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Ph. D.

(Sinhalese)

1949.

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'The state of society in Ceylon as depicted in the
Saddharma-ratnāvaliya and other Sinhalese literature of
the thirteenth century'.

by

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Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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School of Oriental and African Studies,
London, 1st June, 1949.

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 Ceylon. 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, Viśuddhi-mārga-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 Mahā-vaṃsa, Cūla-vaṃsa, Saddharmālaṅkāraya and the inscriptions have proved 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 Buddhistic it was.

It is our hope that this thesis will prove some contribution to the understanding of the life and institutions of our ancient people.

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ABBREVIATIONS

C.B.	..	Ceylon Branch.
cp.	..	compare.
CV.	..	Cūla-vaṃsa.
Dic.	..	Dictionary.
DPA.	..	Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā.
DPAG.	..	Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya.
ed.	..	edited.
e.g.	..	for example.
EI.	..	Epigraphia Indica.
EWP.	..	E.W.Perera.
EZ.	..	Epigraphia Zeylanica.
ibid.	..	in the same place or book.
J.P.T.S.	..	Journal of the Pali Text Society.
J.R.A.S.	..	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
KSM.	..	Kav-siḷumiṇa.
MV.	..	Mahā-vaṃsa.
MW.	..	Monier-Williams (Sanskrit-English Dic.)
n.	..	foot-note.
P.	..	Pali.
p. (pp.)	..	page (pages).
PJV.	..	Pūjāvaliya.
pt.	..	Part.
P.T.S.	..	Pali Text Society.
resp.	..	respectively.
S.	..	Sinhalese.
SDA.	..	Saddharmālaṃkāraya.
SDR.	..	Saddharma-ratnāvaliya.
Sk̄t.	..	Sanskrit.
T.	..	Tamil.
v. (vv.)	..	verse. (verses).
VMS.	..	Viśuddhi-mārga-sannaya.

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INTRODUCTION

Historical background up to the 13th 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. Ceylon has been knit so closely with India, that 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 the island's connections with the mainland of India, it is also seen that Ceylon was 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 to the Chinese and the 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 7th century. Mr. H.W. Codrington conjectures that the melāṭsi of the Sinhalese inscriptions may refer to these Muslims.

Nothing at all is known about the history of 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, 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 except perhaps by adding a few words to the vocabulary of the Sinhalese and rarely inter-marrying with them. Hence it is the culture of the Aryans that has persisted in Ceylon, influenced at different times by the Dravidians, and perhaps developing various peculiarities and characteristics in its own way and thus maintaining a certain individuality of its own, due, no doubt, to the geographical isolation of the island and its separation from Aryan India by a wall of Dravidian races.

Coming to the problem of the first Aryan 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, the Eastern and the Western theorists - the former maintaining that the Sinhalese were an Aryan race that came from the east of India, while the latter hold that they were from the west of India.

The absence of any direct historical evidence dating before the establishment of Buddhism, makes it difficult to arrive at any conclusions on the subject. The whole question is so much involved with tradition and legend 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 represented to have been born and bred somewhere near Bengal, yet all chronicles agree that 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 Kalinga. Intense intercourse with the east - Kalinga, Magadha and Vaṅga continued through many ages. To elucidate 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 in the east, but also that his successor should have come thence, even though he may have taken ship from any other part of his country. Linguistic evidence shows the Sinhalese language to be connected with the East. There also arises the problem as to how he touched at the western ports. Was it possible that he followed in the wake of a caravan after his banishment? The whole problem is thus much involved, which accounts for the absence of any consensus of opinion regarding the question.

