants: ‘ *gitel ṣātraya vata balā ehi tel maḥaṇa bamuṇaṇṭa devā* ’. Abbott also has observed a similar practice in India: ‘ When a man is suffering from the evil influence of Saturn he looks at his reflection in oil, and sends this to a temple to be burnt in one of the temple lamps. As Sunday is to the Hindu an inauspicious day, anyone going a journey on that day, or going out with an object, prevents the frustration of his purpose by looking into a mirror before he sets out ’ ( *The Keys of Power*, p. 29).

A few other superstitions of a similar nature are referred to. It is inauspicious to hear the crying of the ' *kāralā* ', a species of woodpecker. The SdhRv says that the cry will indicate the good or the evil that is to befall a person (550). Today the belief is that it portends evil. To meet a monk when one sets out on a journey was also considered inauspicious and a sure sign of disappointment, as is believed even today (SdhRv 572). When one meets with an unlucky omen of this nature, one usually turns back and postpones the journey, or at least waits a few minutes and then starts again. On the other hand, it was, as it is today, considered auspicious to meet a cow, a person bringing a pot full of water, or a pregnant woman (SdhRv 952). It is the practice now to arrange for someone carrying a vessel of water, to meet a person setting out on a journey or a bridegroom leaving his home. The SdhRv also adds that a young girl decked in a pearl necklace and bangles is an auspicious omen (ibid.). This is not given in the list in the Pāli original. The book also refers to the practice of seeing the moon. It is the belief that the new moon must be seen on an auspicious day, certain days of the week being considered inauspicious. Generally, after the New Year the moon must be seen for the first time in the new year on an auspicious day, and a day is fixed for this purpose by the astrologers. The SdhRv expresses the commotion on this day when it says, ' *yamse saṅda ādiyen daknā kalata mahōtsāhayen balā dakitda* ' (462). It is difficult, at this time, to see the new moon, as it is in its early phases, without really making an effort to see it. The whole village is astir on this occasion. It is also believed today that sweets must be eaten after looking at the moon.

### Dreams

Another superstitious belief was that in dreams which were considered a forewarning of what was in store for a man, portending future events, either good or bad. This belief naturally gave rise to diviners who interpreted the dreams. The dreams were classified according to their supposed import, and rules were drawn up for averting the evil portended by ill-omened ones (see Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, p. 184). Even if these rules were not generally known, personages such as the *purōhitas* were versed in them. In everyday life, almost every man, as today, would have perhaps known the general implications of dreams, and may have taken the necessary precautions if they were ill-omened. Oneiromancy, the art of taking omens from dreams by analogical interpretation, has been quite widespread amongst the primitive peoples. The general



belief was that of contraries, that is, for example, to dream of death portended good, while to dream of a wedding portended evil (see E. B. Tyler, *Primitive Culture*, pp. 121, 122). This has remained the belief up to the present day. We can see this by examining some of the dreams mentioned in literature. The general belief is seen in references such as ' *īyē rānapuru sīnayaḥ diṭimi* ', I dreamed an ill-omened dream last night (SdhRv 209). In the story of Kāla Thēra, the author again adds ' *sīnenut bat duṭu kala bādḥāsē* ' (SdhRv 653), and these words do not appear in the DPA. Therefore we can conclude that it was believed to be an ill-omen to see rice in a dream. If one dreamed that one walked on a heap of dirt (night-soil), and none of it stuck to his leg, this was considered a very good omen, portending attainment of Buddhahood (Pjv 169). The SdhRv relates the story of Tissa, who lived in Muṇḍavāka, a village near the river Mahavāli. He is said to have dreamed that eight columns of fire entered his house, and on waking he was happy to think that this predicted the fulfilment of his desires (537). The story of Nandiya in the same book states that Nandiya dreamed that his intestines came out of his mouth, and after traversing the whole of Jambudvīpa, returned to their place. This was highly auspicious, portending that if the dreamer was a man he would gain sovereignty within seven days, and if a woman, she would become the chief queen of an anointed king within seven days (180).

The time of the dream was also an important factor. It was believed that if one dreamed in the early hours of the morning the dream inevitably came true or at least, that dreams dreamed during these early hours were more reliable. The SdhRv refers to this when it says that a dream dreamed when the day dawns is quickly fulfilled (249).

In this connection the Pjv refers to an important custom of our peoples. It says that betel with the five 'fruits' (*paṣpala vat*) were offered to the Brahmin who was asked to interpret the dream. It is the general custom to offer betel on similar occasions—the due fee was offered along with betel.

### Astrology

The rather copious references to astrological as well as astronomical data establish beyond doubt that these 'sciences'

were much practised at the time, though they are declining today. Astrology played an important part in men's lives, as hardly anything of importance was done without due astrological consideration. Every new venture was started at an auspicious time, ceremonies, marriages, and other such solemn activities were all conducted at astrologically favourable moments. Thus it has remained a popular branch of knowledge up to the present day. The great recognition paid to it and the vital importance attached to it made it a good field of exploitation. The number of astrologers was no doubt large. The Tablets of Mahinda IV refer to the emoluments allotted to an astrologer: 'To an astrologer two *kiriya* of land and a *vasag* from *Damiya*' (a measured quantity of provisions from the almonry of the monastery) (EZ 1. 3. 110). The Prītidānaka-maṇḍapa rock-inscription of Nissaṅka Malla refers to the observation of the lucky marks and auspiciousness of the stars at the hour of birth (EZ 2. 4. 175). The slab-inscription of Sāhasa Malla, A.D. 1200, shows that journeys were undertaken only during auspicious times: 'to resume the journey by sea at an auspicious moment just as the full moon shows itself' (EZ 2. 5. 228). Another inscription of the same king shows that he was crowned at a lucky moment (EZ 2. 5. 228). The Siva-dēvālaya slab-inscription of Nissaṅka Malla refers to a ceremony conducted to propitiate the nine planetary gods (EZ 2. 4. 148). The SdhRv refers to the selection of auspicious days for marriage ceremonies: '*māṇiyōda oba gosin saraṇa vicārā nilakoṭa kāṇḍavāgena yaṇṭa nisi nākatakut vicārālā nisi nākatakin genavut putanuvanṭa pāvā dunha*' (88). The literature refers to religious ceremonies conducted at auspicious moments. The Sdhk refers to the enshrining of relics at such favourable times. The CV (89. 39) refers to the enshrining of relics by Vijayabahu IV at a moment when constellations, day, and hour were auspicious. The CV (57. 48) also records the portrayal of the character of Prince Kitti by a distinguished astrologer thus indicating that the character of a person could be known by the constellation under which he was born. It is the custom even today to cast a horoscope when a child is born. This enables one to read the full life of the individual concerned. Horoscopes are, surprisingly, not referred to in the literature of the period.

Allied with astrology is the belief in signs and bodily marks. Reference is often made to kings who made Brahmins examine the bodily marks of princes and interpret signs. Vijayabāhu IV is

said to have possessed the lucky signs that indicated that he would be king some day (CV 87. 62). The CV (81. 69) also records that Vijayabāhu III examined the signs of his sons: 'The signs on Parākramabāhu are such that he will in accordance therewith accomplish through the majesty of his power the destruction of the enemy and will unite Laṅkā under one umbrella'. As for external objects and phenomena (*nimiti*), it is stated that the sight of a breached tank on the way to battle is not a good omen. The Sdhlk also states that eclipses of the sun and moon, the falling of meteors, and earthquakes portend evil (530). It also relates that King Kāvantissa made inquiries from soothsayers about the meaning of the desires of his pregnant queen (Sdhlk 449).

Though references show the widespread use of astrology, yet the literature of the period does not offer us much detail of the 'science' itself. Asterisms and favourable constellations are at times mentioned, as for example, the slab-inscription of Kalyāṇavatī, which refers to the asterism of *viśākha* (*S. visā*) (EZ 4. 5. 258), and the SdhRv constantly refers to *uttarāśāḍha* (*uturusala*) (975, 985, etc.).

As in the case of other things, we are no doubt indebted to India for this 'science'. Hence the system here was the same as that practised in the mainland. The year was composed of twelve lunar months named *bak* (*baga*—March-April) (EZ 3. 3. 140); *vesak* (*vesaga*—April-May) (EZ 3. 4. 224; SdhRv 989); *poson* (May-June) (EZ 1. 6. 229; 1. 5. 198; SdhRv 712); *āsala* (June-July) (EZ 3. 2. 67; SdhRv 522); *nikini* (July-August) (EZ 1. 1. 24, 3. 2. 78); *binara* (August-September) (EZ 1. 1. 31); *vap* (September-October) (EZ 1. 3. 84); *il* (*hil*—October-November) (EZ 3. 5. 235); *uṇḍuvap* (November-December) (EZ 1. 6. 248, 1. 5. 169); *durutu* (December-January) (EZ 2. 1. 42); *navan* (January-February) (EZ 2. 2. 55); *mādin* (February-March) (EZ 1. 3. 115, 2. 1. 24).

The month consisted of two lunar fortnights called *pura* and *ava pakṣaya*, corresponding to the Indian *śukla* and *kṛṣṇa pakṣa* according to the waxing and waning of the moon, or the bright and the dark halves. It was thus usual to reckon time from the moon. For example, the Pāli term '*anvaddha-māsaṃ*' has been rendered '*depōyen depōyaṭa*' (every two *pōyas*) by the SdhRv author (385), and '*addhamāsō*' as '*depōyak*' (two *pōyas*) (744).

The day was reckoned as 60 *pāyas* (*sāta pāya*). The Pjv has ' *sātapāya giya kala* ' for the lapse of a day (163). The SdhRv refers to the fore-noon as consisting of fifteen *pāyas* (*peravaru pasaloṣpāya*), and afternoon as consisting of fifteen (*pasvaru pasaloṣpāya*) (368). The night consisted of 30 *pāyas* (*rātriyē tis pā*), and was divided into three *yāmas* or watches, *pera yama*, *māda yama*, and *aluyama*, first, second, and third watches, each watch consisting of ten *pāyas* (SdhRv 84, 153, 879 resp.). The practice of reckoning 60 *pāyas* for the day has persisted up to the present : 60 *vinādis* = 1 *ghatikā*, and 60 *ghatikās* (' hours ') = a day and night. A week of seven days named after the planets was in use : *iru dina* (Sunday) ; *sañdu dina* (Monday) ; *kuja dina* (Tuesday) ; *buda dina* (Wednesday) ; *guru dina* (Thursday) ; *kivi dina* (Friday) and *śani dina* (Saturday). The SdhRv's reference to *aṅgaharuvādā* (Tuesday) (20, 808) shows that the names of the days of the week as popularly known today were also used at this time. The names in order are : *iridā* (Sunday), *sañdudā*, *aṅgaharuvādā*, *badādā*, *brhaspatindā*, *sikurādā* and *senasurādā*.

The planets are nine in number : (1) *Ravi* (Sun) ; (2) *Candra* or *Sañdu* (Moon) ; (3) *Kuja* or *Aṅgaharu* (Mars) ; (4) *Buda* (Mercury) ; (5) *Brhaspati* or *Guru* (Jupiter) ; (6) *Śukra* (Venus) ; (7) *Śani* (Saturn) ; (8) *Rāhu* (ascending node) ; (9) *Kētu* (descending node).

The Pjv speaks of the 12 signs (*rāṣi*) of the zodiac, 27 *nākāt tārakā* (asterisms), and 108 *pādas* (650, 280). It also states that in one *vinādikā* these planets move 725 *yōjanas*, or within one breathing space, 120 *yōjanas*, 24 *isabas*, 13 *yaṣṭis*, 1 *riyan*, 1 *viyat* and 4 *aṅgulis* (Pjv 280). The twelve signs of the zodiac as used by the Sinhalese are : *mēṣa* (Aries), *vṛṣabha* (Taurus), *mithuna* (Gemini), *kaṭaka* (Cancer), *siṃha* (Leo), *kanyā* (Virgo), *tulā* (Libra), *vṛścika* (Scorpio), *dhanu* (Sagittarius), *makara* (Capricornus), *kumbha* (Aquarius) and *mīna* (Pisces). The celestial circle was divided into 27 parts of 13° 20' each, corresponding to the 27 asterisms or *nakṣatras*, which are as follows, in regular order : (1) *aśvinī*, (2) *bharaṇī*, (3) *kṛttikā*, (4) *rōhiṇī*, (5) *mṛga-śiras*, (6) *ārdṛā*, (7) *punar-vasū*, (8) *puṣyā*, (9) *aślēsā*, (10) *maghā*, (11) *pūrva-phalgunī*, (12) *uttara-phalgunī*, (13) *hastā*, (14) *citrā*, (15) *svātī*, (16) *viśākhā*, (17) *anurādhā*, (18) *jyēṣṭhā*, (19) *mūlā*, (20) *pūrva-āṣādhā*, (21) *uttara-āṣādhā*, (22) *śravaṇā*, (23) *dhanīṣṭhā* or *śraviṣṭhā*, (24) *śata-bhiṣaj*, (25) *pūrva-bhadrapadā*, (26) *uttara-bhadrapadā*, (27) *rēvatī*. A 28th, *abhijit* is some-

times included ; it is inserted between *uttarāṣādhā* and *śravaṇā* (see *Antiquities of India*, pp. 190-191). The Sinhalese terms for these 27 *nakṣatras* (*nākāt*) are : (1) *asvida*, (2) *beraṇa*, (3) *kāti*, (4) *reheṇa*, (5) *muvasirisa*, (6) *ada*, (7) *ṣunāvāsa*, (8) *ṣusa*, (9) *asliṣa*, (10) *mā*, (11) *ṣuvaṣal*, (12) *uturuṣal*, (13) *hata*, (14) *sita*, (15) *sā*, (16) *visā*, (17) *anura*, (18) *deṭa*, (19) *mula*, (20) *ṣuvasala*, (21) *uturusala*, (22) *suvana*, (23) *denaṭa*, (24) *siyāvāsa*, (25) *ṣuvaṣuṭuṣa*, (26) *uturuṣuṭuṣa*, (27) *rēvatī*, (28) *abhijit*, (M. M. P. Wijayarātna Appuhami, *Lit-hōdiya*, 1915). Each of these *nakṣatras* is divided into four *ṣādas*, thus giving a total of 108 *ṣādas*.

### Mythology

‘ Along with the growth of ritual ’, says Adikaram, ‘ there grew also the attention paid to the denizens of the heavenly spheres ’ (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 145). We have already noticed that as Hinduism gained ground, ritual grew. Buddhism was a religion opposed to ritual, and had no ritual to start with, and it did not favour the worship of gods ; but as time went on Hindu practices crept in and were adopted by the Buddhists. This attention paid to ritual brought into Buddhism almost all the Hindu gods, who thus began to exercise an immense influence on the minds of the people in the island. This has been observed by Sir Charles Eliot, and is quoted by Adikaram. ‘ Their existence is assumed, but the truths of religion are not dependent on them, and attempts to use their influence by sacrifices and oracles are deprecated as vulgar practices similar to juggling. Later Buddhism became infected with Mythology, and the critical change occurs when deities, instead of being merely protectors of the church, take an active part in the work of salvation. When the Hindu gods developed into personalities who could appeal to religious and philosophic minds as cosmic forces, as revealers of the truth and guides to bliss, the example was too attractive to be neglected and a pantheon of *Bodhisattvas* arose. But it is clear that when the Buddha preached in Kōsala and Magadha, the local deities had not attained any such position. The systems of philosophy then in vogue were mostly not theistic, and, strange as the words may sound, religion had little to do with the gods. If this be thought to rest on a mis-translation, it is certainly true that the *Dhamma* had little to do with *dēvas* ’ (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 145). Referring to this statement, Adikaram makes the following remarks clarifying the situation in Ceylon : ‘ These remarks are also true to

a very considerable extent with regard to Buddhism in Ceylon as represented by the Pāli Commentaries. The old Canonical accounts dealing with the *dēvas* were expanded and mythology grew round them, but to the Ceylonese Buddhist these *dēvas* were still merely classes of living beings, some of them, such as the Great Brahmā and Sakka, being devout followers of the Buddha, and others, such as the sinful Māra (*Pāpimā Māro*), being opponents of the Great Teacher and those who followed his teachings. Even the greatest gods of the Brāhmanic pantheon were in their status considered to be far below the Buddha and his virtuous disciples . . . Such being the attitude of the early Buddhists in Ceylon towards the deities, we cannot expect to find them engaged in praying to, or worshipping, deities . . . Though the ritual side is absent, we cannot ignore the effects of the growth of mythology, as this, too, is a potent factor in influencing the minds of the common folk ' (ibid. pp. 145, 146). Though this may have been the case in early Ceylon, we have already seen how, as time went on, Hindu rites began to be observed in Ceylon, and by the 13th century many of the Hindu cults had taken deep root in the island. All the literary works show us to what extent their writers were familiar with the Hindu gods and goddesses. Thus by this time, Hindu mythology had crept into the minds of the people and exercised far-reaching influences. Some of these deities are recognised by Buddhism, and the highest among these is Brahmā, who with his other associate Brahmās lead pure lives and are free from enjoyments of sensual pleasures. Some of the most sublime virtues in Buddhism, such as *Brahma-cariyā* and *Brahma-vihāra*, are called after Brahmā. The Brahmās are many in number, and so are their abodes, the *suddhāvāsas* or Pure Abodes occupying the chief position. These Brahmās are shown in various commentaries as attending on the Buddha. The SdhRv gives forty-eight *gavs* (leagues) as the height of Brahmā (405). Brahmā Sahampati is said to have been the first to request the Buddha to preach his Law ; and reference is made to this in the Pjv, which describes him as follows : ' Brahmā forty-eight leagues in height, has a span of six leagues, fingers that would cover a space of half a league, is dressed in a celestial robe of sixteen *yōjanas*, wearing a robe of twelve *yōjanas* covering one shoulder, a bejewelled crown of sixteen leagues, illuminating tens of thousands of world-systems with the lustre of his fingers as if thousands of suns and moons had arisen ' (199).

The Hindu conception of Brahmā as the creator of the world is also fully reflected in the literature. The KṢiḷ looks upon him as the four-faced creator. Describing women it says that if one were to see their breasts and hips, he would consider Brahmā incapable of creating anything fine ; but this doubt is dispelled by their waists (234). The same idea of creation is expressed by the SdhRv when it says that we are the children of Brahmā and therefore do we aspire to be born in the world of Brahmā (514).

### Śakra

Śakra is mentioned very frequently in all religious works, from the Canon and Commentaries downwards. He was Indra in the pre-Buddhist pantheon of Indian gods and became a devoted follower of Buddha later on. Adikaram speaks of him thus : ‘ In the Vedas we find him as a “ demon - slaying, Soma - drinking ” deity. Now he is “ the heavenly counterpart of a pious Buddhist king . . . ” He is also said to have taken a keen interest in the affairs of Ceylon . . . It was also believed in Ceylon—and the belief prevails even at the present day—that Sakka kept a record of the good deeds done by men on this earth ’ (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, pp. 147, 148). Śakra has been known by different names, some of which, according to the SdhRv are :—Magha, as he was known as Magha in the world of men before ; Purindada, as he was in the past, in the world of men, in the habit of giving alms first, before anyone else ; he gave with good intentions, hence he is Śakra ; he once built a rest-house for wayfarers, hence he is Vāsava ; he is called Thousand-eyed (*sahasrākṣi*) because of his penetrating intellect, though he has only two eyes. He had an *asura* wife, Sujātā by name, hence he is Sujampati. He is the Chief of the gods, hence Dēvinda (256). He is also referred to as Tidasiṅdu, the Chief of the Thirty-three gods of Tāvatiṃsa, and as Suriṅdu, Chief of the gods. Mātali was his charioteer, and Pañcasikha his musician, who is represented as playing a lute known by the name Beḷuva (SdhRv 697). The palace, frequently referred to, is Vējayanta (*vijayat*), and the assembly hall was Sudhammā. His park was Nandana, his chariot also was Vējayanta, and his elephant Airāvaṇa (SdhRv 1001). Buddha is said to have given him an additional span of life of three crores and 60 lakhs of human years (SdhRv 525). Śakra was considered a guardian of the virtuous, and whenever they were in trouble it was incumbent on him to help them ; if he failed in this his head would burst into seven pieces (SdhRv 42). On occasions of this nature Śakra always appeared in the guise of an old man

who showed great need himself. The SdhRv refers to this when it says : ' *kavara kalat dukpat kamama kiyā ena śakravarun heyin* ' (450).

The most important thing in his equipment was his marble seat, which became hot or cold according to his wishes (Sdhlk 89). It always became heated whenever a virtuous being was in need of his help, and it was by this sign that he knew his help was required. Whenever the seat was thus heated he looked into the world of men, and, discovering with his eye of wisdom the person who needed his help, he went down to him and helped him. The SdhRv describes the seat as 240 leagues in length, 200 in breadth, and 60 in thickness, red like a heap of red shoe-flowers. It is as it were on springs, for Śakra sinks up to his navel when he sits on it and it stands level as he rises (41). The DPA gives the dimensions as 60 *yōjanas* in length, 50 in breadth and 15 in thickness and agrees with the Pjv which describes this seat as 60 *yōjanas* in length, 50 in breadth, and 15 in thickness, red like *bañdu-vada* (shoe) flowers (*Hibiscus rosasinensis*); Śakra sinks up to the navel when he sits on it and it stands level like the face of a drum when he rises, and is warm or cold according to his desire (86). This seat is said to be placed under the Pārijāta-tree which grew in his park as a reward for his good deed of growing a *kobōlīla* tree (*Bauhinia purpurea*) as a shelter to wayfarers in the world of men ; and he was given a yellow-stone seat because of his meritorious action of placing a stone slab for the use of wayfarers. On the eastern side of his palace was the park Puṇḍarika, and in the centre of this grew the Pārijāta tree. The trunk of this tree was five *yōjanas*, circumference 15 *yōjanas*, height 100 *yōjanas* ; it had five branches, each 50 *yōjanas* in length. It was a white *kobōlīla* tree known as Pāricchattaka. The distance between the end of the southern and northern branches and between the ends of the eastern and western branches was 100 *yōjanas*, and the circumference of the branches was 300 *yōjanas*. The flowers of this tree were used as parasols by the gods. Their scent spread to a distance of 100 *yōjanas*, and the lustre from the tree illumined a distance of a radius of fifty *yōjanas*. The same text also affords us a lengthy description of the abode of Śakra and all his equipment (Pjv 428).

The Gaḍalādeṇiya rock-inscription (14th century) shows that these gods were looked upon as devout followers of Buddha : ' In the lowest storey [of that image-house, he] (Bhuvanekabāhu IV) caused to be



made, beautified by diverse paintings, the principal image, containing relics, which (depicted Buddha) seated on the *Vajrāsana*, with his back to the sacred Bōdhi-tree and attended by gods such as Śakra, Brahmā, Suyāma, Santuṣita, Nātha, and Mayitrī, and two attendant images. In the cell of the *caitya* on the top-most storey, he caused to be made an image of Buddha [depicting him seated] for delivering the discourse on the Abhidharma, on the throne Paṇḍukambala under the Pārijāta tree, and attended by Śakra, Brahmā, and others, led by Mātr-dēvaputra ' (EZ 4. 2. 106).

### Viṣṇu and Śiva

Viṣṇu and Śiva with Brahmā form the Hindu Triad. Viṣṇu's special work is preservation, while that of Śiva is destruction. Viṣṇu is also termed Nārāyaṇa, and is represented as a black (blue) man with four arms, a club in one, a shell in another, a discus in the third, and a lotus in the fourth. His vehicle is the bird *Garuḍa*. Ten *avatāras* (incarnations) of his are described in some Purāṇas. He is often shown as sleeping on Ananta. Śiva is represented as living in the Himālayās with Pārvatī, his consort, wearing round his neck a serpent and a necklace of skulls, and furnished with a number of emblems, as trident, tiger-skin, drum, and noose. The white bull Nandi is his vehicle. He has three eyes. He is also known as Mahādēva, Mahēśvara, Īśvara, etc. His wife is Umā (Pārvatī, Chāmuṇḍā, Chaṇḍī, Kāmākshī, Gaurī, Kālī, or Durgā) (see *Antiquities of India*, p. 27). The Sandēśas refer to an Umā *kovila* (*Sāvul-sandēśa*, vv. 92, 93).

### Other Divinities

The four guardian gods are often referred to as *Sataravaramun* or *Lōkapālā*. These gods, says Adikaram, held posts under Śakra and are Dhataratṭha, Virūḷha, Virūpakkha and Vessavaṇa. The Pjv states that their abodes were on the four sides of the Yugaṇḍara mountain (426). Vessavaṇa, also known as Kuvera, seems to have been the most popular. He dwells in Alakā, in the Himālayas (see *Early History of Buddhism*, pp. 148, 149 and Pjv 434). The Alutnuvara slab-inscription (15th century) shows that these four deities were invoked by the people along with deities such as Upulvan, who were considered guardians (EZ 4. 6. 269).

*Sarasvatī*, the goddess of learning, wife of Brahmā, and Śrī or Lakṣmī, consort of Viṣṇu and goddess of prosperity, are also often mentioned. The Kṣiḷ starts with the pious hope that people may become poets by a glance of Sarasvatī.

*Asuras*, a set of non-divine beings who were the enemies of the gods, are referred to frequently. In the *Vēdas* the term *asura* was originally used as a title of the gods; but, as later, it also depicted a class of non-divine beings at war with the gods.

*Anaṅga*, the god of love, son of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī, is a very popular figure with all writers. He is known by a variety of names: e.g. Kaṇḍapa, Naraṅga, Malkehellā, Madana, Malsarā, Makaradvaja, Kāma. His wife is Rati; and he is represented as a handsome young man, with a bow of sugar-cane, a bow string formed of a line of bees, flower-tipped arrows, and a banner bearing the emblem of a *makara* or sea-monster. He is god of sexual love, like Eros of the Greeks and Cupid of the Romans. Anaṅga has been widely worshipped in India; but we have not come across any references so far to the prevalence of this cult in Ceylon. The only figure of Anaṅga known, is the one at the temple at Telwatta near Hikkaduwa. Here is a statue, larger than life-size, erected facing the doorway to the *vihāragē*—with a sugar-cane bow in one hand and a sheaf of arrows in the other (see Plate IV; see also Plates V and VI for Anaṅga representations from India). This figure at Telwatta seems to be a recent piece of work, probably not more than 200 years old. It is also difficult to account for the presence of this particular god in a Buddhist Temple. It may have been a warning to the lay-devotees against indulgence in sensual pleasures.

*Viśvakarma*, 'literally "All maker"', a god who in the Veda is very abstract, but who gradually evolved into a definite character, being in the Brāhmaṇas the same person as Prajāpati, and finally becoming the ideal craftsman, like the Greek Hephaistos' (*Antiquities of India*, p. 30). He is the ideal attendant of Śakra, who sends him out on all important business of creation. When a virtuous person is in need of help, Viśvakarma is despatched to aid him: for example, 'when King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi contemplated the building of the *Mahāthūpa*, Sakka sent his attendant Vissakamma to make bricks for the king, and later when the time for the enshrining of relics came, he sent Vissakamma again to decorate the whole of Ceylon' (*Early History of Buddhism*, p. 147). The *Sdhik* records that he was sent by Śakra to make a ship of the seven kinds of precious material for a *kuṭumbika-putta* (a rich householder) (721). Thus



*Sumitrā Studio, Grandpass.*

Figure of Anaṅga (Kāmadēva) holding sugar-cane bow in  
left hand and sheaf of arrows in the right.

Puraṇa Toṭagamu Vihāraya, Telwatta, Hikkaduwa.





Terra cotta figure of Kāmadēva holding sheaf of arrows and a very large bow (Early Kuṣāna—1st century A.D.).

By courtesy, Sri K. D. Bajpai, Curator, Archaeological Museum, Mathura, India.



Stone figure of Kāmadēva holding five arrows in his right hand (Śūnga period—about 100 B.C.).

By courtesy, Sri K. D. Bajpai, Curator, Archaeological Museum, Mathura, India.



PLATE VI



Terra cotta figure of Kāmadēva holding bow and arrows and elegantly dressed—1st century A.D.



Terra cotta figure of winged Kāmadēva holding bow of sugar-cane and wearing elaborate turban—1st century B.C.

By courtesy, Sri K. D. Bajpai, Curator, Archaeological Museum, Mathura, India.





he was the symbol of perfect craftsmanship. Anything that is beyond human skill is considered to be the work of Viśvakarma.

*Sūrya* is the Sun-god. 'He is frequently worshipped in local cults, chiefly as a power of moral and physical purification, and is represented as riding on a chariot drawn by seven horses' (*Antiquities of India*, p. 28). Aruṇa was his charioteer.

*Candra*, the Moon-god is worshipped in the island even today. He is often referred to as being devoured by Rāhu, the reference being to the eclipse of the moon.

*Rāhu*, the ascending node, is referred to in the SdhRv as an *asura* with a large mouth. He is supposed to be of immense stature, and his encounter with the Buddha is well known. The Pjv states that he lives under mount Mēru in an abode 10,000 *yōjanas* in extent. He is 4,800 *yōjanas* in height, 1,200 from sole of the foot up to the knee, 1,200 from knee to the navel, 1,200 from navel to throat, 1,200 from throat to head, 1,200 from shoulder to shoulder, 900 *yōjanas* round his head, forehead 300 *yōjanas*, 50 *yōjanas* between the eye-brows, mouth 200 *yōjanas*, depth of mouth 300 *yōjanas*, hands and feet 200 *yōjanas* broad, 50 *yōjanas* from knuckle to knuckle, 750 *yōjanas* a step, forearm 1,200 *yōjanas*, span 600 *yōjanas*. He could cover the moon and sun with one of his finger-tips (350).

*Bṛhaspati*, Jupiter, is the teacher of the gods, and a very wise person is always compared to him (see below). Srī Rahula compares himself to Jupiter who has descended to earth: *guru van deraṇa sapāmiṇi* (*Kāvya-sēkharaya*, I, 24).

*Mīdēduva* is the mother earth, or Earth-goddess, also referred to often as Mahīkāntā. The Gaḍalādeṇiya inscription of Sēnāsammata Vikramabāhu lays down two commands and states that they were the commands of certain divinities among whom is Mahīkāntāva (EZ 4. 1. 15; also see L. D. Barnett, *Alphabetical Guide to the Sinhalese Folklore*, p. 63).

To most of these deities has been attributed a quality in which they are supposed to excel all others. Hence persons possessing such extraordinary powers or qualities have often been compared to them. The following quotation from one of the inscriptions illustrates this: 'He has surpassed the Sun in majesty inherent in him, Mahēśvara (Śiva) in prowess, Viṣṇu in haughty spirit, the

Chief of the gods (Indra) in kingly state, the Lord of riches (Kuvēra) in inexhaustible wealth . . . the Preceptor of the gods (Bṛhaspati) in his fertility of wisdom, the Moon in gentleness, Kandarpa in the richness of his beauty, and the Bōdhisattva in the fullness of his benevolence ' (EZ 2. 5. 215).

### Cintāmaṇi

The belief in five divine objects which satisfied all desires of beings was widespread. The five are: *cintāmaṇi*, the wish-conferring gem; *kalpavṛkṣa*, the divine tree; *kalpalatā*, the celestial creeper; *surabhi dhēnu*, the divine cow; and *bhadra-ghaṭa*, the celestial pot. A person of extraordinary generosity is commonly referred to in these terms. One of the inscriptions of the 12th century states that the king put up many alms-houses, which were furnished like wish-conferring trees (EZ 2. 2. 90). The Pjv describes the divine tree thus: Its trunk is 5 *yōjanas* in thickness, 15 in circumference, 50 in height. It has five branches, 50 *yōjanas* each in height, and the foliage expanse is 300 *yōjanas*. Each branch has thousands of branches. The ripe leaves of this tree are golden-coloured clothes; the mature leaves are blue celestial garments. Tender leaves are red divine garments. Its shoots are jewels, as coral, gems and metal. The fruits are the seven kinds of gems (571).

### Cakravarti

A concept which seems to have been widespread is that of universal rulership. The Sdhk gives us some details of a Cakravarti or universal monarch who, it is believed, will be ruling over the world at the advent of the Maitrī Bōdhisattva. He will be Saṅkha by name, and will be born in the kingdom of Kētumatī. He will have a mansion made of the seven kinds of precious material; and seven 'treasures', namely, chariot, elephant, horse, gem, wife, adviser (*parināyaka*), and treasurer (*grhapati*) shall be given to him. He will have a thousand sons of prowess equal to his own, and will have power to travel through the air. From his body shall emanate the smell of sandalwood and from his mouth the smell of *mahanel* (*Nymphaea stellata*) flowers. Four gods shall keep guard in the four directions, with swords in their hands. His orchestra will occupy a space of 12 *yōjanas*, his circle of brahmins a space of 25 *yōjanas*, the ministers, decked in all splendour and in battle array, a space of 48 *yōjanas*, the remaining assembly a space of 90 *yōjanas*, his army in armour a space of 500 *yōjanas*. His four-fold army of

about 84,000 crores of horses, elephants, etc., will stand by. Jambudvīpa will have 84,000 kingdoms, and these will have 90 crores of lakhs of annointed kings who will constantly surround this universal monarch, who will live a life full and perfect in sensual enjoyments amidst his divine damsels, listening to fourfold music, and admonishing the whole world. Within one morning he will traverse the sky, the four great islands and their satellite islands, admonishing all beings to refrain from evil and observe the five precepts, and return to his palace for his mid-day meal (750). The SdhRv also refers to the fact that universal rulers are wont to practise the four heart-winning qualities (*catusaṅgaha-vatthu*). In their kingdom there are no thieves. They are in the habit of patrolling the whole universe once a day. Similarly, they examine their own selves daily and give up any evil qualities and strengthen the good (524). The book also refers to the universal ruler Mandhātu, who had power to cause a shower of seven kinds of gems by the mere clapping of his hands (ibid. 705). His chief treasure and the chief symbol of office is the chariot, which is often referred to. One who is not born in a royal family cannot become a Cakravarti ruler. He is possessed of 32 marks, as those of the Buddha. If a being possessed of these 32 characteristic signs remains in household life he will necessarily become a universal monarch; and if he renounces worldly pleasures, he will be a Buddha.

This concept of a universal monarch seems to be bound up with a sense of imperialism. The desire of every king was to gain more and more territory and have as many vassal kings as possible. Thus the Universal Monarchy is the highest concept of an imperialistic world-state.

### Concept of Heaven and Hell

The universe was believed to consist of many world-systems each of which has its own earth, heavens and hells. In this world-system, the world of human beings is placed in between the hells and heavens. In the lowest regions—that is, under the earth's crust—are the purgatories, eight or more in number, and above in the sky are the heavens.

Today this view has been contested and some maintain that all these heavens and hells are in this animal world; but the SdhRv specifically mentions that *paralova* (the next world) is not a part or portion of the world of human beings: '*para lova namut minis*

*lovinma kābāllak noveyi* ' (62). It also states that the worlds of *dēvas* and Brahmās also form part of the other world, thus establishing the belief in a heaven which is not a part of the earth. That the heavens were situated above where the stars were is indicated by the phrase '*taru penena divyalōkayehi*' (Pjv 430). The statements that the flames rose as far up as the worlds of the Brahmās, and that one climbed up to heaven with the ladder of a pleased heart, establish the same concept as to the position of heaven (SdhRv 707, 53 resp.). Great sinners are supposed to have been pulled into the hells down below the earth's surface through cracks that appeared in the crust; e.g. *poḷova gālagena gosin avīciyehi lāpīya* (SdhRv 16), dragged into the earth and cast in the Avīci hell. The eight hells are also placed one over the other as a number of pots placed one over the other (Pjv 617). The VismSn, explaining the words '*adhō*' and '*uddham*', clarifies the position. By '*adhō*' is meant the beings of the hells and the *nāga* abodes who are below you, and by '*uddham*' is meant the beings of *dēva*-worlds or other beings who are above you (44). Again the same text states that Avīci was beneath Jambudvīpa (742). This no doubt was the common Buddhist concept (see Law, *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, pp. 93, 104, 115).

The Pjv describes the hells as 10,000 *yōjanas* each in length, depth and breadth. They have an iron sheet 9 *yōjanas* in thickness. The eyes of those who stand even 100 *yōjanas* away will burst owing to the heat of the hell-fires (Pjv 55). According to the SdhRv the hell-fires of Avīci will burst the eyes of even those watching from a distance of 400 leagues. If one were to drop a rock as large as a gabled house into it, it will melt as soon as it is cast (144). It was 400 *gavs* in length, breadth, and height, 36 *gavs* in thickness, has four flaming walls, an iron roof and floor (ibid. 145). Molten lava is poured with a metal spoon into the mouths of those who fell into this hell (ibid. 144).

The Pjv describes the fate of the unfortunate beings who fall into the eight hells, Sañjīva, Kālasūtra, Saṅghāta, Raurava, Mahāraurava, Tāpa, Pratāpa and Avīci (55). Another hell frequently referred to is Lokantarika, which, according to the Pjv, is situated where three world-systems met. There is no light, either of sun or moon. The *prētas* born there are three leagues in height, have long nails, bodies like dried leaves, mouths of the size of an eye of a needle, and their age there is a *kalpa* (Pjv 56).

The descriptions of Raurava and Mahāraurava in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa apply also to the hells of the Buddhists (see Law, *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, p. 117).

The Pjv gives the spans of life in most of the hells, whilst the SdhRv only makes a passing reference here and there. The SdhRv says that even if the life-span of a human being was an *asaṅkheyya* of years, it would be much less than the time taken to burn up a cobweb when one compares it with the life-span in some of the hells (316). The age-span of Avīci is given as one *antaḥ kalpa* (SdhRv 409). According to the Pjv the beings who fall into the first (Sañjīva) hell, suffer for a length of 162,000 crores of human years; in the second hell, for 1,296,000 crores of years; in the third, 10,368,000 crores; in the fourth, 82,944,000 crores; in the fifth, 663,552,000 crores; in the sixth, 5,308,416,000 crores; in the seventh, half a *kalpa*; and in the eighth for a *kalpa* (56).

The frequent descriptions, both in the Pjv and the SdhRv, afford us interesting information regarding the heavens. The Tāvatiṃsa *dēva*-world is that most frequently mentioned. According to the Pjv, a hundred years of the world of human beings is one day there. A month of ours is the time taken for 18 sighs of the gods; 10 days the time taken for 6 sighs; 5 days, 3 sighs. Therefore, they eat twice within a period equivalent to a hundred years on earth (488). According to the same book, the life-span in the Cāturmahārājika *dēva*-world is 500 years, a day here being 50 years on earth, a month 30 such days and a year 12 of these months (56). The SdhRv gives 12 years on earth as 7 hours and 12 minutes in Tāvatiṃsa (955), and the life-span in Tusita is given in the same text as 5,760,000,000 years (163). These figures are corroborated by Law (*Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, p. 27). In the *Suddhāvāsas* or Pure Abodes, which are not destroyed at the cosmic dissolution, the life-span is given as 1,000, 2,000, 4,000, 8,000 and 16,000 *mahā-kalpas* respectively (SdhRv 30).

Certain common beliefs regarding these heavens are also expressed by the author of SdhRv: for example, in one place he adds that there are no women in the Brahma-world (678); there are no animals in the *dēva*-worlds (261); *pāramitās* (Perfections) cannot be fulfilled in the *dēva* and Brahma worlds (249); even if women were to attain the five *dhyānaś*, they could only be born in the sphere of the First Trance-heaven (849); and the gods could smell human

beings at a distance of 400 leagues as if a dead body were tied round their necks (722).

### Yama

In Yama we have the king or the lord of the hells. He is one of the Brāhmanic deities adopted by Buddhists. He is assisted in his work by a set of officers, the *nirayapālas*, or guards of the hells. When a man is born in hell, the *nirayapālas* take him to Yama for judgment. 'A man who has sinned excessively, we are told', says Adikaram, 'is not taken to Yama, for in this case there is no question that he must suffer the torments of hell. Yama is a righteous king. He tries his best to save a person from falling into *niraya*. Yama asks him to recall some good deed that he has done. Even at the eleventh hour, if he can recall a good deed, that enables him to take birth in a happy world' (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 150). When some meritorious deed is done, it is the practice to share the merit thus gained with Yama—that is, the people request Yama amongst others to partake of the merit. 'This belief in the efficacy of sharing merits with Yama seems to have originated in Ceylon, and even today it exists in the island among some people' (*ibid.*, p. 150).

According to the Hindu conception, he is the son of Vivasvat (sun) and Saranyū, the daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ (Viśvakarma). In the Ṛg-vēda, he is nowhere represented as having anything to do with the punishment of the wicked; but in the Purāṇas he is the judge of men, and is said to rule over the hells where the wicked suffer (W. J. Wilkins, *Hindu Mythology*, pp. 68, 70). He is the Indian equivalent of Pluto.

### Cosmography

The cosmography known to the people of the island was that known to the Indians but modified by Buddhist thought. The universe was considered a collection of numerous world-systems. The literature always refers to *dasa dahasak sakvaḷa* (10,000 world-systems), the figure being significant as denoting a large number. The world-systems are also described at times as *keḷa lakṣayak* or as *ananta aparimāṇa* (innumerable). Our world-system is the only one we know of. According to belief, the whole world-system was surrounded by the *cakravāla* mountain, 3,610,350 *yōjanas* in circumference. Within was mount Mēru with the four continents and their 2,000 satellite islands (Sdhk 130). The extent of

this *cakravāla*, as given in the SdhRv, is 4,813,800 leagues in length and breadth, 14,441,400 leagues in circumference (866). This *cakravāla* consisted of the four main continents, namely, Uttarakuru, Aparagōyāna, Pūrvavidēha and Jambudvīpa, situated on the four sides of Mēru. The Pjv gives an account of these: The Jambudvīpa is 10,000 *yōjanas*, out of which 3,000 *yōjanas* are the Himalayas, 4,000 are covered by the ocean, and the remaining 3,000 form Jambudvīpa, in which are 96 crores of villages (*patun gam*), 99 lakhs of landing places or harbours, and 50 of gold mines. In the best era it has 199,000 human kingdoms, in the middle era either 84,000 or 63,000 beautiful cities, and 100 kingdoms in the last era. In the centre of the land of Jambudvīpa was the sacred Bō-tree (105). The Uttarakuru has an area of 8,000 *yōjanas* in length and breadth, and is 24,000 *yōjanas* round. In all this vast expanse of land there is not a hole, hill, mountain, tree or creeper; and the whole of it is a sandy surface, resembling a vast surface strewn with pearls. In the centre of this is the *kalpa-ṛkṣa* or divine tree (Pjv 570). The Aparagōyāna and Pūrvavidēha are each 7,000 *yōjanas* in extent (Pjv 105). According to the SdhRv these three continents are lit up by one moon (662).

Our system is divided into three worlds (*tun lova*), *Kāma* (world of sense-desire), *Rūpa* (world of material form), and *Arūpa* (world of no form).

Below this earth are the abodes of *nāgas* (snakes). From the abodes of the terrestrial gods up to those of Brahmās are the abodes of gods. This *cakravāla* thus extends from the *Nāga*-world up to the Akaniṭṭha Brahma-world (SdhRv 809). According to the SdhRv the earth itself is about 960,000 leagues in thickness, while the Pjv gives the thickness (*bol*) as 240,000 *yōjanas* (Pjv 47). In another place it gives the depth (*gāmbura*) as the same (Pjv 133). What it means is perhaps the thickness of the crust and not the depth into the centre, and this thickness agrees with that given by the SdhRv (see above). The rate of growth of the earth's crust is one inch in a thousand years, according to all the three books, SdhRv (489; 406), Sdhk (632), Pjv (238).

The *kalpa-vināsa* or cosmic dissolution occurs at the end of a *kalpa* or aeon, which consists of a thousand colossal cycles of time (*māha-yuga*), each of which is divided into four *yugas* (ages), Kṛta, Trētā, Dvāpara, and Kali, which are marked by successive decrease

and deterioration. Each *kalpa* is preceded by a new creation and ends in a cosmic dissolution. The destruction is caused by different agencies, such as fire, wind, and water. When the destruction is caused by fire, the universe up to the Ābhassara Brahma-world is destroyed, and when it is dissolved by wind it perishes up to the Vēhappala (SdhRv 30). A lakh of years before its destruction by the appearance of seven suns, the gods of the *kāmāvacara dēva* worlds (planes of sensuous pleasures), dressed in red, with their hair dishevelled, descend into the world of men, weeping and lamenting, and tell the people that the world's ruin is at hand and that innumerable world-systems will perish, the oceans will dry up, and Mēru itself will be destroyed, and they admonish them to practise *mettā*, universal love (SdhRv 954). Similarly, seven days before the dissolution by rain, a god in auspicious guise descends to the earth and warns mankind of the coming disaster thus: 'O men! seven days hence the disastrous rain known as *mṛga-saṃvarṣā* will continue for seven days. Those beings who become wet in this will appear to each other as deer and they will kill each other. Those who desire to safeguard their lives should retire into caves or like places, taking provisions for a week. Those who adhere to these words will save their lives, while all the others perish. Those who are saved will get together and lead righteous lives. First of all, they will give up killing, and as a result of the merit thus gained, their children will enjoy a life-span of 20 years. These will in turn give up theft, and their children will have a life-span of 30 years. Thus the ages will gradually increase up to 200 years as men give up the ten sinful deeds' (Sdhk 733).

The vast expanse of time is also divided into *Buddhāntaras* or intervals between Buddhas. Both the Pjv and the SdhRv give the length of one such interval as the time taken by the earth to grow seven leagues, growing at the rate of one inch in a thousand years (Pjv 172 ; SdhRv 847).



## CHAPTER X

### THE BUDDHIST CHURCH

#### The Saṅgha

We should be quite justified in concluding that the island at this time was everywhere 'dotted with monasteries', and the yellow robe was 'shining everywhere', though, as we have already observed, Buddhism was much mixed with other cults and practices which were, in spirit, quite foreign to it. What Adikaram observes of an earlier period may hold good even here. 'The laymen—comprising the kings, the nobility, and the common folk—considered it their bounden duty to help the monks by bestowing on them food, clothes and other requisites, and the monks in turn considered it their duty to instruct and enlighten the laity in matters spiritual pertaining to this life and to the hereafter' (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, pp. 125, 126). This mutual activity has persisted up to the present day. Adikaram has also observed that the *Saṅgha* during the early period preserved a high degree of purity and that the Buddhist Order was a highly respected and influential organization in the island (*ibid.*). The *Saṅgha* no doubt remained a respected and influential body up to quite recent times; but it appears that during the time under review the Order had lost much of its purity. We see that the high standards reached and maintained in the early periods fell under the various foreign influences. The *bhikkhūs* seem to have been lax in discipline, and corruption had set in. We hear of the same conditions even in the centuries immediately preceding the thirteenth. It was this state of impurity and laxity that compelled the ruling kings to intervene and set up codes of regulations called *katikāvat* which the monks were expected to follow. These were attempts made by the kings to restore peace and order and the purity of the Buddhist Church. Parākramabāhu I has recorded his attempts to achieve this end. His rock-inscription states that 'the Community of *Thēras*, headed by the Great *Thēra Mahākassapa*, formulated the code of disciplinary injunctions without deviating from the customary formalities observed in the lineage of preceptors, after due consultation of the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* in order that those of negligent conduct may not find an opening (for transgression)' (EZ 2. 6. 276). The same inscrip-

tion also states that the king enlisted the services of the monks of the Udumbaragiri monastery, removed hundreds of sinful monks, and brought about a rapprochement of the three fraternities. These words will help us to form an idea of the state of the *Saṅgha* at this time. We see that dissension and corruption had set in amidst the Order. The efforts of the ruler do not seem to have had far-reaching effects, for we again read of similar conditions in the succeeding century, when Vijayabāhu III and Parākramabāhu II had to resort to the same method to bring about the unity and the purity of the *Saṅgha* during their times. In between the reigns of these two kings ruled Nissaṅka Malla, who himself has recorded that he purified the *Saṅgha*: '... he rid the Buddhist Church also of the thorns of irreligiousness, and thus rendered both the Church and the State free from evil' (EZ 2. 3. 118). His inscription on the inside wall of Hāṭadāgē at Poḷonnaruva gives us indirect evidence to conjecture that individuals were admitted into the Order without due consideration as to their suitability. He made a definite order against such indiscreet actions: 'the venerable ones, who are in the position of . . . teachers and spiritual preceptors should not without inquiry robe foolish, sinful persons who are false and crafty'. He also refers in contemptuous terms to hypocrites who had crept into the Order, for personal gain: 'The guise of a *śramaṇa* adopted without the virtues (of one) is . . . and the partaking of food (belonging to another) while one leads an immoral life . . . in hell' (EZ 2. 2. 98; parts of the inscription are obliterated). The conditions do not seem to have improved much with the dawning of the 13th century, for the setting up of a code of rules during this period shows that the *Saṅgha* was still in a state of impurity and dissension. The *SdhRv* hints at this when it deviates from the Pāli text to make the *setṭhi* of Pāṭalīputra ask Nāgasēna whether he knew anything of the doctrine or whether he was one who had entered the Order for his own convenience (75). Again, in the story of Lāludāyi, it states that this monk had entered the Order merely because he happened to live in the country: '*raṭa hunnāṭa sasun vāda mahanavū pamaṇak vinā*' (388). These and other such references make it clear that the Order at this time was corrupt, and that it was full of those who had entered for their bellies' sake. This does not mean that there were no virtuous monks, but is only an index to the general standard of religious attainments. The remarks made by Parānavitana regarding the setting up of *katikāvatas* may be observed here: 'Whenever a pious king noticed corruptions or

dissensions in the Buddhist Church, he had the canon rehearsed and a *katikāvata* issued. Of the later *katikāvatas* we see in the Hāṭadāgē wall-inscription a fragment of the one issued by Kitti Nissaṅka Malla (A.D. 1187-1196). During the reign of Vijayabāhu III (A.D. 1227-1231), Saṅgharakkhita Thēra, a pupil of the celebrated author Sāriputta Thēra of Poḷonnaruva, with the co-operation of another eminent elder, Diṃbulāgala Mēdhaṅkara, held an ecclesiastical court at which the sacred text was revised and a new code of disciplinary rules was promulgated. Thereafter his distinguished son Parākramabāhu II (A.D. 1231-1265) had the Daṃbadeṇi-Katikāvata issued by an assembly of elders of the Diṃbulāgala fraternity. In this the authors have included practically the whole of the contents of Parākramabāhu's Gal-vihāra Katikāvata' (EZ 2. 6. 261). The Pjv makes reference to the low standard of the religion at this time. It states that books were brought over from India, and that Ceylon had only few monks versed in the doctrine (741), and it extols the efforts of Parākramabāhu II to restore the *śāsana*. It also records that he had Mahā Thēra Dharmakīrti brought from a place called Tamaliṅgamuva, and honoured him greatly (Pjv 740). It further records the presentation of the monastery at Attanagalla to Anōmadassi (Pjv 745). The VismSn also mentions the *thēras* Tissa, Mahātissa, Piṇḍapātika, and Dvēbhātika of the Koḷapav, Mahā Karaṇḍa, Devput-raṭa and Situlpav *vihāras* respectively (VismSn 1052).