It is fortunate that at least there is general agreement regarding the Aryan 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 become merged into the Sinhalese population. The real Dravidian influence was felt only after the Colian 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. Their main influence was through Hinduism - the practices of which crept into Buddhism at various stages in its growth here. This influence may have been so strongly felt that it became a matter of grave concern at the time when the Amṛtāvaha was written. It may be conjectured that these books were written to check the devastating influence of Hinduism, which was perhaps overrunning the whole country. These three books - But-, Daham-and Saṅga-saraṇa- may be considered to be the work of a writer 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, absorbing various other forms of worship on account of its tolerance. Buddhism brought over much of Indian culture, which was planted here, and in spite of the invasions from South India, Ceylon flourished under this Asokan 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 Pali Literature, mainly through the efforts of the scholars. As time went on, there occurred schisms in the Buddhist church. The first dissent was in the reign of Vaḷagambāhu (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 Acārya came over to Ceylon from India; Abhayagiri 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 Vaḷagambāhu is also noteworthy, for it was during his 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 Theravādins as the true doctrine. The influence of Hinduism was felt in another aspect of the development

of Buddhism. Hinduism offered to the people tangible forms of worship, which won their favour, for example the offering of sacrifice to win the hearts of the gods and the worship of the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu for their salvation. These caught the fancy of the masses, as they saw here a method by which they could have their wants satisfied. As a result Buddhism absorbed into its fold Hindu practices - worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Skandha, etc. thus adapting itself to circumstances. As a counter measure, which also satisfied popular demands, Buddhistic practices like the chanting of pirit were also introduced. 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 principles, crept into the island; but were opposed and suppressed by Vohāra Tissa (A.D. 215) and Goḷu Abā. The undaunted Coḷian monk Saṅgamitta, 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 Mahāsena. 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 the supremacy of Samudra Gupta in North India, Indian culture spread and rose to high standards. Both Buddhism and Hinduism were revived and flourished, being supported by the kings.

Sanskrit became the language of the court. Fine arts were developed and learning spread under the imperial Guptas. The Indian influence during this 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 Kāvyaḍarṣa. 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 Coḷas asserted their independence, conquering the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyans. Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1014) conquered the Pāṇḍyans and Ceras 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. Rajendra I (A.D. 1014-1044) is said to have brought the whole of Ceylon under his dominion for the first time. A few attempts had been previously made, but they were of limited success. After the time of Devānampiya Tissa, that is, after the introduction of Buddhism, two Tamil invasions are recorded. Eḷāra 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 Duṭugemuṇu, who has won great renown as one of the chief benefactors of the Buddhist faith and a great national hero. A third invasion took place during the time of Vaḷagambāhu. This time five princes ruled in succession till Vaḷagambāhu regained his sovereignty. Gajabāhu (A.D. 174) is said to have invaded South India and brought over the Bowl-relic, Pattini's anklets, and 12000 captives, who were settled in various parts of the island. In Muṭasīva's time, (A.D. 432), it was the Pāṇḍyans who came over to Ceylon and six of them are said to have ruled in succession the last being succeeded by Dhātusena (A.D. 460). There were also occasions when the Sinhalese and the Tamils helped each other. In the reign of Silāmeghavarṇa, a commander of the army, Srī 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 Agbo III, Dāṭopattissa 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 Srī 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 Coḷas.

The Coḷas 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 Coḷas 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 Kalinga. Though the Foreigners had been expelled from the island, yet misfortune befell the people, as the country fell into disorder and constant internal strife. Misrule and rebellion were the result, until the appearance of Parākramabāhu, who brought the island under his sceptre. He extended his campaigns not only to South India but also to Burma; yet it so happened that 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 in the island and established peace within and also conquered South India, where he found no worthy rival who could give him battle. After him trouble set in again, when the Kalinga and the anti-Kalinga factions fought each other for the throne. The last of these was Māgha of Kalinga, who crushed the people, striking terror into them, 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 this influence struck such deep roots in the island 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 bhikkhus from Burma to renew the succession. Parākramabāhu I also had to purify the Saṅgha and unite the three Nikāyas. Nissanka Malla too had occasion to cause a purification of the Saṅgha. All these proved futile as Māgha caused destruction again. Thus it is clear to what extent Hinduism was forging its way in the island. Mahāyānist ideals, too, continued to spread, achieving popularity with the advance of time. A noteworthy feature about this time was the establishment of a Tamil kingdom in the north during the