The *Saṅgha* at this time was divided into a number of factions as in the preceding centuries. We see that during the time of Mahānāga there were three *nikāyas* (*tayō nikāyā*) (MV 41. 97). The slab-inscription of the Vēḷāikkāras of the 12th century states that a purification of the three *nikāyas* was effected (EZ 2. 6. 254). The rock-inscription of Parākramabāhu I of the same century states that His Majesty brought about a rapprochement of the three *nikāyas*, fraternities, which according to Wickremasinghe were Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri and Jētavana. He however points out that according to a manuscript copy of the Daṃbadeṇi-katikāvata available at the British Museum, the fraternities in question were the three heretical sects called Dharmaruci-nikāya, Sāgaliya-nikāya, and Vētulyavāda-nikāya (EZ 2. 6. 275, n. 1).

The Nikāya-saṅgrahaya refers to the unification of the *Saṅgha* belonging to the three *nikāyas*, Dharmaruci, Sāgalika and Vaitulyavādi by Parākramabāhu I (p. 22). Thus we see that the three

well established Nikāyas at this time were Dharmaruci, Śāgalika and Vaitulayavādi. Then there was the orthodox Mahāvihāra. The existence of two other schools, the Mahīśāsakas and the Vitaṇḍavādins is shown by Adikaram (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 95). He also gives evidence that there were Thēravādins in Ceylon who tended to make the Buddha supernatural just as did the Lōkottaravādins of India (ibid., p. 96); but we cannot know for certain whether these formed a Lōkottaravāda School in Ceylon. We also have the evidence of the CV that Sena I (9th century) built the Virāṅkurārāma and granted it to the monks of the Thēravāda and Mahāsaṃghika schools (CV 50. 67). Reference is also made in the VismSn (p. 819) to the Sarvāstivāda-nikāya. The Mahīśāsakas are reckoned as belonging to the Vibhajjavādins and are said to be a branch of the Sarvāstivādins (see MV *Appendix B, The Buddhist Sects*, p. 279).

Rahula Thēra refers to the existence of two groups of monks known as Dhammakathika and Paṃsukūlika in the latter part of the first century B.C. and states that they were not two different *nikāyas* but two groups of the same community (Rahula Thēra, unpublished Thesis—*Some Aspects of the Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 284, University of Ceylon Library). The CV states that the Paṃsukūlikas separated from the Abhayuttara vihāra and formed special groups (*gaṇā'hēsum*) in the twentieth year of the reign of Sena II (CV 51. 52). Two other groups, the Araññavāsī and the Gāmantavāsī are also heard of (see Rahula Thēra, p. 285; CV 52. 22, etc.). It is likely that all the *nikāyas* had these groups. Rahula Thēra also mentions that Paṃsukūlikas and Araññakas were regarded as separate groups (ibid., p. 287). Godakumbura says that tradition records that beginning of the Araññavāsins and the Gāmantavāsins goes back to the early Anurādhapura period when the Vessagiriya and the Issarasamana were the two seats of the forest and village dwellers respectively. Both belonged to the Mahāvihāra fraternity (see *Ceylon Daily News Vesak Number*, May 1941 *Some Ancient Seats of Learning*). That these two groups were in existence during the time of Parākramabāhu II's time is shown by the CV when it describes the great work done by this king in furtherance of the *Buddhaśāsana*: 'Now in order to provide for the protection of the Order, furthered by him, the Great King built round about his capital for the eight Grand Thēras who dwelt in the eight sanctuaries (*āyatanas*), and for the discerning

thēras dwelling in villages or in the wilderness of the forest (*gāmā-raññanivāsīnaṃ*), many communal monasteries suitable for dwelling in, extensively embellished with diverse *pāsūdas*, provided with various *maṇḍapas*, furnished with various bathing-ponds, adorned with cloisters which were places of sojourn by day and by night, surrounded by a series of flower-parks and tree-parks, and granted them to them (CV 84. 17, etc.). Two divisions of Paṃsukūlika *bhikkhūs* are also mentioned during the time of Jayabāhu I (early 12th century): *paṃsukūlika bhikkhū ca koṭṭhāsadvayanis-sitā* (CV 61. 59). Geiger in a note to this remarks that this is the last mention of this organisation and that the sect seems to have vanished after this time (*ibid.*, n. 2).

The slab-inscription of Kalyāṇavatī records that Her Majesty gave great largesse to the resident monks led by the venerable elders of the seven confraternities (*gaṇas*) (EZ 4. 5. 260). Parānavitana, commenting on the term '*satgeṇehi*', states that the Buddhist Church of Ceylon in the Poḷonnaruva period seems to have been constituted of seven Colleges or Confraternities (*gaṇas*); but that he does not know of any place where the seven are enumerated (EZ *ibid.*, n. 8). The later Alutnuvara inscription of the 15th century (EZ 4. 6. 266) also refers to seven *gaṇas*. Parānavitana here observes that the same seven organisations recorded in the inscription of Kalyāṇavatī may have continued till the 16th century. He adds that the word *gaṇa* originally meant a corporation of any kind, and the possibility of the term *satgaṇaya* referring to other corporations, seven in number, of a secular nature, is not altogether excluded (EZ *ibid.*, n. 2). The Daṃbadeṇi-katikāvata lays down that the Higher Ordination *katikāvata* be read amidst the assemblies of the respective *gaṇas* prior to the admission into the Higher Order: '*ē geṇehi saṃghayā madhyayehi mahalu pāvīdi katikāvata kiyavā guṇa upānkala mahalu pāvīdi kaṭayutu*' (*Katikāvata-saṅgarā*, ed. D. B. Jayatilake, p. 10). Now we can see that the community of monks was divided into *gaṇas* during the 13th century. There seem to have been seven such *gaṇas* though we cannot be certain as to the names of these seven. We have already seen that the Paṃsukūlikas were termed a *gaṇa*. This establishes that the term could not be applied to the *nikāyas* which were the main divisions. Whether the other schools such as Mahīśāsakas, Viṇḍavādins, Mahāsaṃghikas, came to be known as *gaṇas* it is difficult to surmise. It

may be mentioned that the term *gaṇa* has been used in the Saṃyutta-Nikāya with reference to the heretical or alien sects or schools during the time of the Buddha: *gaṇassa satthārō*, teacher of *gaṇa* (*Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, II. 3. 10, p. 66; also *gaṇācariyā* III. 1. 1, p. 68). The mention of a *viyat pat aṭaganaya* in the Nikāya-saṅgrahaya (p. 21) in connection with the administrative activities of Parākramabāhu I must be mentioned here. Medhananda Thēra in his Introduction to the Anāgatavaṃśaya (p. viii) states that the eight *gaṇas* referred to in the Nikāya-saṅgrahaya were the *mūlas* Uttara, Sēnāpati, Mahānettappāsāda, Sēlantara, Saroggāma, Vādum and the two sects Gāmādhivāsi and Araññādhivāsi. Here we come to the question of the *mūlas* which will be discussed subsequently. Medhananda Thēra's enumeration has no basis of fact. The Rājāvaliya speaking of the efforts of Parākramabāhu I in the purification of the *Śāsana*, states that he caused to be built mansions, image-houses, etc. in the eight *ayatānas* of Sāgiri in Poḷonnaruva. The words chief monasteries (*pradhāna vihārasthāna aṭehi*) are also written within brackets after the word *ayatāna* (ed. W. Pemananda, 1926, p. 57). Hence *ayatāna* perhaps meant *āyatana*; *ayatāna* could also mean places of income, *aya sthāna*. The Daṃbadeṇi-katikāvata too makes reference to *ayatāna* whilst speaking of the appointment of chief monks to the *ayatāna* (p. 13). Here too the word could mean either *āyatana* (institution) or place of income. The word *ayatāna* cannot be derived from *āyatana* according to normal rules of philology; but it can be a 'learned' or 'scholarly' derivation from it. Medhananda Thēra in his attempt to explain *ata gaṇa* refers to *āyatana padavi* and *mūla padavi* which he considers identical. On this he concludes that *mūla padavi* meant the *gaṇas*. Thus we see that he has been influenced by *ata ayatān* in his identification of the *ata gaṇa* with the *mūlas*. The term *gaṇa* here no doubt meant some secular divisions to which some part of the administration was divided into. The term has been rendered as eight departments of the Ancient Sinhalese Government (*A Dic. of the Sinhalese Language*). Codrington thinks that the term meant divisions of the army—eight corps of skilled foot-soldiers (J.R.A.S., Vol. XXXI, p. 398). The CV refers to eight chief *vihāras* (*aṭṭhamūlavihārēsu*) and Paṃsukūlika *bhikkhūs* of the time of Jayabāhu I (61. 59). The Chronicle also records that Parākramabāhu II had the maintenance villages of the *gaṇas*, eight *āyatanas* and *piriveṇas* properly assigned. It further adds that he built many monasteries for the eight *mahā-*

*thēras* resident at the eight *āyatanas* (CV 84. 4, 17). Neither the eight *vihāras* nor the *āyatanas* are enumerated in the Chronicle. These references also make it clear that the *gaṇas* were different from both the *vihāras* and the *āyatanas*.

Now we come to the *mūlas* and the *āyatanas* of which we read quite frequently both in the literature and the inscriptions. We also come across a combination of these two terms as *mūlāyatana*. *āyatana* means region, sphere, place, spot, haunt, e.g. *araññāyatana*, a lonely spot, a spot in the forest (P.T.S. Dic.) and *mūla* means chief, first, original, source, foundation, beginning, base, primary, principal (ibid. and MW); but the word is usually spelt in the inscriptions with a cerebral *ḷ* as *mūḷa*- an assembly or congregation according to Paranavitana (EZ 3. 2. 97; cp. S. *mūḷu*, Skt. *samūḍha*, *samūḷha*; for the meaning of S. *mūḷa* cp. that of Pk., P., Skt. *samūha*. *An Etymological Glossary of the Sinhalese Language*). This gains support by the mention of *Sēlantarasamūhō* in the CV (57. 37). Today the word is commonly spelt with a dental *l* as *mūla* and the idea implied by Skt. *mūla* seem to apply quite appropriately. A *mūla* would have been the original foundation or centre of a movement and the *āyatanas* would have been other institutions attached to these centres. In Ceylon these *āyatanas* and *mūlas* came to be places or centres of learning and education. Mention is made of several of these centres. The two inscriptions at Koṭṭangē of the 13th century refer to Vilgammūḷa (P. *Sarōgāmamūla*) (EZ 4. 2. 87). This fraternity, says Paranavitana, 'figures in history for the first time in the Poḷonnaruva period. Moggallāna Thēra, the author of the Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānaḥpadīpikā* and who lived in the Jētavana-vihāra built by Parākramabāhu I at Poḷonnaruva, was a member of this fraternity. The authors of several well-known Sinhalese and Pāli works produced in the 14th century were of this fraternity of monks. The Vapasinā Āyatana, which seems to have belonged to this college of monks, is not known from other sources' (EZ 4. 2. 86). The slab-inscription (No. 1) of Mahinda IV of the 11th century makes reference to four *mūlas* (EZ 1. 6. 226). Another inscription of the same century refers to Kapārāmūḷa of the Pubbārāmavihāra. Here the *Mahayā* is said to have bestowed the four priestly requisites upon twelve monks, who were adorned with the ornaments of distinctive virtues such as moderation in desires, contentment, and religious austerity (EZ 1. 5. 188). It can be gathered that the Kapārā and Vilgammūḷa were seats that

belonged to the Abhayagiri sect. The slab-inscription of the Veḷāik-kāras mentions Uttoruḷa-mūḷa as the chief (*agra*) *āyatana* of the Abhayagiri and also shows that Mugalan Mahāthēra belonged to this *mūḷa* (EZ 2. 6. 254). In a note to this Wickremasinghe conjectures that this *mūḷa* might have been the one built by Mānavamma (A.D. 670-705) at Abhayagiri for the use of his brother (*Parivēṇam Uttarōmūlam*, CV 57. 20) (EZ 2. 6. 248, n. 5). The Pjv (731) also mentions that Uturaḷamuḷa and Vādumuḷa were built by Mahalāpāṇō (Mānavamma). The Daḷadā-sirita also refers to Uturaḷamuḷa and Vādumuḷa (ed. Vajira Ratnasuriya, p. 42). The Anuruddha-śataka in its colophon states that it was done by Anuruddha Upasthavira, who was a jewel-shoot in the necklace of the Uttaramūla :

*idaṃ vyadhattottaramūlahāra  
ratnāṅkuropasthavirānuruddhaḥ*

(*Anuruddha-śataka*, published by the Buddhist Text Society of India, 1899, p. 44). Seelakkhandha Thēra in his commentary to this stanza says that Anuruddha Thēra belonged to the Uttaramūla-vaṃsa (ibid.). Malalasekara identifies this Uttaramūla with the Uttarōmūla built by Mānavamma (*Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, p. 170). The slab-inscription of Kassapa V records that the Kapārāmuḷa belonged to the Abhayagiri (EZ 1. 2. 43). The other *mūḷas* mentioned are: Mahanetpāmūla (Mahānettappāsāda mūla; Pjv states that it was written by Sthavira Buddhaputra, Principal of Mayūrapāda piriveṇa and brother of Sumaṅgala Mahāsthāvira of Mahanetpāmūla, 754); Senaratmūla (Sēnāpatimūla, *Vṛttamālā*, v. 43); Galaturumūla (Sēlantaramūla, CV 57. 37 has *Sēlantar-samūhō*, cp. Śailāntāyatana EZ 4. 4. 208); mention is made of a Dakkhiṇamūla (MV 36. 33); but it is difficult to ascertain whether this *mūḷa* was identical with Dakkhiṇagiri-vihāra or not. Thus we see that eight *mūḷas* have been recorded.

### Temple 'Slaves'<sup>1</sup>

The literature reveals the employment of servants or 'slaves' by religious bodies or temples. This evidence is supported by a mass of information from the inscriptions dating from the earliest times. The stories of Cakkhupāla Thēra, Kākaprēta, etc. of the SdhRv refer to the 'slaves' or serfs of the temples. The former refers to the

1. Though the term slave has been used in this context it is unlikely that the term had the same connotations known to the West.



freeing of two servants from bondage, and the latter to servants (*vālak*) as property of monks (SdhRv 43, 409). The CV (37. 173) states that King Buddhādāsa assigned revenues and servants (*kappiya kārakē*)<sup>1</sup> to the monks who preached the doctrine. The inscriptions show that the Buddhist temples had their own 'slaves' from the earliest times. The sixth century rock-inscription of Daḷamugalan refers to the gaining of freedom from 'slavery' (*viherila*)<sup>2</sup> by granting a hundred *kahāṇas* to a monastery (EZ 4. 6. 295). The 12th century Rankot-dāgaba pillar-inscription of Nissaṅka Malla records the granting of serfs (*dāsi dāsayan*) to the temple (EZ 2. 3. 142). The 14th century rock-inscription of Gaḍalādeṇiya records the granting of 'slaves' (*vahal*) to the monastery (EZ 4. 2. 107). The Galapāta-vihara rock-inscription also gives us a list of the lands and serfs dedicated to the monastery. 'Some of the names of these slaves are Tamil, or of Tamil origin; but no one who is familiar with the names of the Sinhalese people today would, on that account, assume that the bearers of these Tamil names were Tamils by nationality' (EZ 4. 4. 201). The inscription also gives the various types of 'slaves', viz. slaves who belong to the family hereditarily, purchased 'slaves' (*vahalin*) and those acquired by paying gold from the funds of the *vihāra* (EZ 4. 4. 210). Parānavitana's introductory comments on the four rock-inscriptions from Vessagiriya shed light on the conditions that existed in ancient Ceylon: 'They record the obtaining of freedom from slavery of themselves, or of their relatives, by various individuals who are named. The two individuals mentioned in inscription No. 4 obtained their manumission by paying 100 *kahāṇas* to the Issarasamaṇa monastery, which is also mentioned in this connection in inscription No. 1. This, and the fact that the records of the manumission are engraved within the precincts of the monastery, show that the slaves set free belonged to that religious establishment.

1. Geiger translates *kappiya kārakē* as servants. P. *kappiya* means right, suitable, proper and appropriate and *kappiya kāraka* 'one who makes it befitting' i.e. who by offering anything to a *bhikkhu*, makes it legally acceptable (P.T.S. Dic.)—those who supplied the requirements of the monks in keeping with the rules of the *Vinaya*.

2. Since writing this D. J. Wijayaratne has given a new interpretation to the terms *viherila*, *veherala* and other variant forms of this word and derives them from *visārala* and *visāralaka* meaning wood, timber (*University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. x, No. 1, January 1952, p. 103, *Interpretation of Vaharala etc. in Sinhalese Inscriptions*).

We have epigraphical evidence to prove that slaves were owned by Buddhist monasteries of Ceylon in the second century A.D., and also in later times, though the practice does not seem to be in keeping with the spirit of Buddhism. From other Buddhist countries like Burma and Cambodia, too, we have evidence to shew that Buddhist monastic institutions owned numerous slaves' (EZ 4. 3. 132). 'One of course gains merit by providing money for the maintenance of slaves at a monastery, and, at the same time, one would equally gain merit by obtaining the freedom of these slaves, which also would have to be done by paying money. Even if one obtains one's own freedom from slavery . . . there would yet be merit for the money paid to the monastery' (EZ 4. 3. 135). The story of Kukkuṭamitta in the SdhRv states that a *siṭāna* voluntarily offered himself along with his family as 'slaves' (*vāl*) to a monastery, and that the people redeemed them, paying their value to the temple (572). Ceylon temples were not alone in this respect, for similar slaves seem to have been kept in other Buddhist centres such as Burma, where Sir Charles Eliot notes the presence of pagoda-slaves even in modern times (see Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 1921, Vol. III, p. 120, n. 6).

Thus we see that 'slavery' was in existence in the island from early times. And not only did it exist, but a sort of 'slave-trade' also seems to have been carried on.

### Monasteries and Places of Worship

It is important to note the centres or places of worship that flourished during this century; but it is not possible here to deal with all such places, as the whole island must have been full of temples and *vihāras*. Reference, therefore, will be made to a few which are mentioned in the literary records of the century. Adikaram has dealt with a large number of places where the faith flourished, and there is no doubt that most of these were, during the period under review, still places of worship and religious activity.

*Mahāvihāra* (Sdhlk 394) which was the first to be built shortly after the introduction of the faith into the island, was for many centuries the leading monastery in the island. The SdhRv author mentions the Mahāvihāra in the story of Śakra, wherein he also refers to the Lōvāmahāpāya, which was also referred to in his Ekavihāriya Thēra's story (SdhRv 866, 823). The Mahāvihāra was the monastery that preserved the Thēravāda doctrine under

very trying circumstances. At the time of Buddhaghōsa, when the commentaries were written, the views held by this school were considered to be free from heretical thought.

Closely connected with the Mahāvihāra were the Lovāmahāpāya, Ruvanvālisāya, Thūpārāma, and the sacred *Bōdhi* tree, all of which are mentioned in the records of this century. The SdhRv refers twice to the Lōvāmahāpāya (823, 866), and twice to the Ruvanvālisāya (245, 23 ; VismSn 236). The Lōhapāsāda (Lōvāmahāpāya), or the Brazen Palace, was built in the early part of the 2nd century B.C. by Duṭugāmuṇu, and was the *uṇṇosathāgāra* of the Mahāvihāra. Ruvanvālisāya is also mentioned in the slab-inscription of Kalyāṇavati, which states that the votaries listened to the Thūpa-vaṃsa on the platform of the Ruvanvāli itself, and made offerings to the reciters of sacred texts (EZ 4. 5. 260).

*Thūpārāma* (Pjv 689) and *Mahā-Bōdhi* are also mentioned in the inscription referred to above, wherein is stated that the votaries caused various offerings to be made to these two places. The Sdhlk also refers to a *piriveṇa* called Asiggāhaka-piriveṇa of the Thūpārāma (561). The VismSn refers to the fact that the Thūpārāma was believed to be the repository of the relics—belts, water-vessels, bathing-ropes, and collar-bones—of the four Buddhas of this *kalpa* (VismSn 236). On account of this belief, this *vihāra* became one of the most venerated temples.

*Mirisavāti-vihāra* (Sdhlk 394) is also mentioned in the SdhRv in connection with the story of Prince Anitthigandha. It was built by Duṭugāmuṇu. The SdhRv records an incident which occurred during the consecration festival of the *vihāra*. The story is that a *sāmaṇēri* offered a rag to a *sāmaṇēra* whose hands were burnt by the hot gruel offered to him. Both of them obtained the Higher Ordination (*uṇṇasampadā*), but owing to some mishap they had to flee the country, and they met each other in the place whither they fled and recognised each other (246).

*Tissamahārāma* (Pjv 689), the most important among the many centres of learning in Rōhaṇa 'held a position in the southern half of Ceylon corresponding to that held by the Mahāvihāra in the northern half' (Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 116). The SdhRv refers to this monastery in translating the story connected with an incident that took place in the time of Duṭugāmuṇu. The reference is to the wife of the minister

Lakuṇṭaka Atimbaru. She is said to have joined the Order of Buddhist nuns at Tissamahārāma and attained the Path of *Sōtāpatti* (Stream-winner) on listening to the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta (SdhRv 851).

*Situlpav* comes next in importance in Rohaṇa, and is mentioned in the VismSn and the Sdhlk (VismSn 310; Sdhlk 691). This is situated about 15 miles north-east of Tissamahārāma. Both these *vihāras* were built by Kāvantissa in the 2nd century B.C.

*Kōṭipabbata* (Keḷapav) is another *vihāra* mentioned in the SdhRv in the same connection as Tissamahārāma (851). Adikaram says that it is a monastery not far from Situlpav, and that the Viśuddhi-magga mentions a *thēra* Tissa of this *vihāra*, who knew exactly when his life-span would end (*Early History of Buddhism*, p. 119). The SdhRv refers to a *thēra* named Anula who went on his begging round to the village called Mahāpuṇṇa. This *thēra* is said to have seen Sumanā, the wife of Lakuṇṭaka Atimbaru, and told the other monks how wonderful it was that a sow should become the wife of a minister. Sumanā, who heard this story, attained the power of seeing the past, and realised that she had been born a sow in her previous birth.

*Samanola* (Samantakūṭa, Sumanakūṭa, Sumanagiri) was known from the earliest times (see Adikaram, p. 114). The Pjv (745) records that the minister Dēva-Patirāja was requested by Parākramabāhu II to clear the way to Samanola (Śrī-pāda). The book states that pilgrims from 18 countries visited this shrine. The CV gives corroborative evidence of this fact: 'So thinking, he (the king) had him (Dēva-Patirāja) summoned and spake to him thus: "By swamp, mountain and wilderness as though created by the powerful, unwelcome Māra, the road leading to the Sumana mountain is at many places obstructed (made) inaccessible, and causes difficulties to the people of the eighteen provinces who make a pilgrimage thither in order to accumulate blessing by venerating the footprint of the Sage. Do thou therefore make it accessible"' (CV 86. 8). In accordance with this request 'he built rest-houses, finished the building of bridges, laid down at the remaining places frequent stepping stones, had the wilderness cleared and (in this way) a great road built' (CV 26. 27). Not only did he thus make Samanola accessible, but he also set up an image of the god Sumana in the courtyard of the *cētiya*. The Pjv

also gives an idea of the pilgrim parties to this sacred footprint when it says : ' *Siṃhala dīpavāsī satvayan samanōḷa dakṇaṭa yan-nūsē kāla bāṇḍa gos* ', went in bands just as the people of the island of Ceylon go to see Samanoḷa (567). The belief is that the Buddha left his footprint on the summit of this mountain on his third visit to the island. An inscription of Nissaṅka Malla also refers to Samanoḷa as one of the places he inspected (EZ 3. 6. 331). The Sdhk (419) also refers to pilgrimages to Samanoḷa, Kāḷaṇiya, etc. The Aṃbagamuva rock-inscription of Vijayabāhu I (A.D. 1058-1114) gives us information regarding the repairs he effected at Samanoḷa and the buildings he erected, and also interesting information about a terrace he constructed to enable low-caste people to worship the Relic : ' Thereafter, he instituted the maintenance of repairs, offerings, paintings, lighting of lamps on Samanoḷa rock, which bears the sacred foot print (of the Buddha) ; and for providing the great community of Buddhist monks, who arrive from the four quarters, to worship the (foot) relic here, with suitable food and other necessary things, and also for keeping up the alms given to those other travel-worn pilgrims who come together to worship the relic, he had almonries established in his name, one at each of the last five *gavs* of Raja-raṭa road and endowed them with means for alms-giving. He had a terrace constructed below the terrace where the sacred footprint is, and (thus gave facility) for low-caste people to worship the relic of the Sage. He had the first terrace enclosed by a great wall with two gateways at the two roads (leading in and out), which are fitted with locks and keys. (Thus) did he give those worthy of his protection facility to worship the relic of the Sage. He had a net also put up over the sacred footprint, and in the neighbourhood all round it he caused the formation of paddy fields ' (EZ 2. 5. 217).

*Kāḷaṇiya-vihāra* (Pjv 689) has been one of the very important centres of the religion. It is believed that Buddha visited this place twice. ' The name of the monastery ' says Adikaram, ' occurs for the first time in the Mahāvamsa about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Already at that time it was a well-organised *vihāra* and hence its establishment must have been earlier. We are unable to say definitely when the present *cētiya* was built. Cave gives the probable date as the 13th century ' (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 113). Nissaṅka Malla is said to have effected repairs in the old *vihāras* such as Miyagūṇu mahavehera, Mahagaṃa, Devunuvara and Kāḷaṇiya (EZ 2. 3. 119).

*Cētiyagiri* (S. Sāgiri) is mentioned in the VismSn and Sdhk (310, 408 resp.). This was the *cētiya* at Mihintale, about eight miles from Anurādhapura, and was the place where *thēra* Mahā Mahinda first landed in Ceylon and preached his first sermon. The Pjv mentions this shrine by the name of the place, Mihintale, as it is popularly known even today (689). This *cētiya* is also referred to in the slab-inscription of Kassapa V (EZ 1. 2. 45) and the tablets of Mahinda IV (EZ 1. 3. 84).

*Mahiyaṅgaṇa*, mentioned in the Pjv (689) is the Alutnuvara of today on the right bank of the river Mahavāli. 'Evidently', says Geiger, 'an ancient place of worship, probably already in pre-Aryan times, if the tale related in the Mahāvamsa 1. 14-43 rests on any kind of tradition. The *thūpa* in Alutnuvara is held to be the oldest in the island' (CV, pt. 1, p. 154, n. 3 see also MV 1. 37, CV 51. 74).

*Maṅḍulu and Kallaka vihāras* are two other monasteries referred to in the SdhRv. The minister's wife, Sumanā, above referred to, is said to have attained Arahatsip in the Kallaka-vihāra in the village called Bhekkhanta (851). The book refers to a monk, Mahā Tissa, of the Maṅḍulu-vihāra, who was in the habit of learning the Dhampiyā commentary (DPA has *Dhammapadabhāṇaka*).

The *Mādiligiri* or *Māṅḍalagiri* (Pjv 689) is in Tamankaḍuva, north-east of the Minneriya lake. The Mādirigiriya inscription refers to this *vihāra* (EZ 2. 1. 28). The CV (46. 29) records that Aggabōdhi IV gave a costly relic-house for the *cētiya* in this *vihāra*. It also records that Vijayabāhu I repaired this and many other *vihāras* that had fallen into decay, and granted villages to every one of them (CV 60. 63). The Prīti-dānaka-maṅḍapa rock-inscription states that Nissaṅka Malla visited and made great offerings to many celebrated *vihāras* such as those at Māṅḍili-giri, Velagama, Mahagama, Devunuvara and Kāḷaṇiya (EZ 2. 4. 177).

*Senevirat-piriveṇa* was, according to the Batalagoḍa-vāva slab-inscription dated in the fifth year of Kalyāṇavatī's reign (A.D. 1207), established by Lakvijaya Saṃ Siṅgu. The inscription also records the repairs effected to the Batalagoḍa-vāva and the endowments made to the shrine by Adhikāri Cūḍāmaṇi: 'Having seen that the monastery called Senevirat-piriveṇa, established in this town by the generalissimo Lakvijaya Saṃ Siṅgu, remained dilapidated and uninhabited, he repaired the image-house, rebuilt

the *dāgāba*, making it a mantle-*dāgāba*, repaired also the dilapidated residences of the monks in the same place, including the latrine and the water-closet, invited the members of the Great Community of monks, made them reside therein and attended on them with the four requisites' (EZ 4. 2. 81). 'The record, so far as it is preserved', says Paranavitana, 'does not contain anything to show that Queen Kalyāṇavatī herself was concerned with the works of repair to the Batalagoḍa-vāva and the religious foundations at the place. But she is said, in the Mahāvamsa, to have founded a *vihāra* at the village Paṇṇasāla, which has been identified with the modern Pannala near Batalagoḍa' (ibid., p. 77).

*Daṃbula-vihāra* (Pjv 689) is the celebrated rock-temple at Daṃbulla, 26 miles north of Matale. The CV refers to this temple as Jambukōla-vihāra and Jambukōla-lena, which was one of the places restored by Vijayabāhu I (CV 60. 60). Nissanka Malla is said to have caused the statues in the cave of Daṃbulla to be gilt, and celebrated an offering at a cost of seven lacs of money (EZ 1. 4. 135). The Prīti-dānaka-maṇḍapa inscription of the same king records that he caused the erection of a *vihāra* and *dāgāba* and setting up of seventy-three statues (EZ 2. 4. 177; see also Galpota inscription, EZ 2. 3. 106).

*Mahasengamu-vihāra* (Pjv 689) in the village of Mahāsēna was also restored by Vijayabāhu I (CV 60. 62), and a maintenance village granted to it. Aggabōdhi V is said to have restored the Tālavatthu-vihāra and granted the village of Paṇṇabhata (CV 48. 8) to the *vihāra* called after the Ruler of men, Mahāsēna. Geiger explains that Tālavatthu was an older monastery which Aggabōdhi restored, and to which he granted a village, afterwards giving it the name of Mahāsēna, by whom perhaps the older structure had been built (CV pt. 1, p. 111, n. 1).

*Abhayagiri* (Pjv 689; Sdhlk 394) was the chief centre of the *Nikāya* of the same name, and played an important part in the history of the religion. Geiger points out that 'according to the Mahāvamsa 33. 42-44, the monastery of the *nigaṇṭhas*, the Titthārāma, stood outside the gate of Anurādhapura. Since, on its place the Abhayagiri-vihāra was built, it cannot be identical with the *vihāra* of the *dāgāba* which is now called the Abhayagiri-dāgāba, but it must be that of the now so-called Jētavana-dāgāba. On the other hand, the site of the Jētavana-vihāra must be looked for

south of the city where now the so-called Abhayagiri-dāgāba stands. Tradition seems to have confounded one name with the other' (MV p. 235, n. 1).

*Jētavana-vihāra* (Pjv 689, Sdhk 394) was built by Mahāsēna for the *thēra* Kohontissa, and the monks of the Sāgaliya sect came over from Dakkhiṇagiri and settled down in it. Geiger points out that Abhayagiri is without doubt the northern of the three large *sthūpas* in Anurādhapura, Jētavana the eastern, and not conversely (CV pt. 1, p. 3, n. 2). The CV mentions another Jētavana monastery founded by Parākramabāhu I. 'What is meant here', says Geiger, 'is without doubt the group of monastic buildings within the city, to the north of the citadel, or the so-called quadrangle' (CV pt. 2, p. 105, n. 1).

*Girihaṅḍu-maha-vehera*, referred to both in the Pjv and the VismSn (689, 372 resp.), has been identified with Girikaṇḍa-vihāra by Paranavitana: 'The identity of *Girikaṇḍi* with *Girihaṅḍu* is proved beyond doubt by the fact that, in the Sinhalese paraphrase by Parākramabāhu II, of the Visuddhimagga, the word *Girikaṇḍa-mahāvihāra* occurring in the Pāli text is paraphrased as *Girihaṅḍu-vehera*. Therefore, we may be quite certain that, at the time when this inscription (Tiriyāy rock-inscription, late 7th or early 8th century) was written, there was a local legend connecting Tapassu and Bhalluka with the ancient *sthūpa* at Tiriyāy and that it was believed that this *sthūpa* contained the hair-relics said to have been presented by the Buddha to these merchants. This tradition seems to have persisted down to the thirteenth century and was known to the author of the *Pūjāvalī*, who added this additional information to the legend of Tapassu and Bhalluka given in the *Nidānakathā* . . . *Girikaṇḍika* is obviously identical with *Girikaṇḍaka*, a monastery of which name occurs in the *Mahāvamsa* (lx, v. 60) in a list of *vihāras* repaired by Vijaya-bāhu I. But there is nothing to decide the question whether it was the ancient monastery at Tiriyāy or a monastery of a similar name situated elsewhere . . . Of particular interest is the statement, in line 5 of the inscription, that Girikaṇḍaka-caitya was an abode of Avalōkitesvara . . . This also explains why the Girikaṇḍika-caitya, which, from this inscription, appears to have enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity, hardly finds mention in the chronicles written by the Thēravādins. Nor does the claim of the votaries of this



monastery that their *stūpa* contained hair-relics of the Buddha seem to have found recognition by the Mahāvihāra fraternity, for the *Nidānakathā* knows nothing of the episode which brings the two merchants to Ceylon' (EZ 4. 3. 156, 157, 158). 'The Sinhalese Pūjāvalī of the 13th century records the tradition that the merchants Tapassu and Bhalluka came to Ceylon and built a *stūpa* enshrining the hair-relics of the Buddha at a place called Girihaṅḍu; . . . thus the belief that the Girikaṅḍika Caitya was built in Ceylon during the life-time of the Buddha existed in the 13th century' (EZ 4. 6. 319).

*Dakkhiṇagiri-vihāra* (Sdhlk 394) is also referred to in the Kalu-diya-pokuṇa inscription (EZ 3. 5. 259). The Nikāya-saṅgrahaya (p. 12) records that a *thēra* Sāgaliya broke away from the Dharamrucci sect with his pupil monks and resided at this temple during the time of Gōṭhābhaya.

The Pjv (734) states that Nissaṅka Malla built the Ruvanmāli-dāgaba at Poḷonnaruva. This is corroborated by his Rankot-dāgaba gal-āsana inscription (EZ 2. 3. 135).

The Pjv (689) also refers to a vihāra Dīghanakhā. Medhankara Thēra states that this was a *vihāra* in the Batticaloa district (*Pūjāvaliyē Sūtisvāni paricchēdaya, granthiṭṭa-vivaraṇaya*, p. 64). The Saddharmaratnākaraya states that the Buddha visited the future site of the Dīghanakha *caityaya* in the Ruhuṇu *janaṭṭa* and quotes the Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā in proof of his statement. The Pāli stanza thus quoted refers to Dīghavāpi instead of Dīghanakha: *dīghavāpiyaṃ thūpassa thāne paramāya bhūmiyū* (*Saddharmaratnākaraya*, p. 312). Later on in the same book it is stated that king Saddhātissa caused the Dīghanakha *caityaya* to be built (ibid. p. 333).

### Five Great Residences

The Sdhlk (404) makes reference to Five Great Residences (*pañca-mahā āvāsa*): Denānaka, Bhagirinaka, Mirisavāṭi, Dakuṇugiri and Mahāvihāra. The story is that of a devout female Śraddhā Sumanā who gave alms to hundreds of monks of the Five Great Residences who had gathered at the almonry known as Mahāpāli at Anurādhapura. The Nikāya-saṅgrahaya dealing with the Sāgaliya sect speaks of Gōṭhābhaya as assembling the monks of the Five Great Residences to ascertain their views on the Vaitulya doctrine (p. 12). It also mentions that *thēra* Saṅghamitra could

not win the monks of the Five Great Vihāras to his Vaitulyan views (p. 13). Unfortunately for us the book does not name the five *vihāras* or the residences. The fragmentary inscription from Jētavanārāma also refers to the Five Great Residences (EZ 4. 6. 282); but here too the fragmentary nature of the inscription makes it impossible for us to find much information. Parānavitana comments that the five are monastic establishments which adhered to the Mahāvihāra doctrines. The Nikāya-saṅgrahaya reference is to a time prior to that of Mahāsēna who is said to have built the Jētavanārāmaya (MV 36. 33), hence the inclusion of the Jētavanārāmaya as one of the Five Great Residences by the author of the Sdhik does not, as observed by Parānavitana, seem to be reliable (see EZ 4. 6. 278, etc., and n. 4). The slab-inscription of Kassapa V refer to Mahanetpā and Vahadū *āvāsas* (EZ 1. 2. 45). These two are the Mahanetpāmula and Vādummula (see p. 234).

### Associated Buildings

The monasteries were composed of various other buildings which were used for different purposes in the monastery. The chief component part no doubt was the *ārāma*, where the monks dwelt. The other indispensable requirements were the refectory (*bojunhala* or *dāna-sālā*), and the *vaccakuṭis* or lavatories for the monks. The CV states that Parākramabāhu I built eight long cloisters and a refectory of (great) length and breadth, eighty-five fire-houses covered with bricks, and one hundred and seventy-eight privies (78. 43). The monasteries also had kitchens (*ginihalgē*), and bathing ponds, amongst other necessities for the monks. Some of the *vihāras* must have had their own sabbath-halls (*phōyagē*), where the monks assembled to listen to the *phāṭimokkha* (code of rules).

### Ritual

The other parts of a monastery were the places where the devotees carried out their ritual practices. Ritual became a very important part of the religion, and places for ritualistic observances had to be built. Hence the building of *dāgābas*, image-houses, altars for offering flowers, and the planting of *Bōdhi* trees. Every temple had at least a *dāgāba*, *Bōdhi*, and an image-house. With the influence of the beliefs and the superstitions of the people on religion, various practices, forms of worship and propitiation entered the folds of religion thus causing the growth of ritual. Adikaram regards the beliefs, forms of worship and the like which are absent

in the Canon and are found in the Commentaries as having grown in Ceylon or, at least, as being prevalent in the island at the time the Sinhalese Commentaries were written (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 134). We thus see that ritualism gradually grew, and long before the period under review it was quite widespread. There is no doubt that the rituals of the earlier periods were carried on at this time and have come down to the present day. Some of these practices may now be discussed. 'Veneration of *cētiyas* and *Bōdhi* trees', observes Adikaram, 'was a prominent feature in the religion of ancient Ceylon. It was only at a later stage that images came to be so regarded. As Sir Charles Eliot remarked: "It is one of the ironies of fate that the Buddha and his followers should be responsible for the growth of image worship, but it seems to be true. He laughed at sacrifices and left to his disciples only two forms of religious exercise, sermons and meditation. For Indian monks this was perhaps sufficient, but the laity craved for some outward form of worship. This was soon found in the respect shown to the memory of the Buddha and the relics of his body, although Hinduism never took kindly to relic worship"' (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 134).

The *dāgābas* or *cētiyas* were the sanctuaries where the relics of the Buddha were deposited, and these were built from early times, starting from that of *Dēvānampiya Tissa*, whose example was followed by almost all his successors. Hence we see that *cētiyas* were worshipped from the time of the introduction of the religion. These forms of external worship have undermined the real religious practice of *sīla* and meditation, which are hardly the concern of the Buddhists today. This situation is no doubt the result of gradual decadence. People undertook pilgrimages to distant places only to worship at a *cētiya* or a *Bōdhi* tree. It was not only the laymen who attached great importance to these ritualistic practices, but the monks as well hankered after this kind of ritual.

The worship of the Tooth-Relic gained the greatest prominence when it was brought to the island during the time of *Meghavarna*. This relic became a most jealously guarded royal treasure, and many a king is said to have built a shrine for it. In the century under review itself, we see that *Parākramabāhu II* 'built near his palace a fair and costly temple for the Tooth-relic. In the midst of this the king had a splendid throne set up and decked with a costly covering. Out of a large precious stone, the Ruler had a

casket fashioned for the Tooth-Relic, and again as a receptacle for this, a large, superb, costly jewel-case of bright, valuable precious stones. Then for five thousand gold *nikkhas* he had as receptacle for this case, a second splendid chest fashioned, and then again for twenty-five thousand silver *nikkhas* a third chest' (CV 82. 9-15). Again the Chronicle tells us that Vijayabāhu IV thought: ' " I was entrusted with the two relics, the Tooth and Bowl ; for these I must build a new temple " ' (CV 88. 11). He at any rate repaired the existing temple and made it 'beauteous as a heavenly palace'. The *Daḷadā-sirita* written during the time of Parākramabāhu IV of Kurunāgala records the history of the Tooth-Relic and also lays down the rules and practices that had to be observed at the festivals of the Relic.

Thus we can realise how much importance was attached to the Tooth-relic even during this period. The festivals celebrated will be discussed later. The worship of the *Bōdhi* tree was as common and widespread as that of the *dāgābas*, and has come down to the present day. In fact, every temple had a *dāgāba* and a *Bōdhi* tree in close proximity. Image-worship, as already remarked, started much later. 'The first mention of it', says Adikaram, 'refers to the time of King Vasabha (A.D. 127-171). He caused to be made four beautiful images of the Buddha and a temple for them in the courtyard of the great Bōdhi Tree' (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 142). The kings who followed him emulated his example, and set up images, and as time went on, image-worship became firmly established in the island. Hence almost every temple had to be equipped with an image-house, which was decorated with various paintings depicting Jātaka tales or the life of the Buddha, etc. The *Pjv* refers to images of stone, wood, metal, gold and silver (690). The *MV* (27. 34, n. 1) refers to the Jātaka tales which were used as motifs for decorative scenes.

Offerings of various descriptions, food, flowers, incense, lamps, etc., were made to all these shrines, image-houses and *Bōdhi* trees. Hence an altar where those offerings could be placed became an essential need. To meet this, there were provided the *mal-āsanas*, altars for flowers in all these places of worship. Another feature mentioned by the *Sdhlk* is the bell (*ghaṇṭā*), which was first used on important occasions for the purpose of summoning the monks, etc.; but as time went on, the bell began to be rung by the devotees who came to pay homage, and thus lost much of its significance.

However, it gained in another respect in that it began to be considered as a form of offering (*ghaṇṭāra-pūjā*), and everyone made a point of ringing it. This formed a part of the *śabda-pūjā* (offerings of music), along with the beating of drums, blowing of conches, etc.

### Religious Festivals

Along with the growth of ritual there grew also the custom of holding religious festivities. The MV describes various festivities of a minor and major character. One of the main ritualistic practices which may be considered under this head is that of the recitation or chanting of *paritta* (S. *pirit*, protection). The general belief is that during times of danger, calamity or adversity, the recitation of the *suttas*, like the Ratana-sutta, would bring relief. As time went on it became the practice to chant these *suttas* as a protective measure on any occasion. Some, no doubt, were in the habit of reciting them daily before they retired to bed and also in the morning. This indeed was partly due to the belief that recitation of *paritta* was meritorious (*puṇya*) in itself, and that it would save the people from the effects of evil, and partly to the belief in the magic effects of the words of the Buddha as a means of overpowering evil. It also was the practice to chant them at deathbeds. This is brought out by the SdhRv when, in translating the Pali ' *dhammaṃ sōtukāmō* ', the writer says, ' *marāṇa añdurāṭa āsannava baṇa asanu kāmativa hevat pirit baṇavanu nisā budun karū vahandā aṭanamak hō soḷosnamak* ' (SdhRv 146). This brings to light another practice, that of gathering either 4, 8, 16, 32—and so on—monks for a *paritta* ceremony. This is still practised in certain parts of the island, as in Ahangama in the Southern province. The CV refers to the occasion when Upatissa held a *paritta* ceremony when the island was overcome with famine and plague. The description of this also shows what ceremonies and festivities were connected with such practices : ' In the time of this king the island was vexed by the ills of a famine and a plague. The benevolent (king), who was as a light for the darkness of sin, asked the bhikkhus : " Did not the great Sage, when this island was visited by such evils as famine and the like, provide some kind of help for the world ? " They pointed to the origin of the Gaṅgārōhaṇa-Sutta on such an occasion. When he heard this, he made an image wholly of gold of the departed Buddha, laid the stone alms-bowl of the Master with water in the hollow of its hands, and placed thus his figure on a great chariot . . . Then after he had adorned the town comely as

the world of the gods, he descended, surrounded by all the bhikkhus . . . to the principal street. Then the bhikkhus who had gathered there reciting the Ratana-sutta and pouring out water, walked about the street . . . When morning dawned a great cloud poured rain on the earth, and all who had suffered from disease held, refreshed, high festival. But the Lord of men decreed: "When there shall be on the island an evil such as famine, plague, or the like, thus shall it be done" (CV 37. 189).

The CV also refers to such an instance during the time of Parākrama-bāhu II, when through the influence of evil planets a great heat arose in Laṅkā and famine was inevitable. The king gave orders for the holding of a great festival. 'He gathered together the monks and caused them to recite the *Paritta* and bear the Tooth-Relic of the Great Sage round the town in a fitting manner, and made (in firm faith) the resolve: "the heavens shall rain"' (CV 87. 5). The practice of taking the Tooth-Relic out in procession in time of drought, etc., is observed even today. 'The belief in the efficacy of the chanting of the *Parittas*', says Adikaram, 'is perhaps even older than the time of Upatissa . . . When laymen were ill, it was customary for the people to invite the bhikkhūs to recite *Paritta*' (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 143).

The literature also mentions ceremonies or festivals held on admission into the Order, gaining Higher Ordination, laying the foundation of religious edifices, enshrining of relics, and dedication of such edifices. All these were held amidst great festivity, pomp and revelry. Alms-giving and preaching of sermons formed a part of most of these ceremonies. One important ceremony connected with the *Saṅgha* is the *kāṭhina* ceremony, which is held annually even today in almost every *vihāra*. As a rule the monks have to observe *vas* or the rainy seasonal retreat and at the end of this period is the *pavāraṇa* ceremony the object of which is the strengthening of the unity of the *Saṅgha*. *kāṭhina* robes were to be offered during the month subsequent to this ceremony. The Poḷonnaruva Galpota slab-inscription states that the king provided the Great Community of monks with the four requisites, caused ordination ceremonies to be held every year, bestowed *kāṭhina* gifts, and re-established offerings to gods (EZ 2. 3. 118). A *kāṭhina* is explained as a robe made for a Buddhist monk in the course of a single day and night, and is considered a highly meritorious gift. The CV records the holding of a *kāṭhina*

festival by Parākramabāhu II: ' Now when the great king heard that unimaginable blessing attaches to a *kathina* offering, he thought . . . " I will give a great and splendid *kathina* offering of eighty (robes) " . . . called together the men and women . . . of Lan̄kā, and made them all carry out in the shortest time the whole of the work (for the making) of these garments, beginning with the preparation of the cotton. And on one day he gave away, together with all the useful and important wares, the eighty *kathina* robes ' (CV 85. 99-102). The Pjv also makes reference to this festival.

Another sacred occasion was the festival of the Tooth-Relic. Great festivals have been held in honour of the Tooth which was carried in procession on such occasions. This ceremony is held annually even today. The Pjv refers to the festival of the Tooth-Relic held by Parākramabāhu II: ' *mahatvū utsāhayen danta dhātu pūjāvaka kota* ' (12). The CV records a number of ceremonies conducted by this king in honour of the sacred relic: ' Thereupon the Monarch himself, decked out in all his ornaments, accompanied by his four-membered army, urged by his faith, placed the two relics, the Tooth and the Bowl, on a costly chariot, adorned with every kind of chariot-ornament. Then one by one he had displayed before him diverse votive offerings, such as flags of gold and flags of silver, golden vessels and silver vessels, fly-whisks of gold and fly-whisks of silver, chests of gold as also silver chests . . . charming silver fans, golden bowls with lotus flowers . . . filled jars which were fashioned of gold and . . . silver, and afterwards holding a great sacrificial festival with these diverse (offerings) ever and again to the sound of the five musical instruments, he by degrees brought (the relics) on this decked-out road to the town of Sirivaḍḍhana . . . ' (85. 24). The extent of the veneration paid to the Tooth-Relic may be understood by the offerings of the son and daughter, made by Nissaṅka Malla, and recorded in the Hāṭadāge vestibule wall-inscription (EZ 2. 2. 90).

Reference must also be made to an account in the slab-inscription of Kalyāṇavatī of a special offering performed by three personages at the Ruvanmālisāya at the very dawn of the 13th century (EZ 4. 5. 258).



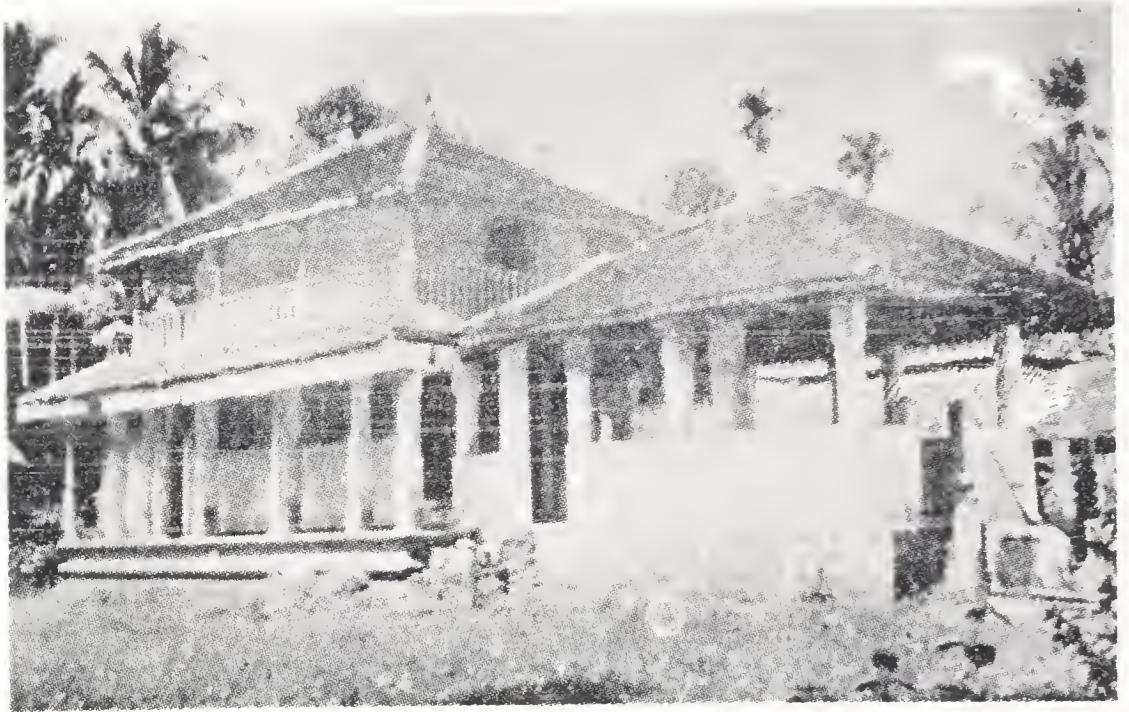


PART III

SOCIAL







Daṃbadeṇiya-vihāra—main shrine  
as seen today.



Māligākanda (Palace Hill), Daṃbadeṇiya  
as seen today.

## CHAPTER XI

### FINE ARTS, EDUCATION, MEDICINE

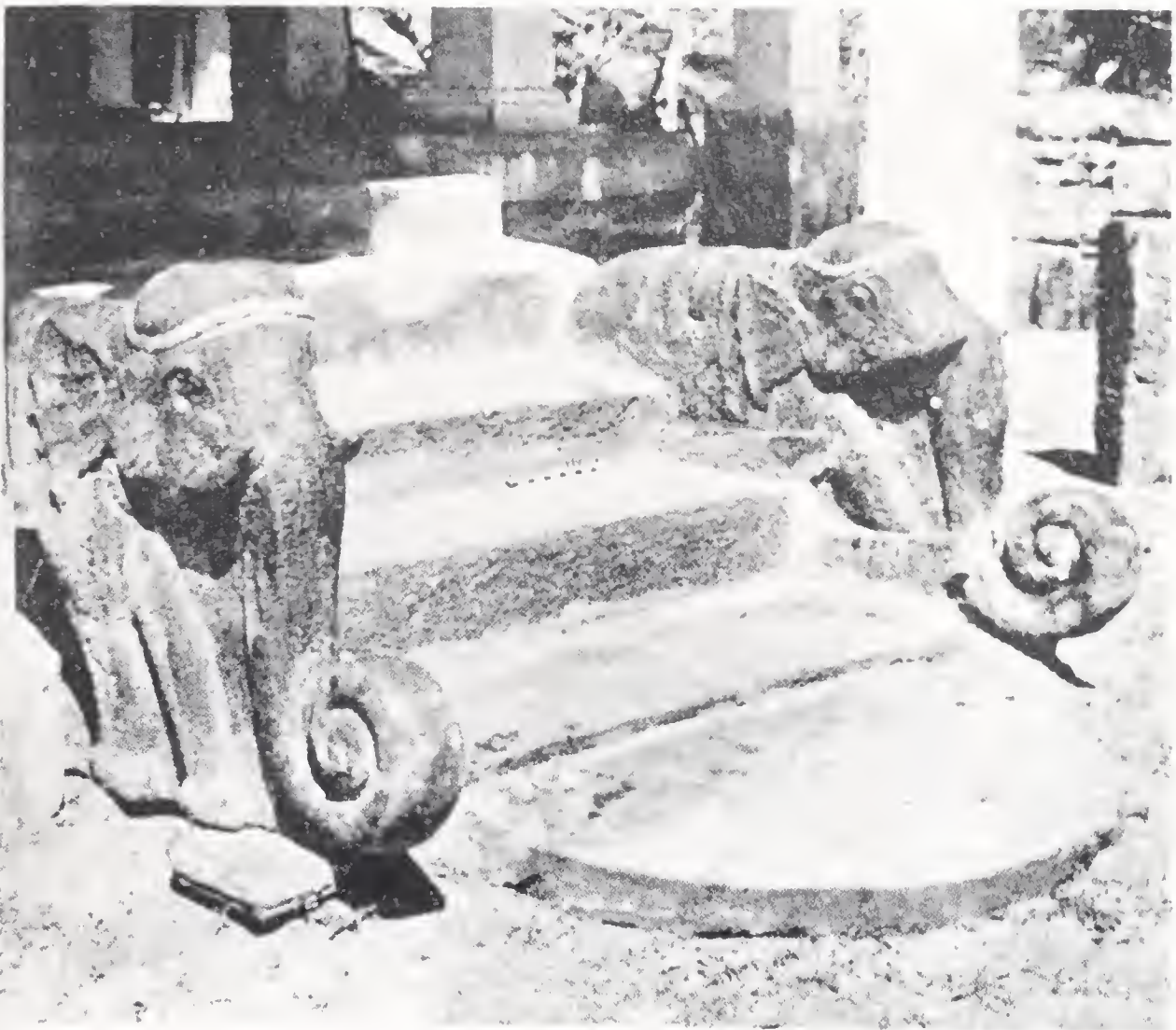
#### Architecture and Sculpture

The Archaeological Department of the island has already brought to light the advance made in such fine arts, as architecture, sculpture and painting. Its observations have been published in the Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G, and the Memoirs and Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. It is unfortunate that the literature of the period under review should give no information regarding these arts. *dāgābas*, images, statues, buildings and paintings are mentioned, but without any descriptions or accounts of them. Images made of stone as well as those of gold are referred to (SdhRv 679, 417, 1010). The SdhRv also mentions the vermilion lines drawn on golden images: ' *ran pīlimayaka hiṅgul rēkhā dennāsē* ' (1010), and the technique of heating images over burning coal to polish them (527). The Pjv mentions images and statues of stone, wood, metal, silver and gold and also statues made of stone and iron and plated with gold (690, 196). Although the available material regarding these is so very meagre, it is known that all these fine arts were in a highly developed state in Ceylon in ancient times. The innumerable ruins bear ample testimony to this fact. It is not out of place here to repeat a few of the observations made by various scholars regarding the art and architecture of the island during the century under review. Prosperity under the Poḷonnaruva kings led to a great deal of activity in architecture, sculpture, and painting. Most of the buildings, as the Demaḷa-Mahasāya, Kirivehera, Jētavanārāma, Laṅkātilaka of Parākramabāhu and Rankot-vihāra, Nissaṅka-latā-maṇḍapaya, Vaṭadāgē and Hāṭadāgē of Nissaṅka Malla, were erected in the 12th century. These *vihāras* are built of brick, lime and mortar. Some of the largest rock-hewn statues, e.g., image of the Buddha at Avukana and those at the Gal-vihāra in Poḷonnaruva, belong to the Poḷonnaruva times. The best secular figure, identified by some as that of Parākramabāhu I and by others as that of the sage Agasti, near the Potgul-vihāra in Poḷonnaruva also belongs to this period. These observations help us to realise that nothing outstanding was achieved

in this field of art during the 13th century. Reference has already been made elsewhere to the immense destruction caused by Māgha. This no doubt was a great set-back in the development of the arts. Māgha brought with him a Dravidian element, and no doubt put up buildings in that style, as was done by his predecessors. The Siva-dēvāle No. 1 at Poḷonnaruva, which was built during the Pāṇḍya occupation, gives us an example of the Dravidian architecture that was introduced into Ceylon. 'It is built of stone and belongs to the Pāṇḍya style of architecture of the 13th century which differs in a few respects from the Cōḷa style. The style of the stairway of the Daḷadā Māligāva at Yāpahuva is Hindu, and shows the influence of the later Pāṇḍya style' (*Early History of Ceylon*, p. 112). Thus we see the extent of the Dravidian influence. Kings such as Vijayabāhu III and Parākramabāhu II did their best to make good the damage done by the invaders. Hence the 13th century was mainly devoted to repairs, renewals and renovations. Parker refers to many of the *dāgābas* that were destroyed by Māgha and restored by succeeding kings. 'During the reign of the Kalinga conqueror Māgha (A.D. 1214-1235), the *dāgābas* throughout the whole country were ransacked for treasure, and that at the Thūpārāma was certainly one of the first to suffer, but it was restored again in the reign of King Parākramabāhu II (A.D. 1240-1275)' (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 266). Some of the other *dāgābas* that suffered a similar fate were the Ruvanvāli, Abhayagiri, Jētavana, and Kālaṇi; and all these were repaired by Parākramabāhu II during the 13th century. Hocart states that the 12th-13th centuries were ages of brickwork and that stone receded to the background. All buildings were plastered over. In the Poḷonnaruva period, too, they were painted as in the earlier periods (Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 188). Writing on Sinhalese architecture and sculpture, Vincent Smith states that 'the *dāgābas*, huge masses of masonry, wonderful as stupendous monuments of laborious engineering, are not in themselves interesting as examples of architectural art. The work of the artist must be sought in the numerous and splendid associated buildings . . . Circular temples or shrines, of which three notable examples are known, are the most original and peculiar of Ceylonese buildings. That at Poḷonnaruva, erected by King Nissaṅka Malla at the close of the 12th century, is considered by Mr. Bell to be "the most beautiful specimen of



Frieze of lions from Daṁbadeṇiya temple.  
By courtesy, Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon.



Balustrade and flight of steps from Daṁbadeṇiya temple.  
By courtesy, Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon.

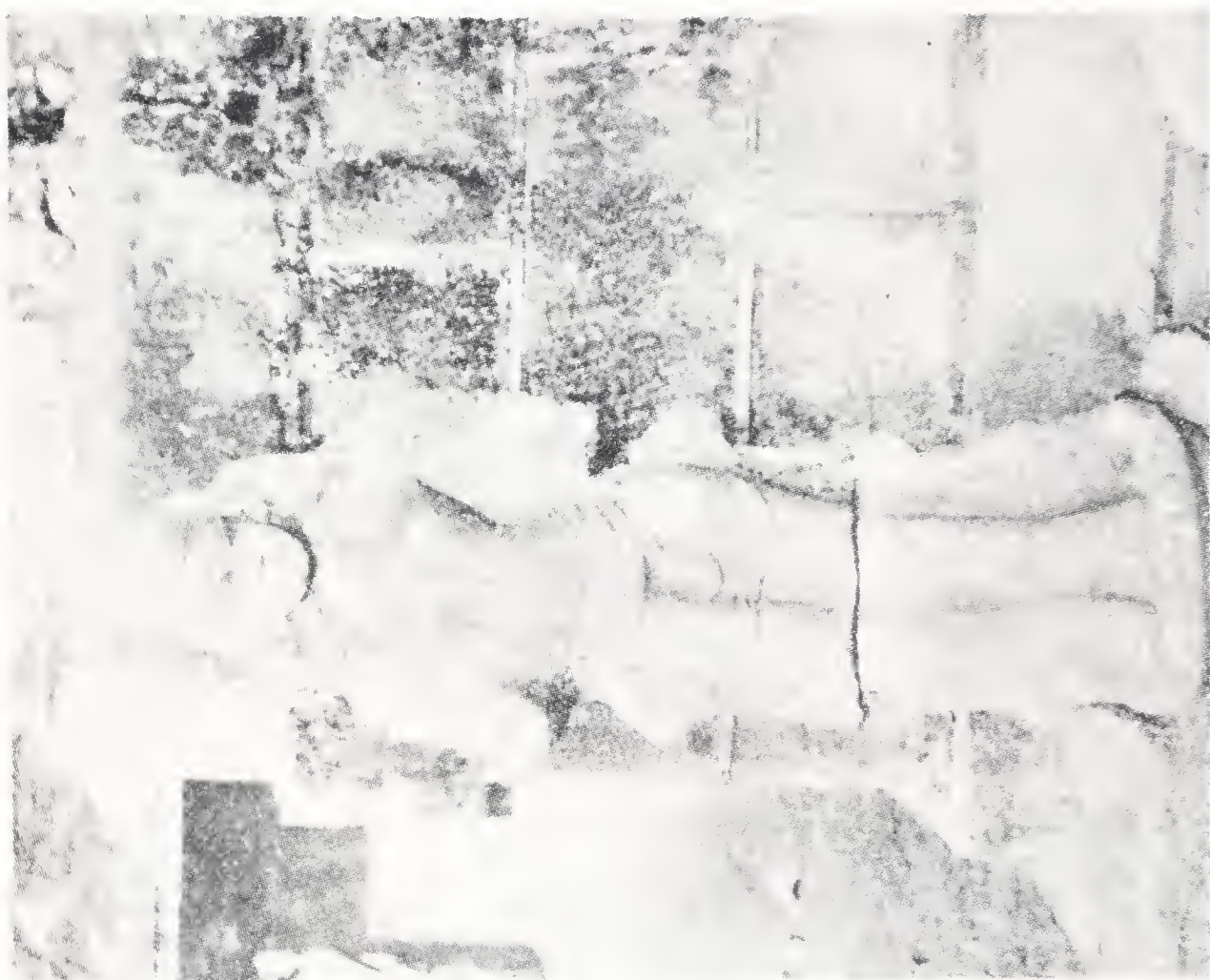


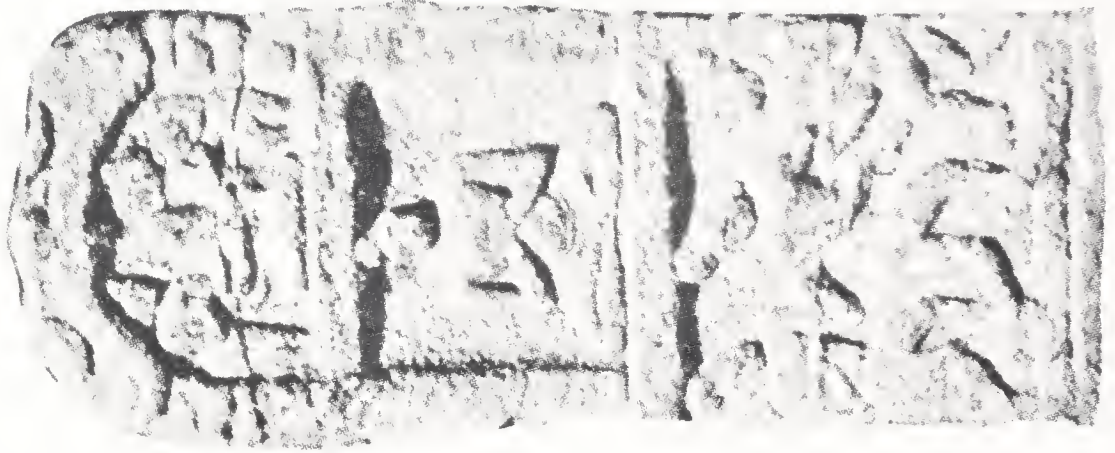
Figure from Daṃbadeṇiya temple  
(an attempt has been made recently to restore the face).



Pillar Base from Daṃbadeṇiya temple.







Sculpture from Daṁbadeṇiya Temple.  
By courtesy, Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon.

Buddhistic stone architecture existing in Ceylon" ( *Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 143, 144).

The CV gives us some examples of the pieces of sculpture set up during the 13th century. Mention has already been made of the setting up of an image of the god Sumana at Śrī Pāda by Dēva-Patirāja (CV 86. 18). It further states that Vijayabāhu IV made an image of the Buddha in the three-storeyed image-house which he built at Kurunāgala (CV 88. 56). The same king is also said to have set up in this same place a fine statue of his uncle (CV 88. 57). Parākramabāhu II also erected an octagonal image-house, and had a stone image of the Buddha set up in the place where his father was cremated (CV 85. 77). He also caused two *pirivenas* Bhuvanekabāhu and Mahāmahindabāhu to be erected at Sirivadḍhanapura and Hatthigiripura respectively (ibid., 85. 60, 62). In Daṁbadeṇiya he built a high wall and gate-towers round the Sirivijayasundara-vihāra which had been erected by his father. He restored the three-storeyed relic temple attached to the *vihāra*, and had the Tooth-Relic placed therein (ibid., 85. 91, 92). The CV (82. 9) also states that he had built near his palace a temple for the Tooth-Relic. Whether these buildings were identical it is not possible to say. The Vijayasundara-vihāra which stands today, as repaired very much later, is believed to be the Daḷadā-māligāva, Temple of the Tooth (see Hocart, *Temple of the Tooth in Kandy*, p. 39; see Plate VII).

One of the observations made by A. Nell on the origin and styles of the ancient Ceylon architecture may be noted here. He concludes that the technique, designs, and methods were imported necessarily from Aryan and Buddhist India, and that from time to time a fresh stimulus came to Ceylon with each great efflorescence of art in Aryan India, and that the Sinhalese art of the *ancient* period ended at Yāpahuva in A.D. 1222; that *mediaeval* Sinhalese art was Dravidian, whereas the *ancient* was Aryan; that *mediaeval* art was strongly Hindu, whereas the ancient was purely Buddhist. Ancient Sinhalese art excelled by its delicacy and truth of outline, its exquisite outline of stone carving, and its harmony of proportion—qualities all hard to find in all the later work (*On the Origin and the Styles of Ancient Ceylon Architecture*, J.R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XXVI, No. 71, pp. 163-164).

## Painting

Similar is the case with painting. We only get a few references to the paintings on walls, pieces of cloth and pots, and to the use of colours. Some similes of the SdhRv indicate the types of painting with which the writer was familiar: '*asuci purābū kaḷa piṭa sittam karannāsē*', just as painting the outside of a pot which is full of dirt (624). This simile has been used a number of times. It shows us the author's familiarity with painted pottery. '*piḷimagayaka sittam karannavun anik sittam hāralā rahat kāla hū buduruva māñda añdanāsē*', just as the forms of the Buddha and *Arahats* are drawn in the centre, leaving aside all other forms, in painting an image house (810); '*vayitiyak bita kaḷa sittamak sē*', like the painting on a wall prepared with plaster and pigment (934); '*yahaṭat pāyak gannaṭa vayiti hanannāsē*', just as colours are mixed to get a good colour (55); '*amutu pāyak evaṇṭa noek pā āti vayiti yodannāsē*', as mixing different colours to get a new colour (444). Paintings on cloths are referred to: '*sittam koṭa habuluvū tubū pēttak vidahā pānā kalak paridden*', just as a painted cloth that had been rolled up is unfurled (SdhRv 299). The Pjv, too, refers to similar paintings: '*noek citrakūrayan lavā peti kaḍeka sitiyaṃ karavū*', having got cloth painted by artists (744). *petta* or *peti kaḍa* was a piece of cloth on which paintings were done. The SdhRv also refers to the resin or gum of the wood-apple tree (*Feronia elephantum*) which was used for fixing colours (139, 137). Except for these references we have no account of the paintings of the times; but we are already aware, from other sources, of the high standard of art attained by the ancient Sinhalese. From the work of the Archaeological Department, and the writings of Ananda Coomaraswamy, Vincent Smith and other scholars we can form an idea of the paintings of ancient times. We learn from these that *vihāras* and temples were decorated with various types of painting; that pottery was painted and that paintings were done on rock surfaces and on pieces of cloth, as is also referred to in the literary sources above mentioned. The CV refers to the paintings during the time of Parākramabāhu II. It states that the *pāsādas* of the *vihāra* at Sirivaddhana were bright with various kinds of paintings (CV 85. 3). A few observations made by some of the scholars who have studied this subject will be extremely useful in forming an idea of the progress painting had made in Ceylon. Ananda Coomaraswamy makes the following remarks on the history

of painting in Ceylon. ' Painting was one of the 64 arts and sciences practised in Ancient India . . . The first mention of it in the Mahāvamsa is the reference to the use of " painted vases " in the reign of Dēvānampiya Tissa (307 B.C.). It is very likely indeed that the foundation of the craft as now surviving in Ceylon, dates, like so much else of Hindu-Buddhist culture, from the time of the settlement of Aśōka's missionaries, and the great intellectual stimulus resulting from the contact of the art of Bharhut with the more primitive art, of which we have no remains, but which may have existed in Ceylon . . . We hear also of the decoration of the relic chamber with representations of Jātakas, and it is probable that tempera painting (in water colour) is here meant, though not expressly indicated . . . The Sīgiri paintings show that Ceylon was in close touch with the art growth of the time . . . Passing on to the later times, we find at Poḷonnaruva in the Demaḷa Maha Sāya certain Jātaka paintings, more like the Sīgiriya work than modern work ; and on certain of the *dāgābas* (Ruvanveli and Abhayagiri) at Anurādhapura, paintings (patterns) in a very bad state of preservation, but which also incline to the earlier type in their free and almost careless execution ' (*Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, pp. 177, 178).

The paintings at places like the Gal-vihāra and the Demaḷa Maha-sāya will give us an idea of the achievements of the centuries just prior to the thirteenth. ' Enough is left to suggest that the painting, in the cave shrine of the " Gal Vihāra " may well have approached in technique—truth of form, distribution and gradation of colouring, and harmonious grouping—some of the best of the Indian frescoes to be found at Ajantā . . . " Gal Vihāre " of Poḷonnaruva stands among the Archaeological wonders of the East—inimitable exemplar to the world for all time of colossal artistic sculptures ambitiously conceived and gloriously perfected according to Oriental canons . . . There are paintings still left at " Demaḷa-Maha-sāya " which rival some of the best at the Cave Temples of Ajantā ' (Quoted from Bell in J.R.A.S., C.B., Joseph, G. A., Vol. XXVI, No. 71, pp. 102, 105). These observations show the high standards attained by the artists of Ceylon up to about the 12th century. What the 13th century actually achieved in this field of artistic activity is unfortunately uncertain.

### Music and Dancing

References to music and dance are frequent, and there is not the slightest doubt that the *kalās* appertaining to music—vocal (*gīta*), instrumental (*vādita*) and dancing (*nacca*)—were very widely cultivated. Constant reference is made to kings who were always surrounded by musicians and dancers ; thus we can see that song and dance occupied a recognized place in court circles. Music and dancing were not by any means confined to the higher circles, for the love of music prevailed even among humbler classes. We often hear of male and female dancers ; and women seem to have been specially gifted in these arts. Even a poor girl would sing while gathering herbs (SdhRv 448). This is attested by the VismSn which says the same thing, viz., *gī kiyamin palā biñdināhu* (309). Singing must have been very common among young girls, and this is perhaps why the SdhRv author used the simile ‘*kudā kellakasē gī kiya kiya*’, singing like a small girl (SdhRv 353).

Reference is often made to song and dance taking place in the palace. The splendid description of the drinking scene in the KSiḷ bears testimony to this fact. Though there is a great difference of opinion regarding this description, we cannot fail to observe that there is much in it which shows first-hand knowledge and not mere hearsay. We are not fully justified in discarding the description as mere plagiarism. The description shows the women enjoying themselves, drinking, singing and dancing. ‘The king listened attentively to the women who danced, and sang harmoniously on the octaves *sama*, *madara* and *tara*, to the accompaniment of the *vīṇā* (KSiḷ 306). ‘When an intoxicated woman sang the *antalirāga* rhythmically, the king went on clapping in time, so that his wristlets narrowly escaped breaking, and the king himself was nearly drowned in his tears of joy’ (ibid., 307).

The CV also bears evidence of the fact that festive occasions were marked by music and dance. Thus we see that music had much to do with the everyday life of the people, as it has even today. ‘The monarch (Parākramabāhu II) instituted a sacrificial rite for the Buddha. The festival was ravishing by reason of the many exquisite dances and songs of the dancers who on splendid stages erected here and there, performed while assuming different characters, divers dances and sang various songs. The noise of the festival was increased by the sound of the five musical instruments which produced the illusion of the roar of the great ocean

of his meritorious works that was so strong that it surpassed the booming of the sea, while the drums showed the thunder-claps of Pajjunna ' (CV 85. 42). The first part of this quotation refers to a song and dance recital or a sort of variety entertainment, which was perhaps organised for the occasion. This makes it clear that on various festive occasions song and dance recitals were performed in sheds specially put up for the purpose. The present-day performances of the same type, and of plays that are staged on New Year day and Vesak day, are reminiscent of these performances of ancient times. In this connection, one may refer to the observation made by Parker : ' The chief quality of the music was its loudness ; it is described as being " like a blast proceeding from the sea of his merits, which sufficed to drown the roar of the ocean and put to shame the thunder of the clouds " ' (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 260). Parker seems to have looked at only one aspect, and that, too, at its highest poetic exaggeration. The drums and other such instruments no doubt produced loud noises, but the ancient Sinhalese have had chamber music too, produced by stringed instruments, e.g., various type of *vīṇās*. Consider, for example, the description of a festival during the time of Vijayabāhu IV : ' It was filled with the songs of praise of the bards who sang festive songs, making thereto on the five instruments fine music which spread abroad and charmed the hearers, also with the songs of the minstrels who again and again let their praises resound. In devotion there surrounded it the dancers and the actors who performed dances and sang songs delightful to see and to hear ' (CV 89. 33).

The SdhRv also refers to the traditional five-fold music (*paśaṅgaturu*) (337). This comprises five kinds of special musical instruments, viz. : *ātata*, *vitata*, *ātata-vitata*, *ghana*, *susira* (Pjv 436). *ātata*, according to the P.T.S. Dic., is the generic name for drums covered with leather on one side, and *vitata* is a drum with leather on both sides. *ātata-vitata* refers to instruments in which strings are stretched across the face and tightened on pegs, viz., *vīṇā*. *ghana* is a term for a musical instrument played by striking, as cymbal, tambourine, etc. ; metal percussion instruments. *susira*, meaning perforated, full of holes, hollow, refers to musical instruments as flute or pipe ; wind-instruments.

Amongst musical instruments mentioned, the *vīṇā* (lute, guitar) takes first place, as it is constantly mentioned (SdhRv 361, 475 ; KSiḷ 19, 595). The writer of the Sdhlk translates the Pāli

' *caṇḍāla gandhabba brāhmaṇassa* ' as ' *vīṇā gāyanū karana ektarā caṇḍāla brāhmaṇayek haṭa* ' (356), that is, the Pāli phrase meaning ' a caṇḍāla Brahmin musician ' is rendered into Sinhalese as ' a caṇḍāla Brahmin playing on a *vīṇā* ', thus indicating that the *vīṇā* was a commonly known instrument. The work also mentions three varieties of the *vīṇā*, viz., *brahma vīṇā*, *nakula vīṇā*, and *daddara vīṇā* (Sdhlk 305).

Other instruments mentioned are: *maddala*, Tamil drum, rendered as *mihīṅgu bera* (SdhRv 637, 983); *bera*, drums, which are of various kinds (Pjv 26, 170). The 10th century inscription on a pillar-fragment refers to the sounding of *tuḍi* and *solī* drums (EZ 4. 4. 191). The Sdhlk refers to the *tuṅḍi bera* (130), and to other varieties as *maha bera*, *ṭokuru bera* and *mihīṅgu bera* (412), and to *gūṭa bera*, *paṇā bera*, *ṭaṭaha*, *loho bera*, *talaṭṭara*, *vīrandam*, *tammāṭṭa*, and *nisāna* (99, 462), *rodu bera*, *ekās bera*, *dūdu bera*, *dāduru bera* (130), *ḍavura* (57), *mṛdaṅga*, *ḍekki*, *koṭumbara*, *deṇḍima* (106). The Pjv also refers to *ḍavura bera* and *ḍahara bera* (606). *uḍekki* is a ' small drum about a foot in length and narrower in the middle of the trunk. The leather is stretched on the two faces of this drum and is kept together (secure) by a series of strings which, by being held with the closed fist at the narrowed portion of the trunk, can be loosened or tightened with the fingers while the drum is being played with one hand ' (J.R.A.S., C.B., XXVII, p. 71). *gūṭa bera* is ' a large-sized drum about 2½ feet in length with the centre bulging out and narrowing towards the ends ' (ibid.); *ṭaṭaha*, kettle drum (P.T.S. Dic.); *mṛdaṅga*, tambour (MW).

Also mentioned are: *sak*, conch shells (Pjv 170, 283); *sinnam*, T. a kind of trumpet (Pjv 606). The Sdhlk gives the varieties of these two, viz., *ran sak* (gold conches), *ridī* (silver) *sak*, *ruvan* (gem set) *sak*; *ran sinnam* (gold *sinnam*), *ridī* and *ruvan sinnam* (462). *tiṃbili* (Pjv 26; 170; 283), *paṇā bera*; (*diva*) *kulal* (Pjv 501), flute, pipe; (*jaya*) *kālam* (Pjv 501), *horanāva* (trumpet). Several specimens of *horanā* are described by Devar Surya Sena: ' Some are of ivory ornamented with incised lines and circles filled with red lac, others of buffalo horn and wood. All have brass or bronze bell-shaped cones. Varying in height from 11 to 14 ¾ inches, the smaller *horanā* have from 6 to 8 finger holes. The *horanā* embouchure (mouth-piece) consists of palmyra-leaf reed fitting into a narrow metal tube with a circular metal disc or lip-rest against which the lips are pressed ' (*Ceylon Observer Annual*, 1948, p. 9). *ālavaṇṇi*



(Sdhlk 129, 412); *vaṅgī* (Pjv 152); *tanti* (Sdhlk 412; Pjv 283), T., lute; *ekacchidra*; *maṇiparva*; *kaulasvara*; *kaṃsutālam* and *samuttālam* (Sdhlk 129, 573). *kāhala* varieties: *randārā*, *ridīdārā*, *daḷadārā*; *daḷaham*; *lōham*; *viḷayōdhvani*; *vaṅgī* (Sdhlk 462, 305, 129); *ottu* (ibid. 129, 462), T., a reed instrument conical in shape and enlarging downwards, used for playing the drone note accompanying a *nāka-curam*; *sirivili* (ibid. 462).

The Thūpa-vaṃsa gives a long list of instruments in which are included most of the above-mentioned instruments: *gāṭa bera*, *paṇā bera*, *ekās bera*, *mihīṅgu bera*, *maddala*, *paṭaha*, *loho bera*, *yuvaḷa bera*, *maha bera*, *dāduru bera*, *rōda bera*, *karaṅḍi bera*, *ghōṣū bera*, *talaḷpara*, *vīrandam*, *tammāṭa*, *nisāna*, *raṇaraṅgaghōṣū*, *samudraghōṣū*, *anukkattuli*, *tiṃbulivu*, *davul*, *morahu*, *mallari*, *sirivili*, *taḷpu*, *tatsara*, *ḍākki*, *uḍākki*, *maṅḍala*, *nāgasara*, *uccaṃbhayāṅgi*, *kombu*, *sakuṇaviridu*, *surana*, *kūla*, *dam dārā*, *daḷaham*, *lōham*, *sinnam*, *kinnara*, *kayitālam*, *samuttālam*, *gītālam*, *ḍamaru maḍu*, *deṇḍima dhvani* (varieties of drums); *ran sak*, *ridī sak*, *ran sinnam*, *ridī sinnam*, *ran dārā*, *ridī dārā*, *daḷa dārā*, *daḷaham*, *lōham*, *gavaraham*, *viḷayōdhvani*, *ottu*, *tantiri*, *paṭasiri* (*kāhala* varieties) (*Thūpa-vaṃsa*, ed. D. E. Hettiāratchi, p. 41). *iḍitti* (*iḍattiḍi*, *uḍākki*, variant readings) and *sak pañca* are also mentioned as varieties of drums on page 81 of the same book. Varieties of *vīṇās* mentioned are *nakula vīṇā*, *bhrṅga vīṇā*, *kṣudra vīṇā*, and other instruments as *ālavatti*, *vaṅgi*, *vasdaṇḍu* (ibid., p. 81). To the list of *sak* (conches) are also added *yuvaḷa sak* and *dakuṇu sak* (ibid., p. 81). *ālavanti*, *ālavaṇṇi* are variant readings for *ālavatti*. *tammāṭa* is a drum beaten with two sticks, the extremities of which are bent to form circles and kept in a state of tension (John Davy, *Music of Ceylon*, p. 29).

## Technique

The information we have regarding the technique itself is indeed very meagre. The available material however helps us to establish that it was the Indian tradition of classical music that was prevalent in Ceylon. The Ksil gives us a few technical terms. The king is said to have listened attentively to the *grāmarāgas* sung according to the correct tempo (*laya*) and accompanied by the *vīṇā* on the three octaves *sama*, *madara* and *tara* (306). These three terms for the octaves do not entirely correspond to those given in the Saṅgīta-ratnākara which has *madhya* instead of *sama*. *sama* means 'equally distant from extremes', 'common', 'midling'

(MW) and carries the same sense as *madhya*. Music is mainly developed within three octaves :

*vyavahāre tvasau tredhā hr̥di mandro'bhidhīyate*  
*kaṇṭhe madhyo mūrdhni tāro dviguṇaścottarottaraḥ*

(*Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, 1. 3. 7),

' In practice there are three (octaves in singing)—the lower one (*mandra*) (resounding) in the chest, the middle one (*madhya*) in the throat and the higher one (*tāra*) in the head, each being double of the other ' (Alain Daniélou, *North Indian Music*, Vol. I, p. 75).

*salī* of the KSiḷ (306) has been interpreted as ' with grace ', ' in harmony ' (*līlā sahita*) (KSiḷ, ed. Sorata Thēra). It seems more likely that *salī* (v. 306) and *laya* (v. 307) both indicate *laya* (tempo) meaning *laya sahita*, in the right *laya* and in the two *layas* respectively. Three *layas*, *vilambita* (slow), *madhya* (medium), and *druta* (fast) each being double of the previous are known :

*kriyānantaraviśrāntirlayaḥ sa trividho mataḥ*  
*druto madhyo vilambaśca drutaḥ sīghratamo mataḥ*  
*dviguṇādviguṇau jñeyau tasmānmadhyavilambitau*

(*Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, 5. 48),

In each case the exact tempo will be expressed, as is customary in Western music, by the number of ' time units (*mātrās*) per minute ' as they are given by an ordinary *metronome* (Daniélou, p. 86). *viṣamalaya* (v. 309) therefore, means irregular tempo. When the women sang in irregular tempo the king improvised *tānas* and ornamented the melody.

The KSiḷ also refers to another technical term *tan* or *tān*. The king is said to have improvised *tānas* and ornamented the melodies (*miyuru kaḷa tan*) when the women sang in irregular tempo (*viṣama laya*) (see above). Kusa's *vīṇā* is spoken of as being able to produce forty-nine (49) 'an or *tān* (*unupanas tān*, KSiḷ 601). Sorata Thēra explains *tan* in v. 309 as *tāna* and *tān* in v. 601 as *sthāna* (KSiḷ ed. Sorata Thēra, pp. 120, 231 resp.). The KSiḷ *sanne* also explains *tān* in v. 601 as *sthāna*. Both words *sthāna* and *tāna* could give us *tan* or *tān* in Sinhalese. The Dharmapradīpikāva and the Sdhk also speak of 49 *sthānas* : *ekeki svarayangē sat sat sthāna bhēdayaha yana yam hē-tuvekin svarayangē mandrūkāravyavasthā vē da evhu ekunpanas sthāna viśēṣayōyi* ', Each *svara* has seven *sthānas*. Accordingly in a Register such as *mandra* there are 49 *sthānas* (*Dharmaḥpradīpikāva*, ed. Dharmarama, p. 286) ; ' *eki ekī sarayaṭa sat sat sthāna mandākhyāvasthāva*

*ṣaṭnā ekunṣanas sthāna viśeṣayak'* (Sdhk 697). (In these two references the words *ekki* and *mandrākūravasthā* and *mandākh-yāvasthāva* seem to be corrupt and needs elucidation). We do not hear of a group of 49 *sthānas* in the Indian musical system, where *Sthānas* (Registers) are said to be three in number, *sthānas* are the positions where the notes of varying pitches are produced. 'In ordinary usage . . . it is of three kinds ; it is called *mandra* in the heart, *madhya* in the throat, and *tāra* in the head ; and each succeeding one is double the other. This means that in actual singing *mandra* is the lowest, *madhya* is medium and *tāra* is very high ' (see *Sangīta-ratnākara*, translated by C. Kunhan Raja, Vol. I, ch. 1, pp. 6, 46 resp.). The Taittirīya Prātiśākhya also speaks of these *sthānas*. *mandra madhyama tārāni sthānāni bhavanti* (ed. Rangacharya and Sastri, p. 498). There is however a possibility of calculating 49 *sthānas* (in a different sense) within the same Register : from each of the seven notes of any one Register (STHĀNA) a *mūrchanā* can be developed consisting of the seven notes of the scale beginning with that particular first note of the Register, going down in descending order, thus giving for all the seven notes of one Register seven into seven notes (*sthānas*). If *tan* or *tān* in the Sinhalese texts meant *sthāna*, they seem to have used the word in this secondary sense. This term *sthāna* has been used in early Sanskrit literature in relation to voice production : '*saṭa vācas sthānāni bhavanti. yairvāk prayujyate yasminśca tiṣṭhati tat sthānam*', Of speech there are seven pitches by which the voice is articulated and wherein the voice remains, that is a *sthāna* (*Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, 23. 4, p. 508). O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth explain *sthāna* thus : *sthāna*—position, step of voice, soft or hard, high or deep (*Sanskrit—Wörterbuch*, Vol. VII, 1322). Thus there seems to have been in Vedic music a primitive sense in which the term *sthāna* was used for a pitch or tone of the voice. This use probably arose out of the production of the various notes of an instrument like the *vīṇā*, by placing the finger or the frets in certain fixed positions along the string. These positions are called *sthānas*. It may also be noted here that this use of the term *sthāna* is different from the more developed sense in Classical Indian Music, where it was used to mean a Register to which we have referred at the beginning of this discussion.

The use of the term *sthāna* in the Dharmapradīpikāva also seems to be due to a confusion going back to the Pāli tradition. This

text quotes a stanza :

*satta sarā tayō gāmā mucchanā ēkavīsati*

*ṭhānānēkūnaṭṭāññāsa iccētē saramaṇḍalam*, ( p.286),

and this stanza is also given in the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*. This stanza may be compared with one that occurs in the *Pañca Tantra* :

*sapta svarāstrayo grāmā mūrchanās tvekaviṃsatih*

*tānā ekonapañcāsāt tisro mātṛā layās trayah*

(ed. Hertel, Book V, Tale v, p. 271),

‘ There are seven notes, three octaves, twenty-one scales, the *tānas* are forty-nine, three time units, three tempi (see *Tantras* IV and V, ed. M. R. Kale, p. 49 and Fox Strangways, *Music of Hindustan*, p. 82). Now it does not seem unlikely that the P. *ṭhāna* was confused with Skt. *tāna*. It may be surmised that this confusion perhaps arose as the result of the phrase *ekaviṃsatih tānā* being represented in a text as ‘ *ekaviṃsatis tānā* ’—Skt. *sthāna* > P. *ṭhāna*.

Forty-nine *tānas* are of course referred to by Bharata as well: ‘ *evameteṭi śāḍavāsu mūrchanāsu kriyamānā bhavatyekonaṭṭāñcāsāt tānaḥ* ’ (*The Nāṭya-Śāstra of Bharata*, ch. 28, p. 320). ‘ In the two (*grāmas*), these are accepted as the forty-nine *Śāḍava* (*tānas*) . . . in the *Śāḍja grāma* there are separately twenty-one *auḍuva tānas*. But when from these (seven) in the *Madhya grāma* are removed *Ri* and *Dha*, and the two bi-śruti (*svaras*) there are just fourteen. They together form thirty-five. All the *Śāḍavas* and *Auḍavas* taken together form eighty-four ’ (*Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, translated C. Kunhan Raja, p. 75). Now we can with justification conclude that *tan* or *tān* in the KSiḷ meant *tānas* and not *sthānas*. *Gamrū* (KSiḷ vv. 236, 306) may be interpreted either as *grāmas* and *rāgas* or as *grāmarāgas*. *rāga* (mode) is a specific combination of notes calculated to charm and rouse the emotions :

*svavaravṇaviśiṣṭena dhvanibhedena vā janah*

*rajyate yena kathitaḥ sa rāgaḥ sammataḥ satām*

*yo’sau dhvaniviśeṣas tu svavaravṇavibhūṣitaḥ*

*rañjako janacittānām sa rāgaḥ kathito budhaiḥ*

(*Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, 2. I, p. 150).

The *rāgas* vary indefinitely, the number theoretically possible being limitless, though in practice only a few hundred *rāgas* are generally used (see Daniélou, p. 115, etc.). *rāgas* have been classified into ten main classes; each of which is again sub-divided into other sub-divisions. The ten are: *grāmarāga*, *uṭṭarāga*, *rāga*, *bhāṣā*,

*vibhāṣū*, *antarabhāṣā*, *rāgāṅga*, *bhaṣāṅga*, *upāṅga* and *kriyāṅga* (see *Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, I. 2, also *The Saṅgīta-sudhā of King Raghunātha of Tanjore*, p. 101).

The chief *rāgas* or modes are also considered masculine in character, while the secondary modes the *rāginīs* are said to be their wives or even 'sons': 'Bharata enumerates six (*rāgas*), viz., *Bhairava*, *Kauṣika*, *Hindola*, *Dīpaka*, *Śrī-rāga* and *Megha*, each mode exciting some affection; other writers give other names; sometimes seven or twenty-six *rāgas* are mentioned; they are personified, and each of the six chief *rāgas* is wedded to five or six consorts called *rāgiṇīs*; their union gives rise to many other modes' (MW).

*grāma* (basic scale) is a collection of notes—

*grāmaḥ svarasamūhaḥ syānmūrchanādeḥ samāśrayaḥ*  
*tau dvau dharātale tatra syātṣadjagrāma ādimah*

(*Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, I. 4. 1),

which forms the basis for *mūrchanās* and the like. Two *grāmas* are prevalent on earth, the first being *ṣadja grāma*. Two basic scales *ṣadja* (C) and *madhyama* (F) are mentioned. A third *gandhāra* (E) is also mentioned; but it is stated that this *grāma* is found only in the world of the gods (see Daniélou, p. 72).

Reference is also made to the women who sang the *antalarāga* in the two *layas* (KSil v. 307). Sorata Thēra here gives the reading *aṅdalirā*; but it must be stated that none of the manuscripts we have compared give this reading—*āndhālikā* would give in Sinhalese *āṅdāli* or *āṅdali*. If the reading is *aṅdalirā* as suggested by Sorata Thēra, then his interpretation has to be accepted. *āndhālikā* or *āndhāli* is a *rāga* that falls into the categories of *bhāṣā* and *vibhāṣā rāgas*: 'iti bhāṣāvibhāṣe dve bammūnyandhālike tataḥ' (*Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, 2. I. 28).

The KSil also states that the women played the *karāṇas* and that the king beat his hands according to the music played by them. *karāṇa* is a technical term that occurs both in dancing and in instrumental music. Bharata mentions both: the combined movement of hands and feet in dance is called *karāṇa*, and these number 108 bearing names such as *talapuṣpaṇa*, *vartita*, *svastika*, *lolitaka* (*Nāṭya-Śāstra of Bharata*, translated M. Ghosh, p. 48). When the Bharata *Nāṭya-śāstra* states that the playing of the music should be in pure *karāṇa* and *jāti* it is clear that the terms refer to some

sort of *tāla* in instrumental music which seems to accompany *tāṇḍava* dancing (ibid., p. 69). It further states that the playing of instrumental music during the class dance (*tārḍava*) should be *sama*, *rakta*, *vibhakta* and *sphuṭa* (distinctly heard) on account of the clear strokes and should properly follow different aspects of the dance (ibid., p. 70). Instrumental music which has various *oghas* and *karaṇas* is to be played during the formation of what are called *piṇḍis*. This instrumental music should also be played in the proper tempo: 'The *Tattva*, *Anugata* and the *Ogha* are related to the *Karaṇa*. Among these the *Tattva* is to be applied in slow tempo, the *Anugata* in medium tempo and the *Ogha* in quick tempo' (ibid., p. 73).

Thus it is made clear that the *karaṇa* is a form of instrumental music that accompanies *tāṇḍava* dancing. Sorata Thēra in his explanation of this term makes out that the *karaṇas* were mainly two-fold, viz., *maha* and *sulu* and that each of these two is again classified into *sampūrṇa* and *asampūrṇa* (KSiḷ, ed. Sorata, v. 308); but unfortunately we have not been able to trace this classification of the *karaṇas*. However, this may be, *sampūrṇa* appears in connection with the *rāgas*: 'Class (*jāti*), in *rāgas*, is considered to be of three kinds—*auḍava* of five notes, *ṣhāḍava* of six, *sampūrṇa* (complete) of seven notes', 'if, in any mode, one or more notes be used from each division, the mode is called 'complete' (*sampūrṇa*), but if one division is not represented, whatever the number of notes in the other divisions the mode is called hexatonic (*ṣhāḍava*); if two divisions are not represented the mode is pentatonic (*auḍava*)' (Daniélou, p. 122). Considering this classification, we may venture to suggest that, if the first was termed *sampūrṇa*, the other two being incomplete may have been known as *asampūrṇa* (incomplete). These two terms are also met with in connection with the *mūrchanās*:

*asampūrṇāśca sampūrṇā vyutkramoccāritasvarāḥ*  
*mūrchanāḥ kūtatānāḥ syustatsaṅkhyāmabhidadhmahe*

(*Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, I. 4. 32).

Speaking of the music that could be produced on Kusa's *vīṇā* the KSiḷ mentions *devisi haṅḍa* (601), *musan* (601) and *svara* (*sara satin*, 236). By twenty-two *haṅḍas* is meant *śruti* (intervals): 'Notes depend upon intervals. The intervals from which the notes are produced are called *śruti*, i.e., "audible" since it is only through hearing that the idea conveyed by the intervals can be grasped' (Daniélou, p. 45): *tasya dvāvīṃśatirbhedāḥ śravaṇāc-*

*chrutayō matāḥ* (*Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, I. 3. 8). These *śrutis* have been classified and each was given a name depicting its character. These have been classified into five main groups or *jātis*—*dīptā* (keen), *āyatā* (large), *karuṇā* (compassionate), *mṛdu* (tender), *madhyā* (moderate) (Daniélou, p. 56; see *Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, I. 3. 29, 30). Some consider the number of *śrutis* to be twenty-two, others speak of sixty-six, and yet others say they are numberless—*kecana punaḥ śaṣṣaṣṭibhedabhinnāḥ śrutaya iti vadanti* (ibid., I, p. 35). Bharata gives us three ways of calculating the twenty-two:

*tisro dve ca catasraśca catassrastisra eva ca  
dve catasraśca śaḍjākkhye grāme śruti nidarśanam*, etc.

3, 2, 4, 4, 3, 2, 4 and 4, 3, 2, 4, 4, 3, 2 and 4, 3, 4, 2, 4, 3, 2 (ch. 28, 22, 23, 25, 26). Of these the *Saṅgīta-ratnākara* tallies with the middle one. It is of interest to note that the ancient Sinhalese system as given in both the *Dharmapradīpikāva* and the *Sdhlk* tallies with the first given in the *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra*, i.e., 3, 2, 4, 4, 3, 2, 4: ‘*śrutihi tun denayā dedenayā satara deneyā satara deneyā tun deneyā dedenayā satara deneyayi dvāvīṃśati śrutibhēdayō īpsitayōyi* (*Dharmapradīpikāva*, ed. Dharmarama, p. 286); *śrutibhēda vaśayen paḷamuvana svarayehi śruti tuneka devana . . . dekeka . . . tunvana . . . satareka . . . sataravana . . . satareka . . . pasvana . . . tuneka . . . savana . . . dekeka . . . satvana . . . satarekāyi mesē sapta svarayehi śruti bhēda devissek hā*’ (*Sdhlk* p. 697). It is noteworthy that the system as produced by the Sinhalese writers does not correspond to that of the *Saṅgīta-ratnākara*. Sorata Thēra considers this difference as indicating that Ceylon had a music tradition different from that of ancient India (see Sorata Thēra, *KSij* p. 232); but we now see that the Sinhalese tradition went back to earlier times, that of the *Bharata Nāṭya-Śāstra*.