reign of Vijayabāhu III who is alleged to have ruled only over Māyārāṣa 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, no other king was successful in overpowering the Tamil kingdom of the north and also resisting invasions from Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagara empires which began to influence Ceylon after the waning of Coḷa power, when it was subdued by Mārayarman 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 had its day, as is shown by the building of Mahā Saman Devālaya 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 at this time. In A.D. 1244 Chandrabhānu, a Malay Buddhist King, invaded the island, but was defeated by Virabāhu. 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 Jaṭavarman 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 Cakravārti, captured Yāpahuva, which was the capital, and carried away the Tooth-relic, which was handed over to the Pāṇḍyan king Kulasekhara, thus bringing the island under their dominion again. After this the island seems to have been under Pāṇḍyan control for about a decade till 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 Daladā, 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 some more 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, being a Śaiva, destroyed monasteries, and brought ruin on the whole country. Vijayabāhu III, who came next, 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 Cūla-vaṃsa, describing his work in this respect says: 'All the corrupt groups of bhikkhus, 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 Coḷa country and caused to be brought over to Tambapaṇṇi many respected Coḷa bhikkhus 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 sets of monks, 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 all the books brought from Jambudvīpa and had many bhikkhus instructed in the sacred texts, sciences, philosophy and grammar, and made Laṅkā as it were an abode of arahats (CV.84.27). To make sure that

the Saṅgha walked in the path of purity, he set up a code of rules (Katikāvata), with the help of Aranyaka Medhaṅkara (see Katikāvata-saṅgāra, ed. D.B. Jayatilaka). To him are also attributed many piriveṇas and vihāras, as for example the Sirivardhana-vihāra, half a yojana from Daṁbadeṇiya (CV.85.1), Parākramabāhu-piriveṇa at Kuruṇāgala (CV.85.63, PJV.741), and Mahāmahindabāhu-piriveṇa at Kuruṇāgala (CV.85.63, PJV.743). He also repaired temples and devālas, such as the Kelaṇi temple, Hatthavanagalla-vihāra, and the Viṣṇu-devāla at Dondra, that had fallen into decay. His yuvarāja was entrusted with the building of the Bhuvanekabāhu-piriveṇa at Billasela-vihāra (CV. 85.59). His minister Pratrāja is said to have erected a pāsāda, mansion, at Attanagalla and handed it over to the Buddhist monk Anavamadarśi, a famous scholar of the time (CV.85.38, PJV. 745). With the help of this same minister, the king seems to have done much in making the Samanoḷa peak accessible to pilgrims (CV. 85.10, PJV.745). An image of the god Saman was set up there and a maṇḍapa for the sacred Footprint was built. The Mahā-vaṃsa says: 'He built rest houses, finished the building of bridges, laid down at the remaining places frequent stepping stones, had the wilder-ness cleared and a great road was built' (CV.86.27). To his nephew Virabāhu 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 Prof. 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 piriveṇa for the Buddhist Order thus putting his attitude towards their parity beyond doubt. Even to-day a Hindu devālaya and a Buddhist vihāra stand side by side in Dondra (CV.pt.2,p152, 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. Even the kings were unable to put an end to these Hindu practices, though they did much to purify the Buddhist church. King Parākramabāhu II also won a great reputation as an erudite scholar, hence his title Kalikāla-sāhitya-sarvajña-panḍita. He was surrounded in the field of literary activity by a host of other scholars, as Saṅgharakkhita, who composed Pali works ^{SNV} as Vuttodaya, a book on prosody, Sambandha-cintā, on syntax, in addition to other books on the doctrine; Vedeha ^Athera, the author of Samantakūṭa-varṇanā and Rasavāhīnī; Pañca-mūla-pariveṇādhipati mahā thera, author of Bhesajja-mañjūsā; Buddhappiya, author of Rūpasiddhi; and Dharmakīrti writer of the Cūla-vaṃsa, Dāṭṭhā-vaṃsa and Bālāvatāra. To the king himself are attributed important Sinhalese works like the Kavsiḷumiṇa and the Viśuddhi-mārga-sannaya and also the Vana-vinisa-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. 1273-73. To him are also attributed a