*musan* of the *KSij* is *mūrchanā* (also *Amā-vatura*, *Dēva-damanaya*, p. 68). ‘The sequence of the seven notes in ascent or descent is called *mūrchanā*’ (modal scale) (see Daniélou, p. 101).

*kramayuktāḥ svarāḥ sapta mūrchnāstvabhisañjñitāḥ  
śaṭpañcakasvarāstāsām śāḍavodḍvitasmr̥tāḥ*

(*Nāṭya-Śāstra* of Bharata, ch. 28, v. 31; see also *Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, I. 4. 9). The *Dharmapradīpikāva* also speaks of twenty-one *mūrchanās*: ‘*svarayangē tun tun mūrchanā bāvin ekvisi mūrchanāvōyi*, twenty-one *mūrchanās* three for each *svara* (p. 286; see also *Sdhlk* 697). *svara* or notes mean a certain pitch of sound plus

an expression, i.e., 'an expressive note'. *svaras* are seven in number—*ṣaḍja*, *ṛṣabha*, *gandhāra*, *madhyama*, *pañcama*, *dhaivata* and *niṣāda* which are divided into *ṣaḍja* (*chajja*) *grāma*, *madhyama grāma* and *sādhāraṇa grāma* (*Dharma-pradīpikāva*, 286; Sdhk ibid. ; see *Nāṭya-Śāstra of Bharata*, ch. 28, v. 19 and *Saṅgītā-ratnākara*, 3. 23). These *svaras* are in practice briefly called *Sa*, *Ri*, *Ga*, *Ma*, *Pa*, *Dha*, *Ni*.

KSīl also refers to *oli* which has been explained as corresponding to *kākali* by Sorata Thēra (KSīl, p. 231). *kākali* is an accessory note: 'To the seven main notes were added, in ancient music, two accessory notes dividing the major tones *Ni*, *Sa* and *Ga*, *Ma* into two half-tones. These two intercalary (*sādhāraṇa*) notes were called *kākali Ni* (the pleasing *Si*) and *antara Ga* (intermediary *Mi*) "when two *Śrutis* (half a tone) from *Sa*(Do) pass into *Ni*(Si), this is (called) *Kākali* . . ." (Daniélou, p. 44) :

*sādhāraṇakṛtāścaiva kākalīsamalamkṛtāḥ*  
*antarasvarasamyuktā mūrchanā grāmāyor dvayoḥ*  
(*Nāṭya-Śāstra of Bharata*, 28. 32).

However it is very doubtful whether *oli* means the same thing as *kākali*. The meaning of this word is not clear.

Music and dancing go together, and we have already noticed that dancing was as popular as music. The writers of the period were familiar with dancing halls (*raṅga maṇḍulu*) and dancing women (*naḷu gānu*). In addition to the graceful, serene dances of the women, other types of clownish dances, referred to as *puramāṭṭu* in the SdhRv (447, 990), were also known. Reference is also made to some sort of clowns (*kōmālin*), who took part in such dances (SdhRv 990), and to dancing families (*viddat kula*) (ibid. 637, 946). The Sdhk also makes reference to such forms of dancing—*raṅgamaṇḍeleka puramāṭṭu pānā kenekun sē*, like a clown in a dance hall (15). This type of dancing was no doubt similar to what we call *kōlan nāṭīma* today. Some of the similes used by the writers are of interest, as they throw some light on the types of dancing and amusements with which they were familiar. '*raṅga maṇḍalakaṭa komālin sē*', like clowns for a dance hall (SdhRv 687). '*ves bāṇḍa pānā vikāra se*', like masked dances (Pjv 194). This simile shows that masks were used in these dances or that dancers appeared in different guises. '*puramāṭṭu pāṇṭa ā komālin men*', like clowns who came to perform (SdhRv 990). The SdhRv also refers to



one form of dress worn by some of these clowns when it says : ' *topi raṅgamaḍulleka puramāṭṭu pānā kenekun men kuṇu reddakin amudak gotā gena* ', tucking up your dirty cloth as done by a clown (447). In this connection we see from the CV that mimicry and puppet-shows were known in Ceylon even in the earlier periods. For example : ' Amongst the many *Damiḷas* and others he made such as were practised in dance and song appear as people who played with leather dolls and the like ' (CV 66. 133).

We get no descriptions, except in the later *Sandeśas*, of the more graceful, artistic type of dance. That this type of dance was very popular with *Nissaṅka Malla* is shown by many of his inscriptions. He had a seat constructed in the *Kaliṅga* park for the purpose of witnessing dancing : ' this stone seat His Majesty occupies for the purpose of witnessing dancing ' ; ' this stone seat His Majesty occupies whilst engaged in witnessing the various diversions . . . such as dancing, singing, and the like ' (EZ 2. 3. 127, 2. 6. 290 resp.).

A Tamil slab-inscription from *Pālamōṭṭai* of the 11th century shows that dancing was carried on in the Hindu temples by girls : ' Having placed forehead marks on seven females (dedicating them) as dancing girls of the god . . . ' (EZ 4. 4. 195). This is the type of nautch dance that is prevalent even today. Reference has already been made to dances on festive occasions. *VismSn* distinguishes between those who dance and those who make others dance as ' *naṭayō* ' and ' *naccakayō* ' (91).

## Education

As to the exact nature of the system of education, its principles and methods, hardly any information can be gathered from the literature of the century ; but we have no hesitation in asserting that education had attained a very high standard in the island during this period. An account of the literary productions of the century has already been given in the introduction. These give ample evidence to establish the high standards of achievement reached by scholars during this time. Reference must again be made to the devastating influence of *Māgha*, during whose time Sinhalese cultural activity received a great set-back. But with the unification of the island and the establishment of peace by *Parākramabāhu II*, education and learning flourished once again. Even prior to him, efforts to restore the island's culture were made by his predecessor, *Vijayabāhu III*, who succeeded for some time in

wresting back the Māyāraṭa from the invaders. He is said to have repaired all the *piriveṇas* in that area which had been razed to the ground by Māgha. Not only the king himself, but the sub-kings and governors as well, were active in furthering the cause of education, as is shown by the pillar-inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu *māpā* at Kataragama. It states that the area belonging to Kavudāvatta was granted by Bhuvanekabāhu *māpā*, son of Vijayabāhu III, to the *piriveṇa* constructed by His Highness. However, all education and culture were still at a low level until the accession of Parākramabāhu II to the throne at Daṁbadeṇiya. This enlightened ruler, besides being a great scholar himself, was a patron of learning, and because of these qualities the title '*Kali-kāla-sarvajña-sāhitya-ṣaṇḍita*' was attached to him. The CV speaks of his manifold activities in this field: 'With the reflection that *thēras* who were acquainted with the sacred texts were rare in the island, he had all books brought from Jambudvīpa, had many *bhikkhūs* instructed in sacred texts, as also in all sciences, such as philosophy, grammar, and the like, and thus made of them cultivated people. In this manner, furthering conduct and learning, the wise (prince) honoured with such a religious sacrifice the Guide to the path of Salvation (Buddha). The Ruler caused his younger royal brother, Bhuvanekabāhu by name, to be instructed, so that he was versed in the Three *Piṭakas*. He made him carry out the precepts for the *thēras* and hold lectures of instruction thereon' (CV 84. 26-30). The king is also credited with the building of a number of *piriveṇas*, which remain only names to us today, such as Mahāmahinda, Pārakumbā, and Bhuvanekabāhu. The CV says: 'The King made his *yuvarāja* erect in the Billasēla-vihāra the *piriveṇa* called Bhuvanekabāhu after him, embellished with *ṣāsādas*, *maṇḍapas* and the like . . . But also in the splendid town of Hatthigiripura (Kuruṇāgala of today) the King made the same (*yuvarāja*) erect a vast *vihāra*, and after having built in his name a superb *piriveṇa* called Mahāmahindabāhu . . .' (CV 85. 59, 62). 'Thereupon the King erected a *piriveṇa* that was called by his name Parakkamabāhu, adorned with lofty *ṣāsādas*, granted the *vihāra* the diverse objects of use suited to it, as well as several rich maintenance villages . . .' (CV 85. 57). The king is also said to have ordered the return of all land which had belonged to the *piriveṇas* in former times, but had been seized during the period of disorder and anarchy. Dēva-Patirāja, the Minister of the king, was as good and enthusiastic a scholar and patron of learning as the king himself. He is said to

have built for *thēra* Anōmadassi, a *piriveṇa* at Attanagalla. Some believe that another *piriveṇa* of the same name was built for *thēra* Vēdēha, the author of *Rasavāhinī* : ‘ Devapatirāja betook himself to the Hatthavanagalla-vihāra and had erected there at great cost, in the manner commanded by the king, a three-storeyed *pāsāda* with a lofty point, and gave it over to the Grand Master, the wise Anōmadassin by name ’ (CV 86. 37). He is also credited with the founding of the Mayūrapāda-piriveṇa at Vākirigala, where the *thēra* Buddhaputta, the author of the Pjv lived. The Mahāyānic bias reflected in this book in upholding the *Bōdhisattva* ideal, makes us conjecture that this seat of learning belonged to either the Abhayagiri or the Jētavana sect.

After Parākramabāhu, learning and culture declined once again. His successors, being weak rulers, were not powerful enough to maintain peace and order, and under their rule the country lost most of its former glory. With the passage of years the country fell into lawlessness and anarchy, under which conditions learning could not have flourished. This does not in the least mean that all learning and education were rooted out. The seats of learning no doubt carried on their work, but with only a glimmer of their former brilliance, there being no stimulus to creative activity until about the time of Parākramabāhu IV, under whom learning and culture flourished once again. We should not here overlook the attempts of Vijayabāhu IV to keep burning the torch of learning lit by his royal father Parākramabāhu II, in memory of whom he put up the Abhayarāja-piriveṇa (CV 88. 52).

The foregoing account makes it quite clear that education and learning centred round the monasteries of the Buddhist monks, by whose zealous and untiring efforts education and learning was maintained. Their main concern was the practice of religion, and it was also considered their bounden duty to propagate the teachings of their revered Teacher. They taught their pupil monks, each of whom had to attach himself to a preceptor at the time of ordination. Hence during the very early times the *Dhamma* must have been imparted to the pupil monks only ; but as time went on and the monks led a more settled life, the portals of these *vihāras* were thrown open to lay pupils as well. Thus the temple became the village school, and many of them later grew to be famous centres of learning, where resided distinguished scholars. ‘ In times past ’, says Coomaraswamy, ‘ the education of boys was carried on by

Buddhist priests at the village *pansala* (temple), the home of the incumbent of the nearest *vihāra*, just as the village priest taught at the church door in mediaeval England' (*Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, p. 49). Thus this Buddhist educational system grew out of the need to teach the novices entering the Order. The primary concern of a monk was to provide the novice with proper instruction in the principles of the doctrine, and the pursuit of secular learning was in fact considered contrary to the spirit of Buddhism. But a change of attitude took place—the monks adapted themselves from time to time to changing conditions, and, perhaps being inspired by scholastic activities in India about the beginning of the Christian era, included in their studies the pursuit of secular learning. This new outlook exerted a great influence on the *piriveṇas*, which now became centres of secular learning as well. That these seats of learning attained recognised standards and enjoyed a great reputation is shown by the desire shown by foreign scholars to seek admission to them.

*Piriveṇas* have been mentioned from the earliest times, and it is hard to determine the time when the term *piriveṇa* first came to be applied to an educational institution. It seems to have been used in the early times to denote a *vihāra*. The MV records its use to indicate a dwelling-house or cell of the monks: 'The dwelling-house was dark-coloured and therefore they named it the Kālapāsāda-piriveṇa' (MV 15. 204). The Moragoḍa pillar-inscription of Kassapa IV records the grant of certain immunities to lands which were the property of Vādārā-piriveṇa, which was attached to Magul-piriveṇa, situated at Abhayagiri-vihāra in the range of *piriveṇas* known as Kukulgiri (EZ 1. 5. 201). The MV on the other hand records that a row of cells called Kukkuṭagiri was built by Kaniṭṭhatissaka (MV 36. 10). The Jētavanārāma slab-inscription of Mahinda IV (A.D. 956-972) states that in the *vihāra* called the Abhayagiri there 'rises in splendour the Ruvan-mahapahā surrounded by the noble *piriveṇas*' (EZ 1. 6. 226). The *piriveṇas* referred to here are no doubt the cells of the monks. Somehow a distinction seems to have been established by the time of Parākramabāhu II, for the CV says: 'Thereupon the king erected a *piriveṇa* that was called by his name Parakkamabāhu, adorned with lofty *pāsādas*, granted the *vihāra* the diverse objects of use suited to it . . .' (CV 85. 57). Here the terms *vihāra* and *piriveṇa* do not seem to have been used synonymously, as pointed out in

a foot-note to the above passage, which also suggests that the 'vihāra' referred to is the monastery in which, or attached to which, a *piriveṇa* was built (CV, p. 165, n. 2).

No mention is made of any fees that were charged to the students, and it is reasonable to assume that the education at these centres of learning was free. The kings granted maintenance-villages to the *piriveṇas*, and also servitors: 'One *amuṇa* of raw rice and four *akas* of gold a day (shall be granted) to those who have received lodgings at the Mahā-kapārā-piriveṇa for their maintenance. At the expiration of every year, 1,000 (*akas*) of gold (shall be given) to (meet) the expenses of their robes; the two *payalas* (sowing extent of land) in Vāligamu for their servants and the men thereof as serfs' (EZ 1. 2. 57). The Galpota slab-inscription of Nissaṅka Malla states that he 'promoted the interests of religion and science by providing suitable means of subsistence for those versed in the *Dharma* and in the [various] branches of knowledge' (EZ 2. 3. 118). The Prīti-dānaka-maṇḍapa rock-inscription again states that he 'bestowed suitable means of subsistence on learned men versed in law and science' (EZ 2. 4. 178). We have already made mention of the grant of land made by Bhuvanekabāhu *māpā* to the *piriveṇa* constructed in his name (EZ 3. 5. 288).

We shall now consider the various subjects that are mentioned in the literature of the period. Constant reference is made to *sūsāta kalā*, 64 arts, and *aṣṭādaśa śilpa*, 18 practical arts or crafts (Pjv 84, 14). The literary works also name some of these arts and 'sciences'. The Pjv itself refers to *nakṣatra*, astronomy; *gaṇita*, arithmetic; *naimitta*, science of signs (452); *dhanurvēda*, archery (89, 147); *bhūmivijaya*, a science concerned with the features of the earth between a space of 80 cubits into the sky and 80 cubits into the earth (114); *dharmanīti*, ethics; *lōkanīti*, worldly custom; *rājanīti*, law; *akṣara*, letters; *likhita*, writing (736); and *vaidya śilpa*, medical science (553). The books also speak in praise of the study of medicine, which seems to have won the recognition and honour of the people. Even today this science is held in high esteem even by the common man. The Pjv says that a man would be pleased to hear the word 'physician', and that he would be looked upon as a parent or a teacher. It further states that one would be greatly benefited in this as well as in the next world by the study of this science (533). The SdhRv refers to the following: *bhumajāla*, science of earth's features; knowledge by which the good and the bad, the advantages and disadvantages, or good and bad

consequences between a space of 80 cubits into the sky and 80 cubits into the earth are known (313); *sālittaka*, science of stone throwing (412); *adhikaraṇa śūtra*, law (780); *dhanuśśilpa*, archery (309); 4 *Vēdas*; *nighaṇṭu* and *kēṭubha* (67). *nighaṇṭu* is explained as vocabulary or glossary, and *kēṭubha* as the 'science which assists the officiating priests by laying down rules for the rites, or by leaving them to their discretion; ritual' (P.T.S. Dic.). The SdhRv further mentions *gaṇita*, arithmetic; *gāndharva*, music (59); *śabda*, science of sound (219); *āyudha śrama*, science of the use of weapons (513); *nakat*, astrology, said to be a science suitable only for laymen (994); and *sāmudrikā*, science of signs (see below). The SdhRv insists that fallacious studies such as the study of the Rāmāyaṇa should not be undertaken (507). These words of advice are added at the end of the story of Dārucīriya Thēra, where the writer requests the people to give up such fallacious studies (*viṭaṇḍa śāstra*) and study only the word of the Buddha (*budu vadan*). It is quite likely that this statement may have been necessitated by the fact that heretical studies were followed in his time. The VismSn also refers to a few subjects or occupations which are considered wrongful means of livelihood (*micchājīva*), namely: *aṅga-vidyā*, science of the interpretation of the features of a person; *nimitta*, interpretation of the sound of birds, etc., divination; *supina*, interpretation of dreams; *lakkaṇaṃ*, interpretation of signs, as marks on the body of a person, etc.; *mūsikacchinnaṃ*, the science that explains the good and bad results when a cloth is eaten by rats, etc., divination (86). It also explains *akkhara cintakā* as grammarians (53). In the Nāgasēna story adapted from the Milindapañha, the SdhRv mentions only two subjects, *gaṇita* and *gāndharva*, out of nineteen enumerated in the Milindapañha (ed. V. Trenckner, p. 3), viz., (1) *suti*, knowledge of the Vēdas (holy tradition); (2) *sammuti*, tradition, lore, convention, secular law; (3) *sāṅkhya*, Sāṅkhya philosophy; (4) *yōga*, concentration, devotion or Yōga philosophy; (5) *nīti*, polity or Nyāya philosophy; (6) *visēsika*, Vaiśeṣika philosophy; (7) *gaṇita*, arithmetic; (8) *gandhabba*, music; (9) *tikicchā*, medicine; (10) *cātubbēda*, 4 *Vēdas*; (11) *purāṇa*, traditional history, Purāṇas, legendary or religious teaching; (12) *itihāsa*, history; (13) *jōtisa*, astronomy; (14) *māyā*, magic; (15) *hētu*, logic (causation); (16) *mantana*, Holy Scriptures,

sacred texts, spells ; (17) *yuddha*, art of warfare ; (18) *chandāsā*,\* metrics (poetry) ; (19) *muddā*,\* probably gestures of hands (in dancing), conveyancing.

According to the Sdhlk the 18 *śilpas* were : (1) *śruti* ; (2) *Vēda* ; (3) *vyākaraṇa* ; (4) *chandōlakṣaṇa* ; (5) *śabdārtha*, sound and sense of words ; (6) *nakṣatra* ; (7) *śikṣā*, training ; teaching of the proper pronunciation of words and laws of euphony (Apte, *Sanskrit Dic.*) ; (8) *mōkṣajñāna*, knowledge of final beatitude or emancipation (MW) ; (9) *sirita*, history ? or customary law ; (10) *dhanuśśilpa* ; (11) *hasti śilpa*, art of training elephants ; (12) *kāma tantra* (name of a work), erotics ; (13) *sāmudrikā* ; (14) *parakathā*, talk about another (MW) ; (15) *nighaṇṭu* ; (16) *nīti* ; (17) *tarka*, logic ; (18) *vaidya* (Sdhlk 87, 88 ; Pjv 147).

According to the same source and the Pjv (147), the sixty-four Arts are as follows :—(1) *akṣara*, letters, speech, reading ; (2) *likhita*, writing ; (3) *gaṇita* ; arithmetic ; (4) *gāndharva*, music ; (5) *tarka*, logic ; (6) *vyākaraṇa*, grammar ; (7) *chandas*, prosody ; (8) *nighaṇṭu*, vocabulary ; particularly the glossary of Vēdic words explained by Yāska in his *Nirukta* (Apte, *Skt. Dic.*) ; (9) *alaṃkāra*, rhetoric ; (10) *śālihōtra*, veterinary science ; (11) *mantra*, sacred text ; (12) *tantra*, magical and mystical formulae, treatise on astronomy, or a class of works teaching magical and mystical formularies, said to treat of five subjects, as creation, etc. ; (13) *yantra*, amulets, mystical diagrams supposed to possess occult powers ; (14) *ātmōdaya*, self-advantage, elevation or self-realisation ; (15) *jyōtirjñāna*, astronomy ; (16) *itihāsa*, history ; (17) *Purāṇa* ; (18) *agnistambha*, magical quenching of fire ; (19) *jalastambha*, solidification of water by magic ; (20) *kaucumāra*, also *kucimāra(ṇa)* (*Sarvajña-guṇālaṃakāraya*, ed. Dhammajoti Thēra, p. 137), the Commentary to the *Kāmasūtra* explains it as *subhagaṃkaranādayaḥ*, beautifying the body (as taught by *Kucumāra*) (*The Kāmasūtra with Commentary*, ed.

\*Trenckner has given these two words thus, but the Sinhalese edition of the *Milindapaṇha* (ed. K. Gunaratana Thēra, p. 3) gives the readings as *chandā* and *sāmuddā* and this seems more likely as the term *Skt. chandas*, *P. chandō* does not usually stand as *chandāsā*—The P.T.S. Dic. also has gone on the reading given by Trenckner and given a word *chandāsā*. *Skt. sāmudra* means an impression or mark on the body ; *sāmudra-vid* means familiar with palmistry. Hence *Skt. sāmudrika* also means relating to marks on the body—relating to good or bad fortune (as indicated by marks on the body) (MW). *Skt. sāmudrika*, *sāmudraka* also mean belonging or relating to the sea, maritime or sea-faring. *Sāmuddā* therefore could also mean the science of sea-faring.

Śrī G. Dāmodar Shastri, p. 31); (21) *kūpa śāstra*, probably science dealing with the digging of wells; (22) *kāma śāstra*, erotics; (23) *śāstra vinyāsa*, science of arms; (24) *śāstra karma*, surgery; (25) *asvārōhana*, horsemanship; (26) *gajārōhana*, knowledge of elephants, riding, etc.; (27) *sūpa śāstra*, cookery; (28) *aṅkuśamāraṇa*?, *aṅkuśa* means elephant-hook or goad, *māraṇa* is explained as *abhicāra viśeṣaḥ*, a variety of magic (*Śabdakalpadruma*, p. 705, also gives the details of this magic from the *Yoginī Tantra, Pūrva kāṇḍha, Paṭala 4*), *cāraṇa* is given as variant reading for *māraṇa* (Jayatilaka, *A Dic. of the Sinhalese Language*; *aṅkusamāraṇa* may be due to a confusion and the term may be only *aṅkuśa*, cp. *aṅkuśagraha*, holding the *aṅkuśa* (see Venkatasubbiah, *The Kalās*, p. 20); (29) *māraṇa*, magic for destruction of enemies (see above); (30) *mōhana*, magical charm of bewildering enemies; (31) *stambhana*, paralysing the enemy by magical means; (32) *uccāṭana*, causing (a person) to quit (his occupation by means of magical incantation); (33) *trōṭana*, destroying the enemy by magical means; (34) *dūragamana*, travelling; (35) *dūradarśana*, sight of distant things; (36) *bhēri trōṭana*, drum-beating?, rending or cleaving of drums by magic?; cp. rending of *raban* (tambourine) by magical incantations today; (37) *patracchēdana*, leaf-cutting (a kind of sport or art); (38) *citrakarma*, painting; (39) *mālābandha*, garland making; (40) *gandhayukti*, preparation of perfume; (41) *dūta*, art of envoys; (42) *bharata*, drama; (43) *strīlakṣaṇa*, characteristics of women; (44) *puṅgalakṣaṇa*, characteristics of men; (45) *naṇṇaṅka lakṣaṇa*, characteristics of eunuchs; (46) *paraḥitajñāna*, knowledge of another's welfare; (47) *kanaka-parīkṣā*, testing of gold; (48) *thēnaka-parīkṣā*, police work?, detection of thieves?; (49) *cāturvāda*?, four systems of Philosophy?, may even be *cāturvēda*? (50) *dhātuvāda*, metallurgy, alchemy (MW); (51) *khīlavāda*? *vāda* means theory, doctrine, tradition, etc. *khīla* means a post, stake, bolt, etc. (52) *kanyāvāda*, *kanyā* means a girl who has not attained puberty; hence *kanyavāda* may be the art of divination regarding the attaining of puberty. Sorata Thēra explains it as *kanyāvāṅgē śubhūśubha prakāśa karaṇa śāstraya* (*Śrī Sumaṅgala-śabdakōṣaya*, p. 212), the science that deal with the good and bad fortune of *kanyās*. It is the practice even today to consult astrologers when a girl attains puberty to ascertain whether the time of her attainment foretells a prosperous future; an art *khanyavāda*, location and acquirement of buried treasure, is also mentioned in Skt. literature (see *The Kalās*, p. 47); (53) *ākarṣaṇa*,



attraction by magic ; (54) *ākāśa-gamana*, going through the sky ; (55) *śisya-karma*, instruction ; (56) *kāṣṭha-karma*, wood-work (carpentry) ; (57) *hēma karma*, gold work ; (58) *ratna-parīkṣā*, testing of gems ; (59) *kaṇḍaraṇa*, cp. Skt. *kaṇḍarā*, a sinew, a large artery, vein (MW) ; if the term is *khaṇḍana*, breaking, dividing, reducing into pieces, annihilating (MW), it may mean severing a man's body into pieces by means of magic ; charm by which the limbs of a person could be severed (see page 198) ; (60) *śrūyāna* ? could the reading be *sūrayāna* ? cp. *sūracariyaṃ*, movement of the sun (*sūrya caryā*) (see *The Kalās*, p. 13)—*yāna* and *cariyā* both mean movement, going ; (61) *adrśyakaṛaṇa*, rendering invisible through magic ; (62) *parakāya-pravēśana*, entering another's body (a supernatural art) ; (63) *vēṇuvīṇāvādya*, playing of musical instruments, as the lyre and flute ; (64) *viṣa harana*, removal of poison. Mookerji lists out the 64 arts obtained in the Indian Literature. These seem to differ in the main from the items listed above, though a few items are common to both (see *Ancient Indian Education*, pp. 353-363 and *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 28, 29).

The *Sdhlk* (88) also refers to the finer divisions of the *dhanu śilpa* or archery, viz. : (1) *akṣaṇa vēdhi*, shooting as quickly as lightning or with the help of lightning ; (2) *vāḷa vēdhi*, shooting at a hair ; (3) *śabda vēdhi*, shooting or hitting an object only the sound of which is heard ; (4) *śara vēdhi*, shooting at a falling arrow ; (5) *diyehi vidamanaya*, shooting in water ; (6) *goḍehi vidamanaya*, shooting on land ; (7) *ākāśa vēdhi*, shooting in the air ; (8) *dūra vidamanaya*, long-distance shooting ; (9) *āsanna vidamanaya*, short-distance shooting ; (10) *yaṭa taṃbaṭa vidamanaya*, shooting through iron and copper plates ; (11) *piduru bisi vālibisi vidamanaya*, shooting through bags of straw and bags of sand ; (12) *mīhaṃ udalu tāṭili vidamanaya*, shooting through buffalo skin, mamoties, metal dishes, etc. ; (13) *diṃbulpōru piyāpōru vidamanaya*, shooting through wood. The *Pjv* adds a few more to this list : *śara pavuruya* ; *śara toraṇaya* ; *śara pokuṇaya* ; *śara praśādaya* ; *śara rānaya* (147). The *Lalitavistara* mentions three forms of marksmanship, viz., *akṣuṇṇa-vedhitvam* which Mookerji explain as 'the art of hitting the mark accurately ; *marmavedhitvam*, hitting the heart of the mark ; *śabdavedhitvam*, hitting the mark or game by its sound (see R. K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 357).

The *Sdhlk* refers to another very important art, namely the art of cookery, which is considered an essential attainment of a woman.

The Kiñci Saṃghā story, which is set in Rōhaṇa, states that the parents of Kiñci Saṃghā trained her in the art of cookery (Sdhk 605). The mention of the same by the SdhRv when it is not specifically mentioned in the DPA makes it clear that *sūpa śāstra*, or the art of cookery, was considered an important part of a lady's education (289).

The Kāka-vastuva, set at Rōhaṇa in Ceylon, mentions that there was a monk in the temple who understood the cry of crows (Sdhk 577). This reference shows us that the monks engaged themselves in various studies other than those relevant to their sphere of religious education. We noticed elsewhere that a *katikāvata* had to be set up owing to the decline of the Church. Some of the rules in this *katikāvata* reveal a few more facts regarding education and learning during the century. Martin Wickramasinghe has already examined the *katikāvata* from this point of view. The rules that concern us here are : (1) *gṛhasthayaṇṭa solō ādiya bāṇḍa nokiya yutu*, no verses, etc. should be written and sung for laymen ; (2) *kāvya nāṭakādī garhita vidyā tamā nūgatayutu*, *anunut nūgānviya yutu*, that despised arts like drama and poetry should not be taught to others or learnt. Wickramasinghe draws our attention to the fact that such injunctions as these do not appear in the earlier Poḷonnaruva Galvihāra Katikāvata, and he concludes that the above-mentioned subjects or arts have not been included either because these arts and drama were not taught to the monks in the Poḷonnaruva times, or because the teaching of these to the monks was not considered improper (*Siṃhala-sāhityayē-nāṅgīma*, p. 72). However this may be, the Daṃbadeṇi Katikāvata makes it amply clear that these were learnt by the monks, and that these subjects were looked upon as bad—that is, as being against the spirit of religion. This prohibition, says Wickramasinghe, was responsible for the non-production of any poetry for a considerable time after KSiḷ. This no doubt must have been a great blow to secular learning during the period. The SdhRv, too, admonishes people to give up such useless studies as *kāvya* and *nāṭaka*, poetry and drama (503).

The foregoing references furnish some information regarding the curricula of the seats of learning, as well as the arts and sciences that were generally studied. We cannot by any means establish that all the subjects enumerated in the above lists were taught in the *piriveṇas*, or that they were studied by individuals.

We have already stressed that teaching of the doctrine was the main object of the *piriveṇas*. This being so, *Buddha Dharma* and Pāli itself must have headed the list. That Pāli was a subject of study is also made clear by a rendering in the SdhRv. The phrase ‘*uddēsagahaṇa-kālē*’ in the DPA has been rendered into Sinhalese as ‘*Pāli ugannā niyāva asā*’, having heard that he studied Pāli (228). The CV states that Parākramabāhu II had many *bhikkhūs* instructed in the sacred texts, as also in all sciences, such as philosophy, grammar, and the like (CV 84. 27).

Subjects like Sinhalese, Sanskrit, prosody, rhetoric, history, logic, medicine, seem to have been taught. It is doubtful whether the other subjects were taught in the *piriveṇas*; but most of them, as for example magic, many branches of which are enumerated, and astronomy, science of signs, music, and painting, seem to have been studied by the people, perhaps on their own initiative. The knowledge of subjects like magic and astronomy must have been handed down from father to son. The arts of warfare, science of weapons and archery must have been well known to the royal princes and to the armies. We also have proof of the fact that monks practised various arts, such as those of magic, astronomy, medicine, for the next *katikāvata*, that of Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha, prohibits the practice of astronomy, magic, and medicine by the monks. As the monks had degenerated so much during the time of this king, these sciences must have been practised by the monks of the preceding periods, at least in private. Three other subjects which found their due places in the curriculum were Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic (*akṣara*, *likhita* and *gaṇita*). The Pjv states that Parākramabāhu was taught *dharmā nīti*, *lōka nīti*, *rāja nīti*, *akṣara*, *likhita*, etc. (736).

As for the methods of teaching, we hear only of learning by heart. The VismSn explains the term ‘*uddēsa*’ as reading of the text, and ‘*paripucchā*’ as teaching of meaning (241). Thus we can gather that various texts were read and their meanings explained. Writing is also commonly referred to. Writing seems to have been done on palm leaves with the stylus (Pjv 507). This is also indicated by the slab-inscription of Nissanka Malla, which states that he stopped the practice of making grants on palm leaves and introduced instead copper-plate grants: ‘he did not (as heretofore) have them written on *tal-pat* (palm leaves), which were liable to be destroyed by white ants, rats, and the like, but had such grants

engraved on copper (plates), and so established the practice which had not been in vogue aforesaid in Laṅkā ' (EZ 2. 4. 156).

Light is also thrown on certain customs and practices connected with education. The position of the teacher in the eyes of the pupils is also clearly established. The teacher was to be held in the highest esteem and regard, irrespective of caste or creed, by the pupils. It was the duty of the pupil to worship the teacher before and after his lessons. The teacher was the recipient of gifts and presents which marked the appreciation of his services. Yet another reference to the conduct of the teacher is the mention made of ' *ācārya muṣṭi* ', close-fistedness of a teacher. It may be that certain teachers did not give the full benefit of their learning to the pupils, that is, that they withheld some knowledge from them. This was perhaps the exception to the rule (SdhRv 117). Reference is also made to pupils who served the temple in return for the education they received.

The Pjv refers to the starting of the education of a child. This was done ceremoniously at an auspicious time, and the same practice has continued to this day (553). The Sdhk, too, refers to this ceremony. The children were decked in ornaments according to the ability of the parents, and with great ceremony initiated into learning. The book also mentions that children started their education at five (425).

The Pjv (735) states that Vijayabāhu ordered the writing of books for payment in villages. This was no doubt one of the steps taken by this king to promote learning throughout the island. Hence it is likely that the percentage of literacy may have been fairly high. The Pjv, too, states that noble women should procure similar books, and read them to enhance their knowledge of the *Dharma* ; and it also advises those in remoter parts of the country to get such books read to them.

The VismSn makes reference to a young monk who went to Rōhaṇa for his studies (236). This suggests that Rōhaṇa enjoyed a reputation for its educational centres as early as the time of Buddhaghōsa. That the south of the island enjoyed some such reputation is indicated by the existence of centres of learning there such as the Vijayabā-piriveṇa even in later times.

## Medicine

Literature, however, affords us more detail regarding medical science. Reference has already been made to medicine, as well as surgery, which seem to have been subjects rather widely studied. The *āyurvedic* system of medicine as it is known today seems to have been in quite an advanced state. Public health was no doubt one of the chief concerns of the rulers of ancient Laṅkā, and they did much to promote it. The tenth century inscriptions often refer to hospitals and grants and immunities enjoyed by these public institutions. For example, the Poḷonnaruva Council Chamber inscription refers to a rent paid to a hospital: 'The same shall be rented (to yield) interest and one *pāla* of dried ginger measured by *lahasu* taking 4 *aḍmanā* should be given year after year as rent to the hospital' (EZ 4. 1. 44). The same inscription refers to a grant to the chief physician (*maha-vednā*), who, as already noted, was one of the principal functionaries of the State even under Parākramabāhu II. The slab-inscription (No. 1) of Mahinda IV states that he established kitchens and medicine-halls (EZ 1. 6. 228). The pillar-inscription of Kassapa IV refers to a lying-in home which was established by the Chief Secretary (EZ 3. 5. 276). The VismSn, too, refers to lying-in homes (*tiṃbirigē*) and hospitals (*gilan hal*) (940). The CV, besides referring to the above-mentioned establishments, speaks also of the practice of veterinary science: 'To that hall there came, tortured by great pain, a crow suffering from an ulcer that had formed in her cheek. As if chained by the strong bands of his pity, she sat as if with clipped wings, motionless, outside the hall, moaning piteously. The physicians, who rightly recognised her condition, caught her and cared for her at the Great King's (Parākramabāhu I) command' (CV 73. 50). The SdhRv refers to the water mixed with medicine that was given to cattle, and the SdhIk to the treating of a dog suffering from itch (1001, 262 resp.). We are also familiar with the surgical operations attributed to King Buddhādāsa. Whatever the truth of these stories may be, it is reasonable to conclude that medicine, surgery, veterinary science, and midwifery were considerably advanced, and that the country was well served by hospitals and dispensaries.

The literature also refers to physicians and their methods of treatment. Midwives (*vinnam̃bu*) are mentioned (Pjv 593, SdhIk 166). The SdhRv also tells us that the doctors had to be paid for their services and that their travelling expenses had also to be

paid (46). As to the charges and the rates, we have no information. That the physicians jealously guarded their reputation is also brought out by the Cakkhupāla story, which states that the physician requested the monk not to say that he was treated by him (SdhRv 37). They jealously guarded their science as well, for whenever any oils, etc., were to be prepared, they did it themselves and did not give out the recipes to the others (SdhRv 35, Pjv 563).

As for the methods of treatment, reference is made to administration of medicine through the nose (*nasya*) (Pjv 555; Sdhlk 644; SdhRv 35, 914); application of oils (SdhRv 746; Sdhlk 406); fomentation; to giving medicinal gruel [gruel cooked with herbs, such as *polpalā* (*Aerua lanata*) and *gotukola* (*Hydro-cotyle*) today]; decoctions, the chief form of treatment (Pjv 564); oils given to be drunk (Pjv 563); *palā behet*, medicinal herbs for external application (Sdhlk 263); and *kalka*, a medicinal paste (to be eaten) (SdhRv 396). A system of First-Aid (*avasthā pīliyam*) also seems to have been in vogue, though we have no information as to its nature (SdhRv 114).

Some of the similes used by the SdhRv are of interest, e.g., '*huṇaṭa tiyaṃbarā yāpatāyi yannavun men*', like those who say that *tiyaṃbarā* (a variety of gourd) is good for fever (805); '*mēha āttavunṭa tel anubhava karaṇṭa kiyannāsē*', like asking people who have urinary diseases to take oils (555); '*semaṭa uk sakuru kaṇṭa kiyannāsē*', like asking the people who are phlegmatic to take cane-jaggery (555). These similes show that *tiyaṃbarā*, *tel* (oily substances or fat) and *uk sakuru* were considered bad for fever, urinary diseases and phlegmatic conditions respectively. Another significant simile used by Dharmasēna Thēra is: '*vaṇḍaṭa behet dunnāsē*', like medicine been given to a woman to make her sterile, which also indicates that the treatment of women for barrenness must have been known (SdhRv 663). The Sdhlk refers to the treating of a dog for itch (*kuṣṭha*) with the juice of the creeper *gōnil* [*P. nīlavalli* (*Rasavāhinī*), *nīla tāmbūla* (*Piper Betle*) (ibid. Ṭikā)] mixed with sour whey (*āṃbul-mōru*) and also to the removal of a dead child, piece by piece, from a mother's womb with surgical instruments, as the mother could not bring forth the child as it laid transverse in her womb (269).

The following are mentioned as used in medicines: *vālmī* (liquorice) (SdhRv 914); *suṃ* (asafoetida) (SdhRv 914); *siddhiñ-*

*guru* (dried ginger) and *vagaṇḍu* (long-pepper) (Sdhlk 293) ; ghee, honey and cane-jaggery (Sdhlk 65).

The following diseases are mentioned : *atīsāra*, dysentery (SdhRv 184) ; *akṣi rōga*, eye disease (ibid. 34) ; *baravā*, elephantiasis (ibid. 47) ; *tanāl rōga* (P. *visagaṇḍa*), poisonous abscess (VismSn 110) ; *kuṣṭha*, leprosy (SdhRv 736) ; *raktātīsāra*, bloody dysentery (SdhRv 722) ; *pāṇḍu*, jaundice (ibid. 704) ; *ajīrṇa*, indigestion (ibid. 855) ; *ahivātaka*, snake-wind sickness?, plague (ibid. 804) ; *hisarujā*, headache (ibid. 326) ; *udaravāta*, wind of the belly, stomach-ache (Pjv 364) ; *vaṇa*, sores (Sdhlk 311) ; *jvara*, pyrexia, fever (Pjv 699) ; *kāsi*, coughs (SdhRv 283) ; *śastrakavāta*, a windy (rheumatic) disease (Sdhlk 206) ; *antaragaṇṭhi*, intestinal obstruction, tumour.

The Sdhlk also refers to 88 diseases, 99 illnesses, and 203 dangers (740). Special reference may also be made to the *Yōgārṇavaya*, a treatise on medicine by Buddhaputta Thēra, the author of the Pjv. The *Prayōga-ratnāvaliya*, another treatise on medicine, is also ascribed to this author.

## CHAPTER XII

### DOMESTIC LIFE

#### (a) Social Structure

The social structure seems to have been based on some form of caste-distinction, which seems to have been not as rigid as the system of the recent past and perhaps not so well developed. Differentiation is shown by the use of the term *kula* [race, family, community, caste, tribe, set, company, e.g., *brāhmaṇa kula*, caste of the brahmans (MW)], which is used even today to mean caste. Distinction seems to have been always maintained between noble (*yahaṣat*) and low (*hīna*) families. That some such distinction was observed is also indicated by the mention, often made, of *jāti* [position occupied by birth, rank, caste, family, race, lineage (MW)], and *gōtra* [family, race, lineage, kin, tribe (MW)]; but the ideal, that virtue was of primary importance, and that noble conduct constituted true nobility, seems to have been still fresh in the minds of men; and this was perhaps why the system did not develop as rigidly and strongly as it did during the last century or so (cp. Sdhk 546 and SdhRv 82).

The SdhRv and Sdhk both use the terms *jāti*, *gōtra* and *kula* (819, 297 resp.), thus making it clear that they base the social division on birth. The SdhRv also states that the *jāti* of those of noble birth will be noble even though they be poor (230). Whatever the English terms we may use in translating the Sinhalese words *jāti* and *kula*, we can say that the society at this time was divided into *kulas*, which perhaps were not so many as in the later periods. The *kulas* seem to have generally corresponded more or less to the professions followed by the families. The BovGp and the SimBō refer to occupational groups which are termed *kulas*, e.g., *kaṣu kula*, *balat kula* (pp. 140, 221 resp.). Let us here consider what may have been the position prior to the thirteenth century. The MV refers to the *vessas* when it explains the naming of the Vessagiri-cētiya. It says that this was the *vihāra* which was built where five-hundred *vessas* lived after their admission to the Order (MV 20. 15). The Jētavanārāma Sanskrit inscription of the ninth century refers to five castes, which are of course not enumerated (EZ 1. 1. 8). Coming to the eleventh century, we



hear from the Añbagamuva rock-inscription of Vijayabāhu I that he had a terrace constructed below the main terrace of the Sacred Foot at Adam's Peak and thus ' gave facility for the low-caste people to worship the relic ' (EZ 2. 5. 217). Towards the end of the twelfth century we find Nissañka Malla proclaiming that no other castes except Khattiyas should be raised to kingship (EZ 2. 4. 162). He also states that people of the *govi* caste should never aspire to the dignity of kingship (EZ 2. 4. 164). With the dawn of the thirteenth century we have Sāhasa Malla warning the people, in his slab-inscription, that if any one were to appropriate or destroy the gifts, they would be on a level with those degraded from caste (*kula*) as well as with crows and dogs (EZ 2. 5. 229). A few years later, during his successor Kalyāṇavati's reign, we find Āyasmanta, the Officer Administering the Government on behalf of the queen, scrupulously separating the four castes (not enumerated here), which had become impure through mixture (CV 80. 41). Later on we hear of Vijayabāhu IV who, issuing a command to all inhabitants of Lañkā, brought together the workers of iron, the turners, bamboo-workers, blacksmiths, potters, goldsmiths, painters, porters, workmen, slaves, *caṇḍālas* who undertook work for hire, bricklayers, workers in stucco, carpenters and guilds of masons (CV 88. 105). This list seems to show the divisions of the inhabitants of Lañkā who were assembled by the king's orders. Later on we shall see that these professional groups are termed *kulas*. Hence the divisions seem to have had some occupational basis.

' The spread of Hinduism ', says Mendis, ' led to a greater observance of the rules of caste. Some kings of Ceylon are said to have followed the *Laws of Manu* which, among other things, dealt with the rules of caste . . . Caste is an institution which keeps together a community of people by not allowing its members to marry outside their group. It further prevents its members mingling freely with those of other castes by forbidding them to take meals in common with anyone outside their caste. Caste, however, has neither a chief nor an organisation such as a council to enforce its rules. But the various families which make up a caste, see that its rules are carried out by their members. Each family punishes its disobedient members by casting them out of its circle and thus depriving them of the privileges to which its members are entitled. Caste, in other words, exists on account of the family system, and

in the past the family system was a necessity for the life of the individual as it gave him protection and satisfied his social needs. Its members, therefore, upheld its interests even at the expense of their own, especially by marrying to the advantage of the family as a whole'. Mendis further observes that the view that castes were mere divisions based on occupations cannot be accepted, for recent research has shown that many castes are of racial or tribal origin: 'The peculiar occupations associated with many of them were not the causes that separated them from others, but many tribes which were distinct units followed these occupations at the time they changed into castes' (*Early History of Ceylon*, pp. 85, 86). According to this view, Ceylon should have had a number of tribes in the past which practised different occupations. Hence there should have been as many tribes as there were castes, which position is most improbable, for we do not hear of any such tribes in Ceylon. It may be that tribes which had already changed into castes had immigrated into Ceylon. We must here, before we come to conclusions on this point, have some knowledge of the tribal groups which were assimilated in the Sinhalese population. With regard to this point Bryce Ryan, in his *Study of Caste in Modern Ceylon*, observes that there has been a tendency throughout Ceylon to differentiate the origins of caste in terms of feudal services and occupations. He also thinks it probable that many castes represented immigrant groups each of which possibly had predetermined status, and that others arose through division of labour and other schismatic processes within Sinhalese society itself. 'Thus specific coastal castes undoubtedly have unitary tribal or caste origins in India and were Sinhalese as bodies rather than as individuals, possibly with some retention of previous statuses and occupational roles' (*Caste in Modern Ceylon*, pp. 11, 12). He clarifies his observations further by stating that the evidence for this is clearer in the coastal areas than the interior where the origins have been lost in the mists of time (*ibid.*). Later on in his study he remarks: 'One of the chief, and to some students the most basic characteristic of caste is the link between endogamous status groups and occupation. In addition to strictly secular vocational pursuits there is an allocation of ritual and secondary economic service roles among strata. No doubt Ceylon, more than India, emphasizes the vocational and service aspect of caste. Rather more plausible for Ceylon than India would be a theory of caste development on the basis of division of labor, for many of the castes have strong traditions

of ceremonial or occupational monopolies. It should be realized that the ritual and the vocational functions of caste defy clear demarcation ' (ibid. p. 180).

W. A. de Silva has made a few observations regarding the social organisation in the island in ancient times : ' Among the Sinhalese ', says de Silva, ' there does not appear to have been any castes or divisions. Brahmins are mentioned as living apart in their own villages and were more or less counted as foreign to the Sinhalese. The members of the royal families were held in a class by themselves and those of such families who aspired to the kingdom had to marry a member of a royal family or at least from a Brahmin family. The rest of the people were *grhapati* (those having settled abodes). The *caṇḍāla* (despised) were those without a fixed abode, they were despised on account of being tramps and vagrants with no fixed residence . . . Asōka Mālā, addressing the Prince said that she was a Caṇḍālī, as she did not belong to a family from which a member of the royal family is allowed to marry. So the two divisions merely appear to be those who had a fixed abode and those who had no fixed abode. There was at this time no special division for trades or occupations, for in general a householder or members of a family were expected to engage themselves in one of the three occupations, viz. :—as traders, as artisans, or as cultivators ' (*A contribution to the study of social organisation in Ceylon in early times from Saddharmālaṃkāraya*, J R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XXXI, p. 68).

From what we have already noticed, it is difficult to subscribe to this view. We have already shown that the Sdhk pointed to a caste division. If de Silva based his division on *kula*, we cannot say why he overlooked the other *kulas* referred to in the book. The story of Asōka Mālā may be quoted here : ' *ikḃiti rājakumārayaṇṭa tamāgē jāti gōtra prakāśakoṭa kiyannāvū kumārikā toma*

*sāmi. hellōlagāmasmiṃ—issarassa sutū ahaṃ*

*kammāra dhītū caṇḍālī—iti maññanti maṃ janū*

*yanādīn svāmīni ! mama hellōli nam gama pradhūna nāvāmiyāgē dū vū ektarā sāḍol duvakimi* ', Sire ! I am a *caṇḍāla* woman—the daughter of the chief smith of the village known as Helloli (Sdhk 542). This conversation does not make the least reference to any eligibility for marriage, and further, Asōka Mālā did not know that Sāliya was a Prince when they first met. Of course, later on in the story reference is made to the fact that King Gāmuṇu was

anxious to get his son married to either a royal princess or a Brahmin lady, and Sāliya was asked to give up this *caṇḍāla* woman and avoid polluting the royal family. This is in no way to deny the existence of other castes ; on the contrary, the observance of caste-differences is indicated when the writer says: '*jāti gōtra prakāśakoṭa kiyannāvū*', explaining her birth and clan (caste). It may also be remarked that the reference to Hellōli, the village of the Caṇḍālas and the fact that Asōka Mālā was the daughter of the chief smith of the village suggest that the Caṇḍālas themselves had fixed abodes.

Let us now consider the *kulas* mentioned in the literature of about the period under review : *raja kula*, royal family (Sdhlk 190); *brāhmaṇa kula*, Brahmin caste (SdhRv 471); *caṇḍāla*, depressed (Sdhlk 357); *viddat kula*, dancer caste (stated to below) (SdhRv 860); *veḷaṇḍa*, merchant (Sdhlk 657); *govi*, cultivator (Sdhlk 657; EZ 2. 4. 164); *pukkusa*, scavenger (Sdhlk 657); *suduru (śūdra)*, a man of the fourth or lowest of the four original classes or castes whose only business was to serve the three higher classes (MW) (Sdhlk 746); *vaiśya*, trader (Sdhlk 163). The Pjv enumerates four castes, viz. *raja*, *siṭu*, *bamuṇu*, *veḷaṇḍa* (royal, *setṭhi*, brahmin and trader), and in another place *siṭu (setṭhi)* is dropped and *govi* substituted (Pjv 524). The SdhRv enumerates *rāja*, *brāhmaṇa*, *vyāpārayō* (traders), *govi* and *hīnajāti*, in translating the terms *brāhmaṇa*, *vessa*, *sudda*, *caṇḍāla* and *pukkusa* from the Milinda-pañha (61). The inclusion of the term *hīnajāti* no doubt shows that there were other castes in addition to the four main ones enumerated, and that they were included in the category of the low castes which included the *caṇḍāla* and *pukkusa*. It also mentions *vādi kula* (hunters) (SdhRv 571; 418), and *kaṇḍu kula* (barbers). In the case of the latter, the DPA has only '*kaṇḍantēvāsikēna*' and does not refer to a *kula*, whereas the SdhRv refers to the monk who entered the Order from the *kaṇḍu kula* (300). Also *vaḍu kula* (carpenters) (SdhRv 472); *baḍāl kula* (potters) (SdhRv 799); *kevuḷu* (fishermen) (SdhRv 847); *sannāli* (tailors) (Sdhlk 125). The Pjv refers to *radavun* and *beravāyan* (356). It is significant here that the Pāli term '*tunnakārō hutvā*' has been rendered into Sinhalese as '*sannāli kulayehi ipada*', been born in the *sannāli kula*. The Pāli term *gahaṇḍati* is rendered into Sinhalese as *govi kula*, e.g., *gahaṇḍatikā = govi kulehi upan tānāttō*, householder, the one born in the cultivator caste (SdhRv 937). Again, *gahaṇḍati kula* is rendered as *govi kulehi* (ibid. 853), and *gahaṇḍati mahāsāra*

*kula* as *govi mahasal kulehi* (ibid. 130). De Silva's division has some meaning here. That is, the SdhRv differentiates the *govi* or householder caste from the others, which are put into one category; but this does not in the least mean that there were only two divisions other than *raja* and *bamuṇu*. We may say that there was the *govi* caste, the *vyapārayō* or traders and other divisions, such as potters, carpenters, etc. The division by de Silva into those who had fixed abodes and those who had none is rather misleading, for one may be driven to think that the second group of people had no fixed abodes, which is most unlikely. Those of the *govi* caste no doubt led more settled lives on their farmsteads, whereas in the case of the other castes the nature of their employment may sometimes have necessitated movement from place to place; but this does not necessarily mean that these artisan castes had no fixed homes. They undoubtedly had their homes, but some of them travelled to different places in connection with their work.

As for the positions of castes, and the customs and practices peculiar to them, we have no information except the general statement that some castes, specially *caṇḍāla* and *ṣukkusa*, were considered low (VismSn 854). The Pjv also states that members of the royal family did not mix with those of the *govi* caste (58). The Viḍūḍabha story in the SdhRv makes it clear that certain castes did not eat together. This was why the officers of the king were asked to bring a princess who ate together with the rest of the royal family (302). We can be almost certain that this was also the practice in Ceylon—that the higher castes did not eat in the houses of the castes considered low in the social scale. With reference to *kevuḷu* (fishermen) the SdhRv states that the people referred to were born in that caste (*jāti*) as they had not done any meritorious deed which would have gained for them a birth in a noble caste (*yahaṣat jāti*) (847).

A feature of the social structure seems to have been the segregation of the caste-groups in different villages, or, if in towns, in different streets, as in India. 'Segregation of individual castes or of groups of castes in a village is the most obvious—villages divided or houses arranged in streets—depressed classes as Māṅg, Mahār, etc., are forced to live in the outskirts of the village' (G. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India*, pp. 10-11). The MV and the inscriptions provide proof of this fact. The CV refers to a weavers' village,

viz., 'The weavers' village Jambēlambaya he affiliated to the Uttaravihāra' (CV 41. 96). Villages of *caṇḍālas* are mentioned: 'The consort of Prince Sumana . . . fled straight away by the east gate and went to a *caṇḍāla* village' (MV 5. 41). The Galapāta vihāra rock-inscription of the twelfth century refers to a *beravāgama*, a village of drummers (EZ 4. 4. 209). Notice may also be taken of the Vaḍudevāgama, mentioned in the tablets of Mahinda IV at Mihintale (EZ 1. 3. 112). An examination of the distribution of population in the island today will show that this sort of segregation of castes has persisted to the present day. These villages seem to have had their own headmen.

Coming to later times, we hear of the four castes, *kṣatriya*, *brāhmaṇa*, *vaiśya* and *śūdra*, from the Gaḍalādeṇiya rock-inscription (A.D. 1341-2) (EZ 4. 2. 106). Ananda Coomaraswamy, dealing with the Kandy period, makes the following observations: 'The caste system of Ceylon is similar to the Dravidian in South India, and differs from the well-known four-fold caste division of the Hindus generally. Vijaya himself could hardly have found a place in the Brahmanical caste system. The Sinhalese people from an early date had constant and intimate relations with the Tamils of South India, so it is that we find the Dravidian and not the Aryan caste system amongst the Sinhalese. In this system the cultivator ranked highest. With the spread of the Āryan civilisation came the Brāhmanical system, which was superimposed upon the Dravidian, so that the Brahman and *Kṣatriya* ranked above the cultivator. Hence the order of the castes in Ceylon came to be—(1) *bamuṇu* (Brahmans); (2) *raja* (ruling caste); (3) *govi* (cultivators); subsequently the *veleṇḍa* or merchant was added. But as there was no place for Brahmans in a Buddhist country, and the royal family formed a caste by itself, and the merchants were few or none, the *goviyō* have remained to this day of chief importance from the caste point of view. That is, the *goviyā* or *vellāla* as he is often called is the man of high caste. The *goviyō* included three ranks, the chiefs (*radala* or *mudali pēruva*), the nobles or titled men (*siṭāṇo*), and the rest of the *goviyō*; and these together formed, as we have seen, over 90 per cent. of the community.

Authorities differ somewhat as to the order of precedence of the remaining classes. They are given in the following order by the Janavāṃsa, a most interesting Sinhalese poem of the fifteenth century, often regarded as an authoritative work, especially by the artificers,

but according to the others it has been adapted in their interests. The *Jana-vam̄sa*, by one *Siṃha* of *Kessellana*, purports to be founded on a Pāli original. It gives interesting but mainly fanciful accounts of the origin of the different castes, and endeavours to show that all men are really of one race though occupied in different ways; stress being laid upon the well-known saying of Buddha “not by birth does one become a *vasala* (outcast), not by birth does he become a Brahman . . . ” I now give a table of castes according to the *Jana-vam̄sa*; (1) *goviyō* (*hañduruvō*, “hondrews” of Knox); *vellālas* (cultivators); (2) *pēsakārayō* (*salāgamayō*, “chalia”, weavers); (3) *kaṃburu* (*navandannō*, *galladō*, artificers); (4) *vaḍuvō* (carpenters, blacksmiths, etc.); (5) *hannāli* (tailors and embroiderers); (6) *radav* (dhobies, washermen); (7) *āmbāṭṭayō* (barbers); (8) *sommārayō* (leather-workers, shoemakers); (9) *durāvō* (toddy-drawers); (10) *kuṃbakārayō* (*baḍahālayō*, potters); (11) *karāvō* (fishers); (12) *vāddō* (hunters); (13) *beravāyō* (musicians and weavers, and often astrologers); (14) *hakuruvō* (jaggery-makers); (15) *hunnō* (lime-burners); (16) *paṇṇayō* (grass-cutters); (17) *yamannō* (iron-smelters); (18) *vel-vaḍuvō* (rattan-workers); (19) *gahalayō* (menial servants); (20) *paḍuvō* (servile or inferior cultivators and palanquin-bearers); (21) *mālākārayō* (inferior florists and gardeners); (22) *kinnarayō* (mat-weavers); (23) *roḍiyō* (makers of ropes, tanners, etc.); (24) *oliyō* (dancers); (25) *indrajālakayō* (conjurers); (26) *caṇḍālayō* (eaters of unclean food, scavengers). . (See Appendix V).

Nowadays the fishers and the other castes in the low country contest the precedence of the conservative *vellāla*’ (*Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, pp. 21-22).

Attention may be drawn here to a Tamil inscription which deals with a dispute between the blacksmiths and the washermen: ‘Having inquired into former custom and having seen reason for blacksmiths to receive “*kottācalu*” foot-clothes, and clothes for covering the faces of the dead, sent for the washermen and made them perform (the said services)’ (EZ 3. 6. 307). This no doubt refers to the refusal of the washermen to perform certain services for the blacksmiths, as the washermen considered themselves higher in social status than the blacksmiths; but the dispute seems to have been decided against them, thus putting them lower than

the blacksmiths. Commenting on this inscription, Paranavitana states: 'The washermen disputed the claims of the blacksmiths for the social privileges specified, the latter had been enjoying them in earlier times. On the other hand, the Chronicle laments that under the rule of Mānābharāṇa and his contemporaries, men of the lower classes were placed in high positions; and, possibly, it was owing to incidents like the one mentioned in this epigraph that the author of the *Mahāvamsa* accused these rulers of subverting the established social order' (ibid. p. 305). The Chronicle says: 'In their heedless way of acting they slighted people of good family and placed ambitious men of the lower classes in leading positions' (CV 61. 50).

In the face of the foregoing facts it is difficult to assert that a system of caste division did not exist during the thirteenth century. Such an elaborate and rigid system as was found in the fifteenth century could not have come into being overnight; it was no doubt the work of centuries. None can gainsay that the caste system in Ceylon is a legacy from the mainland of India whence the ancient Sinhalese drew most of their inspiration. The caste system in the mainland was well established and observed in all rigidity, and therefore it is impossible to believe that it did not have its repercussions here. The seeds of the system must have been sown in the very earliest times, and the system grew and took firm root as time went on. Looking at the foregoing evidence, we may conclude that a division into caste was known in the thirteenth century, that *raja*, *bamuṇu*, *govi* (*vellāla*), *veḷaṅda*, *caṇḍāla*, were well established, and that other castes, as *beravā* or *radā*, based on the different vocations followed by their members, were also known. The position may be summarised in the words of Nilakanta Sastri: 'Caste was the basis of social organisation. Each caste was more or less a hereditary occupational group with an active organisation for the regulation and protection of its economic and social interests, and the . . . society of those days is best conceived as a loose federation of strong self-regulating groups which shared a common background of social rights and obligations which made for mutual understanding and accommodation' (*The Cōlas*, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 350).

### (b) Marriage

In marriage social and psychological problems played a vital part. Wrath of parents, fear of disinheritance, love, family prestige,



status, wealth are some of those which confronted a man intent on matrimony. These traditions seem to have persisted from the earliest times to the present. The family being the unit of society, the continuance of the family system was most essential, hence marriage was of the utmost importance, and had to be regulated according to orthodox family traditions. The anxiety of every family was to see its continuance from generation to generation, and the parents therefore showed the keenest interest in the marriage of their children. Here too our pattern of living approximated to the Indian. Hence the traditions between the two countries cannot be said to differ greatly. Probably the traditions governing the institution of marriage today are hardly different from those that ruled in mediaeval times in Ceylon. The orthodox Indian view was that 'the good must give the daughter to a wooer gifted with excellencies, having informed themselves of his character and way of life, his knowledge, his origin and his business' (Meyer, *Sexual Life in Ancient India*, p. 56). These were the words spoken by Bhīṣma to Yudhiṣṭhira on the question of choosing a husband. The Pañca Tantra advises the wise to give their daughters to one endowed with seven qualities; viz., caste or family, character, protection, learning, wealth or power, beauty, and health or youth:

*kulaṃ ca śīlaṃ ca sanāthatā ca  
vidyā ca vittaṃ ca vaṣur vayaś ca  
etān guṇān sapta vicintya deyā  
kanyā budhaiḥ seṣamacintanīyaṃ*

(ed. Hertel, Bk. III, Tale xiii, v. 191, p. 214). To this very day parents conform to these rules in the choice of husbands for their daughters. The first thing to which we look today is the caste (*jāti*), next his profession, then whether the man is sufficiently educated, and his character. These really are the most important considerations, and they are by no means different from those of ancient India enumerated above. The literature of the thirteenth century refers to these orthodox traditions, and no doubt these were the considerations that guided the parents in the thirteenth century in the choice of a husband for their daughter. Of course there were many exceptions to these orthodox views. Love was scorned, yet it had its say in very many cases. Girls were abducted; they also eloped with their lovers on their own initiative. These were the exceptions, and the commonest form of marriage was that arranged by the parents of both parties, and

established between two families of the same caste (*jāti*) and rank ; marriage within one's own *jāti* was the rule, and the *jāti* or castes of the island remained endogamous. We also notice the efforts made to keep the families pure through marriages confined to people of one's own standing and profession, thus taking care that they did not degenerate through mixture, particularly with the lower elements.

The story of Mugalan Mahā-thēra states that a certain young *setṭhi* about to be married, was asked by his parents whether they should bring him a girl from a fit and suitable family (SdhRv 596). The Kāli *yakkhinī* story shows that the bride should be able to attend to the work at home and also to the work in the field (ibid. 88). Pūrṇavardhana in the Visākhā story is advised to select a bride from the same caste : '*jāti sari tānakin vicārā*' (ibid. 332). The Cakkhupāla story shows that the two Pālas were married into two suitable families and were allowed to live separately and away from the parents (ibid. 28). The Māgandhi story relates how the choice of a husband was based on considerations of caste, age and wealth (ibid. 199). The story of Saṅgharakkhita *thēra* states that he would marry a girl who would be able to look after the activities of the home (ibid. 277). One may even today, come across a mother asking a 'match-broker' whether the girl can attend to household work (*gedara dorē kaṭayutu*). The Sdhk establishes the foregoing considerations in the story of Rihaltissa of Sagamdora in Ruhunu *janapada*. The parents inquired into the caste and family of the man and gave their daughter in marriage accordingly : '*jāti gōtra vicārū*' (580). The story here deals with an *upāsaka* of Rōhaṇa in Ceylon. Yet again it renders the Pāli '*dāra parivaj-jam katvū*' as '*taman hā samāna velaṇḍa kulayakin rūpa sampannavū kumārikā kenekun genavut*', having brought a beautiful girl from a merchant family of equal status (Sdhk 653). We also find the parents of Uggasēna *setṭhi* admonishing him that his conduct—falling in love with a dancing girl and marrying her—was discreditable to him as well as to his family ; and they wanted to find him a wife from a suitable family in keeping with their status. Some attention no doubt was paid to wealth. Visākhā's father wished to know the wealth of Migāra *setṭhi* (SdhRv 335). It is not unusual today for a parent to inquire into the financial stability of the family of his intended son or daughter-in-law. A father's chief concern was to make sure that his daughter would be happy and well maintained in the new place. Hence his anxiety. This

anxiety also led a parent to various other considerations, such as making sure that the young man had a good position, or that he knew some art or craft which would help him to maintain a wife. The Hunter's story relates how a potter decided to give one of his daughters in marriage to his pupil, who, he was certain, was very skilful in the art of pottery (SdhRv 758). The Pjv supports the same view when it says : *niśśilpī tñāntanta aṣa daruvan no demha* (146). This same anxiety is reflected in yet another way : parents often contrived to get their daughters married when they found a young man who, in their opinion, would succeed in life. The story of Jaṭila *thēra* speaks of such a situation : '*mū anargha keneka kotenaka vuvat rākī ganilī tamangē vāḍiviya pāmiṇi duvaṇiyan unṭa pāvā devālā*', This is a noble fellow. He will succeed anywhere. Thinking thus he gave his daughter in marriage to him (SdhRv 941).

Marriage between different religious sects was not welcomed, for such unions led to disruptions in family relations. The story of Uttarā shows that Bahudhana *siṭāna* was reluctant to give his daughter in marriage to the son of Sumana, as he was not a follower of the same faith. Somehow the marriage was solemnised, and when the young wife was not permitted to attend to her religious duties, feelings were estranged and unhappiness resulted. She was so much enraged that she wrote to her father telling him that it would have been better if she had been sold, for then no one would have been concerned as to who the purchaser was (SdhRv 744).

Thus we may conclude that caste, wealth, status, and education were the chief factors that controlled the choice of a husband, while in the case of a wife, ability to attend to household work was considered a necessity.

None of the above considerations influenced one who chose according to the dictates of the heart. The Dhanuggaha story describes how the wife of Dhanuggaha fell in love with a robber and helped him to kill her own husband (SdhRv 861). The story of Prince Sāliya of Ceylon is too well-known and has been quoted above (p.287). The Sūkarapōtikā story relates how a minister of Duṭugāmuṇu fell in love with a lady called Sumanā when he was on circuit, and how he married her with all pomp (SdhRv 851). The Sdhlk., too, refers to such interesting episodes. Love at first sight and love on hearing the

voice are referred to. Some love affairs resulted in runaway marriages. Occasions when girls stole away from their homes to meet their lovers were not unknown. The Paṭācārā story relates that a rich *setthi*'s daughter requested the servant in her own home to take her away if he had any love for her, as she was to be given away in marriage shortly to another (SdhRv 539). It is also clear from the stories that such love-marriages did not receive the sanction of the parents, and that they were contracted on the responsibility of the man and woman concerned. Under normal circumstances the parents seem to have paid some respect to the wishes of the children. They were married only if they were agreeable. Of course, there were occasions when children were compelled to agree to the wishes of parents. The parents considered it their sacred and express duty to get their children married at the proper age. Occasions when parents agreed to the wishes of their children are also recorded, for example, the Kāli yakkhinī story shows how the son refused to concede to the wishes of his parents, until at last they yielded and married him to the girl of his choice (SdhRv 88). The Nandika Upāsaka story on the other hand is an example of the contrary, where the parent asserts his right to choose a wife for his son (ibid. 734). These no doubt were types of marriages which were largely dissociated from love and were based on economic or social considerations. When children agreed to the will of their parents much against their own wishes, it was no doubt due to their devotion and obedience to them. The story of Uttarā makes this abundantly clear when the young lady agrees to the arranged marriage, as she considered it unbecoming on her part to disobey her parents and elders. The observations made by W. A. de Silva are worthy of note. 'Women have held a very high status during this period . . . monogamy was a definite institution. There is no mention of any other form of marriage. Women had freedom in choosing their husbands . . . In the first place a suitor invariably inquires personally from a woman whether she was married or unmarried, if unmarried, the woman's consent to marriage was sought from her direct and the parents and relations agree to the marriage without demur. Once married, they set up a separate house, and do not live with the parents of either' (J.R.A.S. C.B. Vol. XXXI, Nos. 81-83, pp. 70, 71). We can agree with de Silva that monogamy was the rule; but with the second part of his statement, that the women under normal circumstances had freedom to choose their husbands, we find it difficult to agree, for this does not seem to have

been the case at all. We have already shown that arranged marriages were the order of the day and that parents normally took the consent of the two people concerned; but the choice of both the bride and the bridegroom was entirely in the hands of the parents, except in the exceptional cases when love, or some such other consideration, was the deciding factor. A few examples from the *Sdhlk* itself will show that de Silva's conclusions seem hardly accurate. He seems to have generalised perhaps from a particular instance or two. In the *Kiñcisaṅghā* story we are told that Śakra came in the guise of a handsome young man and proposed to a beautiful young girl who was standing by the roadside. Her reply to the proposal is interesting. She said: 'My parents have asked me to wait here till they return. Parents always desire the well-being of their children, and if we should act in our own way against the wishes of parents, we should meet with disaster in this as well as in the next world. Then, if my parents wish me to accept you as my husband, I shall do so, and not otherwise' (*Sdhlk* 609). In the first place in this example Śakra is trying to test the lady, and secondly it does not in any way prove that normally a young man proposed to the lady directly. On the other hand, it shows that good children normally acted according to the wishes of their parents, and that the matter rested entirely with the latter. The story of *Nandirāja* furnishes us with another story. The commander-in-chief, having heard that *Nandiya* was destined to be king in seven days, decided to give one of his daughters in marriage to him. He summoned his daughters to his presence and asked them whether they would consent to marry *Nandiya*. The elder six refused the offer, as nothing was known about the man concerned, and he was a complete stranger. The youngest said: 'Parents indeed desire the well-being of their children and do not wish them ill. Therefore if my parents give me away to some one, I shall accept him as my husband' (*Sdhlk* 180). This story also shows us, as does the previous one, that under normal circumstances the matter of choosing a husband was entirely in the hands of the parents, who of course generally consulted the wishes of their children. We have no examples to show that normally a man proposed directly to the girl except when he was in love with her. Sometimes in such cases too the proposals seem to have been sent directly to the parents and not to the women concerned. This is shown by the stories of *Swarnatilakā* and *Kāñcana-dēvi* (*Sdhlk* 258, 213). The real position is amply made clear by statements like '*saraṇa*

*vicārā nila kaḷaha*’ (SdhRv 244), and ‘*vāḍiviya pāmiṇi daruvanta sudusu tānin saraṇa genvā pāvādī venkaḷaha*’ (ibid. 24). This second statement refers to the custom of getting the children suitably married and letting them set up their own households, that has persisted up to the present day.

### Cousin Marriage

Cousin-marriages seem to have been common during these times. A few stories record the preference shown for this type of union. Cousin-marriages—that is, marriage between cross-cousins—have been permitted up to modern times. According to this system, the children of a brother and sister could marry, but not those of two brothers or two sisters, which marriages are taboo even today. The Nandika story stresses that the man was compelled to marry his cousin Rēvatī, even though she was a non-believer in the Buddhist faith: ‘*un vāḍiviya pamiṇi kalhi ḷamva tibena geyaka hiṇḍinā mayilaṇu kenekungē duva rēvatī nam kumārikā kenekun putanuvanta saraṇa genenu kāmāti vūha*’, When the son came of age, the parents were desirous of getting him married to Rēvatī, the daughter of one of his uncles, who lived in the neighbourhood (SdhRv 734). The Mahāli-praśna records the soliloquy of Sujātā thus: ‘*mama mē magha māṇavakayanta sessavun sē novemi, nāṇḍi mayil saraṇaya, un kaḷa pinkamek ātnam mā kaḷēya*’, My relations with this man are not as those of others, for mine is a cousin-marriage, and if he were to acquire any merit, it indeed will be mine as well (ibid. 260). This statement suggests that the lady laid additional claims to her husband as he was her own cousin. The Uttarā story brings forward the relationship as an additional qualification for marriage, when the Pāli makes no such reference: ‘*nā sambandhaya nisā apage putanuvanta saraṇa pāvā duna mānava*’ (ibid. 744).

Looking at the Sinhalese kinship terminology one notices that the father’s sister’s daughter and the mother’s brother’s daughter are known by the same term *bādāṇi* (mod. S. *nānā*) and the term for father-in-law and maternal uncle (mother’s brother) and paternal aunt (father’s sister) and mother-in-law are *māmā* or *mayilaṇu* and *nānda* or *nāṇḍi* respectively. The son-in-law is referred to in the same term used for father’s sister’s son, and the mother’s brother’s son, viz., *bānā*. These seem to be indicative of the prevalence of cross-cousin marriage. The term *nānā* is used today for the sisters of the wife as well and this is suggestive that marriage with *nānās* was permissible, e.g., in the event of the death of the wife the husband’s marriage with a sister of the dead wife (sororate) would find social approval.

We are aware of a few cases of levirate—the widow's marriage with a brother of the dead husband—as well today. The classification of the father's brothers as fathers, younger or elder is indicative of this practice. From the occurrence of instances both of sororate and levirate today, we could infer that these institutions prevailed in the past, perhaps with greater frequency.

The account of the origin of the Sākya says: '*magē malun heyin topagē mayilōya ungē dū ātnam topaṭa bisō karavayi . . . avaśya bānan heyin genvāt pāvā dunamanā tena kaḷa dāma yahaṭa*', They, being my brothers, are your uncles; if they have daughters, make them your queens . . . when really we should have taken the trouble to get them married as they are our nephews, their action is quite justified (ibid. 315). The story here is that the Princes carried away their cousins, and their uncles (now fathers-in-law) were only too jubilant that they had been spared the worry of getting them married, as they were their own nephews (*avaśya bānan*, modern *āvāssa bānā*). These two examples are not translations from the Pāli, and hence are quite significant and may be taken to indicate that cousin-marriages were in favour with the people during the thirteenth century. Cousin-marriages are losing favour today, and are commonly referred to as *āvāssa hira* (literally, necessary marriage).

As for taboos and other such prohibitions with regard to marriage, we have no information except that marriage between brother and sister was considered quite beastly. The Pāli '*sākiyā bhaginīhi saddhiṃ samvāsaṃ vasitakānaṃ*' is rendered into Sinhalese as '*tirisanun paridden taman taman gē naṅgun hā samaṅga vāsaya karat*', They live (co-habit) with their sisters like beasts (SdhRv 713). With the help of this statement we are justified in concluding that marriage within the narrowest family circle was taboo and those transgressing this rule may have been considered guilty of incest. This was also a general principle in primitive society, where within the narrowest family circle sexual relations were universally taboo (see Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 14).

As to the prevalence of other forms of marriage, such as the *svayamvara*, and marriage by purchase, that were known in India, we have no information. A few references to what one may classify as purchase are found; for instance, the Kisāgōtamī story says: '*aya viyadam karavā un tamangē putanuvanta genvādī*' (P. *dhanam paṭi sāmetvā*) (SdhRv 546). What is meant may be that

the cost of the wedding was borne by the groom's father. This type of marriage, where the bridegroom's party bears the full cost if the other party is not in a position to do so, and where one party promises to pay off debts of the other party if the marriage is agreed upon, is not unknown today and may have been known in the past ; but we have no definite proof of it. The CV gives us a solitary example : ' . . . then make her at once my spouse purchased by combat ' (72. 91). The translation here adds that the allusion is to the old custom of purchasing the bride (ibid. n. 1).

### Marriage Age

A woman reaching the age of sixteen seems to have been recognised as eligible for marriage. Most of the references only state that marriage was solemnised when the children came of age. Whether sixteen was only the traditional age it is difficult to say ; but it seems reasonable to consider that a person who had reached the sixteenth year was considered fit to undertake the responsibility of family life. The Visākhā story recounts that when certain female devotees who had observed the fast were questioned by Visākhā regarding their object in such observances, they replied that it was their desire to ensure that they married before they were too old : '*geyi iñdama mūkurā nogosin bālakalama saraṇa yāma piṇisa*' (SdhRv 590). In the case of women it was considered shameful to remain unmarried for a long time after they had come of age. One significant reference to sixteen is : '*evak paṭan soḷos häviridi vanatura demavpiyan aturehi rañdā evakaṭa saraṇa hiñdinā vayas heyin saraṇa gosin*', Having remained with the parents up to the age of sixteen, entered the bonds of matrimony, as it was the age then recognised for marriage (ibid. 315). The word *evakaṭa* is noteworthy here. It may be that the SdhRv author does not wish to recognise sixteen as the proper age for marriage in Ceylon, hence the word may even refer to the time when the event actually took place. The phrase '*evakaṭa . . . heyin*' does not occur in the Pāli. The SdhIk offers us some information when the P. '*tam paṭirūpēna dārakēna niyōjēsum*' is rendered in it as '*kumārikāvan vādī soḷos häviridi vayasata pämiṇi kalhi*', when the girl attained the age of sixteen (290). This may indicate that at sixteen a girl was usually considered fit for marriage.

### Polygamy

We have already observed that the people were monogamous. Polyandry and polygyny may have been rare occurrences. We



get a few references to co-wives and the miseries known to them. Reference is made to a man marrying a second time if the first wife proved to be barren (SdhRv 88 ; Pjv 383). The kings were polygamous, as has already been shown.

### Dowry

There are a few instances which show the existence of a sort of dowry system. The Visākhā story speaks of the large dowry (*dāyāda*) that was given to her by her father on the day of her wedding (SdhRv 337). The Pāli '*nahāna cuṇṇamūlaṃ katvā dinnō*' is rendered into Sinhalese as '*dāyāda koṭa devā*', gave as dowry (ibid. 720). Again the SdhRv uses the simile '*ṭilvanna kiyavālā vastuvē niyama dannāsēma*', as one knows the extent of the wealth having read the list (1001). This certainly indicates the author's familiarity with a practice that is still followed. Today the dowry given to a bride is listed, and the list is read out in the presence of the gathering at the wedding ceremony.

### (c) Women

It can hardly be asserted that women's position in society was very favourable. They may have been as well educated as the men and versed in many crafts and other such activities. But generally women have always been considered to be inferior to men in all respects and full of wiles and wickedness. No doubt there were exceptions to this, and at times they are depicted as of exemplary character as mothers and wives. The writers did distinguish between the good and the bad. The characteristic features of the two types were known ; but in general all were grouped together as a constant source of trouble in this world and as wicked by nature. 'The women deceive the men, therefore they are a delusion. They cannot be relied upon, then they are like a mirage. They are a mine of danger, sorrow and illness. They are like snares laid by Māra to capture passionate men, like a cave where dwell she-bears, like a door of the cave of Māra. If a man were to place any confidence in a woman who is such, he is ignoble' (Sdhlk 363). They are never satisfied with the number of men they have ; they make no distinction of caste or creed. Their thirst for sensual pleasure, ornament, and decoration can never be satiated (ibid. 437). Women are like places for drawing water (SdhRv 763) ; just as the haunts of drunkards and watering places are common to all and are not for one and only one individual,

similarly women belong to everyone irrespective of caste, creed or social status. They are counsellors to birth in purgatory (ibid. 764, 40). They are the cause of all ills, and embrace men for their own gains, just as the creepers the trees for their own support (ibid. 600). They are always looked upon as full of wiles, *māyam*, which are said to be 64 in number. The KSiḷ describes women thus : They are a festival to the five senses, whirlpools in the ocean of life, a tap-root of the creeper of craving, a door open to purgatory (v. 87). It is the universal nature of women, says the Pjv, to see the beauty of other women and wish that they were as beautiful ; to see the heroic deeds of a man and wish he were her husband ; to see the caresses of another's child and wish the child were hers (Pjv 289).

The wife had the usual quarrels with her husband ; but they also loved each other. Man is generally depicted as complying with the woman's will (SdhRv 927). Women are also shown as loving wives who feel greatly distressed when their husbands are displeased with them. Husbands were expected to treat the wives in five ways : by speaking sweet words, not speaking harshly to them, not being attached to other women, giving entire responsibility to the wife in matters of food, and supplying them from time to time with ornaments and garments (Pjv 854). Unpleasant relationships with mothers-in-law are also mentioned (SdhRv 596). The relationship between parents and children was one of love. The aim of marriage was, as we have said, to have progeny, hence some who were unfortunate in being childless adopted other children (VismSn 54). The Pjv refers to the rather unhappy position of a girl who has been thus adopted. When she was to be given in marriage, her adoptive parents had to fabricate stories to deceive the bridegroom's party lest they refused to accept her (390).

### Seclusion

We have evidence of the seclusion of women. The two sexes did not enjoy sufficient freedom to mix with each other, and the young girls of well-to-do families were very carefully guarded. The stories in the SdhRv often refer to such seclusion of girls when they attained puberty. Even in the present enlightened age the sexes have little or no freedom in Ceylon : a young girl is not allowed to go about by herself, and meeting young men is looked upon almost as a crime. Hence we can well imagine that restrictions regarding the association of the sexes existed in the past. It was only on certain festive occasions that young women came out of

their homes and took part in the festivities (SdhRv 190). This is shown in the description of the *nākāt keli* in the Pjv, where it is stated that the noble women who do not normally come down from upstairs to the ground-floor, and those who do not leave the doorstep from the ground-floor, come out on this occasion and sport with the young men to their hearts' content (329). This statement is in itself ample evidence to show the strict segregation of the sexes in normal everyday life.

The main purpose of such segregation of sexes was the preservation of the chastity of the women. The Pjv speaks of the guarding of a girl's chastity: '*apāta taram svāmi puruṣayaku daknā turu para puruṣayaku no dakumha*', We shall not even see a man until we meet one suitable to be the husband (121). Every woman was expected to remain a virgin until given in marriage by her parents. A few observations made by Margaret Mead seem to have much relevance to the position in Ceylon as it is even today: 'Virginity is a (legal) requirement for her at her marriage. In front of all the people in a house brilliantly lit, the Talking Chief of the bridegroom will take the tokens of her virginity. The bridegroom, his relations and the bride and her relations all receive prestige if she proves to be a virgin, so that the girl of rank who might wish to forestall this painful public ceremony is thwarted not only by the anxious chaperonage of her relatives but also by the boy's eagerness for prestige . . . These girls of noble birth are carefully guarded; not for them are trysts at night or stolen meetings in the daytime' (*Coming of Age in Samoa*, pp. 62-63). These statements are generally true of Ceylon today, and we have no doubt that they were equally true of ancient Ceylon. Of course today the tokens of a bride's virginity are not examined in front of all the relations; but this is done by a few elderly female relatives in private on the occasion of what is called the *balanṭa yāma* (lit. going to see) or *devanu gamana* (lit. second visit or trip), also called in certain parts of the island *isa diya balanṭa yāma* (lit. going to see the head-water). If the girl proves to be a virgin, great merriment results; if not, great disappointment and much trouble.

We also have reference to *sallālas* (sportive young men) moving freely with young women. This freedom was perhaps restricted to a few of the lower and poorer families.

### Pregnancy

Parenthood was the aim of married life. Barrenness, as it is today, was a misfortune accepted with resignation by the parties concerned, and looked on with some sympathy by others. The stories refer to husbands taking a second wife when the first happened to be barren ; but whether this was the case in Ceylon it is difficult to say. The child's time in the mother's womb was generally considered as ten months ; but exceptions to this are noted (SdhRv 975). When the time of confinement approached, it was the custom, as it is now, to take the lady to her parents' home for confinement (ibid. 91). During the period of pregnancy, very strong desires or fancies arose in a woman's heart, and were known to the Sinhalese as *dola* (Skt. *dauhrda*) *duka* (ibid. 453; Pjv 64). Usually women were rather reticent in expressing such desires, and it has been noted that under such circumstances they grew weak and emaciated. So it was of vital importance that such desires were satisfied (Sdhlk 446).

Certain ceremonies were performed during pregnancy and at the time of conception for the protection of the embryo (SdhRv 116). *gabaperahara* (P. *gabbha-parihāra*) is a term that occurs quite frequently in connection with pregnancy and seem to indicate the general care or protection of the embryo. Certain rites seem to have been performed during pregnancy, at child birth, and at the time of conception, of which the purpose being the same, seem also to have been included under the general term *gab-perahara*. The Pāli literature refers to the 'giving' (*adāsi*, gave) or 'receiving' (*laddha*, received) of *gabbha-parihāra*, and seem to have meant the general care of the pregnant one and the embryo (DPA, pp. 2, 383).

The exact nature of the ceremonies conducted in this connection cannot be ascertained. We have a stray reference to one such ceremony which was known as *sunu gāma* (application of chunam) which was done after the seventh month of pregnancy : Rendering of the Pāli '*laddha gabbha parihārā*', the author of the SdhRv (420, 614) says: '*sat masin sunu gāma ādivū*'. Here too, we have no details of the rite referred to ; but it seems likely that this is similar to what is known today as *māti pē kirīma* (charming of clay), which is done by taking some earth or clay from an anthill and fixing some tender coconut leaves on this clay. The earth or clay is then charmed by recitation of certain incantations. The SdhRv also shows that precautions, for example, refraining from eating too salty, too

hot or too cold: foods, were a part of the *gaba-ṭerahara* (420). The Pjv states that a pregnant woman had to take care of herself in certain ways, for example, abstaining from taking certain kinds of food, such as very hot, very cold, bitter and pungent foods. She was not to take a heavy meal. She should not lie on her belly, or lie on her left side. but always on her right side; and quick movements were considered dangerous to the womb (128), and these were some of the ways of protecting the embryo (*gaba ṭirimāsīma*). The Viśuddhimagga refers to the 'ills which have their roots in the care of the embryo', *gabbha ṭariharāṇa* (P.T.S., p. 593).

The Skt. literature refers to *garbha rakṣaṇa*, instead of *ṭarihāra*. The Grhya-sūtras speak of ceremonies that are performed for the protection of the embryo: e.g. *garbharakṣaṇa* performed in the fourth month (*Sāṅkyāyana*, S.B.E., Vol. XXIX, p. 47); *sīmantonnayana* (parting of the hair) in the seventh month (ibid., pp. 47, 181, 292, 394; *Grhya sūtras of Gobhila*, ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 54, 208, 279); charming for the prevention of miscarriage (ibid., Vol. XLII, p. 98). King Dilīpa is said to have performed the ceremonies attendant on pregnancy beginning with '*ṭuṃsavana* (ceremony to secure the birth of a male child): *ṭuṃsavanādikāh kriyāh*'. Mallinātha commenting (*Raghuvamśa* I-V, ed. M. R. Kale, canto III, v. 9, pp. 53, 69) on this says that by *ādikāh* is meant the two ceremonies—*sīmantonnayana* and *anavalobhana*, ceremonies for preventing disturbances which would endanger the embryo and performed in the sixth or eighth month and fourth month respectively (*Āśvalāyana Grhya-sūtra*, S.B.E., Vol. XXIX, p. 179).

As for ceremonies connected with child-birth, reference is made in the SdhRv (93) to the religious ceremony of chanting of *ṭirita*. The *Āṅgulimāla ṭirita* is chanted and water is charmed. The water thus charmed is given to the woman in labour to drink. This *ṭirita* is thought, even now, to give relief from labour pains. It is often chanted until the child is born.

A rite conducted a few days after the birth of a child was what was called the *hiru vaḍana magula*, the ceremony of exposure to the sun (SdhRv 420). This is known today as *dorata vāḍīma* and is the occasion when the child is taken out of the house into the open for the first time. A practice connected with this rite is what is called the *isa diyara vatkirīma*, application of some liquid on the head of the mother. The stuff thus applied is called *nānu*,

a mixture of lime and coconut milk with a medicinal herb like *bābila* (*Sidā humulis*). Nothing is applied on the child's head. This may be compared with the ancient Indian custom—*ādityadarśana* (ceremony of taking the child out to see the sun) which took place in the fourth month after birth (S.B.E., Vol. VII, *The Institutes of Viṣṇu*, p. 114).

### Prostitution

Prostitution was not unknown to the people at this time. The literature of the later periods mentions that various cities were beautified by their courtesans. The Sandēśas often refer to courtesans as lurking in the streets after dark and as being afraid of the light emanating from the gems of mansions (*Tisara*, v. 45, etc.). The KSiḷ speaks of *abisaruvan*, the courtesans (women who kept assignations) of the city :

*rata miṇi toraṇa rās—rāsin rate pura supun saṅda,  
lahiru hoyi nosaras—dānavi sāka 'bisaruvan* (12),

The full moon shining over that city reddened by the lustre of the rays of red gems of the pandals constantly caused doubt in the minds of the courtesans whether it was the morning sun.

*duru keḷe aluyam—bera mē gos piya taman  
uravil lāgum gos gat—abisaruvan tana hasun* (324),

The thunder-like beating of drums at dawn caused the swans, namely the breasts, of the courtesans, to leave the ponds, the chests, of the lovers, where they had rested during the night.

The SdhRv often speaks of *vēśyā* women, and refers to their activities as ignoble (746). The Pjv states that prostitutes were in the habit of cheating people by pretending that they had no children, even if they had. If their offspring happened to be a boy, he was put to death ; and if a girl, she was brought up as a harlot (552).

The courtesan held a recognised place in Indian society in the past, and provided amusement and intellectual companionship to any one who could afford the luxury, for the *gaṇikās* used to charge exorbitant sums of money for a night. A *gaṇikā*, according to Vātsyāyana, was 'marked out by high intellectual attainments and striking pre-eminence in the arts that she won the coveted title of *gaṇikā*. She must have her mind cultivated and trained by a thorough education and Vātsyāyana lays down that it is only when a courtesan is versed in both the series of 64 arts or *kalās* enumerated by him and is endowed with an amicable disposition,

personal charm, and other winning qualities, that she acquires the designation of a *gaṇikā*, and receives a seat of honour in the assemblies of men' (H. C. Chakladar, *Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāma-Sūtra*, p. 198).

Such was the position of a *gaṇikā* in India, who was far superior to the ordinary prostitute as known to us today. It is very doubtful whether the courtesans referred to in our literature (the Sandeśas, etc.), were equally cultured; on the contrary, they probably were ordinary women who eked out an existence by leading a loose life.

#### (d) Kinship

A family was generally surrounded by a host of other related families who helped each other in their time of need, sharing their joys and sorrows. The kinship pattern is shown in the diagram in Appendix V. The terms of kinship show a classificatory system. There is a recognition of the generations, sexes, and ages. The system is classificatory as all brothers of a father are grouped as fathers, elder or younger, and the sisters of the mother similarly as mothers, elder or younger. The sons and the daughters of these fathers (paternal uncles) and mothers (maternal aunts) are classified as brothers and sisters respectively. The mother's brother and the father-in-law are known by the same term, *mayilaṇu* or *māmā* and the mother-in-law and the father's sister by the same term *nāṇḍi* or *nāṇḍā*. The son's wife and the daughters of sisters' are referred to by one term *lēli* or *yēli* and the daughter's husband and the sons of sisters bear the same relationship *bānā*. This kinship system of the Sinhalese is a very close parallel to the system obtained amongst the Tamils whose terms of kinship are given (in the diagram) alongside those of the Sinhalese for comparison.

#### Forms of Address

The forms of address do not seem to be very different from those of today. Of course a variety of forms, which were not employed then, are in use today. The Butsarāṇa (309, 310) records the forms *aḥacca* for father and *amaṇḍi* and *ammā* for mother, which also appear in the modern usage as *aḥḥa(o)cci*, *ammaṇḍi* and *ammā*. The parents called their children, irrespective of sex, *ḥutā* (son), which we find in literature as *ḥut(a)* and this helps us to determine what the usage was in daily life, e.g. *ḥutaṇḍa* father to daughter and mother to daughter (SdhRv 653, 675, 820). This term *ḥut(ā)* (son) seems to have been used when women normally addressed children, even strangers; it is generally a term of endearment, as it is even today (ibid. 221). A younger brother seems to have been addressed as *mala* (*malli*) or *malaṇḍa* (SdhRv

31, 931). The Pāli term *tāta* is rendered as *mala* (also *malaṇḍa*) and *putaṇḍa* when addressing the younger brother and the son respectively (ibid. 31, 892). The Pāli term *amma* is rendered in Sinhalese as *nānda*, *māṇiyani*, *nāṅgaṇiyeni*, *būṇaniyeni* depending on whether the mother-in-law, mother or sister (younger and elder) that was thus addressed (SdhRv 219, 222). The nephew and the son-in-law were both addressed as *bānā*; the grandson was *munuburā* (ibid. 222, 227). The maternal uncle was called *māmā*, as is done even now. The younger sister also seems to have been addressed as *nagaṇḍa* (ibid. 880). The SdhRv itself remarks that the form of address indicates whether one is younger or not : ‘ *bāla niyāva kiyālana vyavahāra lesin hāṅgeti* ’ (81). The forms such as the above ending in the suffix *-aṇḍa* are in use even today, e.g. *ayyaṇḍi*, *māmaṇḍi*, *akkaṇḍi*. The terms *bānā*, *ayyā* (*ayya*, SdhRv 259), *putā*, *naṃgī* were also used for persons who were not necessarily relations. For example, any elderly man was called *ayyā* (elder brother) as a matter of courtesy (SdhRv 259). Similarly *putā* (son) was a term of affection for a boy, as is the case now, even for a *bānā*. Similar was the case with the terms *naṃgī* (younger sister) and *māmā* (maternal uncle), which were used even in addressing strangers very courteously. Friends seem to have called each other by their names : ‘ *mitrayāṇa kenekungē lesin . . . nama kiyā haṇḍa gālā* ’, calling him by name as in the case of a friend (ibid., 34).

*daruva* (child) seems also to have been a term used in addressing servant-boys as well as children (ibid., 201). The terms for mother, father ‘ *māṇiyeni*, *piyāṇanvahansa* ’, and for a wife, *soṇḍura* and *pinvata* (ibid. 54, 678) ‘ loved one ’ and ‘ virtuous one ’, are all too literary to be considered as terms in daily use. The common practice today is to refer to the wife or the husband as so-and-so’s mother or father, e.g. *mē lamayingē tāttā*, this child’s father ; *Dāsalāyi ammā*, Dāsa’s mother. It may also be that such a form of teknonymy was in vogue in the past.

### (e) Disposal of the Dead

The chief method of disposal of the dead seems to have been cremation, the next being burial. The Buddhist monks were cremated quite ceremoniously. No mention is made of a coffin. In fact the references show that a body was cremated without one—the body could be seen burning. The Mahākāla story describes how the body was burnt (SdhRv 108). The Pāli phrase ‘ *sarīra-kiccaṃ katvā* ’ has been often rendered as ‘ *ādāhana karavā* ’, having



cremated (ibid., 185). Cremation of kings, laymen, and children is referred to. A pyre was erected and the body was placed in it and cremated. Martin Wickramasinghe makes the following observation: ‘ *minīpeṭṭiya pāraṇi siṃhala saṃskṛtiyehi upakaraṇayak novīya. maḷakaṇḍa minīpeṭṭiyehi damū vaḷadāmīma da pāraṇi siṃhalayangē siritak novīyayi sitami. ovhu maḷakaṇḍa ādāhanaya kaḷaha ; noesē nam amu sohonehi dāmūha. pāraṇi sirita indiyāvē draviḍayan atarada muslimkūrayan atarada venas novī pavatinu dākka häkiya* ’, The coffin was not a feature of ancient Sinhalese civilization. In my opinion burying a dead body in a coffin was also not an ancient Sinhalese custom. They cremated the dead; if not, threw it into the cemetery. One can see this ancient custom persisting yet with the Tamils and the Muslims of India (*Budusamaya hā samūja-darśanaya*, p. 141).

The story of Mahākāla *thēra* indicates that in the case of the poor no pyres were constructed, but a heap of fire-wood was made and the body was burnt turning it with hooks and cutting it with axes (SdhRv 107). In India even now the dead body is burnt over a heap of firewood, and it is quite likely that such practices were prevalent in Ceylon in these early periods. Knox gives us evidence of this when he states that the dead body was laid on a pile of wood two or three feet high and that it was covered on top with more wood (Knox, *Ceylon*, p. 186).

Funeral processions are referred to. In the case of monks the dead body was carried to the pyre on a beautifully constructed bier (Pjv 676). Only stray references are made to burial (SdhRv 546, 1005). Reference is made to carrying of dead bodies in beds (ibid., 150). The story of the monks carrying Prince Tissa in a bed like a dead body is well known (Sdhlk 459). The Pāli ‘ *tē mañcakēna ādūya* ’, carrying him on a bier, is rendered into Sinhalese as ‘ *maḷavun genayannā sēma āṇḍaka tabā bāṇḍagena* ’, carrying him tied to a bed like a dead body (SdhRv 160). Probably in the case of poorer people a sort of bed-like structure was made instead of a costly bier (*deṇa*), or the dead body was taken to the grave in the bed itself.

The VismSn explains that a place where dead bodies are not burnt or cremated is not a *sohona* (P. *susāna*): ‘ *śava śarīraya nodavana lada kalhi e tāna sohona nam novē* ’ (198). It further states that a place where a corpse has been burnt even once, and even though this place may not have been used for cremation for even

twelve years after that, such a place is a *sohona* : ‘ *dāvū kala vanāhi paṭan gena idin doḷos avuruddak nodavā harana laddē vī namudu ē sohon nam vē* ’ (ibid.). A place where dead bodies are just cast is referred to in the SdhRv as *amu sohona* (P. *āmaka susāna*), charnel ground (179).

An epigraph of the twelfth century makes mention of the cloths that were used to cover the faces of the dead. These cloths had to be supplied by the washermen, as was done by him on other occasions (EZ 3. 6. 307).

#### (f) The Household

We have already seen how important the family was in the social structure of Sinhalese society. The family has remained to this day the unit of society. The social status of families differed from each other. The economic differences were also quite well-marked, some families being poor and some rich, and their lives were regulated according to the length of their purses. The rich no doubt led a comfortable life, while the poorer classes led one far from happy and contented. The poor had to work hard to earn their daily bread, while the rich lived in comfort with domestic servants to attend to their needs. The servant was an adjunct in all well-to-do households which were able to command domestic service. Both male and female servants (*dāsa* or *keli kollan*) appear in the stories of the SdhRv. The exhortation of Nissaṅka Malla to the people of Rōhaṇa that they should live possessing female and male slaves in addition to money and grain is significant in this connection (EZ 3. 6. 330). Instances where whole families volunteered to be servants on account of some invaluable service rendered them, are not wanting (SdhRv 44, 593). The Sdhk reflects the sad plight of the poor when it says : ‘ *tamāgē upayana vahalak sarakak nāti kala duk sāpa nositā kal novaradavā daḍa bima kaḷamanā mehevara koṭa* ’, working in the household and the field without reflecting on joys and sorrows when there are no servants and when one does not possess any cattle (Sdhk 179). The servants referred to were for the most part household or domestic servants who resided with the family of their master and performed household duties, which were manifold. The Sdhk gives us the story of a poor man and his wife in the village called Hellōli in Ceylon, who lived in the house of another, working for wages (571). Servants were employed in husking paddy (SdhRv 539), fetching water (ibid., 540), cooking (ibid.), collecting firewood (ibid., 791), sweeping

the compounds (ibid., 942), ministering to the members of the family and humouring their likes and dislikes (ibid., 109, 38). The number of servants in the employ of a household depended entirely on the wealth of the family concerned. The richer may have had a number of servants to whom were assigned particular duties; but in most of the average families, as is evident even today, a servant or two had to attend to all the work in the household. For example, the Jaṭila *thēra*'s story refers to the sweeper of Setṭhi Jōtiya (SdhRv 942). Reference is often made to a particular servant *kaḷa miṇḍiya*, who fetched water (ibid., 654; 91). Fetching water was perhaps the only job of these servants. Even today we have examples of this, especially along the coastal areas of the island, where the people have to get their drinking water from further inland, and servants are employed only for fetching water. In the Sdhlk we read the story of a maid-servant who borrowed money to give alms to a monk on the promise of working for the person who lent her the money. She is here called *iṇa dāsi*, debt-servant (432). The story deals with a woman, Nāgā by name, who worked for a certain family in Nāgadvīpa from which she raised a loan of 60 *kaḥāpaṇas*. One day on her way to the well, she saw a monk without food, and she decided to give him alms somehow or other. So she went to her master and requested him to give a further loan of 60 *kaḥāpaṇas* on the promise of working during the night as well. Thus she had to work day and night, perhaps till she paid the loan. We read again the story of the devotee Nakula, of Māgama in Rōhaṇa, whose daughter worked as a servant in order to pay off a loan of 12 *kaḥāpaṇas* raised by her family. The father of the girl had raised the amount with great difficulty, and was on his way to redeem the girl (Sdhlk 564). This shows that work had to be done until the loan was paid, whatever the length of time.