few vihāras and piriveṇas. He built the monastery at Vākiri-gala and handed it over to the head of the Mahānetrapāsāda shrine (CV.88.46). He also constructed the Vanaggāma-pāsāda, the Abhayarāja-piriveṇa at Sindhūravana (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 Ratnāvli-cetiya at Pulatthinagara; and, following the line of his predecessor, he too granted ranks to deserving monks. The Mahā-vaṃsa states: 'Thereupon the king granted the rank of Mahāsāmpīḍa (Grand Master), the rank of Mūla (thera)-pāda (Chief Thera), the rank of a Grand Thera and a Pariveṇa Thera to such bhikkhus 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 Tripitaka, copies of which were preserved in vihāras in various parts of the island, thus spreading a knowledge of the doctrine (CV. 90. 38). Another noteworthy occurrence during this time was the signing of an agreement by the king with the Sultan of Egypt, to supply the Sultan with cinnamon, precious stones and elephants. The country was also disturbed at this time by the invasion of Arya 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 bhikkhu community and carried on festivals and ceremonies. During his successor Parākramabāhu IV's reign we again see that many religious activities were carried on. He appointed 'to the office of Royal Teacher, a Coḷian Thera versed in many 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 thera Medhaṅkara, a pāsāda at Toṭagamuva, near Hikkaduwa, which he assigned to the thera Kāyasatti of the Vijayabāhu-piriveṇa, a temple at Dondra, and a vihāra at Viddūmagāma (CV.90.98). 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 devālas; and these devālas began even to be attached to Buddhist temples as is seen in many cases 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 Devānampiya Tissa. We have already seen that the real culture of the island started only with this introduction of Buddhism. Dr. Mendis states that, though the Buddhist monks brought the art of writing to Ceylon, they did not write any books for nearly two centuries. Missionary activity was well nigh impossible without disseminating a knowledge of the Dhamma amongst the people, and Mahinda is said to have provided for this by bringing over the traditions of the orthodox Theravāda 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 Vaṭṭagāmiṇi in the first century A.D. Sinhalese Commentaries are said to have been compiled by Mahinda. Dr. 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 Vaṭṭagāmiṇi'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 Vaṭṭagāmiṇi's time. (Malalasekara, Pali 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. Mr. Wickramasingha goes to the extent of asserting that a written literature existed in Ceylon before the writing of the Pali canon referred to above.

In the time of Duṭṭugemuṇu the Lovāmahāpāya was dedicated to the monks who studied and preached the doctrine from there, thus providing a common platform for the scholars to meet and discuss problems. The Pūjāvāliya testifies to this when it says that books were supplied to the preachers and all their requirements and comforts were provided for. The Mahā-vaṃsa refers to several chief monks of this time, namely Mahā Malaya Deva of Kālavela, Dhammagutta of Kalyāṇi-vihāra, and Mahā Tissa.

The Tamils, as they came in, brought a certain amount of their Hindu culture; but the destruction they caused by pulling down public buildings and vihāras, putting to death the monks, and burning their 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, so to ensure the maintenance and the continuance of the Order and religion. Evidence to this effect is given by the Mahā-vaṃsa: 'The texts of the three Piṭakas and the

Aṭṭhakathās thereon did the most wise bhikkhus hand down in former times orally ; but since they saw the people were falling away (from religion), the bhikkhus came together, and in order that the true doctrine might endure, they wrote them down in books' (MV.33.100). In the second century A.D. Gajabāhu is alleged to have invaded the continent and brought over 12000 Coḷian captives, who were settled in various parts of the island. They and their descendants were scattered and no doubt became absorbed in the Sinhalese population. The language of these people and of occasional invaders and their culture 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 are still available (see Malalasekara, Pali Literature of Ceylon , p.50). After this time, Mahāsenā'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. Mahāsenā's son tried his utmost to make good the wrongs done by his father. The chief historic event of this period was the bringing of the Tooth-relic from Kalinga by Princess Hemamāli. The Dāṭhā-vaṃsa, a Pali poem giving the history of the Tooth-relic, states that