As regards wages or terms of service, we have no definite information. A story in the Sdhlk refers to the fact that a servant received only food in return for services rendered (281). The Pjv refers to the rice that a servant got as wages (*vāṭuṇ sāl*), which moreover was inferior rice (*nimuḍu sāl*) (642). The SdhRv also refers to the rice given as hire for husking paddy.

The position of the domestic servants cannot be said to have been happy except perhaps under very special circumstances. They had to toil hard to perform the numerous duties assigned to them,

and their lot no doubt was far from happy and contented. The treatment of servants entirely depended on the temperament of masters and mistresses. The story of Ghōṣaka records that a maid was chastised by her mistress for delaying to return from her errand on which she was sent (SdhRv 182). Another story shows that people often expressed dissatisfaction with the work of servants (ibid., 800). That servants were also recipients of gifts on certain occasions is brought out by the Visākhā story in the SdhRv. It poses the question: Should anything that is given to servants be given with the expectation of a return? (343), with the implicit answer that a gift to a servant should be given without the least expectation of return.

### Houses

The size and the building material, etc., of houses depended entirely on the economic position of the individual concerned. The literature speaks of large houses of several storeys, with various apartments, and also of small huts. Thus we can see that the well-to-do had reasonably large houses with the necessary apartments and rooms, while the poor had to be content with just a hut of one or two rooms wherein they had to manage all their business (cp. EZ 2. 3. 130). ‘*un dukṣat heyin hiṅḍinā geyat miṭiya. nāmburu nova vadanata noṭṭivana*’, As they were poor their house was small and one could not enter it without bending (SdhRv 451). The rich had their houses built of stone, mortar and lime, and had their roofs tiled. They were complete in all respects, with the necessary doors, windows, and also ‘fan-lights’ (*jāla kavuḷu*, windows with net-like meshes) (ibid. 206). The doors and windows were supplied with keys, locks, and hinges. Most of the houses of the rich seem to have had balconies, for we constantly hear of ladies playing on them. The SdhRv renders the Pāli ‘*ākāsatale*’ as ‘*ākāsatalayē abbhayakāsayē saṅḍallē*’, thus showing familiarity with balconies. The walls of the houses were whitewashed. The houses also had compounds or courtyards. The houses of the poorer people were built of clay (*māṭi*): ‘*lī ban bittiyeka māṭi gasā lī vasālūvāsē*’ (SdhRv 279). This expression seems to refer to houses of wattle and daub. Those of them who had the means, plastered the clay, while the very poor left the clay as it was. The floor was also of clay. This clay (usually from an ant-hill) was mixed with cow-dung, and then applied on the floor (ibid. 286). ‘*yata mālē goma ṭiribaḍa gānalā hiṅḍina asun paṇavā lava*’, Apply cow-dung (mixed with clay) on

the ground-floor and then set up the seats (ibid. 736). It is interesting to note that ' *goma pīribāḍa gānalā* ' is the rendering of the Pāli ' *sammajjitvā* '. This method persists even today.

There is also a practice today of applying certain kinds of oil on timber to prevent decay. This practice seems to have been well known to the people of the past, for the SdhRv says : ' *kaṣ nodirā mahatva tibena sē tel kaḍa sisāraṅṅa kīsēka* ' (213).

The poor had no locks to their doors, which were either tied with a piece of string or a bar was kept against them to prevent their opening. The SdhRv translates the Pāli ' *dvāraṃ pīdahitvā* ' as ' *dora bāṅḍalā yemi* ', and also says ' *dora māt novanṅa avurū lālū daṅḍu kaṅḍaksē* ' (221, 83 resp.).

All the houses, however small, had their kitchens. The larger houses had separate rooms for different purposes, the number of such depending on the social standing and the wealth of a person. Such separate rooms referred to are : a room or separate building for pounding paddy, and where the mortars and pestles were kept ; a store-room or a separate structure (*aṭuva*) for the purpose of storing paddy ; and sheds for keeping chariots. Latrines (*vāsikiḷi*) are also mentioned. The poor had fences put up round the compound with a stile to serve as a gate, while the richer no doubt had parapet walls and gates.

### Household Utensils, etc.

The following household utensils and equipment are mentioned : *hāṅḍa* (bed) ; *koṭṭa* (pillows) ; *peṭṭagam* (almirahs, chests) ; *ṣān* (lamps) ; *kambili* (blankets) ; *ṣasaturuṅṅu* (spreads) ; *bumuturuṅṅu* (carpets) ; *ṣāṣisnā* (door-rugs) ; *tāṭi* (dishes) ; *kuṅḍikā*, *keṅḍikā* (pitchers, cans) ; *ṣayi* (cases) ; *kāṭaṣat* (mirrors) ; *keṅesi* (spoons, ladles) ; *tāli* (vessels) ; *akṣatalā* (vessels with large brim) ; *ātirili* (seat spreads) ; *ṣāduru* (mats) ; *kaḷāl* (large mats) ; *koṅḍu ṣalas* (goats' hairrugs) ; *ṣaḍam* (curtain or screen of cloth) ; *ṣuṭu* (chairs) ; *māvulā* (mattresses) ; *ḍiya ḍabarū* (water filters) ; *koṭala* (jugs, kettles) ; *maṅḍā* [a vessel (SdhRv 337), also harpoons, hog-spears with short barbed prongs] ; *muṅḍam* (SdhRv 337, a vessel, cp. T. skull often used as a bowl) ; *kanvayin* (pillows) ; *keṣsa* (key) ; *summāṅḍiya*, *ḍaranna* (a circular pad or coil to rest vessels) ; *ṣasumbi* (purse) ; *hiratamusna* (ekel-broom) ; *kola musna* (leaf-broom) ; *ṣorova* (axe) ; *kāṭi* (large knives with long handles) ; *rāna* (rope) ; *vāya* (adze) ; *hiṅa* (ladder) ; *kuḷu* (winnowing-fans) ; *sāḷa* (pots) ; *vana* (mortar) ; *mōl*

(pestles) ; *dāgala* (grinding stone) ; *vaḷan* (chatties) ; *kaṭāra* (cauldron) ; *sānda* or *sāluva* (spoon) ; *ātili* (a kind of chatty) ; *gala* (a stone for sharpening knives, etc.). As personal equipment, umbrellas and walking-sticks (*kuḍa* and *sāramiṭi*) are mentioned.

### (g) Food

The literature affords some information regarding the food of the people. We shall see later on that the country was predominantly agricultural, and as such could have had no difficulty in supplying its inhabitants with the necessary food. Ceylon no doubt was self-sufficient in food in the past, and tradition has it that the island was known as the ' Granary of the East '. No mention is made of any dependence on, or importation of, foodstuffs from other countries. Many varieties of food and drink are mentioned. Even though most of the foods mentioned are those that were offered to the monks, we can conclude that the same were partaken of by the laity as well. The most frequent reference is to cooked rice. Thus it is obvious that rice was the staple food of the people. Cooked rice was eaten with various kinds of cooked meat and vegetable. Various kinds of sweets, especially those made of rice flour, were delicacies. The people also seemed to have been fond of fruits, milk and milk products. The stories always refer to the sumptuous dishes served at alms-givings. The monks were offered rice and gruel and a great many varieties of dishes of fish, meat and vegetable. This was followed by sweets and then by fruits, and finally by betel. That the writers superimposed their own environment on that of the stories is clear from the *Sdhk* when the author speaks of the growing of coconut, arecanut, and plantain trees and jak in North India, where these trees are not grown. So in the case of food. Very often the books say that one was entertained to a sweet repast ; but no mention of the dishes is made (*SdhRv* 33, 408, 301). All the people had not the good fortune to partake of the same kind of food, which, as all else, depended on the economic position of the individual. A poor man's meal is at times referred to as consisting of cooked, unpolished rice (*nivudu sālē bat*) and a kind of common river-fish (*kuḍa masu*, *kuḍu massā*, *Common rasbora*, see *Deraniyagala, A Colored Atlas of some Vertebrates from Ceylon*, p. 44). The *Pjv*, too, refers to ' *nimudu sālē bat* ' as servants' food (*dāsi bhōjana*) (642).

The *SdhRv* refers to the fact that some people always had a meat dish or a fish dish, even though there were many other dishes

(757). It also states that if gruel was to be made out of one *nāli* measure of rice it would suffice for two meals for five people, and if rice was cooked it was only sufficient for one meal (ibid. 773). People were also in the habit of taking rice for the morning meal (breakfast) (ibid. 742). The inscriptions give us an idea of the menu of the earliest times in Ceylon. For example, the Tōnigala rock-inscription of the fourth century A.D. says that ' the expenses for two and a half *hakaḍas* of boiled rice, *atarakaja*, dishes taken with *atarakaja* (a meal taken before noon and after the morning gruel), curd, honey, sweets, sesame, butter, salt, green herbs, and turmeric, should be given at the refectory of the monastery ' (EZ 3. 4. 178). Parānavitana, commenting on this, says: ' The record also enumerates the different kinds of provisions that had to be supplied for the feeding of the monks; and as it was customary to supply the monks with the richest available food, we can learn from this record the nature of the menu of a well-to-do person in Ceylon during the fourth century. It is noteworthy that among the different dishes enumerated, fish or meat does not find a place ' (ibid., p. 177). One may question here whether the monks in this period were vegetarians, and whether they ceased to be so as time went on. That monks of the second century B.C. partook of meat is however shown by the story of Prince Sāliya in the *Sdhik*, which states that a hunter prepared meat in five ways to be offered to a monk. The Mādirigiriya pillar-inscription (tenth century) states the order that ' dead goats and fowls ' should be given to the hospital attached to the *vihāra*. It is observed in the comments on this inscription that animal food was allowed in Buddhist institutes under certain restrictions. The regulation refers to animals killed by accident (EZ 2. 1. 27). The laymen's position is not made clear in these references. The two inscriptions from Eppāvala give us some of the tenth century foods: ' . . . gave to the congregation . . . one *yahala* of *sasarapāḍi* (a variety of paddy) paddy; two *pālas* of salt; two *pālas* of pulse; one *pāla* of *uñdu* (a species of *flemingia*); two *akas* of areca and betel; two *akas* of sesame and chillies; and one *padda* of chunam ' (EZ 3. 4. 194). The tenth century Iripinniyāva pillar-inscription refers to boiled or raw rice, and curdled milk or oil (EZ 1. 5. 170). The menu of the later centuries included fish and meat in addition to the dishes of the earlier centuries.

The CV refers to the foods of the thirteenth century: ' They venerated them with heaps of aromatic rice . . . They venerated

them with diverse kinds of fruit, such as bananas, jak, mangoes, and so forth, which were quite ripe, fragrant, lovely in colour, perfectly sweet . . . provided the *bhikkhu* community carefully with food and drink, with dishes solid and tender, with drinks that one sips and with those one drinks' (CV 85. 36). The CV again refers to the same kinds of food: 'with dishes full of the finest rice prepared with sweet milk, with heaps of food composed of sweet-smelling rice . . . with all hard and soft foods, and with all that can be drunk or sipped' (CV 89. 44). The reference here approximates to the traditional four kinds of food, viz., *khajja* (that can be bitten), *bhojja* (that can be eaten, that is, hard and soft foods), *leyya* (that can be licked), and *peyya* (that can be drunk). We have no doubt that foods of all these varieties were known at the time, as is also shown by the foods mentioned: a mess of unpolished rice (*nimuñdu sālē bat*) (SdhRv 868); sour-gruel (*kāḍi*, P. *bilāṅga*) (SdhRv 559, Pjv 642); flesh of hunted animals (*daḍamas*) (ibid. 569); barley (*yavasāl*) (463); rice from unboiled paddy (*kākulu sāl*) (ibid. 220); fowl (ibid. 207) (Pjv 376); river-fish (*kuḍa mas*) (SdhRv 158); green herb (*palā mālu*); milk (*kiri*) (ibid. 456); milk-rice mixed with ghee, honey and jaggery (ibid. 124); *uñdu* (a grain) (ibid. 690); milk-rice (*kiribat*) (ibid. 931); honey-comb (*mī*) (ibid. 652); pork (*ūru mas*) (ibid. 714, Pjv 88); rice cooked from *hāl* and *rat-hāl* paddy (SdhRv 775, 338); beef (*gōmas*) (ibid. 907, VismSn IV. 84); turtle eggs (*kāsub biju*) (SdhRv 813); fowls' eggs (*kukulu biju*) (ibid. 814); red fish (*rēmas*) (ibid. 253); rabbit (Pjv 88, Sdhlk 261); venison (*muva mas*) (Pjv 95); pigeon (*paravi*) (ibid. 583); snipe (*vaṭu*) (ibid. 586, SdhRv 371); *mā āṭa* (a variety of bean); *kirikāñda* gruel mixed with coconut milk (SdhRv 371); rice roasted and beaten (*habala peti*) (Sdhlk 652); lotus-roots (*neluṃbu dāli*, *neluṃbala*) (ibid. 652, Pjv 85); *kaṭuala* (a variety of bulb-root, edible yam, *Dioscorea pentaphylla*) (ibid. 423); pea-fowl (*monara mas*) (ibid. 427); sheat fish (*petiyo*, *Silurus pelorius*) (ibid. 529); *lūlu* (*Ophiocephalus striatus*); and *sumgo* (variety of river-fish); *teli* (*Sea Mastacembelus*, also *Spiny eel*, see Deraniyagala, ibid., pp. 65, 132, 133) (Sdhlk 529); *āñdā* (SdhRv 47 eel, genus *Anguilla*, Deraniyagala, ibid., pp. 64, 65). The SdhRv also refers to the fact that burnt rice that stuck at the bottom of the cooking vessel (*damukaḍa*) was eaten (776). The Saṅghadattā story in the Sdhlk gives us the full menu of a meal that was offered to an officer who came from the king to a fishermen's village, viz.: rice cooked of *rathāl* paddy, ghee and fowl (612). The most frequent



mention is of rice and other dishes which are not specified. Gruel with *avuluṣpat* (sweetmeats) is also often mentioned. The tempering of curries (*duvāṣu*, modern *temparādu*) is referred to. The dishes which are not thus tempered were considered to be of little taste, and the process is still widely used. A good curry had to have the proper amount of salt and acid (lime), and a dish without salt was quite unpalatable. Many condiments were added to the curries to make them tasty. The condiments or spices added were pepper (*miris*) (SdhRv 928); cummin-seed (*duru*); mustard (*aba*) (ibid. 547); dried ginger (*siddhi inguru*) and long-pepper (*vagaṣul*) (mentioned in the Pjv 407 as spices). The other stuffs used in the preparation of curries were oil and coconut. Frying of curries is referred to (SdhRv 214). Soup made of greengram (*mudga sūpa*) is mentioned in the VismSn (54). The cereals mentioned are: *uñdu* (peas), *mum* (green gram), *tala* (sesamum), paddy, barley, *amu* (*Paspalum serobiculatum*). A few varieties of vegetable are also named: *kākiri* (cucumber); *ṣuhul* (melon-gourd); *del* (bread-fruit); *rat tamṣalā* (*Amaranthus cruentus*); *tiyaṃbarā* (kind of cucumber); *tibbatu* (*Solanum indicum*) (Pjv 165); *labu* (pumpkin-gourd) (SdhRv 391); *vātakolu* (*Luffa acutangula*) (Sdhlk 391); and *alupuhul* (ash-pumpkin) (ibid. 14). Coming to sweetmeats, etc., we have: *ṣulub* (*āssada*, a sweetmeat made of flour, sometimes fried in ghee) (ibid. 474); *kāvum* (rice-cake) (VismSn 82); *ṣāni kāvum* (rice-cake with honey or molasses) (SdhRv 285); *kuḍu kāvum* (rice-cake or sweetmeat made of rice bran)—it is also mentioned that *kuḍu kāvum* is made solely of rice bran and that no oil or flour is used with it (ibid. 99); *tala muruvaṭa* (gingely oil cake) (ibid. 228); *atirasa* (a sweetmeat in the shape of a disc, made of flour); *suṇḍāṅgiya* (*tala guḷi*, sesamum mixed with sugar or honey and made into balls) (ibid. 414); *kabalu* (a variety of rice-cake); *aggalā* (flour fried and mixed with honey and then made into balls and again fried in oil) (ibid. 992); *atsunū* (rice flour mixed with honey) (ibid. 992). *lālū* (a sweetmeat) (Sdhlk 411). Most of these sweetmeats were made of rice flour. The rice is powdered and sifted, the powder is then fried and used for making these various sweetmeats, which are made into various shapes, some fried in oil. Reference is made to *lālū* made of green gram (*mum*) (SdhRv 371). *ṣarkarā* (jaggery or candy); *uk sakuru* (sugar-cane jaggery) and *uk* (sugar-cane) are also mentioned. The fruits mentioned are: *aṃba* (mango of various varieties, such as *mī aṃba*, a very sweet variety); *vāla* and *varakā* (two varieties of ripe jak fruit, soft and hard) (SdhRv 102); *daṃba* (*jaṃbu*, rose-apple) (ibid. 102) *kehel* (plantain) (ibid.); and *beli* (wood-apple)

(ibid. 285). Some of the fruits were made into drinks, and eight kinds of drink (*aṣṭa-vidha-pāna*) are referred to. The Sdhlk (124) has: *aṃba* (mango), *jambu* (rose-apple), *cōca* and *mōca* [*āṭa kehel* and *mas kehel*, two varieties of plantain or banana, seedy and fleshy (see Sorata, *Śri Sumaṅgala-śabdakōṣaya*); *cōca*—derivation and meaning uncertain, the coconut or banana (P.T.S. Dic.); *mōca*, plantain or banana (ibid.)] *madhu* (honey), *muddika* (grape or vine), *sālūka* [edible root of the water-lily (P.T.S. Dic.), lotus-root], *phārusaka*, [*boraludamanu* or *ugurāssa* (sweet lovi-lovi, *Flacourtia ramontchi*)].\* In addition to these, the juice of sugarcane is also mentioned (SdhRv 930). The water of the king-coconut, which is still a relished drink, is also referred to (ibid. 714). Two other sets of foods are: *catu madhura*, the four sweets or dainties and *pas gōrasa*, the five products of the cow (SdhRv 167). The four sweets consisted of ghee, butter, honey, and jaggery (Glossary to SdhRv p. 28). The SdhRv mentions jaggery as one of the four (683). The Pjv (410) enumerates the *pas gōrasa*—*kiri* (milk), *dī* (P. *dadhi*, curd); *yoda* [*mōru*, P. *takka*, whey or butter-milk made by churning *dadhi* (P.T.S. Dic.)]; *tel* (*gitel*, P. *sappi*, ghee); *veṇḍaru* (P. *navanīta*, butter). The Vinaya Piṭaka also mentions the same five, viz.—*khīraṃ*, *dadhiṃ*, *takkam*, *navanītam* and *sappiṃ* (ed. Oldenberg, I. 244). The Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā describes *gō rasa* as the finest quality of taste (*rasuttamaṃ*): ‘*rasuttamaṃ gōrasasappi ādī*’ (*Paramatthadīpanī*, P.T.S., Pt. IV, p. 147). Adulteration of milk was not unknown, and is shown by the VismSn (IV. 256).

Among the beverages liquor found its place. The SdhRv is full of references to the drinking of toddy, which was perhaps the only intoxicant known other than *madhu*. Toddy seems to have been sold at the taverns, and may have been consumed on a large scale. The CV testifies to the fact that it was not only the drink of the common man, but that even kings partook of it and got drunk: ‘. . . his low-class favourites who obtained no leave from their teacher to drink *surā*, praised in his presence the advantages of drinking intoxicating liquors, and induced the ruler to drink. After taking intoxicating drinks, he was like a wild beast gone mad’ (CV 54. 70). The

\*The Vinaya Piṭaka (P.T.S. I. 246) and the Mahāniddēsa (p. 372) also mention the same eight. The Mahāniddēsa (ibid.) also mentions another set of eight, viz., *kolamba*, *kōla*, *badara*, *ghata*, *tēla*, *yāgu*, *payō* and *rasa*.

drinking scene described in the KSiṅ gives the high-class equivalent to toddy in *madhu* (mead), which the king and ladies all drank until they became intoxicated. The Kāvya-śekhara (7. 30) states that the women drank *midirasa mī*, sharing it with each other. The *sanne* to this verse explains *midirasa mī* as wine or the juice of the grape; but it is also possible that the term meant both *midirasa* (wine) and *mī* (honey), two of the eight kinds of drink. The Sasa-dāvata (v. 29) describes a city as being full of women who had vessels of *madhu* in their hands. A tenth century inscription states that royal officers who have come to the village should not receive liquor, meat, curd, or ghee; they should not enter gardens and demand toddy, and should not take part in illicit trade (EZ 3. 2. 79). This not only shows that toddy was quite a common drink in the villages, but also that an illicit trade in toddy was going on.

Yet another widespread habit seems to have been the chewing of betel, which is constantly referred to in the literature of the period: ‘*bat bulat dī sataṭā*’ (Pjv 555); ‘*bat kā antayehi bulat kā*’, having chewed betel after the meal (SdhRv 285). This also shows that chewing betel after a meal was a common practice. The VismSn states that betel was offered to a thief who was led to the scaffold (III. 64). The Badulla pillar inscription prohibits the sale of betel leaves and areca-nuts from places other than sheds intended for the purpose (EZ 3. 2. 77). The Sdhlk refers to the habit of chewing betel at sermons (5). The Butsaraṇa states that the chew of betel will be tasty when the proper quantity of chunam is added to it: ‘*maṇḍa nokoṭa adhika nokoṭa paṃaṇa dāna suṇu kā kalhi yahapatva yedena bulataksē*’ (ed. Nānananda, p. 253). Five ingredients or flavours (*pas paḷa vat*) were used with betel. A twelfth century inscription refers to the chewing of betel with the five kinds of flavour (EZ 2. 4. 178). The five are given differently. The following are mentioned by Penzer in the Ocean of Story: (a) *karṇṇā* (camphor), *kaṅkāla* (bakek), *lavaṅga* (cloves), *jāti phala* (nutmeg), and *phūga* (arecanut); (b) *khadira* (cutch), *chūna* (lime), *supāri* (arecanut), *lavaṅga* (cloves), and *ilachi* (cardamom) (*Ocean of Story*, ed. Penzer, Vol. 8, Appendix 2, pp. 246, 247). Carter’s Sinhalese-English Dic. gives: (1) *phuvak* (arecanut), (2) *kapuru* (camphor), (3) *kuruṇḍu* (cinnamon), (4) *iṅguru* (ginger), and (5) *hunu* (chunam). Today the Sinhalese use other ingredients in addition to these five. Penzer also points out that the number five is used without any apparent reason, and shows that the habit of betel-chewing was widespread in the East—in Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, and India (*ibid.*). The practice in Ceylon has been similar to that in

other countries, that is, the five ingredients were not always used, but were taken on occasions, chiefly as a special honour to a distinguished guest. The literature also mentions liquorice ; but it is not clear whether it was taken with betel, as is done today.

### (h) Dress

The question of dress has already been investigated by Martin Wickramasinghe, one of the eminent contemporary writers in Ceylon. In his study, data, especially from the SdhRv and also from other literary sources, from sculpture and paintings, have been examined. The observations made by him, being relevant to our period, may be summarised here.

His first conclusion is that the women of ancient Ceylon did not cover the upper part of their bodies. To prove this statement he goes to the story of Rōhiṇī in the DPA. On the occasion when Anuruddha *thēra* visited the city of Kapilavastu, the lay devotee Rōhiṇī did not come out to meet him as she was suffering from a skin disease. When the *thēra* requested her to come, she put on a jacket and came to the presence of the *thēra* : ‘ *kaṭa kañcukaṃ paṭimuñcivā āgataṃ* ’ (DPA, p. 479). The DhpaGp explaining this Pāli phrase says that Rōhiṇī, out of respect for the monk, removed the jacket she had worn to conceal her skin disease : ‘ *sivi rovu piḷiseyanuvata pēvevi paṭa kassa tuman kerehi gāvurin muñḍā tabā* ’ (p. 226). According to the SdhRv version of this story, Rōhiṇī appeared in a silk jacket, and when she was questioned as to why she did not come until sent for, she replied that she was shy to make her appearance as she was suffering from a skin disease : ‘ *paṭa kaḍa sātṭayak āṅgu vasā lāgena āvavunṭa häyi . . . svāmīni, heli basinṭa lajjā vana taram kuṣṭha rōgayak siyal siruru vasā āti viya ē nisā lajjāyen no ā bava mut niharasarava noveyi* ’ (736). It is now seen that the author of the SdhRv did not take notice of the DhpaGp rendering ; but kept to the original version of the DPA. Thus both, the SdhRv and the DPA, certainly indicate that it was unusual to cover the body. Both these works make special reference to the wearing of the upper garment, and Rōhiṇī is stated to have said that she did not come as she was shy to expose her diseased skin. This is suggestive of the fact that under normal circumstances the upper body was not covered and that she was compelled to wear a jacket to cover her diseased skin. It is only the DhpaGp that speaks of respect towards the monk. Even this explanation is suggestive that an upper garment was not worn when one was in

respectable company. As Martin Wickramasinghe himself observes the practice of removing the upper garment in respect was a custom amongst the ancients (*Dress and Ornament in Ancient Ceylon* or *Purāṇa-siṃhala-strīṅgē-āṇḍuma*, p. 35) and a remnant of this amongst the Sinhalese is seen today when people remove their head-wear or scarfs out of respect. It must be observed here that Wickramasinghe, in his discussion of this story (*ibid.*, pp. 33, 34), has rendered the P. *paṭimuñcitvā* as *gaḷavū ivata tabū*, having removed and kept aside, and this is incorrect as the Pāli term meant 'having put on or worn'. Hence his discussion has to be modified accordingly. It is also not impossible that the author of the DhpaGp made the same lapse and in order to account for the unusual circumstance (of removing the jacket) had recourse to the idea of respect.

All the references in the stories make it clear that a lower garment was worn by both sexes, for example: 'gopalu daruvek rajasin gāvasunāvū śarīra ātīva kiḷuṭu kaḍa reddak āṇḍa . . .' (Sdhlk 423); 'hina tibū vastraya' (*ibid.* 206); 'dahasak vaṭanā hina kaḍakuṭ' (SdhRv 430); 'mā hina tubū kasī saḷuva' (Pjv 159); 'viśiṣṭavū rū āti ran pīḷiyak hāṇḍagena' (SdhRv 628); 'gihi minisun sē lajjā vasā pīḷi nohaṇḍumha' (Pjv 202). Wickramasinghe cites the Visākhā story as evidence for this. This story states that when a lady has been chosen as a bride, she must not walk, and that the daughters of the rich will travel in palanquins, etc., and those of humbler classes will carry either an umbrella or a palm-leaf over their heads, or, if they cannot do even this, they will cover the shoulders with a part of the garment they are wearing (SdhRv 334). Before the custom of covering the upper part of the body came into fashion, says Wickramasinghe, even the high-class ladies did not cover the upper parts of their bodies. It seems likely, he says, that before a separate cloth was used to cover the upper body, a part of the cloth worn was used to cover the shoulders. But the Visākhā story only points to a particular occasion when this was done. It is not uncommon even today for people to cover their heads with the cloth worn by them, during a slight drizzle or when such other circumstances demand. 'The middle-class women only wore a cloth round their hips when at home and also used another to cover their shoulders whenever they went out of the house' (*Dress and Ornament in Ancient Ceylon*, p. 38). Wickramasinghe quotes the story of Ciñcamāṇavikā as evidence of this, viz.,

' *devurayat baḍat vasā pīḷiyak poravāgena* ', putting on a garment covering her abdomen and shoulders. This is also shown by the Ēka sāṭaka brahman's story, which states that both, the Brahman and his wife had only one upper robe between them, and that when one went out the other had to stay in : ' *taman haṅdanāṭa ek kaḍek hā bāmiṇiyan haṅdanāṭa ek kaḍek āta. pīṭata yana kala dasaruva vasāgena yanṭa dennāṭama kātiva eka uturu saḷuvek āta* ' (SdhRv 551). Even the women of the lower classes wore only a lower garment, as is shown by the SdhRv and the Butsarāṇa : ' *siṭu duvaṇiyanda devana dāvas kiluṭu adahas sēma kiluṭu kaḍa reddak koyindō soyā hāṅdagena . . . miṅḍi ves gat lesaṭa . . .* ', the daughter of the *setṭhi*, wearing a dirty piece of rag . . . like a servant (SdhRv 539). ' *ō kiliṭi kaḍak, hāṅda genā hisakē vidālā śarīrayehi kuḍu galvā gena kaḷayak hāragena miṅḍiyaka hā ekva . . .* ' with the help of the foregoing evidence Wickramasinghe concludes that the women in ancient Ceylon did not cover the upper part of their bodies, except when going out of their homes. This cloth covering the upper body is the *uturu saḷu* (upper robe) spoken of by the Sinhalese poets (*Dress and Ornament in Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 40-41). The Sdhlk speaks of a person who was too shy to enter the street without an upper robe (264).

The SdhRv refers to two garments : ' *hāṅdagena giya saḷu saṅgala* ' (23). The Pjv speaks of the two robes round the hip : ' *ina tubū sāṭaka yugmaya* ' (160). The Pjv also refers to one such garment : ' *val soru ohu kaḍa udurāgena maraṅṭa alvā gata. hetema . . . seluvama gālavī diva* ', The thief carried off the man's garment . . . and he escaped naked (450). The Sdhlk too, speaks of a person who was desirous of making a gift of his robe, but he was prevented from so doing as he had only one (450). It again speaks of one who gave away the garment he had, covering his nakedness with leaves (ibid. 393). This evidence shows that some wore two lower garments while others wore only one. Both these fashions are still followed, villagers usually wearing two.

References are also made to both an upper and a lower garment worn by the same individual. The Pjv says : ' *dahasak aganā kasī saḷu hāṅda dedahasak aganā kasī saḷu karaṭa dama damā* ', wearing a *kasī* robe worth a thousand, and putting on the shoulders a robe worth two thousand (498). Again it says : ' wearing robes worth a thousand, and upper robes worth two thousand . . . like goddesses who had descended to the earth ' (524). The SdhRv

speaks of a robe that is worn and also an upper robe : ‘ *saḷuvak hāñḍa esēma saḷuvak peravā* (556). Thus we see that both men and women were in the habit of wearing an upper robe as well, perhaps when going out—as is also asserted by Wickramasinghe. As to the nature of this upper robe, we have some information. The Ēka sātaka brahman’s story already referred to says : ‘ *dasaruva vasū gena yanta* ’, to cover the shoulders. We frequently read vivid descriptions of the breasts and the line of hair from the navel of women, e.g. ‘ *nāba piyumata muvarada lolin basnā bṛngā valiyaksē duṭu duṭuvan sit umatukaravana nil vasū roden hā . . .* ’ (Pjv 301).

*dasa vamiyan visituru—rudu piyayuru mañḍalē  
dulū pala kokumaṅgarā—gī vī tede naravarā* (KSiḷ v. 40).

These lead us to conclude that the women did not cover their breasts, that the upper robe was just put across their shoulders, and also that the lower robe was worn much below the navel (see Wickramasinghe for further details).

Wickramasinghe also draws our attention to the fact that women of the *caṇḍāla* caste covered their upper bodies, even if those of noble birth did not do so. He cites the Svarṇatilakā story of the Sdhlk in support of his view, and also states that it was a blue robe that they used for this purpose. The Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā story in the Amāvatura speaks of a blue robe ; but the Svarṇatilakā story does not refer to any particular colour worn by these women. It only says : *visituru vū karmānta āti dahasak vaṭanā paḷasakin duvagē śarīraya vasū poravā . . .* (Sdhlk 368) ; also : *tamā peravahun paḷasa maṅḍak pahakoṭa* (ibid.). On the other hand, the Tēbhātika vagga states that *caṇḍāla* Brahmins wore yellow, viz. : ‘ *brāhmaṇa caṇḍālayot kāṣūya vastra perava gena āvidināhumaya* (ibid. 322). This is supported by the MV (5. 57), which states thus in connection with the same story : ‘ It was surely a *caṇḍāla*, for the *caṇḍālas* ever clothe themselves in yellow garments ’. Another reference in the Sdhlk indicates that the different castes dressed themselves as befitted their castes : ‘ *vaiśya śūdrādihuda brāhmenayōda yana hāmadenama taman tamanta anurūparū vastrūlaṃkōrayen sārakī* (168). It must be remarked here that Svarṇatilakā wore her upper robe when she set out from her home, and the story does not refer to what she wore when in her home. It is curious to note that people of low caste were not permitted to wear upper garments till very recently.

Reference has already been made to the story of Rōhiṇī, which states that she wore a jacket. Though the jacket seems to have been known, it was not the regular custom to wear one, observes Wickramasinghe, who also refers to a statement made by Aiyangar that it was the custom with the lower classes of South Indian women to wear clothes covering both the upper and lower bodies. He also shows that according to the Sīgiriya paintings the figures supposed to be those of queens show no upper garment, while those supposed to be of attendant women show a breast-band (Wickramasinghe, *Dress and Ornament in Ancient Ceylon*, p. 41). The SdhRv makes another pointed reference to show that the jacket was not worn by women. In the Anitthigandha Prince's story, the writer says that the wet-nurses put on jackets covering their upper bodies completely, thus taking the guise of men: ' *kirimavu āṅga muḷulla vasā sātta lā gena pīrimi ves gena* ' (SdhRv 242). Thus this story also indicates that men covered their upper bodies. Two references in the SdhRv also show that small children did not normally wear clothes: ' *piḷi hāṅdat noveyi bālavama giyadāya* ' (977); and ' *piḷi nohaṅdanō nam bāla daruvōya* ' (ibid. 60). Wickramasinghe also refers to the fact that clothes which were cut and sewn were not much used by the ancients (*Dress and Ornament in Ancient Ceylon*, p. 106). He cites the Nāgasēna story in the SdhRv in support of his conclusion.

As for the material, the chief seems to have been silk of various kinds. The VismSn refers to silks from China and Somāra; the SdhRv and the VismSn mention other materials, viz.: *tihiri* [vegetable silk(?) woven from the fibres of a certain tree (Carter)]; the DhpaGp explains *kōseyya* (silk) as *tihiripiḷi*, (p. 119); also see *Abhidhānaḥpadīpikā*, 298], cotton, and *komu piḷi* (from goat hair) (VismSn 282), and *kasī saḷu* (Benāres silk) (SdhRv 976).

We shall now consider the personal ornamental and decorative arts cultivated by the people. The information regarding males is meagre; but we get a mass of references to women. Their hair seems to have been tied into a knot, and flowers were worn in the knot: ' *pāhā sara saraṅga maldam—bāṅda muhulasa* ' (KSil 284); ' *lahopaḷu kusuma bada—dī muhulu kārā muhulu* ' (ibid. 505). There seems to have been a distinction in tying the lock of hair in the higher and lower classes of women. The SdhRv says: ' *miṅḍiyangē lesaṭa līl koṭa hisa kē bāṅda gena* ', tying the hair loosely like that of a maid-servant (539). Wickramasinghe also observes that



those of the higher classes made the knot of hair large and raised and not loosely hanging (*Dress and Ornament in Ancient Ceylon*, p. 40). He cites proof from the KSiḷ and the Sīgiriya paintings (see above for KSiḷ). 'This view is supported', says Wickramasinghe, 'by the Sīgiriya paintings and stone figures at Isurumuniya'. The Sdhk also states that the hair was made into plaits and then tied: '*isakes gotā bāṇḍa*' (522); and it again says that the hair was woven into plaits like pods or ears, and allowed to hang on the back: '*karal koṭa hisakē gotā piṭa helā*' (295). The attention needed to keep the hair clean and tidy is brought out by the SdhRv: 'Those who have long hair must wash it regularly, must dry it, must dress it before tying up. Oil has to be applied, flowers should be worn; it must be scented even at some cost, scented creams must be applied, combs must be worn; it must be well combed, lice must be removed; when it grows grey it must be dyed' (68). Dyeing of grey hair and use of combs and scent seem to have been fashionable then as in modern times.

Constant reference is also made to the application of various unguents and cosmetics in addition to the numerous ornaments worn. An inscription of Nissaiṅka Malla states: 'Diverse ornaments of gems, pearls, sapphires, emerald, topaz, *gōmēda* (agate?), lapis lazuli, diamonds, and corals, (costly) robes, perfumes, flowers, betel, and camphor, with all these may one be adorned; yet if (he has) not received cosmetics, it is not pleasing' (EZ 3. 3. 152). The SdhRv refers to the same when it admonishes those who wear ornaments, saying that there is no ornament better than that of *sīla*, and addressing those using cosmetics, it says that there is no scent better than that of *sīla* (29). The KSiḷ refers to the application of *kumkuma* paste or painting of the breasts: '*hokumañgarū piyavurē*' (v. 322). The Pjv, too, refers to this practice: '*aṅgarāḡayan tavarū*' (707). The women also used scents: '*isōdhā nahā mal suvaṇḍa pālaṇḍa*' (SdhRv 190). The eyes were painted with collyrium: '*nuvanat hi aṇḍunaṇḍamin*' (KSiḷ 363); '*aṇḍun gā sārāhū ās*' (SdhRv 125). The application of sandalwood paste on the body is referred to: '*sakala śarīrayehi saṇḍun kalka tavarāgena savbaraṇa lā sārāhī mal pālaṇḍa*' (SdhRv 51). Sandal paste was applied on the hands, according to the VismSn (26), which also refers to some kinds of scents that were used, namely, *tagara* (fragrant powder or perfumes obtained from the tree *Tabernaemontona coronaria*, and *mallikā* (Arabian jasmine).

The SdhRv also refers to *nānu*, an ointment, or a composition sometimes used to cleanse the hair (365). Four kinds of scent (*sivudā gañda* or *suvañda*) are referred to : *kokum*, *yonpuṣ*, *tuvaralā* and *turuktel* (saffron, sandal-wood, frankincense and a fragrant oil) (ibid. 640). The Aṃbagamuva rock-inscription also refers to the anointing of the Sacred Foot-print with the four unguents (EZ 2. 5. 217).

The women also seem to have placed the ' *tilaka* ' mark on the forehead (SdhRv 678). That garlands of flowers were worn round the head is also shown : ' *hisa malvaḍamak sisārā lā* ' (ibid. 409). The Sdhlk speaks of the garland of *idda* (*Wrightia zeylanica*) flowers which was worn round the head (541). Something far more interesting is the idea of a hair stylist shown by the SdhRv. The Pāli ' *kaṭṭakam āha kadā raññō massuṃ karissasi* ' is rendered as ' *añdam tabana karanavāmiyāṭa andam tabannē kavaraḍādāyi* ' (235) ; ' *mā dāḷirāvul kaṭṭā andam tabaṇṭa ennāhu* ' (Pjv 598). The word *andam* suggests ' style ', and it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the hair, moustaches and beards were cut in various styles, as is done today.

As for the ornaments, such as jewellery, the most frequent reference is to the decking of one's self with all ornaments, e.g. ' *sav baraṇa lā sārāhī* '. The ornaments mentioned are : *ṭāmudu*, toe-rings ; *ṭāḍagam*, anklets ; *mudu*, rings ; *vaḷalu*, bangles ; *mut-hara*, chain of pearls ; *tōḍu*, ear-rings ; *tisara*, neck ornament ; *saṃkhalā*, mother-of-pearl ? (see p. 76) ; *kayi bandhi*, body band (SdhRv 262, 844, 945, 21, 4 ) ; *gele mutu dam*, strings of pearls for the neck ; *koṇḍola*, ear-rings ; *ridī savaḍi*, silver waist-chain (Pjv 405, 218) ; *mevul dam*, girdle-band, parure ; *ran dam*, gold chains ; *rasan dam*, tinkling chain (KSil 266, 147, 9) ; *ṭiyavuru-mut-hara vāla*, a chain of pearls for the breasts (ibid. 702). The Sdhlk distinguishes between jewellery for the male and female wear : *ekāvāla*, *dahanhū*, *kaṭṭi sūtra*, *tisara ṭaṭa*, *oṭunu* are male ornaments, while *ṭāmudu*, *ṭāḍagam*, *ruvan tanaṭaṭa*, *ṭamuti-liṃgam*, *ṭattakāra* are female ornaments (454). The SdhRv also states that *ṭāmudu* and *ṭāḍagam* are female wear : ' *gāmunṭa vuvamanā ṭāmudu ṭāḍagam ādivū ābharāṇa* ' (461). *koṇḍa mal* (wreaths for the hair) were also a speciality for women (Sdhlk 182).

The Sdhlk gives another set of female ornaments : *kuṇḍalā-bharāṇa*, *nūṭpura*, *tāḍamga*, *ran tōḍu*, *ek vāṭi*, *ṭāmudu*, *ṭāsalaṃba*, *ṭāḍagam*, *sadaṃgā*, *oravasun*, *vijaya vastra*, *kakusaṇḍa*, *ṭādāṃgulī*

*ādivū noyek bisō paḷaṇḍanāyen sārakuṇṇāvu* (ed. B. Sraddhatisya, p. 96). *pāda pādāṅguli, pāda kaṭaka, pasrū, paṣperahara, ek vāṭi, pā mudu, ranmaravādi, pādagam, hina kes vāla, siripaḷalu, depaṭa vidyā, aṅgul dasaru, bāhudaṇḍa, mutuvāla, gala mutu mālā, māṇik māla, dākan, paṣevikan, dasa aṅgātilaka, miṇḍam, nīlamātrā, muḍu oṭunu* are the feminine ornaments (*strī alaṅkāra*) mentioned in the Pjv (129) (see pp. 71-84 for ornaments).

Tamil soldiers are also spoken of as wearing ear-ornaments (Sdhlk 442). Hence both males and females seem to have worn varieties of ear-ornaments. The slab-inscription of Kalyāṇavati speaks of finger-rings set with precious stones: ' . . . gave to the servitors who performed various types of work, rings set with precious stones for their hands, and clothes of gold . . . (EZ 4. 5. 259). We have frequent reference to the girdle-band. The Sāhasa Malla slab-inscription (A.D. 1200) states that the Prime Minister's mother was decorated with a waist-band of gold (EZ 2. 5. 228). The KSiḷ says :

*piyavuru barusulā—no sähā ev mevulni duvan*  
*debarin yuga daṅga—nuru rāṁni guguraṇa van* (205),

Because of the sound produced by the girdle-band, the waist seemed to roar being unable to bear the weight of the breasts, and because of the sound produced by the anklets, the legs seem to roar being unable to bear up the weight of both. Another verse compares the sound of the anklets as well as the girdle-band to the music of Anaṅga (KSiḷ 293). Speaking about the girdle-band, Wickramasinghe observes that it must have been once used to deck the genital organs. The descriptions of the poets suggest that it was worn under, and not over the garment. This also points to the fact that it was originally worn next to the body to adorn the hips and waist (*Dress and Ornament in Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 14-15). He conjectures that it also must have been the fashion to wear chains of pearls on the breasts, up to about the fifteenth century. He explains that this chain was connected with the pearl necklace, and fell between the two breasts and then round the breasts (*ibid.*, pp. 52, 53). It is difficult to say how many of the ornaments were worn in everyday life ; we can only say that they were worn as befitted the various occasions. That women did not normally deck themselves in splendour when going to the temple is shown by the Visākhā story, which states that it is not suitable for them to go to the temple in all their ornaments like dancers (SdhRv 349). Even now the dress

for religious occasions is a very simple one. Further, all head-wear and foot-wear were removed when entering a temple, and it has been so to this day. The SdhRv speaks of parasols and foot-wear (328). The MV (30. 4) mentions ornamented shoes. The various ornaments were also studded with various kinds of precious stone and with various designs. The Visākhā story tells us that Visākhā's parure bore on its top the figures of a dancing peacock (SdhRv 337). We are quite familiar with this type of necklace and the ornaments (*kūru*) worn on the knot of hair, etc. The Maṭṭakuṇḍalī story speaks of designs on ornaments when it says that the earrings made for Maṭṭakuṇḍalī had no such decoration : ' *uruttu ādivū sūkṣma karmānta nāti* ' (ibid. 46).

As for the precious material (valuables), seven kinds are often mentioned ; viz., gold, silver, pearls, rubies, cats-eye, diamonds and coral. Other precious stones mentioned are : ruby (*piyum rā*) and blue sapphire (*sunil miṇi*). The Sdhk enumerates eight kinds of pearls, viz. : *aśva* (having the form of the horse), *gaja* (of the elephant), *ratha* (of cart-wheels), *āmalaka* (like citrus fruits), *valaya* (like bangles), *aṅguli vēṭhaka* (like rings), *kakudha phala* (like the *kuṃbuk* fruit—*Terminalia glabra*), and *piyavi mutu* (ordinary pearl) (333).

## CHAPTER XIII

### OCCUPATIONS

The occupational pattern formed the corner-stone of the economic and social life of the country. The whole wealth and production of the country depended mainly on the occupations followed by the people. The type of occupation followed determined not only the income of a particular community, but also its social status. At that time, when large-scale industry was unknown, cultivation of land was easily the most important occupation, and revenue from land was the main source of income to the State. Hence agriculture was naturally patronised by the kings, who did all they could to improve it.

Trade came next in the list. Then came various minor occupations, such as pottery, fishing, mining, etc. The occupations seem to have been considered hereditary in the different castes. Hence the people had no choice of occupation. It was perhaps considered wrong to abandon the hereditary occupation in pursuit of another, even though this might be more lucrative. The major occupations, like agriculture and trade, were perhaps open to many, even though on a small scale.

Every possible attention was paid to the improvement of agriculture, which depended entirely on the amount of water available. As cultivation was mainly confined to the dry zones of the island where the seats of government of our kings were, the supplying of water to the fields was too heavy a task for the cultivator, and therefore the central government had to undertake the responsibility of providing the necessary water. The ruins we see today of the large reservoirs and irrigation systems show the extent of the island's prosperity in this sphere of activity. 'The special feature of the ancient civilisation of Ceylon', says Parker, 'was its irrigation works, which, with the exception of a part of the mountain district, were made throughout the whole country. Their purpose was to store or convey the water which was required for the rice fields that were found at every suitable place in the island' (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 347). The long history of the island records the efforts of many kings to improve the

irrigation schemes of the island as an aid to agricultural activity. The MV deals at length with the tanks and canals that were constructed by the rulers. We read of Duṭugāmuṇu sending his own brother to supervise the farming in one part of the country, while he himself supervised the Māgama area (Sdhk 460). With the advance of years, the country degenerated in this respect, and when we come to the thirteenth century and the later periods we do not hear of any major schemes, irrigation works, etc. The Poḷonnaruva period saw the developments in agriculture in the island on an unprecedented scale. Parākramabāhu of the twelfth century constructed the largest tank, which was known as the Sea of Parākrama. ' He also built the great tank Parakkamataḷāka with a sluice of a hundred cubits, and which was made fast by stone construction . . . ' (CV 79. 23). But somehow the tide turned, perhaps due to causes such as invasions and strife. The extensive irrigation works needed much attention and a great deal of labour to keep them in repair. Nissaṅka Malla saw to it that they were not neglected ; but the ravages caused by Māgha left them in such a hopeless state that kings who followed him do not seem to have undertaken the task of repairing them (see Mendis, *The Early History of Ceylon*, p. 84). The Poḷonnaruva Galpota inscription states that (Nissaṅka Malla) repaired great tanks, irrigation canals and embankments . . . in the three kingdoms (EZ 2. 3. 117). Referring to the two succeeding centuries, the thirteenth and fourteenth, Mendis observes : ' There is hardly any reference to the construction of any important irrigation work during this period. It is due to the fact that the Sinhalese kings at this time lived in the Wet Zone where paddy cultivation depends mainly on the rains. There are references, however, to cultivation of coconut and jak on the south-west coast. Though these products are mentioned in writings of earlier times, it is likely they began to be cultivated extensively only at this time, as the Dry Zone, which the earlier kings occupied, was not so suitable for their growth (*The Early History of Ceylon*, p. 105). The CV makes very little mention of agricultural activity during this period. It speaks of the efforts of Vijayabāhu IV to restore the land to its former glory in the field of agriculture : ' Thereupon in the devastated land, long desolate, King Vijayabāhu, happy at heart, had the water system—tanks, ponds, dykes, pools, and the like—in which the embankments had given way, and which were deprived of their

deep water, dammed up as before, filled with deep water, covered with diverse lotus blossoms and stocked with all kinds of fish. Then he had many valuable fields which had always been grounds on which grew every kind of corn, newly planted, had all kinds of crops grown here and there, and made the whole fair land prosperous' (CV 88. 111). One of the inscriptions gives us some information on repairs that were effected and new lands that were brought under cultivation at the very beginning of the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, certain parts of this inscription are obliterated, and we are not in a position to know what reservoir is referred to. 'At the time this . . . reservoir was lying unused, (its embankment) being breached in three places (and its) canals and sluice being destroyed . . . repaired the canals and the sluice and made them to be of use. Having seen that not many fields and gardens were flourishing, as there was no second sluice even in former times, he, by his own judgment, examined sites (fit) for sluices, and having found a suitable site, he constructed there a sluice called, after his own name, the Adhikāra-sluice and brought under cultivation . . . from the lower embankment . . . being desirous of making the pains that he had taken on account of this reservoir exceedingly fruitful, and also being desirous of making a religious endowment, to the *vihāra* of the sowing extent of four *amuṇas* of seed paddy from Sotemuṇa, which was made suitable for sowing by having the stumps of trees and roots removed' (EZ 4. 2. 81). The inscription deals with the work done by a General in the time of Kalyāṇavatī, to promote agriculture. It shows that new lands were brought under cultivation by him. The inscription also refers to the rather neglected condition of the tanks and the neglected state of agriculture at the time.

The author of the *SdhRv* shows great familiarity with agricultural methods in his use of similes and descriptions of farming. He refers to irrigation canals, viz., '*kāmati tānakata pān gena gosin ket valata namā goyam kereti*', lead the waters to any place they desire and cultivate the land (454); '*āla asuddha kalata kuṃburata vadanā diyak nāttāsē*', as no water reaches a field when the canal is not clean. He also gives a description of the process of cultivation: '*paḷamu koṭa kuṃburu gevaḍiya yutuya. ikbiti bim nāṅgiya yutuya. pasuva desī sāvā yutuya. miyara keṭiya yutuya. tun sī sāṅṭa yutuya. kāṭa taḷā pōru gā yutuya. kalallam kaṭa yutuya. vaḷula yutuya. vāṭa bānda yutuya. isnan temiya yutuya.*

*diya bānda yutuya. goyam rōgayāta kem kaḷa yutuya. goyam pāsī giya kalāta dā māṅḍa vī aṭukoṭuvāla liya yutuya. pēralā hiṭināli sāvā yutuya. valṭola keṭiya yutuya. davā heli kaṭa yutuya. vaṭuḷa yutuya. mās samasat melesama kaṭa yutuya* '. The field has to be prepared first. Then the land has to be tilled. Then the second ploughing has to be done. Dams have to be built. It has to be ploughed for the third time. The clods of earth must be broken up and the ground levelled with a board or plank. Then the field has to be made muddy. Water has to be supplied to the growing seed. The field ought to be supplied with water by blocking up the waterways. Any diseases will have to be treated (*kema* is a sort of magical treatment). When ripe, the crop must be cut and the corn threshed and stored in granaries. Then again, the stubble must be removed, wild plants removed, burnt and cleared up. Then sow again. Thus you will also have to work during the six months of *maha* (SdhRv 151). In another place he adds to this process the throwing of sand, etc., from the time the plants come to ear until they ripen : ' *pūn paṣu kiri vadanā tek vāli isīm ādi kaṭayutuya* ' (ibid., 893). Here he clarifies his former statement by specifically stating that sowing must be done after the field is made muddy, and that water has to be supplied to the seedlings after sowing (ibid.). Ploughing was done with ploughs drawn by oxen. The SdhRv describes a man on his way to the field as taking a plough and a pair of oxen : ' *gon geyakut naṅgul viyadaṅḍut hāragena sānta yannāhu* ' (740). The Sdhk states that the ripening corn has to be protected from the birds, etc. (156). The people worked in the fields the whole day, and their midday meals were brought to them to the fields. The stories often refer to wives taking the meals to their husbands (SdhRv 579).

We have already seen that the entire cultivation depended on the water-supply, and that the central government provided tanks and irrigation-systems for this purpose. The inscriptions tell us that the waters of these tanks were divided amongst the cultivators, so that everyone had a share of the water. This is the practice even today. We often read of the farmers, specially of the dry zones, who depended on irrigation for their cultivation, claiming their *diya mura* or share of water. The VismSn uses the same term *diya mura* in referring to certain disagreements which resulted in the prevention of some getting the *diya mura* (312). The inscriptions refer to the distribution of water-supply and of shares assigned



to certain *vihāras* : ‘ The distribution of water-supply shall not be appropriated ’ (EZ 1. 5. 206) ; ‘ The distribution of water in the 12 *kiriya*s (sowing extent of land) assigned to it from the Mahāmaṇḍala ’ (EZ 1. 5. 170). The MV speaks of a share allotted to a *vihāra* : ‘ When he had built the Mucēla-vihāra in Tissavaḍḍhamānaka he allotted to the *vihāra* a share in the water of the (canal) Āḷisāra ’ (35. 84).

Cultivation had to be done at the proper time (SdhRv 81). The Sdhlk refers to *yāla* and *maha* seasonal cultivations : ‘ *sa bāyō māhaṭa kuṃburu tanannāhu* ’ (Sdhlk 490). Thus there were two crops in a year. The inscriptions of Nissaṅka Malla tell us that arable land was divided into three categories for purposes of taxation, as the best, medium, and last (*utte*, *mūnde*, and *pāsse*), according to the fertility of the soil (EZ 1. 4. 133). Cultivation seems also to have been done on a half-half share basis as is done often even today : ‘ *aṅḍayaṭa sīsāgena vaṭ vaṭuṭaḡena* ’ (SdhRv 540). Literature also refers to the rich harvest one may reap from a fertile field, as being one *yāla* for one *pāla* of seeds sown : ‘ *saru kuṃbureka pālak vaṭuṭa yālak labannāsē* ’ (Sdhlk 10), and ‘ *saḍu vū kuṃbureka yālak vaṭuṭa pālak labannakhusē* ’ (Pjv 483). We also can gather that harvesting time was a festive season, a time of amusement and enjoyment. The kings themselves celebrated harvest festivals. One of the four great festivals in Kandyan times was ‘ *alutsāl* ’ (harvest-home) (*Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, p. 37). Similar feasting and festivity seem to have been engaged in during the time of sowing (*vaṭ magul*). The Sdhlk gives some description of this festival : ‘ The people were decked in splendour, they feasted according to their means. The white bulls were decked with ornaments, the horns with silver ferrules and feet with tinkling bells. Some plough, some sow. Even the women, decked in festive garb help in the sowing ’ (676). A widespread practice connected with harvesting seems to have been the giving of alms of food cooked with the first fruits, after the harvest had been brought home.

Amongst the cereals cultivated, the chief was paddy, different varieties of which, such as *hāl*, were known. Other cereals were *hamu* (*amu*), *uṅḍu*, *mum*, *yava*, and *menēri* (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*, peas—a species of *Flemingia*, green gram—*Phaseolus mungo*, barley, *Panicum miliare* resp.). The Sdhlk refers to the cultivation of varieties of yams, banana, mango, coconut, and arcanut (432). The Galapāta vihara rock-inscription refers to the inclusion of

land planted with coconut and arecanut palms in a certain donation (EZ 4. 4. 209). Sugarcane also seems to have been a crop, and mills where sugar was refined are also referred to (VismSn 923; SdhRv 929). Mention must be made of chena cultivation, which seems to have been widely carried on towards the end of the twelfth century. If, as Nissaṅka Malla's inscriptions denote, chena cultivation was so widespread, we have no doubt that the thirteenth century saw the continuance of this type of cultivation. He is said to have abolished for all time the tax on chena cultivation (the raising of grain after clearing the jungles) (EZ 2. 2. 90). We may also mention that the cultivation of the land was proclaimed as the best occupation by Nissaṅka Malla (EZ 2. 2. 122).

The implements used were mammoties (*udalu*), large knives (*kāti*), baskets (*kūḍa*), axes (*porō*), sickles (*dākāti*), adzes (*vā*), and iron ploughs (*yanaguḷ*).

### Trade

We have already noticed that a merchant class was fully recognised. The importance of the merchants is also seen in the appointment of a chief merchant to the Council of State. We also have proof that the merchants had organised themselves into guilds and corporations. The Badulla pillar-inscription orders the subordinate officials of the magistrate to hold sessions with the corporations of merchants (EZ 3. 2. 78). Trade was no doubt the most lucrative profession, as in modern times. The SdhRv aptly says: '*veḷaṅḍām nokala kalata vastu nāttāsē*', just as one has no wealth when one does not engage himself in trade (31). Profiteering does not seem to have been unknown, for the SdhRv refers to a man buying at double the cost price (120). The country had both settled merchants, who perhaps had their own shops, and traders who travelled about from one place to another to sell their goods. Market-places and bazaars are often referred to. The traders who went from place to place took their merchandise in carts; and when they had sold off their goods, they went back home for a fresh load. The SdhIk refers to cart-loads of firewood thus taken from the villages into the cities for sale (218). This is a common sight today, even in our largest towns. The SdhRv also refers to a system of barter, which seems to have been practised. The Pjv refers to pingo loads of grass that were taken for sale (294). Some of the articles of trade mentioned are: firewood, kinds of fruit and herbs, honey, ghee, textiles, oil, rugs, flowers, betel, arecanuts, meat, ginger, and turmeric. The actual practice of a villager is

portrayed in the Sdhlk when it says that a man took herbs and fruits from the forest and sold them in the towns. With the proceeds he bought the essential foodstuffs—rice, salt, chillies, and oil. We also have reference to the illicit sales of toddy (SdhRv 596). This is supported by a tenth century inscription which prohibits royal officers from demanding toddy and taking part in illicit trade (very likely, though not necessarily, in toddy) (EZ 3. 2. 79). An eleventh century inscription provides proof also of sales of animals: ‘ buffaloes, oxen, and goats, which are brought from outside for sale, shall only be bought after due identification of them, and on security being given ’ (EZ 1. 6. 251). The SdhRv refers to trade in horses. The CV shows that horses were imported from India. Another inscription of the tenth century shows that a toll was levied on goods taken from one village to another: ‘ Toll dues should be levied on commodities brought into the village, only if they be sold within its limits; but not on those that are only passing through it. In case of commodities sold without being shown (to the authorities) double toll dues should be taken . . . ’ (EZ 3. 2. 79). The same inscription shows that trading on *pōya* days was prohibited. The guilty had to pay a *padḍa* of oil for offering of lamps (ibid.). It also shows that in this particular village separate stalls were supplied for the sale of betel and arecanut (ibid., p. 80).

Mention is often made of those who went across the seas for trade. The Sdhlk makes ample reference to these. It also speaks of the importation of perfumes, musk, sandal-wood, etc., from other countries (485). The inscriptions too afford evidence of the existence of an import-export trade. Of the Ānālundāva slab-inscription Parānavitana says: ‘ The presence of these merchants in Ceylon in the twelfth century leads us to infer the possibility of their having acquired important trading and other concessions during the time of Kīrti Niśśāṅka-Malla ’ (EZ 2. 5. 236). Since at the end of the twelfth century we had foreign traders, they doubtless held similar positions in the succeeding century. The Tiriyāy rock-inscription (seventh century A.D.) refers to merchants skilful in navigating the sea, engaged in buying and selling, who possessed a display of goods laden in sailing vessels of diverse sorts (EZ 4. 3. 159).

The use of scales in trade is mentioned (SdhRv 956).

In mediaeval times the trade of the island seems to have been in the hands of the Hindu Tamils and the Moors, who Codrington conjectures, were the *mēlāṭsi* of the tenth century inscriptions. Moors are first heard of in the late seventh century and gold coins of Egyptian and Hither Asian dynasties have been found in the island. The Moors had also by this time attained their commercial prosperity in South India. Coins dating from the tenth to the thirteenth century testify that the Chinese were also trading here (see Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, pp. 50-51). Mendis also speaks of the important part played by foreign trade and refers specially to the trade in cinnamon during and after the latter part of the thirteenth century: 'Bhuvanekabāhu I (A.D. 1273-1284) in order to increase his profits sought an agreement with the Sultan of Egypt in 1283 to supply him with cinnamon, precious stones, and elephants' (*Early History of Ceylon*, p. 105).

### **Rearing of live-stock and dairy-farming**

The pasture-lands seem to have been used for the grazing of cattle and goats. Cattle-owners seem to have entrusted their flocks to herdsmen employed by them. The poorer people looked after their own cattle. The herdsmen had to start work early in the morning and came back home only in the evening. The *Sdhk* records the story of a poor cow-herd boy: 'He was clad in a dirty piece of rag, his body was dirty, his morning meal consisted of gruel, he was given a yam for his midday meal' (423). The cattle were of use for ploughing and draught and for the production of milk, curds, butter and ghee, etc.

Reference is also made to training of elephants and horses, to rearing of pigs and to poultry farming. Cattle, goats, pigs and fowl were also reared for meat.

### **Fishing**

Only fishing in rivers is referred to. We have already seen that fish formed a good part of the diet of the people. The net, rod, and the basket-trap were used to catch fish. Reference may here be made to the pearl-fisheries, for which the island is still well known (*SdhRv* 225).

### **Pottery**

The art of the potter seems to have had a long history in the island. He produced beautiful earthenware. The potter's wheel

(*saka*) is well known. The VismSn also refers to the turning of this wheel with a stick, and further refers to tools (*kaṭu*) which were used to draw arcs on the clay (369). This indicates that the earthenware was patterned. The SdhRv refers to the potteries, and also to family potters. It is likely that the well-to-do families had their family potter, who supplied all their necessary earthenware. The Tablets of Mahinda IV at Mihintale give the emoluments paid to a potter at the time as one *kiriya* of land to each of the five potters who supplied daily five earthen pots (EZ 1. 3. 110).

### Metallurgy

Metal-work had many branches, such as gold, bronze, iron, copper, silver work, etc. We have already referred to the great variety of ornaments that were worn by the people. We may therefore understand the flourishing position of the goldsmith. Ananda Coomaraswamy gives us a list of these artificers: 'A more particular account of the *ācāri*, *navandannō* or caste or guild of artificers proper, will be necessary. The sub-divisions of the caste, according to Valentyn, are eleven in number, viz., *ācāri*, blacksmiths; *baḍallu*, silversmiths; *vaḍuvō*, carpenters; *liyana vaḍuvō*, turners; *riḍi kṛṭayankārayō*, damasceners; *āḍat kṛṭayankārayō*, ivory carvers and cabinet makers; *galvaḍuvō*, stone cutters; *ratna indrakārayo*, jewellers; *īvaḍuvō*, arrow makers (lac workers); *sittaru*, painters; *lōkuruvo*, founders. But Valentyn's divisions are rather a list of names given to men who followed particular branches of their craft than actual caste divisions' (*Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, p. 54). This helps us to see the various branches of the industry. The Pjv mentions goldsmiths, potters, metal-workers, blacksmiths, painters, stone-cutters, carpenters, lime and brick makers, and arrow-makers (752). Amongst the jewellery, mention is always made of gold, silver, diamonds, pearls, crystals, etc. Most of the precious stones used in making the jewellery may have been mined in the island itself, an industry which still goes on in certain parts. It has already been observed that the island exported precious stones (see p. 336). The SdhRv refers to gem-pits (725, 315). Reference must also be made to iron-smelting, which seems to have been fairly widespread. 'Seeing that a knowledge of iron is so ancient and widespread in India', says Ananda Coomaraswamy, 'it is not surprising to find it also in Ceylon . . . Heaps of slag which are

found in every district show how widespread an industry the smelting of iron has been' (*Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, p. 190).

A Tamil inscription of about the twelfth century refers to the settlement of a dispute that seems to have arisen between the washermen (*radav*) and the blacksmiths (EZ 3. 6. 307) (see above, p. 291). This incident shows that the blacksmiths held a higher social position than the washermen. The Cūlavaṃsa also gives us a comprehensive list of artificers of the time of Vijayabāhu IV, A.D. 1271. 'He brought together the workers in iron, the turners, bamboo-workers, blacksmiths, potters, goldsmiths, painters, porters, workmen, slaves, the *caṇḍālas* who undertook work for hire, the bricklayers, workers in stucco, carpenters, and the guilds of masons' (CV 88. 105). It also lists the tools used by the smiths, viz.: 'bellows, hammers, tongs, sledge-hammers, anvils, as well as many sharp saws, hatchets (wedges) for splitting trees and for crushing stones, knives, chisels, shovels, mats, baskets, and so forth' (CV 88. 108).

### Weaving and Spinning

The writers of the period show acquaintance with spinning, weaving, and dyeing. It is in no way surprising that most of the references are connected with weaving and dyeing of robes for the monks (Pjv 744). The religious ceremony of *kathina* necessitated spinning, weaving, and also dyeing, and we are often told that a great many people engaged in these. This is an index to the knowledge the people had in the art of weaving, which is a forgotten art in the villages today. The Daṃbadeṇi-asna refers to the completion of eighty *kathina* robes during the course of a single day starting with the picking of cotton (p. 7). The SdhRv speaks of a pillow made of a multi-coloured cloth (91). The women seem to have been skilled in spinning. This industry no doubt was carried on in Ceylon from the earliest times, for legend says that Kuvēni was seen spinning when Vijaya landed in the island. The Maharatmalē rock-inscription refers to the production of silk garments: '(His Majesty, moreover), granted outer garments . . . having had them woven in silk . . .' (EZ 1. 2. 62). This shows that the weavers were skilled in weaving not only cotton but also silk. The stories often mention the needle and the loom used in weaving and spinning (SdhRv 484, 166). Ananda Coomaraswamy refers

to ' two groups of weavers, the *beravāyō*, who made the country cloth (home-spun, so to say), and the " *chāliās* " (*salāgamayō*), who were brought over from South India to make fine and gold-woven cloth '. He further adds : ' Vijayabāhu III of Dañbadeṇiya, to revive the art of weaving fine cloth, sent letters and presents by a Muhammadan Tamil named Pati Mira Lebbe to Southern India ; and he brought back eight master weavers, and these were given villages, wives and honours by the King . . . The indigenous weavers, the *beravāyō*, on the other hand, have probably made their plainer home-spun cottons, much as they are still made in one Kandyan village, from time immemorial, unaffected by changes of fashion at court or the influence of Indian weavers ' (*Medieval Sinhalese Art*, pp. 54, 232). A weaver's family is termed a *sāli-geya* in the SdhRv (665). In the above account it is made out that ordinary cotton weaving was practised in the island from the earliest times by the caste known as *beravāyō*, who are today mainly tom-tom beaters or drummers. It also states that when Vijayabāhu came to the throne about A.D. 1232, the art of making fine cloth was almost dying out, and that he had to revive it by bringing weavers from India. Though Coomaraswamy states that the *beravāyō* were the indigenous weavers, it must be mentioned that we have not come across any reference to this fact in the Sinhalese literature or elsewhere. One wonders here whether Coomaraswamy is basing his conclusion on the position that was obtained in South India where the *kōlians*, the weavers belonged originally to the *paraiyans* though the *kōlians* do not now eat or inter-marry with the *paraiyans* who acted as drummers at marriages, funerals, village festivals and on occasions when government or commercial announcements were proclaimed (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III, p. 302 and Vol. VI, p. 77). The *beravāyō* in Ceylon are known to act as demonologists, magicians and diviners in addition to being drummers. It may also be mentioned in passing that M. A. Sherring mentions a tribe of blanket weavers, of the districts of Punjab, who were known as *barravar* (*Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, p. 8). Near Sīgiriya is a village called Nāgalvāva which is inhabited by drummers who claim that weaving has been one of their occupations for at least the last 150 years.

### Carpentry and Masonry

Having already seen the high standards attained by the Sinhalese in the field of art and architecture, one would rightly expect to

find the art of the carpenters well developed. The art of the carpenters, builders, and smiths was developed to a very high degree. The tablets of Mahinda IV at Mihintale show the emoluments granted to these artificers: 'to the chief master-artisan (*vaḍu maha ädurak*), all that belongs to the guild of artisans at Boṅḍ-vehera, to two master-artisans, to eight carvers and to two bricklayers—to (all of) these—the village Vaḍudevāgama' (EZ 1. 3. 111). One or two practices of the carpenter are noted in the SdhRv. The method of drawing of lines in black when the wood is to be cut is alluded to (650): Charcoal is mixed with water and a string is dipped in it; then this string is held tight by two people against the wood to be marked; one of them raises it in the centre, and drops it on the wood. It then leaves the black line along which the wood is to be cut. The SdhRv mentions the practice of closing one eye to see whether something is level (454). The heating of timber to straighten it is also referred to (*ibid.* 101). The VismSn refers to saws to which handles had been fixed at both ends, thus showing that these saws were meant to be used by two people (9).

### Hunting

Hunting was the chief occupation of the Vāddās. Meat of various kinds formed the dishes of the people. This proves that hunting and killing of animals for food were carried on. The use of dogs in hunting is referred to (SdhRv 341). The chief equipment of a hunter was the bow and arrow, traps, and nets. The existence of hunters is shown by the CV (67. 18) when it speaks of Gajabāhu finding a way of approach to a city through a forest with the help of the hunters. The chronicle also refers to hunting with spears and nets: 'had the whole forest surrounded by hunters with spears in their hands and nets and caused them to make a noise here and there' (CV 70. 35). The Oruvaḷa sannasa refers to hunters with hounds and hunters with clubs: *balu vāddan* and *daḍa vāddan* (EZ 3. 2. 65).

### Hired Labour

Reference has already been made to the domestic servants and the slaves. In addition to these, there were hired labourers who worked for others in return for a wage in money or in kind. The stories refer to many men who found their daily bread by working for others. The number of such labourers seems to have been



by no means small. These workmen engaged in different kinds of work, for example, the Sdhlk refers to hired labour in sugar-cane mills (549). The wages were apparently often unsatisfactory. The rich seem to have exploited the labourers to a great extent. In one place a labourer is given only the cost of meals (SdhRv 219) ; another story states that a man hardly gets sufficient to fill his stomach even after working from morning till evening (ibid. 447). Yet another story describes the wage as ' *vätup mātra* ', nominal wage. Labour seems to have been paid in kind, especially with rice and paddy. The SdhRv refers to the payment of four *nāli* of paddy to a man who chopped wood (448). The Pjv and the Sdhlk refer to rice given as wages : ' *vätup sāl* ' and ' *mehevara koṭa laddāvū sahal* ' (Pjv 642, Sdhlk 273).

### Other Occupations

Amongst other occupations mentioned we read of carters or chariot-drivers (SdhRv 739) ; watchmen of cities and palaces (ibid. 767) ; messengers (VismSn 54) ; bamboo-workers (SdhRv 180) ; astrologers ; honey-gatherers ; undertakers at funerals (ibid. 106) ; snake-charmers (Pjv 585) ; dancers, archers, soldiers, devil-dancers (*yak dessō*) (SdhRv 906) ; painters (ibid. 192) ; coir-workers (ibid. 854) ; washermen (Pjv 356) ; drummers (*beravāyō*) (ibid. 356) ; accountants and scribes (EZ 3. 3. 116 ; SdhRv 561) ; physicians (SdhRv 44) ; cooks (ibid. 449) ; and barbers (ibid. 235). The books also refer to lumbering—trees seem to have been felled and the timber removed for sale or for private use in building, etc. (SdhRv 922). Florists are often mentioned (ibid. 211, 355). They made garlands and supplied flowers. The slab-inscription of Kalyānavatī refers to several occupations, amongst which garland-making and making of perfumes are included : ' Scribes, gentlemen, appraisers, Brāhmaṇas, *pasakun*, painters, dancers, drummers, *sakundurayan*, *pañcayan*, the women who fill the foot-basin with water, the auspicious female slaves who looked after the precincts of the *stūpa*, the garland-making women, the perfumers and others ' (EZ 4. 5. 259). This inscription thus proves the prevalence of many of the occupations mentioned in the literary works, and also shows the existence of female florists as well. The literature also makes reference to midwives and wet-nurses (Pjv 593 ; Sdhlk 166 ; SdhRv 242). (Also see pp. 161-166 and 291).

Finally, we may refer to oil-mills mentioned in the VismSn. The Pāli phrase ' *yanta-cakka-yatthi* ' is explained in Sinhalese as follows : ' *yantra nam ikṣu yantraya cakka-yatthi nam tala pēḷana cakra yaṣṭi-yayi* ' (VismSn V. 297). This rendering shows the writer's acquaintance with sugar-cane mills as well as machines which were used to extract oil. The writer refers here to the extraction of gingili oil. He also shows that the machines or mills were worked by bulls (ibid. 867). What is referred to may be something of the type of chekku with which we are quite familiar.

There seems sometimes to have been a certain amount of unemployment, and people seem to have turned robbers and thieves in such circumstances (SdhRv 852). In addition to this menace, the people also had to contend with another public nuisance, namely the beggars, who infested the country, finding no other means of earning their livelihood.

## CHAPTER XIV

### TRANSPORT AND MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

The growth of trade and commerce, makes a well-developed, cheap and quick method of transport and communication absolutely essential. We have already observed that the country had quite a developed trade, not only at home, but also with countries beyond the seas. This state of commerce shows that they had a fairly well developed system of transport and communication. One comes across numerous references to roads, major as well as minor. The capital seems to have been well connected with other important towns, and within the towns themselves they seem to have had a good network of roads. Roads were known by different names. Road-junctions referred to show that two or more roads met at certain places. A tenth century inscription refers to the High Street, *magul-maha-vey* (EZ 2. 1. 25). The Sdhk refers to a street, three leagues in length, at Anurādhapura, known as the Mahavāli Street (391). The VismSn refers to a man who came to cross-roads on his way to Situlpahuva (57). The Kīrti Nissāṅka Malla slab-inscription refers to the King's Street, *rāja vīthi* (EZ 2. 2. 81). The Diṃbulāgala mārāvīdiye rock-inscription states that Sundara mahā-dēvi constructed a road from Saṅda-maha-lena to Hiru-maha-lena : ' seeing the hardship of people, who, like old folk, hang on to chains and tread the path . . . caused the stones to be cut and the path (thus) improved ' (EZ 2. 5. 196). The MV states that Ilanāga had a road made to the Mahā-thūpa. It also states that the road was to be stamped down firmly when it ran beside the tank (MV 35. 17). Overseers supervised the construction. Another inscription tells us that the street was paved with flag-stones, '*kābali gal (hasvā) maṅga pavat-koḷa*' (EZ 2. 4. 189). The CV gives us some information regarding the roads of the Daṃbadeṇiya period. Parākramabāhu II had a road to Samanaḷa constructed : ' He built resthouses, finished the building of bridges, laid down at the remaining places frequent stepping-stones, had the wilderness cleared and (in this way) a great road built ' (CV 86. 27). The chronicle refers to a great highway between Jambuddōṇi and Pulatthi-nagara : Vijayabāhu

IV ' had the great highway from the town of Jambuddonī to splendid Pulatthinagara, a distance of five *yōjanas* made level and throughout, always at a distance of half a *yōjana*, he had a costly rest-house built . . . ' (CV 89. 13). In addition to these major roads, the country no doubt had also a net-work of minor roads. The places of religious worship were well supplied with roads. The inscriptions of Nissāṅka Malla show us that certain roads were measured and milestones set up. The building of resthouses at certain intervals was no doubt a boon to the weary travellers.

Construction of bridges—at least to serve the purpose of crossing the streams, though not the massive structures as of today—was well known. The *VismSn* describes the different types of bridges. To enable people to cross small streams, a log of wood was laid across the stream, and this type of foot-bridge was called *daṇḍaka sētu*. A bridge made of planks which were nailed and which could be used by four or five people at the same time was known as *jaṅgha sētu*. The number crossing at the same time may refer to the breadth of the bridge, as in the case of the first type in which the people had to cross in single file. A bridge built to take a cart across was termed a *sakaṭa setu* (cart bridge) (IV. 302).

The chief means of transport was no doubt the cart and chariot, drawn by bullocks and horses. We are told that merchandise was transported in carts drawn by bullocks. The richer and higher classes of society seem to have gone about in chariots drawn by horses, whose number perhaps depended on the wealth and status of the owners. On festive occasions these chariots were beautifully decorated. In addition to using such chariots, the people also rode on horses and elephants. This mode of travel was perhaps a luxury of the highest order, and may have been used on festive occasions. The *Sdhk* (460) speaks of Duṭugāmuṇu's giant warrior Vēlusumana who rode on horseback from Anurādhapura to Rōhaṇa. The poorer people seem to have used a cart drawn by bullocks. The *SdhRv* vividly describes a miserly *setṭhi* who went about in an old cart drawn by haggard bullocks: ' *gon māllan yedū mālu rathayakin* ' (868). The book also refers to sheds where chariots were kept (*ibid.* 632). The richer, and perhaps those of some social standing, also seemed to have used another type of conveyance, namely, the *dōli* and *kūnam*. These were varieties of palanquins or litters. The *ransivigē* was used by royal persons, and was a palanquin with decorations of gold (*Sdhk* 190; *SdhRv* 185; *Pjv* 516). The *CV* refers to high officers being carried in

litters, and this was the mode of transport even to the field of battle (CV pt. I, p. 328, n. 2). The chronicle also refers to King Bhuvanekabāhu travelling thus when it says that he left the town of Jambuddōṇī in a covered litter (CV 90. 5). The ordinary man's mode of travel was walking. It was the practice to take provisions for the way—specially a *batmula* or packet of rice and curry.

The villager had his own form of transport, the pingo (*kada*). It was used in his small business or trade to carry goods—vegetables or any other stuff for sale. Goods were carried about in the pingo and sold. Chatties were also carried tied in the same way as a pingo, specially on occasions such as the taking of alms to temples. A sort of sheath was made of tender coconut leaves and the pots were arranged in it, one on the other, and the leaves tied at the end. Two such sets were made and carried in the form of a pingo. Man was also used as a beast of burden. He carried the goods in bags and boxes.

No doubt the rivers furnished a good means of communication and provided facilities for transport. The use of boats (*oru*), barges (*pasu*), rafts (*pahuru*), double canoes (*aṅṅulu*), and *paḍav* (kind of boat) is mentioned. The VismSn refers to the crossing of rivers in rafts (93). The SdhIk refers to a man who engaged himself in taking people across the river Mahavāli at Rihaltoṭa in a boat, free of charge, with the hope of acquiring merit (600). Rivers afforded an easy mode of transporting timber. The timber was cut and tied into the form of rafts and sent down the rivers, or rafts themselves were used in transporting it (SdhRv 472). Sea-transport seems to have been quite well developed. As noticed in connection with trade, sea-navigation seems to have been quite common from very early times. Voyages were undertaken for purposes of trade by merchants, and goods were transported from Ceylon to other foreign lands and *vice-versa* by sea. The stories often refer to sea-journeys in ships. Fa Hein in his account of his travels refers to the fishing in pearls and journeys of merchants by ship from Tamruk to Ceylon in the fifth century A.D.: 'After this he embarked in a large merchant vessel, and went floating over the sea to the southwest. It was the beginning of winter, and the wind was favourable; and after fourteen days sailing day and night, they came to the country of Singhala. The people said that it was distant (from Tamralipti) about 700 *yojanas*. The kingdom is on a large island, extending from east to west fifty *yojanas*, and from north

to south thirty. Left and right of it there are as many as 100 small islands, distant from one another ten, twenty, or even 200 *li*; but all subject on the large island. Most of them produce pearls and precious stones of various kinds; there is one which produces the pure and brilliant pearl— . . . The king employs men to watch and protect it, and requires three out of every ten such pearls, which the collectors find' (*Fa Hein of his Travels in India and Ceylon*, ed. J. Legge, p. 100). The ships referred to were the sailing vessels which depended on the winds for their travel: '*sulam balā karana yātrāvaka sē*' (SdhRv 870). The captain or the pilot was known as *niyamuvā*. It was he who directed and controlled the movement of the ships according to the winds (VismSn 352). The Sdhk alludes to pilgrimages to Daṃbadiva, to worship the *Bōdhi*-tree, etc., which were made in sailing ships (370, 535). The CV refers to the arrival in the harbour of many ships laden with various stuff—camphor, sandalwood, and other goods (58. 9). The Pjv refers to the use of the stars by navigators as guides to direction (7).

Writing as a means of communication seems to have been widely known. Constant reference is made to letters (*hasun*) that were sent from one person to another. Some form of writing was used from the earliest times. The MV (8. 3) refers to Vijaya himself sending a letter to India. We are also familiar with the secret love-letters sent to the queen of Kālaṇi Tissa. The letters were written and sent through messengers. The letter of death motif is referred to in the story of Ghōṣaka where Ghōṣaka is made to carry the letter which instructed another to put an end to Ghōṣaka's life (SdhRv 183).

## CHAPTER XV

### GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

We read of a number of games ; but we have very little information regarding most of them. The observations made by Ludovici seem to the point : ' Inhabiting a climate which renders exertion of any kind distasteful, the Sinhalese in common with all inter-tropical races, indulge in exercise for exercise's sake, but to a very small extent. Hence it is hardly a matter for surprise that their games and sports should be cast after the tamest and soberest of patterns' (*The Sports and Games of the Sinhalese*, J.R.A.S. C.B., 1873, pt. I). The games of the ancient Sinhalese at least, seem to be so adapted.

One of the chief forms of amusement was water-sports (*diyakeli*), which seems to have been a very popular form of diversion throughout the centuries. All the literary works mention that the men and women, kings and princesses, all engaged in water-sports in ponds and rivers, and in the sea. The literary works of the period do not afford any details of the actual amusements. Even the *KSil* does not describe the water-sports in detail. It refers to the women who swam about with their faces turned upwards, so that the bees lined up, mistaking them for lotuses (570). This of course is one of the commonest concepts used by the poets in describing bathing scenes. *KSil* also refers to diving from one another's shoulders (511, 517). We have already discussed the *diyakeli* in connection with royal amusements ; here we would furnish a few more details from the *Sandēśas*, which give more vivid descriptions of such scenes. One form of sport frequently spoken of is the splashing of water at one another. The *KSil* itself describes it (513). The *Paravi-Sandēśa* refers to it thus :

*man tosa kara naraṃbā komalaṅgaka vata*  
*dun rasavat rasapaharin diya urata*  
*van siha niya ät kuṃbu tala uriru yuta*  
*men mutu disi diya biṅdu saha kokum muta* (v. 96),

The lover looks at the face of the lady and joyfully splashes some water with his hands. The drops of water mixed with the red paste applied on the breasts of the ladies looked like pearls mixed

with blood on the forehead of an elephant torn open by the claws of a lion. The Girā refers to a water sport called *diya-kōkila* :

*kiyamin vena vena vāsī pā bala*  
*iñdimin diya tuḷa noḥenī bōkala*  
*ḥenemin tāna tāna viduliya sē dula*  
*gasa min keḷa keḷa yeti diya kōkila* (v. 84),

The women speak words of challenge to each other and remain hiding under the water for a long time. Then they appear here and there like streaks of lightning and play *diya-kōkila*. The Sdhk refers to sea-bathing in the Nēsāda story dealing with an incident that took place in Rōhaṇa. It refers to a hunter who joined the crowd of people bathing in the sea (618).

*uyan keḷi* or park-sports seem to have been more the recreation of court circles, and have been discussed earlier. We also hear that parks for the use of the public were laid out by various kings, and it is therefore quite likely that even the general public spent some part of their leisure in parks. Dance and musical amusements have also been discussed elsewhere, and it is now left for us to see what actual games as such were known during the period under review.

Quite a common game seems to have been what is referred to as *lālī* in the literary works. The SdhRv refers to balls of lac which it says were like *lālī* used by boys at play : ‘ *kuḍā kollan lālī lanṭa evālū lālī vaṭa men* ’ (474). The KSiḷ states that the eyes of the ladies playing *lālī* do not close at all (25). This reference suggests that they had to be very sharp and had to watch the balls always. The Pjv says that the balls, three in number, were thrown up one after the other, and the player had to catch them without dropping them, and to keep them in play all the time, throwing them up and catching them as they came down (470). D. S. Disanayaka in an article in the Sinhalese weekly *Siḷumiṇa* has given us some information about this game. He states that this was a game specially intended for the women. The SdhRv has already told us that even little boys played at *lālī*. Disanayaka also observes that it was not a game for drunkards like the game of *dādu*. He also discusses the SdhRv statement : ‘ *aḥagē yāḷaṇuvō kuḍā kollan lālī lanṭa evālū lālī vaṭa men metek tāna siṭa metek kalakin māgē raṭa lākada arumayayi sitā . . .* ’ (474), and deduces from this that the balls used in this game were made of lac, and not of wood. The



above quotation states that the balls made of lac that were sent to a king were like *lālī* balls ; but this does not necessarily mean that *lālī* balls were made of lac. Let us consider the Pjv reference ‘ *esēda vuvat mama sakvaḷa gala hā hima kuḷa hā maha mera hā lālī vaṭa tunak sē . . . ē tun parvatayama lālī vaṭa tunak sē ahasaṭa dama damā bima hiya nodī lālī keḷi nam peḷaharak pavimi* ’ (470). Explaining this Disanayaka seems to take for granted that *lālī* would break if they fell on the ground, and according to him it is for this reason that one should be careful not to drop them. This explanation seems to be quite inaccurate. For one thing, the Pjv reference does not suggest that the *lālī* would break if they fell to the ground. It only says that one would perform the miracle of throwing up the mountains like three *lālī* balls and go on doing it without dropping them. There would be no miracle if one dropped them. This gives no suggestion as to the material of which the balls were made. Further, the reason why the balls should not be dropped is not because they would break, but because there would be no game if they were dropped ; the whole game consisted solely in keeping the balls in play. An unskilled player would be likely to drop them often ; hence it is much more likely that the balls were made of stuff which would not break easily when dropped. Kumaranatunga also says that *lā* means *lākaḍa* (lac), and therefore the balls should not be dropped at any cost (*Tisara-sandēśa dīpaniya*, p. 186).

There are references to another game called *guḷa keḷi*, ‘ ball-play ’. None of the references help us to ascertain its exact nature. It seems to have been popular with children. One story relates that children played for rice-cakes and the loser had to stand rice-cakes to the winners. The story of Dārusāṭika tells us that when two children were playing with a *hūvaṭa* (literally, a ball of thread), one child thought of the Buddha or paid homage to him before he actually threw the ball, and thus he always won. In this story the Pāli word *guḷam* (ball) is translated into Sinhalese as *hūvaṭa* (SdhRv 816). The Sumana sāmaṇēra story states the six princes were playing with balls (ibid. 891). The same number of players is given in the story of Dēvadatta, in which the Pāli *guḷa kīḷam* is rendered in Sinhalese as ‘ *palas hūvaṭa dama damā guḷa keḷi . . .* ’ Here we see the word *hūvaṭa* qualified by *palas*, which means woollen. The story of Ghōṣaka does not indicate the number of players. The story of Paduma pasēbuddha states that one prince

was playing by himself : ‘ *hū vaṭak dama damā keḷiti* ’ (ibid. 250). What is meant here is perhaps that the child was playing with one of the balls used in this game. So we can see that the game was played by two or more people. The Putra-vastuva (son’s story) states that a little child was playing throwing up the ‘ *hūvaṭa* ’ (Sdhk 354), and this again gives us no clue as to the nature of the game. The Mithyādr̥ṣṭika story refers to the game between two children. The DhpAGp explains *guḷa-kīlam* as *vaṭa keḷi* (ball-game) (65), and *guḷa kīlāya* as *vaṭa keḷiyen* (ibid. 51). It also explains ‘ *bahuṃ lakkham jinimsu* ’ as ‘ *bohō lak junuhu, bohō vaṭa junu hayi sēyi* ’, won many stakes, that is, many balls (ibid. 65).

What we can gather is that *guḷa keḷi* was a game played with balls made of thread by two or more people for a stake. A certain confusion also seems to have arisen between this game and that of dice (*dūkeḷi*), in which dice (P. *akkha*) are used. The P.T.S. Dic. explains *akkha* as a die and also states that the Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā explains it as a ball-game—*guḷa-kīla* : ‘ *akkhan ti, guḷa-kīlam* ’. The Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya explains *akkha* as *vaṭa* (ball) or *paṣa āṭa*, and again *guḷakaṃ* as *paṣa āṭa* (p. 90). The meaning of *paṣa āṭa* is given as *dādu* or *sūdu āṭa*, and seems to have been either some type of ball or a kind of seed used in the game called *dū* (Skt. *dyūta*, gambling). Thus according to the Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya both *akkha* and *guḷakaṃ* mean the same thing; but it may also be that the same seeds or balls were used in two or more games. The game played with dice (Skt. *akṣa*) was a form of gambling (*dyūta*), and among the amusements in ancient India it took second place, the first being taken by chariot-racing (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, p. 102). ‘ Unhappily the details of the play are nowhere described . . . in one form at least, the aim of the gambler was to throw a number which was a multiple of four ’ (ibid.). In connection with the duties of a king, we have yet another reference to dicing : ‘ . . . in the assembly-house he shall establish a gaming-table, sprinkle it with water, and throw down on it dice made of *vibhīdaka* (nuts), sufficient in number, and let Āryans play there . . . ’ (ibid. 247). These accounts reveal that dice were made of a certain kind of nut, and this agrees with *āṭa* (seeds) in the Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya. The disastrous extent of the stakes is shown by the Sdhk in the Sōma Brāhmaṇa story, when it states that the loser had to pawn even his upper robe and ring (264).

A few other games are mentioned, but we have no information as to the nature, mode of play, or any other details regarding them. The KSiṅ states that the women bent while playing at ball (*peṇḍa naḡamni*) their faces that came in a line with the two breasts appeared like three lotuses. They also sang while playing :

*kenekana gī naḡgam—nī peḍa naḡamni vāmet  
piyacuru laḡgāya vuvan—samagāya te piyum van (280).*

The old *sanne* to the book explains the word *peḍa* as *kanduka*, which, according to the Skt. Dic. is a ball made of wood or pith and Sorata Thēra explains it as *paḍuva* (ball). The Thūpavaṃsa describes Theraputtābhaya's strength by saying that he could without effort throw huge rocks, which could not be raised by many, like a ball (*peṇḍa vaṭa*) : ' *solovāliya nohāki gal keḷi peṇḍa vaṭa sē osavāgena saru nātiva damannēya* ' (*Thūpa-vaṃsa*, ed. D. E. Hettiaratchi, p. 25). The Elu-saṅdās-lakuṇa quotes a verse which describes the *peṇḍa* as a fruit : *merika memal gata vāni pak aṇa keḷenā peḍa* (p. 62). Another term for *peṇḍa* is *paḍu*, which is still used as a very general term meaning any ball-game, or even any game. The Sdhk uses the word *paḍuva* in the same context : ' *vaṭa gal keḷinā paḍuva sē* ' (514). The Nīśataka states that when a ball (*kanduka*) is struck against a floor it immediately rises up again (ed. Purohit Gopinath, p. 162, v. 104).

The Raghu-vaṃsa states that boys and girls played with *kandukas* in their hands (*Raghu*, XVI, p. 344). The Muvadevdāvata refers to ladies playing with balls : ' The swans having heard the sound produced by the anklets of the spirited women who were playing at balls, left their ponds and quickly entered the mansion ' (*Muvadevdā-vata*, v. 16). Kumaranatunga explains *peṇḍa keḷi* as *kanduka (paḍu) krīḍā*. The Sasadā-vata says :

*nāgeta nuba paḥala—peḍa vamiyan hamitelē  
ihiva giya netā nilpāhā—yasa lesini saṅda lägi ev (v. 35),*

When the ball, struck on the floor by the women playing on the balcony, rises up into the sky, the blue lustre of the eyes that goes up with the ball, looks as if it were the moon-beams being fixed into the moon. This gives us an idea of the play by showing that the ball is bounced on the floor and, as it rises, the women look up when trying to catch it. Thus we only know that *peṇḍa* was a game played with a certain kind of ball, and that it was mainly a pastime of the women.

A recreation of children is termed *vāli-keli* (playing with sand). Tyler remarks that many of the games of primitive children are only sportive imitations of the serious business of life. Playing at Sabine marriage has been noticed as one of the regular games of the native Australian boys and girls (*Primitive Culture*, p. 72). These remarks are true of the village children of the island even today. They will imitate a wedding ceremony, run a shop, hold a religious ceremony after building a *dāgāba* with sand, and cook their rice with sand in coconut shells with curries made of various plants, etc. By *vāli keli*, we have no doubt, the same thing is meant. The Sdhlk gives a few examples. The children one day made a *dāgāba* of sand, hoisted up as a flag the cloth that one was wearing, imitated the drums and flutes with their mouths, and made an offering to the *dāgāba* (438, 685). The Pjv refers to the *keli valan* of the children (227). These were small earthenware vessels specially made for children to play with. The VismSn refers to the use of small winnowing-fans and pestles in playing (v. 62). These are cooking utensils, etc., and are needed by the children in their imitation of the business of life, such as cooking. Children would also dig a small pit in the sand, put a few sticks, etc., across its mouth, and cover them with a few leaves and sand so that the surface appeared as sand. If anyone should fall into it, the children would have a hearty laugh (Sdhlk 95, 617). In *vāli keli* are included all these types of children's games.

Other amusements referred to are playing with tops (*at baṃbara*) (Pjv 455; Sdhlk 54), and swinging. Familiarity with swings is shown by the similes the writers used. The KSiḷ speaks of a lady amusing herself in a swing (v. 489). The Sāḷalihiṇi-sandēśa (v. 80) and the Sdhlk (575) compare earrings to a swing. Another pastime, specially with the young, is the flying of kites (*ahas pat*). Both the SdhRv and the Pjv use similes connected with kites: ' *sulaṅgeka bāṇḍi ahaspatak men sālena suluya* ', wont to shake like a kite in the wind (SdhRv 268); ' *ākāsayaṭa dāmū ahaspatak sē vevula vevulā*, trembling like a kite flown into the sky (Pjv 179).

The SdhRv also refers to horse-racing: ' *duvāliyē lālū asun* (720); *tada bimeka asun duvāliyē lūvāsē* ', as if horses had been set for a race on some hard ground (756). In this context the DPA does not refer to racing. The use of these similes by the SdhRv author shows his familiarity with horse-racing, hence it is quite likely that it was known in the island at this time. The SdhRv also

speaks of some kind of wrestling (*mallava pōra*) (63, 79, 463, 582). The CV records that Vijayabāhu IV held a great festival in honour of the Tooth and Bowl relics and warriors are said to have engaged in *yōdhakīlā* (literally warrior-games) (CV 89. 27). The reference is likely to be to some sort of wrestling. The wrestlers carved at the Ämbäkke Dēvālē (seventeenth century) and those frescoed at the Kandy Daladā Māligāva (nineteenth century) are an index to the popularity of the sport during the recent past and it is most likely that it was known and engaged in from early times (see Deraniyagala, *Some Sinhala Combative, Field and Aquatic Sports and Games*, pp. 3-15). Mention is made of another game, *pusuṃbu* and we have no further details of these games.

## CHAPTER XVI

### CEREMONIES, MISCELLANEOUS CUSTOMS MANNERS, AND PRACTICES

A number of ceremonies seem to have been held in connection with children. We have already referred to two such ceremonies held during and after the birth of a child. The next in this series of functions is the naming ceremony (*nam tabana magula*). There was no definite date for performing this ceremony. The Pjv refers to an instance when the naming was done five days after birth : ‘*upan pas davasin nam tabana magul karanadā*’ (141). The SdhRv speaks of an occasion when it was done on the day of the birth (421). It also records that a monk was requested to name the child (453). It is likely that the naming was done by a monk, as it is still usual to ask a monk to suggest a name for a child.

Then we have other functions, such as feeding, piercing the ears (if a girl), cutting the hair, and initiation into studies about the age of five. The DhpAGp (pp. 146, 147) refers to seven ceremonies (*magul*)—three to be performed in the third, fifth and seventh month of pregnancy and naming (*nam tabana*), giving rice-gruel (*haṃbu povana*), piercing the ears (*kan vijuna*) and tonsure ceremony (*silu situvana*). The ceremony of putting on garments (*piḷi haṅḍavana magul*) is sometimes reckoned as one of the seven instead of the ceremony performed during the third month of pregnancy. All these functions are attended by a certain amount of ritual and ceremony. The relatives are invited, and feasting results. The ceremonies do not seem to have been very elaborate, but enjoined certain traditional ritual and were occasions when the close family circles met. One important item on these days was the giving of alms to the monks. This was never overlooked, and on all festive occasions the ceremonies were usually preceded by an alms-giving to a number of monks, the number depending on the individual’s means. The ceremonies were also conducted on auspicious dates fixed by astrologers.

Another important private function was the house-warming ceremony. When a house was built, on the day of occupation, a ceremony was held. It was a day of feasting and alms-giving (SdhRv 183).