it was based on Daḷadā-vaṃsa, 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 Mahā-vaṃsa states that the king paid honour to the relic in the manner described in a Chronicle of the Tooth-relic. Turner in his translation mentions that his work was extant in 1837, but Dr. 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 not only for men, but also for animals in all parts of the island. He is also said to have composed the Sārārtha-saṅgraha, a treatise on medicine, which was the first of its kind. What is also 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 Mahā-vaṃsa also refers to a monk Mahā Dhammakitti, who translated the Suttas into Sinhalese, and he is identified with Dharmagupta mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien, 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 Pali literature - the translation of the Sīhaḥaṭṭhakathās by Buddhaghosa, 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 Buddhaghosa, by the monks Dhammasiri and Mahāsāmi respectively. When Parākramabāhu I in his Katikāvata states 'yaṭat piriseyin vinayen kudusikha hā pāmokda sutanin dasa dham sūtraya hā anumāna sūtrayada vanapot karaviya yutu bayat granthadhurayen vāḍiyak karagata nohena antevāsika saddhivihārikayan lavā mulsika sekhiyā vanapot karavā ...' he is supposed to allude to these works. Coming to Buddhaghosa, the Mahā-vaṃsa states : ' As his speech was profound like that of Buddha, he was called Buddhaghosa ; for his speech (resounded) through the earth like (that of Buddha)! After he had written a book Nānodaya yonder (in Jambudvīpa), he also wrote the Atthasālinī, an interpretation of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi . The sage Buddhaghosa 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 Ganthakāra-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.37.224). Dr. Adikāram refers to Buddhaghosa'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 Pali 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 of help later on when we consider the question of Dhammasena Thera as a translator of the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā. Dr. Adikāram 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 Visuddhi-magga or Path of Purity was Buddhaghosa's first work, and according to the Mahā-vaṃsa was based on two stanzas given by the monks to test his ability whether he was a fit person to undertake the enormous task of translating the Sinhalese commentaries (CV.37.235). This story has been

Discredited by Mr. Nagai in his examination of the Vimutti-magga and the Visuddhi-magga, where he states that the Visuddhi-magga, which hitherto has been considered to be entirely his (Buddhaghosa'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 other 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 thera named Kumāra Kassapa. Some have observed that it is not the work of Buddhaghosa, and Prof. Geiger has placed it later than the Jātakas. 'Buddhaghosa 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 Dr. 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 Buddhaghosa. Not a few scholars are of opinion that the work is modern and that the author is a later Buddhaghosa (Culla Buddhaghosa) who obtained his materials from the same source as the Sinhalese Saddharmaratnāvaliya writer Mahā Thera Dhammasena 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-vannaṇā" ("This commentary on the Dhammapada was written by Buddhaghosa 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 Samantapāsādikā tells us that Buddhaghosa wrote in the Ganthakāra 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 Buddhaghosa came to study the Sinhalese commentaries. At the end of the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā is a stanza :-

"Vihāre adhirājena kāritamhi kataññunā
pāsāde Sirikuḍḍassa pañño viharatā mayā" .

("By me residing in the palace of King Sirikuḍḍa in the monastery built by the great grateful king.") Sirikuḍḍa is apparently another name for Sirinivāsa (Mahānāma). The chief stumbling block is the difference of language and style between this work and the other commentaries which undoubtedly belong to Buddhaghosa. 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 Pali what existed already as folklore ; and the arrangement is different even from the Sutta-nipāta commentary. But

this difference may be possibly 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 Aṭṭhakathās (Mahā, Paccarī, and Kuruṇḍi) which Buddhaghosa studied, but merely represented the popular legends accepted before the Aluviḥāra 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 Buddhaghosa'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 Buddhaghosa, but to the different accounts from which he obtained his information '(Pali Literature of Ceylon, pp. 95-97).