The most important ceremony in a man's life was that of his wedding, which was celebrated in the grandest manner amidst all possible pomp and revelry befitting the occasion. The houses were decked in splendour and the people themselves clad in their best attire. The preparation of *kiribat* (rice cooked with coconut milk) was a feature, and was a symbol of festivity and joy. The wedding was always fixed on an auspicious day (KSil 371). Once a young man was married, it was the general custom to live apart from the parents, and the two had to manage their own affairs. The wedding party seems to have been conducted in a procession, as is still done today. The SdhRv refers to the custom that the bridegroom's party stopped at a certain distance from the bride's house, and a messenger was then sent to the bride's people, informing them of their arrival (335). This no doubt was the custom at the time, and it persists to this day. The groom's party has to wait outside until betel is taken to the bride's house and permission obtained to enter. The earlier custom seems to have been to take as many betels as the number in the party, and this gave an idea of the number to be entertained. The SdhRv refers to the practice of putting the hand into a vessel of water and blessing the couple that they may live united like the water in the vessel (493). The reference does neither make it clear as to who puts the hand nor whose hands are put into the water. We are not aware of any such custom prevailing in the island today, but it is the custom to pour water on the hands of the couple at the marriage ceremony. This is also the custom when giving gifts. At a wedding the relations are said to bless the couple that they may be prosperous and live long like their grand parents (*ibid.*). The day of the wedding was also considered opportune to admonish the young couple. The SdhRv brings this out in connection with Visākhā. It is the custom even today. After the marriage ceremony, the party returns in procession with the bride. It is usual for the couple to go in one vehicle and in such a manner that the onlookers will see them. That this was so is amply brought out by the Pjv: '*paṭicchanna yānāven yem nam . . . bohō denā dākka noheti . . .*', if I were to go in a closed carriage many would not see . . . (338). Such is the common practice even today. It was also usual to put up a shed for the occasion, as the house generally was too small for such a function. Such sheds were decorated in various ways—with flowers, pots of water, vases, etc. Golden-coloured garments seem to have been considered suitable for certain ceremonial occasions, and white was considered auspicious and was worn at ceremonies.

A festival which was the occasion for great fun and perhaps even for licentiousness was what is referred to as the *nākāt keḷiya*. The references show that the festival was ordered by the king, and the festivities lasted seven days. It was a time of feasting, drinking, dancing, music and making merry. On this occasion young women who did not normally go out of doors enjoyed great freedom. Water-sports and park-sports were also features of this festival. The Pjv says : ' *edā matu mālen yaṭi mālaṭa nobasnā yaṭi mālen eliṭata pāna piṭataṭa noyana kula strī taman tamangē gevalin nikma piṭivara hā samaṅga siyalu satunṭama peni penī uyan pokuṇu gaṃ toṭa ādiyehi sitsē keḷimin semin āvidināhuya. edavas raja bamuṇu veleṇḍa govi sivu kulayehi śrīmatvū sallāla puṇṇayō ada apa hā samāna kula āti uttama strīn sitsē balamhayi suvaṇḍa malkaṇḍu gena ē ē sandhiyehi siṭagena kāmāti kāmāti kula strīn karaṭa mal dam dama damā sitsē kelanāhuya* ', On this day the young women of noble families, who normally do not come down from upstairs to the ground floor, and also do not go out of the doorsteps, set out from their homes and wander about, seen by everyone, playing about in parks, ponds, villages, etc., with their retinues. The spirited young men of the four castes, royal, brahmin, merchant, cultivator, stand at the crossroads with heaps of flowers in their hands with the hope of seeing the noble young women of equal birth. They garland them and sport to their hearts' content (329).

Martin Wickramasinghe makes a few observations with regard to this festival. According to him, the park-festival was an annual festival much enjoyed by the ancient kings, and was an erotic pastime. The park and water festivals described by the poets are one and the same. The festival which commences with park sports ended up in water sports, and this was always conducted as an erotic festival. This, he says, is reminiscent of the ancient fertility festivals, when men and women feasted, drank and enjoyed sensual pleasures, and is also a remnant of the same. He refers to the MV statement of Paṇḍukābhaya's celebration of the Cittarāja festival, viz. : ' Year by year he had sacrificial offerings made to them and to other (*yakkhas*) ; but on festival-days he sat with Cittarāja beside him on a seat of equal height, and brought gods and men to dance before him, the king took his pleasure, in joyous and merry wise ' (MV 10. 87). This, according to Wickramasinghe, is connected with the park festival, and he also maintains that the festival of park and water sport mentioned in the KSiḷ is one and the same. He also conjectures that another festival, known



as *kārttikōtsava*, is also the same. There he agrees with Parana-  
vitana that the festival of Cittarāja was a Saturnalia, and that  
it was identical with that of the *kārttika* festival. Wickramasinghe  
considers them as fertility rites or cults (*Purāṇa-siṃhala-strīnge-  
āṅduma*, pp. 62, 64).

Here we may refer to the *nākāt* festival ordered by Dēvānampiya  
Tissa as given in the Sdhk (341): ‘*apa budun pīrinivi desiya  
satisvana havurudu dharmāsōka rajahaṭa aṭaḷosvannehi devanaṭāṭis  
rajahaṭa paḷamu vannehi ema mihiṅdu maha terunvahansē upasam-  
paḍā vū doḷos vana avurudu poṣon pura mula nakata lada paṣaḷos  
vak davasayā. esē heyin devanaṭāṭis rajjuruvō paḷamu sat davasaka  
paṭan mulu nuvara devapurayak sē sarahū sāṇakeli keḷanāhu e davas  
nuvara vāsiyan hā maha āmatīyan nakat keli keḷanā sē niyōga koḷa  
tumū sataḷis dahasak puruṣayan pīrivarā mihintalāvāṭa muva daḍa  
giyaha*’, It was the full moon day—the day of the asterism  
*mula* of the month of poṣon in the twelfth year after the higher  
ordination of Thēra Mahinda, first year of the reign of Dēvānampiya  
Tissa, the eighteenth year of the reign of Asōka and 237 years after  
the passing away of the Buddha. Therefore, King Dēvānampiya  
Tissa caused the city to be decorated like unto a city of gods and  
ordered the people and the ministers to hold the *nakat* festival during  
seven days. He himself went out to hunt, accompanied by  
40,000 people. The MV has: ‘The king, Dēvānampiya Tissa  
who had arranged a water-festival for the dwellers in the capital,  
set forth to enjoy the pleasures of the chase’ (14. 1). This account  
suggests that the *nakat* festival was held during a certain asterism  
in the month of poṣon, and does not refer to any kind of fertility  
cult, etc. The MV calls the same festival a water-festival, and thus  
gives us additional evidence for Wickramasinghe’s theory that  
the water and park festivals mentioned are identical with *nakat  
keli*. The story of Gōṭhaimbara also refers to a drinking festival  
held by him. He had clever dancers and singers summoned, and  
supplied pots of toddy and meats, fish, ginger, salt, etc. He started  
to drink amidst dance and song (Sdhk 492).

The DPA also speaks of an annual festival called the *giragga  
samajja*. The SdhRv writer does not show familiarity with this  
festival. He tries to explain that it is called *giragga samajja* either  
because a great many people assemble and make merry amidst  
plenty, or because it is a festival that is conducted on the top of  
a hill (SdhRv 116). This explanation may show that the writer

was not quite sure of the significance of this festival, and one may conjecture that it was because this may not have been a festival popular during his day. However this may be, the MV shows that this festival was held in Ceylon long before the thirteenth century. Mahadāthika Mahānāga is said to have held a *giragga samajja*: 'When he had made ready around the Cētiya-mountain a (tract of land measuring a) *yōjana*, and had made four gateways and a beautiful road round about (the mountain), and when he had then set up (traders') shops on both sides of the road and had adorned (the road) here and there with flags, arches, and triumphal gates, and had illumined all with chains of lamps, he commanded mimic dances, songs and music. That the people might go with clean feet on the road from the Kadamba-river to the Cētiya-mountain, he had it laid with carpets . . . and he gave great largesse at the four gates of the capital. Over the whole island he put up chains of lamps without a break, nay over the waters of the ocean within a distance of a *yōjana* around' (MV 34. 75).

The SdhRv states that the *kārttika* festival was held in the month of *hīl* (that is, November-December), Skt. *kṛttikā* from which the festival itself derives its name (818). The Sdhlk refers to the *nakat* festival, which was held in the month of *poson*. The park and water-sport festival (*uyan-diya keḷi*) mentioned in the KSiḷ, and considered a part and parcel of the *nakat keḷi* by Wickramasinghe, seems to have been held at the advent of autumn. No doubt all these festivals were similar in most respects; but we cannot conclude that they were one and the same without further evidence. One can be certain that the thirteenth century knew and held water and park festivities which were erotic in nature; but if the three festivals are not identical we have not sufficient data to show that the *nakat* and *kārttika* festivals were also held at this time. The CV shows us that Parākramabāhu II held the *āsālha* festival every year, and this was no Saturnalia as was the *nakat* festival: 'Hereupon he determined to celebrate every year in the town an '*āsālhī* festival for the god' (CV 85. 89).

There is one more point to be observed about the *uyan-diya-keḷi* of KSiḷ. It does not seem to have been a public festival for all the people, but was meant only for the king, his harem and his retinue. Thus it was not a day of festivity for the people in general unlike the *nakat keḷi*, during which every man and woman made merry.

We also have descriptions of various other festivities. The decorations, song and dance were much the same in most of them. We have already quoted a description of the *samajja* festival from the MV (see above). On other festival days too the decorations were similar, the roads were cleared, pandals set up, pots of water, festoons of flowers, arches and plantain trees beautified the roadsides and halls. Flags and banners were flown here and there (SdhRv 806). Flowers of different hue were strewn on many a festive occasion (ibid. 810). *lada-pas-mal*, namely, *vilañda* (parched grain), *sun sāl* (broken rice), *heḷa aba* (white mustard), *saman* (jessamine), and *ītaṇa* (panic grass) were also scattered. White sand was strewn on the roads, the roofs of halls and sheds were often covered with canopies, the floors were covered with carpets. At certain ceremonies as alms-givings, etc., cloths (*pāvāḍa*) were spread for the monks to walk on (SdhRv 640). Beating of drums was a feature, specially of religious festivals.

On certain days of festivity, bands of musicians seem to have gone from house to house to give various musical performances. This reminds us of the carol parties on Vesak days and also of the pantomimes and mimics on the New Year days of the present time. Sometimes the people were informed of their coming, and if anyone disapproved of it or did not want them to perform at one's house, one would send the party his contribution, stating that it was not necessary for them to visit his house (SdhRv 237). This is still the practice. Whatever the reasons for the festivities may have been, they enlivened the dull monotony of everyday life, and no doubt contributed greatly to the joys and pleasures of the people.

### Funeral Rites

We now come to a few customs and practices connected with the dead. On the day of a funeral all relations and friends assembled to pay their last respects to the dead person, and it is still a custom to bring with them some foodstuffs, etc., that may be useful on the occasion (Sdhlk 352). Certain religious rites were performed by the monks on these occasions (SdhRv 470). The rites had for main object the imparting of merit to the deceased person, and sermons and alms-giving were held to achieve this end. The SdhRv refers to an *anumōdanā* ceremony of imparting merit conducted a few days after the cremation or burial (633). Perhaps the *mataka baṇa* (preaching for the benefit of the dead) today

is the same thing. These ceremonies are similar to the *śrāddha* ceremonies of India. The beating of tom-toms on the day of a funeral was a widespread custom (SdhIk 568; SdhRv 704). Another prevalent custom seems to have been the spreading of a piece of cloth, the corners of which were tied on to four sticks, on the grave (*sohon kaḍa*) (Pjv 613). In the Maṭṭakuṇḍalī story, the SdhRv describing the father lamenting the loss of his son after he had been buried, says : ‘ *vasālū kaḍa reddaṭa lōbhayen hañḍannāsē hañḍayi* ’, cries as if crying for the cloth that covered (the dead body) (48). This may refer to the shroud used to cover the dead body. It was the custom to carry the corpse to the grave in solemn procession, while near relations wept and lamented their loss.

One or two rites practised at the death-bed are mentioned. The SdhRv refers to one such practice as the *āsanna karma* (758) [lit. act nearest (the death)—i.e. a religious ceremony conducted when a person was on his death-bed]. The reference in the SdhRv is to an alms-giving by the son when the father was on his death-bed. The DPA names this ceremony *jīva bhatta* (p. 495). What is known as the *jīvadāna* (alms-giving when still alive) in certain parts of the island today, seem to correspond to what is meant here. *jīvadāna* is known in some parts of the island as *gōdāna* (lit. offering of cattle), e.g. in Hatara and Hat Korales, and refers to the offering of a piece of cloth to a monk in some places while in others this offering is preceded by an alms-giving. The term *gōdāna* suggests that cattle were gifted. Whether this was the actual practice it is difficult to surmise. According to Gr̥hya Sūtras *gōdāna* meant different ceremonies, namely, the ceremonies of tonsure (*cūḍākarma*) and of shaving (*keśānta*). ‘ The *gōdānakarma* is identical with the *cūḍākarma* . . . at the third turn of shaving, however, he gives a cow and a garment that has not been washed ’ (*Sāṅkhyāyana Gr̥hya Sūtra*, 28, 19 and 21, S.B.E., Vol. XXIX, pp. 56, 57). At the *keśānta* ceremony the sacrificial fee is an ox and a cow (see *Aśvalāyana Gr̥hya Sūtra*, *ibid.*, p. 186; also see *Pāraskara Gr̥hya Sūtra*, *ibid.*, pp. 301-3 and *Laws of Manu*, S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 42). These gifts or fees suggest how the ceremony derived its name.

It has long been the belief that the last thoughts of a dying person determined his next birth to the extent that a good thought caused birth in a good place and an evil thought in a

bad place. Every endeavour was therefore made to make him recollect some past good deed of his. Very often a monk was employed to chant *pirit* so to keep his mind fixed on noble thoughts (SdhRv 146). Reference is also made to the keeping of beautiful flowers by the bedside in order to achieve the same result (ibid. 146)—flowers are offered to the Buddha and would therefore help him to think of the Buddha.

If the father of a family was on his death-bed, it was usual for him to summon the eldest in the family and place on him the entire responsibility of looking after the welfare of the family after his death. The story of Saraṇa *thēra* refers to such an instance. On his death-bed, the *setthi* Sumana took the hand of his elder son, placed his sister's hand in his, and handed her over to him, impressing on him that her well-being was entirely in his hands (Sdhlk 112). The story of Jayampatikā records that Saṃgha, a minister of Māgama, in Rōhaṇa, summoned his elder daughter to his death-bed, and, placing the hand of his younger son in hers, gave her certain gifts to be given to him when he came of age, thus making her his guardian (ibid. 641). After the death of the parents, the eldest brother in a family was invariably considered as the parent (SdhRv 31. 492). The SdhRv also refers to the practice of some people handing over whatever possessions they had to their children before their death (186).

### Other Practices

The SdhRv refers to yet other customs and practices which are still prevalent; and one is struck by the degree of similarity in present-day life in Ceylon, especially in the villages, though many centuries have elapsed. Manners and customs have persisted through the ages, and human nature today is hardly different from that of the past.

It has always remained a matter of courtesy on the part of neighbours to inform another neighbour whenever they saw visitors on their way to his house (SdhRv 735). This news helped many a housewife to make necessary adjustments in her home so as to render it fitting to receive guests. When guests or visitors arrived, it was the usual practice to go out to meet them, and also to accompany them a short distance when they left (SdhRv 39). It was the custom not to visit anybody empty-handed; hence a visitor always brought with him some gift or

present (ibid. 460). When gifts were sent in return, it was always thought proper that the return gift must be somewhat better than the gift received (ibid. 474). The necessity of knocking before entering another's house seems to have been recognised (ibid. 456). The elders in a family were held in great honour and respect. When a child started on a journey, it was customary for him to worship the parents when he took leave of them. Head-wear and footwear were removed when entering a house (ibid. 328). When friends parted they embraced each other and tears were often shed (Pjv 673). Water was served when inviting guests to meals (SdhRv 231). It was also customary to reward people as a mark of appreciation of their services (ibid. 259). When making a gift or presentation, it was usual to list what was presented. This was specially true of weddings, where the dowry-list was read out in the assembly of guests, as is done even now (ibid. 56). Liberality and hospitality have been a salient characteristic of the Sinhalese. The giving of alms to the *Saṅgha* and treatment meted out to guests are a sufficient indication of this. Alms were given not only to monks but also to beggars and suppliants, and even animals and birds were often fed (ibid. 187). Attention may here be drawn to the *balu kapuṭa dāna* that are given today. It was thought proper for a guest to partake of more food when repeatedly requested to do so by a host, even when he had finished (ibid. 273). When a large number of visitors arrived, sometimes it happened that their retinue was treated first because of delays in serving the guests themselves (ibid. 122). A wife had to serve the parents-in-law and the husband before she herself partook of any food (ibid. 344). Thus we see that a family did not sit together at meals. The wife also had to retire last for the night, having seen to the others of the household (SdhRv 344). Parents often brought home for the children a portion of any sweets, etc., that they might have received at a place they had visited (ibid. 120).

We have already seen that donations were often made. In this connection it may be observed that it seems to have been the practice to engrave the names of donors on any buildings, etc., which were donated (ibid. 259).

Nicknaming people and using abbreviated forms of names for convenience seem to have been prevalent (ibid. 316, *pati pūjīkā* ; 551, *ek saḷu*). A man named Tissa was nicknamed Nikkamma Tissa as he did no work but idled away his time (Sdhlk 580). Some

of the names of kings of Ceylon, e.g. Khallāṭanāga (bold-headed Nāga), Vaṅkanāsika Tissa (crooked-nosed Tissa), bear out this fact.

We have already seen that the lot of servants was not in the least satisfactory. They normally received only remnants of food after their masters had partaken of their meals. The SdhRv writer makes this abundantly clear when he renders the Pāli '*ṭunnassa bhattaṃ adāsi*' as '*iṅḍul bat ṭunna nam kollaṇuvanta dunha*' (776). When people went away from home, they usually left one servant behind to look after the house (ibid. 881).

Presents of clothes were made and betel was given at weddings (ibid. 315). We still see this practice observed at our weddings. It is customary for the bridegroom to present gifts of clothes to the bride's close relations. When the bridal couple is about to depart, they offer betel to the guests. The bride and the groom held the betel-holders, with betel in them, and the guests took a betel each. This custom seems to be observed as a way of bidding goodbye to the guests and relations before they depart. We may conjecture that the practice in the ancient days was similar to this.

When a small child came forward to meet one, it was usual for him to please the child with some small gift (SdhRv 330). When any work fell on the parents, it was obligatory on the part of the children to attend to it if the parents were prevented from carrying it out themselves (ibid. 44).

The people were in the habit of loaning things on interest (ibid. 650). They did not hesitate to borrow money or goods from others when they deemed it necessary. The Pjv humorously states that when a man wants to borrow something he speaks sweet words and promises that it will be returned in no time ; but once borrowed, he completely forgets about it, and even when he is reminded of it, is in the habit of delaying its return (341). That human nature was not far different from today is also seen by a few more such references. When people are rich, they are never mindful of the temple ; but when they are in trouble, they always run to it (SdhRv 375). When abusing each other, it was usual to speak ill and use scurrilous terms of abuse referring to birth, etc. (ibid. 414 ; Pjv 510). Making one swear by another to do or not to do something was also prevalent (ibid. 331). When a man was prosperous, he cared nothing for those who had helped him when he was in adverse circumstances (ibid. 44). Man was thought to be crooked by nature,

for the SdhRv remarks that animals are straight and of one mind, and that they do not say one thing and think another as men do (176). The Sdhlk refers to three other practices which seem to be still popular. One is that, when all the people in the house go out, it is usual to hand over the key of the house to a neighbour (usually a woman), who is attached to the family, and ask her to look after the house in their absence (711). Next is the throwing up and waving of garments, etc., as an expression of joy (ibid. 348). The third is the making of a slight noise or coughing to make one's arrival known to the people in a house (ibid. 277). This was often done instead of knocking. We have already made reference to the great sense of hospitality of the Sinhalese people. In this connection we would refer to a custom that, as Wickramasinghe conjectures, may have been prevalent in Ceylon during this time. The KSiḷ makes out that King Kusa's royal father indulged with the women of the harem during his visit to King Madra (313). Wickramasinghe here raised the question: ' Was it the custom in India to allow royal guests to enjoy women from the harem ? ' He refers to the prevalence of such customs in primitive society and says that, considering what is called the ' *navātān hiraya* ' of the Kandyen times, it may be conjectured that such a practice existed in Ceylon (*Siṃhala-sāhityayē-nāgīma*, p. 47).



## CONCLUSION

Mediaeval Sinhalese society was a fully integrated whole in which religion and the traditional forms of Buddhist thought provided the cohering links. This is neither surprising nor difficult to grasp. Although for convenience we have treated here the various activities and departments of social organisation more or less separately, yet it is clear that the authority of the *Saṅgha*, subtly linked with the Crown, which was enjoined to provide its temporal base and guarantee its protection, permeated the whole of social activity and thought. We may in this respect see an analogy to the concept of Christendom and its functions as enunciated in the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas. Theology there provided the synthesis of knowledge and spiritual revelation. It sought to impose a unity upon the diversity of man's activities and justify the ways of man in terms of his faith in God.

There is however one important difference between Mediaeval society as the West knew it and Mediaeval society as it was in the East. Sinhalese society was more rigid in its social organisation, more firmly mediaeval in its lack of fundamental social changes. The change from mediaeval to modern has been pithily described by a famous historian as the change from Status to Contract. In other words, man's relation to the land was determined by his status, and his status carried with it certain privileges as well as certain obligations. We find this in Western as well as Eastern mediaeval society. But the craft guilds and the merchant companies of the West contained within themselves the germs of change. Not so in Asiatic society, which in that sense was mediaeval before the Mediaeval Age and remained mediaeval until it faced the impact of the economy of Contract.

One reason for this timelessness, for this apparent 'unchanging pace' of Asiatic society, is the attitude to life that was characteristic of it, and in Ceylon it is seen in the Buddhist attitude to nature and the Buddhist concept of man's salvation. Briefly the Buddhist attitude to nature was not the conquest of nature by the mastery of her secrets, but the conquest of nature through mastery of self. The world was not merely the flesh and the devil—it was illusion; and although this attitude to life did not prevent Sinhalese kings from embarking on conquests or from looking to the security of

their thrones, it helped to give the social organisation of caste and status a formal rigidity. It is paradoxical to think that in a sense it is precisely the materialism of Buddhist philosophy—its denial of God and God's grace—that prevented the materialist development of mediaeval Sinhalese society.

The social forms that the essentially individualistic attitude to life of Buddha's thought took, bound all in an unchanging unity. The Arts reflected this in their didacticism. All that is born must inevitably die, and the monk, scholar, and artist had for theme that all was vanity. The greatness of a king lay in the protection he gave the *Saṅgha*, and the irrigation-works he constructed for his people, for in them the prosperity of the land depended. Thus observes Emerson Tennent: ' Thus the royal authority, though not strictly sacerdotal, became so closely identified with the hierarchy, and so guided by its will, that each sovereign's attention was chiefly devoted to forwarding such measures as most conduced to the exaltation of Buddhism and the maintenance of its monasteries and temples . . . To identify the crown still more closely with the interests of agriculture, some of the kings superintended public works for irrigating the lands of the temples; and one more enthusiastic than the rest toiled in the rice fields to enhance the merit of conferring their produce on the priesthood ' (*Ceylon*, Vol. I, pp. 362, 366).

The path of duty was the path of virtue. And the social functions carried out by the monarch resulted in the exaltation of his authority since the merit he thus accumulated gave to his title the awesome sanction of a society whose thought was permeated by the conception of the Buddhist way of life.

## APPENDIX I

### ARTICLES NECESSARY FOR THE CONSECRATION

(*Srimad Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, ed. T. R. Krishnacharya and T. K. Venkobacharya, Hindi Prachar Press, Madras, 1929, Vol. I, *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, canto xv).

*kāñcana jala kumbha*—golden water-vessel

*bhadra pīṭha*—throne of holy wood

*rathaścasamyagāstīrṇo bhāsvatā vyāghracarmaṇā*—royal car spread with tiger's skin

*gaṅgāyamunayoḥ puṇyāt saṅgamādāhṛtaṃ jalaṃ*—water from the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā

*kāñcanarājatāḥ gaṭāḥ*—gold and silver urns (filled with holy water and beautified with lotuses)

*kṣaudraṃ*—honey

*dadhi*—curd

*ghṛtaṃ*—ghee

*lāja*—parched grain

*darbha*—grass (holy)

*sumanasah*—flowers

*payah*—milk

*veśyāḥ*—girls (eight)

*vālavyajana*—fan, chowri

*pāṇḍuraṃ ātapatram*—white umbrella

*pāṇḍarah vṛṣah*—white bull

*pāṇḍarah aśvah*—white horse

*prasṛtaḥ gajah*—elephant (uncontrolled, let loose)

*vāditrāṇi sarvāṇi*—all musical instruments (all music).

## APPENDIX II

### THE INAUGURATION CEREMONY OF KINGS

Whilst dealing with the inauguration of the king the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa states thus :

*‘ Athoṣṇīṣaṃ samhr̥tya purastād avagūhati kṣatrasya nābhir asīti tad yaiva kṣatrasya nābhis tāmevāsmīnetad dadhāti.*

*Taddhaike. Samantaṃ pariveṣṭayanti nābhirvā asyaiṣā samantaṃ vā iyaṃ nābhiḥ paryetīti vadantas tadu tathā na kuryāt purastād evāvāgūhet purastādd hīyaṃ nābhis tad yad enaṃ vāsāṃsi paridhāpayati janayatyevainam etaj jātam abhiṣīncānīti tasmād enaṃ vāsāṃsi paridhāpayati’ (III, 5. 23, 24),*

‘ He then draws the head-band together, and conceals it (tucks it under) in front, with, “ Thou art the navel of knighthood ! ” He thus places him in what is the navel of knighthood ’.

‘ Now some wind it quite round about (the navel) saying, “ that (band) is his navel, and this navel goes round ”. But let him not do this, but let him merely tuck it under in front, for this navel is in front. And as to why he makes him put on the garments ; —he thereby causes him to be born, thinking, “ I will anoint him when born : ” that is why he makes him put on the garments ’. (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Pt. III. Sacred Books of the East series, translated J. Eggeling, p. 86. 23, 24).

Writing on the consecration of kings in Vēdic times, Venkateswara refers to the above passage and observes that ‘ the king now wore a turban or crown ’ and ‘ that among some people it was not the vogue, for they hold that “ the crown hides his bodily form ” ’ (*Indian Culture through the Ages*, Vol. II, p. 11). By this reference, he has, perhaps, tried to make out that the king put on a crown at some stage of the consecration ceremony. He bases his remarks on the word *uṣṇīṣa*, which he renders as crown or turban. This term may not necessarily mean a crown or diadem. The reference may quite likely be to a turban or something wound round the head. This has been pointed out by Julius Eggeling himself in

his translation of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa : ‘ The commentators do not seem to be quite in accord in regard to this particular item of the ceremonial. The most natural explanation, however, seems to be this: the head-band (turban, *uṣṇīṣa*) is wound (once ?) round the head and tied behind ; the ends being then drawn over the shoulders so as to hang down from the neck in the manner of a brahmanical cord (or like the ribbon of an order) ; and being finally tucked in under the mantle somewhere near the navel ’ (p. 86, n. 2).

Another writer, Jayaswal makes the same observations as did Venkateswara regarding the same passage, but words his observations rather differently : ‘ The king-elect then puts on a silk underwear, a mantle and a turban or diadem. Our Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa does not approve of the dressing, and there is that artistic touch in the reason given which was common to the Hindus and the Greeks. “ For the limbs being his natural vestments they deprive him of his native bodily form ” ’. Attention must be drawn here to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa statement : ‘ now some wind it quite round about ’ (see above). This description makes it quite clear that what was meant by the word *uṣṇīṣa* was only a piece of cloth as that used for a turban and not a crown or diadem (*kirīṭa*).

W. Hopkins, in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 271, also tries to make out that the king was crowned : ‘ He is consecrated by baptism with water poured over him from a sacred horn, and is crowned “ lord of the earth ” (Mbh XII, 40 and Ram II, 69)’. An examination of this reference makes it clear that it does not refer to the placing of the crown on the head or an actual coronation as such : The first reference is in connection with Yudhiṣṭhira’s consecration :

*vyāghracarmottare śukle sarvatobhadra āsane  
 dr̥ḍhapādapratiṣṭhāne hutāśanasamatviṣi  
 upaveśya mahātmānam kṛṣṇāñca druḥpadātmajām  
 juhāva pāvakaṃ dhīmān vidhimantraḥ puraskṛtaṃ  
 tata utthāya dāsārhaḥ śaṅkhamādāya pūjitaṃ  
 abhyaṣiñcat paṭiṃ pṛthvyāḥ kuntīputraṃ yudhiṣṭhiraṃ  
 dhṛtarāṣṭraśca rājarṣiḥ sarvāḥ prakṛtayastathā (Śānti-  
 parva, 40).*

Hopkins has rendered the Mahābhārata phrase ‘ *abhyaṣiñcat paṭiṃ pṛthvyāḥ* ’ as ‘ crowned “ lord of the earth ” ’. We can see here

that the word *abhyāṣiñcat* has been rendered as 'crowned', when he should have translated it as 'anointed'. His reference to Ram II, 69 seems incorrect (see below).

Writing on Rāmāyaṇa Polity, Miss P. C. Dharma observes that the *abhiṣecana* was followed by the coronation: 'The Prince with his wife was placed on a golden throne inlaid with various gems, and was crowned by the Purohita with the hereditary crown (*kirīta*) and adorned with the hereditary crown-jewels by the Ṛtvik priests' (*Rāmāyaṇa Polity*, p. 29). The Rāmāyaṇa speaks of the *abhiṣeka* in three places, viz. in Bk. II, canto 15, the preparations for consecration are described; in Bk. IV, canto XXVI, the consecration of Sugrīva is described; in Bk. VI, canto 128 (ed. W. Laxman Sāstrī Paṅsīkar), Yuddhakāṇḍa, canto 131, vv. 60, etc. (in ed. Krishnacharya and Venkobacharya), the consecration of Rāma is described.

*abhyāṣiñcan naravyāghraṃ prasannena sugandhinā  
salilena sahasrākṣaṃ vasavo vāsavaṃ yathā*

*ṛtvigbhir brāhmaṇaiḥ pūrvaṃ kanyābhir mantribhis tathā  
yodhaiś caivābhyāṣiñcamste samprahrṣtaiḥ sanaigamaiḥ*

*sarvausādhirasaiś cāpi daivatair nabhasi sthitaiḥ  
caturbhir lokapālaiś ca sarvair devaiś ca saṃgataiḥ*

*brahmaṇā nirmitaṃ pūrvaṃ kirītaṃ ratnaśobhitaṃ  
abhiṣiktaḥ purā yena manus taṃ dīptatejasaṃ*

*tasyānvavāye rājānaḥ kramād yenābhiṣecitāḥ  
sabhāyāṃ hemakṣptāyāṃ śobhitāyāṃ mahādhanaiḥ*

*kirītena tatah paścādvasiṣṭhena mahātmanā  
ṛtvigbhir bhūṣaṇaiścaiva samayokṣyata rāghavaḥ*

(ed. W. Laxman Sāstrī Paṅsīkar, *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, canto 128, vv. 61-67),

'Sprinkled that foremost of men with clear and fragrant water as Vasus did the thousand-eyed Vāsava. (He was then sprinkled by) the Ṛtvigs, Brahmanas, maidens, ministers, soldiers, and the merchants all delighted. (Thereupon) with the juice of the *oṣadhis* (he was sprinkled) by the celestials stationed in the sky, the deities presiding over four quarters and all other celestials collected. And having placed him on a seat crested with various jewels in the arena decorated with gold, various jewels and rich paraphernalia, he was decked by the high-souled Vasiṣṭha with the jewelled brilliant *kirīta* (crown) made by Brahmā and with which in the days of yore Manu

and other kings born in his race, were installed (anointed—*abhiṣiktaḥ*). Then he was decked in ornaments by the *Ṛtvigs*'. (I have followed the translation given in the edition by M. N. Dutt, Deva Press, Calcutta, 1892 with slight changes as seemed necessary).

It is in this final passage only that the word *kirīta* has been used, while in the other places only *abhiṣeka* (anointing) is spoken of. Here too we see that sprinkling with juices and fragrant water formed the principal part of the ceremony. It is then clear that Miss Dharma is basing her conclusions on this last passage. As remarked earlier, this reference does not in any way make it clear that the placing of the crown or the actual coronation was an item of the inauguration ceremony of the king. We are only told that Rāma was decked with (*samayokṣyata*) the crown by Vasiṣṭha and in other ornaments by the *Ṛtvigs*. This does not in any way justify the conclusion that the coronation as such was an item of the inauguration ceremony of Rāma.

Jayaswal writing on Technical Hindu Constitutions, refers once again to a coronation: 'the Mallas had their fixed place where their rulers in taking office went through "coronation"', *makūṭa-bandhana*, 'putting on the coronet' (*Hindu Polity*, ch. X, p. 89). His authority for this assertion is the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta reference to the 'shrine of the Mallas called the *Makūṭa-bandhana*' (Sacred Books of East, Vol. III, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Pt. 2, pp. 181, 182): 'And going out again by the eastern gate,—paying honour . . .—let us carry it to the shrine of the Mallas called the *Makūṭa-bandhana*, to the east of the city, and there let us perform the cremation ceremony'. The mere use of the term *Makūṭa-bandhana* seems to have been sufficient for Jayaswal to come to the above conclusion, i.e. to assert that this was a hall where the kings went through their coronation ceremonies. Here, too, the whole interpretation rests on the meaning given to the term *makūṭa*, as was also the case regarding the term *uṣṇīṣa*. The word *makūṭa* may not necessarily mean a crown. MW gives the meaning 'crest'. Few other references and also the commentary on the above passage will throw more light on the meaning of this term. '*makūṭa-bandhanam nāma mallānam cētiyaṃ ti malla-rajjūnam pāsādhana-maṅgala-sālāya ētam nāmaṃ cittaka atthēna paṇ'ēsā cētiyaṃ ti vuccati*' (P.T.S., *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, Buddhagosa's *Commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya*, ed. W. Stede, Pt. II, p. 596). 'The *makūṭa-bandhana* was a Hall in which the Malla-chiefs put on their ornaments on

festival days. It was called a *cētiya* because it was decorated' (Malalasekara, *Dic. of Pāli Proper Names*). Malalasekara further adds: 'Hiouen Tshang's description of the *stūpa* erected at what is evidently *Makuṭa-bandhana* suggests a different explanation. It was there that the Mallas laid aside their diamond maces (? *makuṭa*) and fell prostrate on the ground with grief at the Buddha's death' (ibid.). The Buddhavaṃsa Commentary also refers to a *makuṭa-cētiya*: '*Sakkō dēvarājā . . . kēsamakūṭaṃ ādāya sinēru muddhani tiyōjanapṃamānaṃ indanīlamanimayaṃ makuṭa cētiyaṃ nāma akāsi*' (*Madhuratthavilāsini Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, ed. I. B. Horner, P.T.S., p. 82). *Makuṭa-cētiya* here means a 'monument erected by Sakka on the summit of Sinēru, enshrining a lock of hair' (*Dic. of Pāli Proper Names*). The MV refers to a *makuṭa-muttasālā*:

*nāṭakiyō idhāgantvā makūṭaṃ yattha mōcayum  
makūṭamuttasālā ti ettha sālā katā ahū* (32. 78).

This is explained in the MV *ṭikā* thus: '*Makūṭaṃ yattha mōcayum ti yasmiṃ thānē thatvā makūṭasaṅkhātaṃ gandhakēsavaṭṭikaṃ mōcayum, ettha katāsālā tadupādāya makūṭamuttasālā ti ahū ti sambandhō*' (P.T.S., *Vamsatthapṃakāsini*, ed. Malalasekara, p. 601). 'A hall built in Anuradhapura on the spot where the dancing maids laid aside their ornaments immediately after the death of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi' (*Dic. of Pāli Proper Names*). The Divyāvadāna also makes reference to the *Makuṭa-bandhana-sālā* of the Mallas: '*Gautamanyagrodhaḥ sālavaṃ dhurānikṣepanaṃ mallānāṃ makūṭabandhanaṃ caityaṃ*' (ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, XVII, p. 201).

These references make it amply clear that the term *makūṭa* was not used in the sense of a 'crown' in any of these places. We can thus see that Jayaswal's conclusion is quite unwarranted and unjustifiable.

The use of the word 'coronation' by most writers when actually they mean the *abhiṣēka* (anointing), is quite misleading. These writers no doubt refer to the inauguration ceremony in the current terminology.



## APPENDIX III

## LISTS OF ORNAMENTS

Daṃbadeṇi- asna	Ummagga- jātakaya, pp. 65, 116	Saddharmālam- kāraya, p. 91	Pūjāvāliya, p. 149	Thūpavamsa
<i>aṅgadābharāṇa</i>	—	<i>aṅgadābharāṇa</i>	<i>aṅgadābharāṇa</i>	—
<i>avulhara</i>	<i>avulhara</i>	<i>avulhara</i>	<i>avulhara</i>	—
<i>bāhudanḍi</i>	<i>bāhudanḍi</i>	<i>bāhudanḍi</i>	—	<i>bāhudanḍi</i>
—	—	<i>dahanhū</i>	—	—
<i>darśanamāla</i>	—	—	—	—
<i>ekāvāla</i>	<i>ekvāti</i>	<i>ekāvāla</i>	<i>ekāvāla</i>	—
<i>galmutumāla</i>	—	—	<i>galamutumālā</i>	—
—	<i>gāṭanimulhara</i>	—	—	—
<i>gelamutumāla</i>	—	<i>gelamutumālā</i>	—	—
<i>gigirivaḷalu</i>	<i>gigirivaḷalu</i>	<i>gigirivaḷalu</i>	—	<i>gigirivaḷalu</i>
<i>grīvālamkāra</i>	—	—	—	—
—	—	<i>hastāṅguli</i>	<i>hastāṅguli</i>	—
<i>hastamudrikā</i>	—	<i>hastamudrikā</i>	<i>hastamudrikā</i>	—
<i>hastapōṭṭu</i>	—	—	—	—
<i>hiṅsāda</i>	—	<i>hiṅsāda</i>	<i>hiṅsāda</i>	—
—	—	—	<i>jaṅghāpātra</i>	—
<i>kādukāppu</i>	<i>kādukāppu</i>	<i>kādukāppu</i>	—	<i>kādukāppu</i>
<i>kai-pōṭṭu</i>	—	<i>kai-pōṭṭu</i>	<i>kai-pōṭṭu</i>	—

Daṁbadeṇi- asna	Ummagga- jātakaya, pp. 65, 116	Saddharmālam- kāraya, p. 91	Pūjāvaliya, P. 149	Thūpavamsa
_____	<i>kanaka-kaṭaka</i>	_____	_____	_____
_____	<i>karna-kuṇḍalā- bharana</i>	<i>karna-kuṇḍalā- bharana</i>	<i>karnakuṇḍalā ; karnābharana</i>	<i>karnakuṇḍalābharana</i>
<i>karnāvataṁsa</i>	_____	<i>karnāvataṁśaka</i>	<i>karnāvataṁsa</i>	_____
<i>karnasūtra</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>kēyūrābharana</i>	_____	<i>kēyūrābharana</i>	<i>kēyūrābharana</i>	_____
<i>kinikīnikajāla</i>	<i>pādakinikīnika</i>	<i>kinikīnikajāla</i>	_____	<i>kinikīnikajāla</i>
<i>liyaranmāla</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>makara paṭa</i>	_____	<i>makara paṭa</i>	<i>makara paṭa</i>	_____
<i>mēkhalādāma</i>	<i>rasanā</i>	_____	_____	_____
<i>miṇibandhi</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>miṇidam</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>minikayivaḍam</i>	<i>minikayivaḍam</i>	<i>minikayivaḍam</i>	_____	<i>minikayivaḍam</i>
<i>minimutumāla</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	<i>miṇivalalu ; pasvalalu ; valaya</i>	<i>miṇivalalu</i>	<i>valalu</i>	<i>miṇivalalu ; kayivalalu</i>
<i>muthara</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>mutudam</i>	_____	_____	<i>mutudam</i>	_____
<i>mutu paṭa</i>	<i>mutu paṭa</i>	<i>mutu paṭa</i>	_____	_____
<i>mutu savaḍi</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>nāgavaḍam</i>	<i>nāgavaḍam</i>	<i>nāgavaḍam</i>	_____	<i>nāgavaḍam</i>
<i>naḷa paṭa</i>	_____	<i>naḷa paṭa</i>	<i>lalāṭa paṭa</i>	_____

Daṁbadeṇi- asna	Ummagga- jātakaya, pp. 65, 116	Saddharmāmaṅ- kāraya, P. 91	Pūjāvāliya, P. 149	Thūpavaṁsa
<i>nilminimāla</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>nilminisavaḍi</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>oṭunu</i>	_____	(v) oṭunu	(v) oṭunu	_____
_____	_____	_____	<i>pabaludam</i>	_____
<i>pādābharāṇa</i>	<i>pādābharāṇa</i>	<i>pādābharāṇa</i>	<i>pādābharāṇa</i>	<i>pādābharāṇa</i>
_____	<i>pāḍagam</i>	_____	_____	_____
<i>pādajamghāvaḷalu</i>	_____	(pāda) jamghāvaḷalu	_____	_____
<i>pādajālā</i>	<i>pādajālā</i>	<i>pādajālā</i>	<i>pādajālā</i>	_____
<i>padakkam</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>pādāṅguli</i>	_____	<i>pādāṅguli</i>	<i>pādāṅguli</i>	_____
<i>pādasanṅkhalā</i>	<i>pādasanṅkha</i>	<i>pādasanṅkhalā</i>	<i>pādasanṅkhalā</i>	<i>pādasanṅkhalā</i>
_____	<i>pādatra</i>	_____	_____	_____
_____	<i>pāmudu</i>	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	<i>pādasari</i>	<i>pādasiri</i>	_____
_____	<i>pāsalaṁba ; nūpura</i>	<i>pāsalaṁba</i>	_____	<i>pāsalaṁba</i>
<i>pasperahara</i>	_____	<i>pasperahāra</i>	_____	_____
<i>pasrū</i>	<i>pasrū</i>	<i>pasrū</i>	_____	<i>pasrū</i>
<i>patravāḷalu</i>	_____	<i>pātravāḷalu</i>	_____	_____
_____	<i>pērās</i>	_____	_____	_____
<i>paṭṭōdam</i>	<i>paṭṭōdam</i>	<i>p(k) aṭṭōdam</i>	_____	_____
<i>rajatasavaḍi</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>randam</i>	_____	_____	<i>randam</i>	_____

Daṁbadeṇi- asna	Ummagga- jātakaya, pp. 65, 116	Saddharmālaṁ- kāraya, p. 91	Pūjāvāliya, p. 149	Thūpavaiṁsa
<i>raṁmiṇimāla</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>raṁmiṇisavaḍi</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>raṁpaṭa</i>	<i>raṁpaṭa</i>	<i>raṁpaṭa</i>	_____	<i>raṁpaṭa</i>
<i>raṁpetimāla</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>raṁsavaḍi</i>	<i>raṁsavaḍi</i>	<i>raṁsavaḍi</i>	_____	_____
<i>riḍḍam</i>	_____	_____	<i>riḍḍam</i>	_____
<i>rūraṁmāla</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>ruvansōlu</i>	<i>ruvansōlu</i>	<i>ruvansōlu</i>	_____	<i>ruvansōlu</i>
<i>saddam</i>	_____	_____	<i>saddam</i>	_____
<i>satruvānāvāla</i>	<i>ruvānāvāla</i>	<i>ruvānāvāla</i>	_____	<i>ruvānāvāla</i>
<i>satruvānsavaḍi</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	<i>siddatudam</i>	_____
<i>sivkotmāla</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	<i>tāḍaṅka</i>	<i>tāḍaṅka</i>	_____	<i>tāḍaṅka</i>
_____	<i>tisarapaṭa</i>	<i>tisarapaṭa</i>	_____	_____
<i>tunkotmāla</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>udarabandhana</i>	<i>udarabandhana</i>	<i>udarabandhana</i>	_____	_____
<i>ūrujālā</i>	_____	<i>ūrujālā</i>	<i>udarabandhana</i> <i>ūrujālā</i>	_____
<i>vāṭaraṁmāla</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____

## APPENDIX IV

### TREASURE TROVE

Gautama says it belongs to the king, as owner of the soil, unless the finder is a Brahman practising brahmanic functions ; he cites the view of some that a non-Brahman finder should get a sixth (X. 43-45). Vasiṣṭha (III. 13f.) says the king shall give a sixth to the finder and keep the rest, but must not take it if the finder is a practising Brahman. Manu (VIII. 35-39) gives rules that seem to embrace the cases (1) when a man claims a treasure, (2) when a practising Brahman finds treasure trove deposited in ancient times : he may keep it all ; and (3) when the king finds treasure trove : he should give half to higher castes and keep the rest, being entitled as protector and lord of the soil to take half of all treasure trove and metals found in the earth. Yājñavalkya (II. 24f.) says that (1) when the king finds treasure trove he shall halve it with Brahmans ; (2) when a practising Brahman finds treasure trove he shall keep the whole, and (3) when another is the finder, the king shall take a sixth (Vijñāneśvara explains that the king shall pay the finder a sixth and keep the rest). Nārada says the finder must give all treasure trove to the king ; but if the finder is a Brahman, he must report to the king, and if the king allows he may keep it (VII. 6-7). Viṣṇu says : (1) if the king is finder, he gives half to Brahmans ; (2) if a Brahman is finder, he keeps all ; (3) if a Kṣatriya is finder, he gives quarter to the king, quarter to Brahmans, and keeps the rest ; (4) if a Vaiśya is finder, he gives quarter to the king, half to Brahmans, and keeps the rest ; (5) if a Śūdra is finder, he gives five-twelfths to the king, the same to Brahmans, and keeps the rest (III. 56-61). Kauṭilya (IV. 1) gives a general rule that the finder of mines and treasure trove shall get a sixth (a twelfth if he is a labourer) ; but if the treasure trove is worth over 100,000 *paṇas* the king takes all. Medhātithi on Manu VIII. 37 says that ' in ancient times ' means ' by his forefathers ', so that Brahmans can keep only the whole treasure trove if it was deposited by ancestors.

Many charters make over land to donees with rights over deposits and treasure trove, which shows that otherwise treasure trove belonged to the king. The king normally took half only, for land

was held under a tenure somewhat like *colonia partiaria* of France and Italy.

See H. Breloer, *Das Grundeigentum in Indien* (Bonn, 1927, p. 72ff. U. N. Ghoshal, *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System* (Calcutta, 1929, pp. 116-122); J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, in *Grundriss . . .* ed. Bühler, Trubner, 1896, p. 103f.

## APPENDIX V

### Janawanzaya.

This work is sometimes also styled Maha Kalpōpattiya.  
A translation of it has been published in the  
Taprobanian, Vol. 1. The book is a very valuable  
summary of all that was known to the Sinhalese, regarding  
the origin of the various races, from which offshoots reached  
Ceylon. It has evidently been compiled in its present  
form from older works, probably in Sanskrit, and there  
has of late been a prejudice against it, as inciting the  
others to reject the pretensions of the Goyi caste to superiority.  
This prejudice causes owners of the work to conceal their  
possession, and it is exceedingly hard to get access  
to copies, though they are not uncommon. It was  
compiled in its present form by the Maha Thero,  
Sri Buddha Rakkhita of the Maha Vihāra  
succession, and bears internal evidence in the allusions  
to the Wathimi king, Wijaya Bāhu III, about A.D. 1233,  
of being later than his reign. When publishing my  
translation in 1886, I thought that the style referred  
the work to a period about A.D. 1420. Many new  
writings have been examined by me since that date,  
while forming and arranging my library, and I  
am now disposed to refer it further back, to the early  
years of the Dambadeniya dynasty, say about A.D. 1240.  
The writer was certainly educated before the epoch  
of learning which set in during the reign of Parākrama  
Bāhu of Dambadeniya, and as he was Maha Thero  
of the Maha Vihāra succession, he must have had  
every advantage of his time. No priest in such  
position would have written so crudely, after the  
learned epochs of the Dambadeniya and Kurunegala  
dynasties.



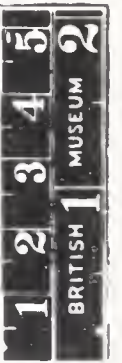
dynasties. It is thus probable that he was the recognised head of the Maha Vihāre priests, as he states, and ordained during the dark period of Māgha's invasion and tyranny. Restored to position, when Anurajapura was restored by the Dambadeniya king, and before the rising scholars had reached his mature age, this is just such a book, and just such a style, as I should expect, after my wider experience in our literature. I now think that no writer so late as A.D. 1420 would have described himself as Maha Thero of the Maha Vihāre succession.

To quote the introduction to the translation, Japrobaniān Vol. 1. p. 75,

“As will be seen it is a perfect store-house of obsolete names, and otherwise lost information on the origin of the Sinhalese races.”

“As regards his often laughable attempts to derive all his names from Sinhalese or else Sanskrit roots, they are not worse than those of the refined Greeks, who similarly tried to derive every barbarian name their polite lips could be forced to utter, from a Greek source. Like all such efforts, they are encouraging, as showing a deeply-rooted belief that proper names all originally had a distinct sense attached to them, besides the individuality of the person, or the identity of a place.”

I have a rare version, which contains an authentic passage referring to the Karāwa caste, suppressed now from most copies. It is given loc. cit. p. 109, and doubtless comes from the same source as the other traditions regarding Wijaya, found in the Jaffna Chronicles, but now unknown to the Sinhalese.



P 10754  
C. 1. 1. 1. 1.



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Until recent times students had to wade through books of legends, myths and poetry to get glimpses of Indian history. But the present day Indian scholars have had access to a vast amount of reliable material, and they have evolved a scheme to write a complete history of Indian people and their society in twenty volumes. It became possible for these scholars to think of preparing a history of India on such a monumental scale because of the work of generations of scholars who have collected and studied a vast amount of material from ancient literary works, archaeological reports and epigraphical literature on the life and society of ancient India.

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