The great work done by Buddhaghosa was continued by a set of scholars who followed him. Dr. Adikāram finds these

commentaries far less useful than those of Buddhaghosa when one considers the light they throw on the social and religious history of Ceylon. He also finds that works like the *Vimāna-vatthu*, *Peta-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, Upasena and Mahānāma. The first was a contemporary of Buddhaghosa and wrote the *Maḥhurārthavilāsinī*, the commentary on the *Buddha-vaṃsa*. Dhammapāla was a resident of South India, and the works attributed to him are commentaries on *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, *Vimāna-vatthu*, *Peta-vatthu*, *Thera-Theri-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. Upasena compiled the *Saddhammapajjotikā*, commentary on the *Niddesa*, and is assigned to the reign of Aggabodhi I. To Mahānāma is attributed the *Saddhammapakāsinī*, 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 Buddhaghosa is said to have translated are non-existent to-day. It is not possible to say when they were lost or destroyed ; but a statement that would throw some light on them occurs in the *Buddhaghosuppatti*. It states that after Buddhaghosa had completed

his task, a bonfire was made of the Sinhalese ones. Dr. Malalasekara does not take this statement literally, but interprets it to mean that the Sinhalese commentaries were superseded completely by Buddhaghosa's compilations. Whatever may have been the cause, the earliest Sinhalese literary records are irretrievably lost.

So much for Pali 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 *Siyabaslakara*, 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. Dr. Paranavitāna, dealing with these verses, which he assigns to about the sixth and eighth centuries, 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.' We also have reference to poetry of much earlier date in the chronicles and other Pali works . Buddhaghosa refers in his *Paramattajotikā* 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 Buddhaghosa in his

Samantapāsādikā, and Dr. Adikāram says that here too they are mentioned with the Mahā Aṭṭhakathā (ibid.p.12). The Mahā Paṇḍarī was so called as it was written on a raft, and the Kurunḍi because it was written at Kurunḍivelu-vihāra (Pali Literature of Ceylon, p.91,92). The Mahā Aṭṭhakathā occupied first place, and Dr. Adikāram states that 'there is evidence that it contained a large number of anecdotes based on incidents that took place in Ceylon. Buddhaghosa 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 Cūla-vaṃsa also gives evidence of later 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 Aggabodhi I are mentioned in the Pūjāvaliya, Rājāvaliya and the Nikāya-saṅgrahava, though some of the names differ slightly in the three works. This king's reign is credited with 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.,

Sīhalaṭṭhakathā,

Sinhalese translation of the Sutta-piṭaka by Mahā
Dhammakathi,

The works such as Asakdākava, of the twelve poets
in the time of Aggabodhi I,
Daḷadā-vaṃsa.

Other works, e.g. an old Sinhalese Mahā-vaṃsa, an old
Sinhalese Bodhi-vaṃsa, Saṅdās-lakuṇa of Kalyāṇamitta, an
old Mayūra-sandesa, an old Sinhalese Kathā-vestu, the
source of Rasavāhinī, Kesa-dhātu-vaṃsa-kāvya assigned to
Moggallāna I's time and the Dharma-kāvya of Moggallāna II
(P. B. Sannasgala, Sinhala-sāhitya-vaṃsaya, Introduction, p. xv).

Thus it is clear that there had been a long standing
literary tradition which came down from earliest times.
The verses on the Sīgiriya graffiti go to establish the
influence and the existence of such a tradition. Some of
the latest archaeological works have also revealed three
Brāhmī inscriptions which the Archaeological Commissioner
suggests are in Sinhalese verse. 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. In his article on the Brāhmī ins-
criptions in Sinhalese verse in the J.R.A.S.C.B., 1945, No.
98, he examines them and concludes that they are in verse.
The first 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 *Elu-saṅdās-lakuṇa*. Considering it a metre from Sanskrit, Pali or Prākṛit, he deems it to be 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 Mr. H.C.P. Bell, the pioneer of antiquarian research in Ceylon. The graffiti, which 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 *Sīgiriya* rock, the attractions of *Sīrigiya*, 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 works of later writers, which 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-~~noḍa~~-maleka āvunū vātkol-mala sey

sañdāga sihivenneyi mahanel vanak hayi ranvan hum.

('Like a vaṭakoḷu flower entangled in a kaṭaroḷu flower, the golden coloured one who stood together with the lily-coloured one will be remembered at the advent of evening') (The vaṭakoḷu flower is white and the kaṭaroḷu blue)(ibid.).

The Sinhalese language went through vicissitudes, enjoying at times great cultivation and at other times being superseded by Pali. However, with the advent of Pali Sinhalese grew. Though Pali 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 Pali, 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 Pali was re-established as the language of religion and literature owing to the impetus given by Buddhaghosa. 'Pali had once more gained its ascendancy over Sinhalese and it seems to have been the ambition, as 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' (Pali Literature of Ceylon, p. 139). While Buddhaghosa 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 Dīpa-vaṃsa and the Mahā-vaṃsa, both of which record the island's history up to the time of Mahāsena. The former is the work of an unknown author, and the latter is by a thera Mahānāma, who also tells us that there existed in the Mahāvihāra a Sīhala 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 Aggabodhi 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 Dhātusena (A.D. 513-522) by Dr. Malalasekara (*ibid.* p. 151). Dr. Mendis disagrees with this identification (Early History of Ceylon, p. 61). The Mahā-vaṃsa too, attributes no literary ventures to this king Kumāra Dhātusena. He is credited only with reciting the sacred texts, reforming the Order, and supplying the clergy with the fourfold requisites (MV. 41. 2). The Pūjāvaliya, identifying him with Kumāradāsa's friend-sena, relates the popular story of Kumāradāsa's friend-

ship 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 Silāmegha Sena or Matvala Sen. It is the Siya-bas-lakara, a treatise on rhetoric, and is for the most part a rendering of the Sanskrit work Kāvya-darśa of Daṇḍin. The colophon of the work ascribes it to a Salamevan, who was a brother of Amaragiri Kāśyapa, and who was like a lustrous crown to this science. Of Pali works, the Khemappakarāṇa is assigned to this period. It is an exposition of the Abhidhamma by a thera named Khema. The Pali Mahā-bodhi-vaṃsa, 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 influence of Sanskrit on Pali and we may regard this book as marking the beginning of the period of Sanskritized Pali. The whole tone and manner of his work betray a tendency to use a kind of Sanskritized Pali' (Pali 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 Anāgata-vaṃsa, which is also said to be based on an earlier Sinhalese text. The beautiful poem Telakaṭāha-gāthā 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 thera Kālyāṇīya

who was cast into^a cauldren of boiling oil, suspected of an intrigue with the queen of Kālaṇi Tissa' (ibid, p.162). There is yet another Pali work, the Vaṃsatthappakāsinī, a ṭīkā on the Mahā-vaṃsa, 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 Dham-piyā-aṭuvā-gāṭapada, attributed to Kassapa V (A.D.929), is a glossarial commentary on the Pali Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā. This book, and other works of similar nature, indicate that Pali 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 Vinisa deal with the discipline of monks. Sir 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 Dham-piyā-gāṭapada, and is slightly more developed. Another work of the same class is the Herasasikha, precepts to be observed by novices. These books are referred to in the Poḷonnaruva Kaṭikāvata, Mihintale tablets and Haṃsa-sandeśa, which testify that they were held in high esteem. These works belong to the period between A.D. 787 - 1017 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 styles 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, Vijayabāhu 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 Diṃbulāgala Mahākāśyapa, who was chiefly responsible for the Poḷonnaruva Katikāvata. He is also the author of the Sanskrit grammar Bālāvabodhana, and is credited with a Sinhalese Sanne to the Samantapāsādikā. Contemporaneous with him was Moggallāna, who wrote the well known Moggallānavyākaraṇa, a Pali grammar. Dr. Malalasekara thinks him to be different from the writer of the lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā, based on the Sanskrit Amarakoṣa. Apparently the overwhelming Sanskrit influence that threatened to disorganise all Pali study needed to be checked; hence the production of a fresh grammar, which originated a new school of Pali 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 Candragomi's Vyākaraṇa, and also a concise grammar in Sanskrit called the Padāvatāra. He is also the author of the Vinaya-saṅgha, a summary of the Vinaya-Piṭaka (Pali Literature of Ceylon, p.190). To him are also attributed ṭīkās on the Vinaya-Piṭaka, Aṅguttara and Majjhima Nikāyas, and a Sinhalese Sanna to the Abhidhammattha-saṅgha. 'His most comprehensive work, however, is the Sārattha-Dīpanī, his masterly sub-commentary on Buddhaghosa'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 Pali. Thus these works bear the impress of the influence of Sanskrit learning that spread extensively during this time. We see that works on rhetoric, prosody, lexicography and grammar both in Sinhalese and Pali have been based on Sanskrit models. These writers display a love of Sanskrit idiom and style. This influence seems to be quite pronounced in the Sinhalese works of the period. The Abhidhammāṅgaha-sanna, the rock-inscriptions of Parākramabāhu I and the Katikāvata are good examples of this mode of writing. Here, one notices an abundance of Sanskrit loan-words, as opposed to Pali tatsamas of the earlier period. This gave rise to a mixed style of writing which lasted throughout the ages, and reached its culmination about the fifteenth century, being popularised by works like the Pūjāvāliya and persisting

to this day.

Before proceeding to discuss other Sinhalese works, attention must be drawn to the Galvihāra Inscription of Parākrambāhu 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 Abhidhammattha-saṅgha-sannaya gives word-for-word explanations of the Pali work by Ānanda. Its main interest lies in its mixed Sanskritic style. We again come to an era of very extensive glossarial activity. The Jātaka-aṭṭuvā-gāṭapada, Vesaturudā-gāṭapada and Mahā-bodhi-vaṃsa-gāṭapada are all modelled on the Dham-piyā-aṭṭuvā-gāṭapada, but are written in a more developed language. The Sinhalese writers drew very largely from the Jātakas, which from the earliest times served a dual purpose as a source of recreation as well as of instruction. The Jātakas held the same place that novels hold to-day, and the abundance of sannas, gāṭapadas,

translations and poems based on them testify to their great popularity. The Jātaka-aṭṭvā-gāṭṭapada is a glossary to the Pali Jātakaṭṭhakathā, by an erudite scholar about whom nothing is known. Though the language is generally mixed, yet it contains a stratum as old as the Dham-piyā-aṭṭvā-gāṭṭapada. It also betrays Dravidian influence and throws much light on the social condition of the times. An examination of the Vesaturudā-gāṭṭapada shows that it is older than the Jātaka-aṭṭvā-gāṭṭapada, as it contains an older stratum of language, and the Sanskrit element is less marked. The language of the Mahā-bodhi-vaṃsa-gāṭṭapada is generally Sanskritic, but it has a wealth of old Sinhalese forms. Mr. P.B.Sannasgala refers to three glossaries, Mahā-gaṇṭhipada, Majjhima-gaṇṭhipada, and Cūla-gaṇṭhipada, which were compiled to aid the study of the Pali commentaries (Sinhala-sāhitya-vaṃśaya, Introduction, p.xv).

The great classic Amāvatura and the Dharmapradīpikā are two works by the Upāsaka Guruḷugomi. Very little is known about him, and his date has only been fixed with the help of references. The Nikāya-saṅgrahava, a history of Buddhism, written about the 14th century, includes Guruḷugomi's name amongst the great scholars who flourished from the time of Buddhaghosa, and the Sidat-saṅgarā of the 13th century makes mention of him. He seems to have drawn from the Pali Jinālaṃkāra of Buddharakkhita of about A.D. 1157 when he compiled his Dharmapradīpikā. 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 'Gomi' 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 Dharmapradīpikā, a Sinhalese commentary on the Pali Mahā-bodhi-vaṃsa, is accepted as his earlier work. It is noteworthy that he seems to have consulted not only Pali 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 'Purisa-damma-sārathi' of the Buddha, and recounts his exploits in taming various persons. He follows closely the Pali 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 plenty of forms representative of earlier stages in the development of the language. This may be termed a learned and scholarly work, which was not understood by a large majority of the people, as was perhaps what the author intended. 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 But-saraṇa seems to mark a transitional period in this development of the popular language. It glorifies the virtues of the Buddha, and bids mankind take refuge in him. It is attributed to a Vidyā-Cakravarti, who is identified by some with Sakala-Vidyā-Cakravarti, 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 that made works more accessible to the masses, unlike the earlier scholastic works. 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 introduction of similes etc. from every day life and experience and with which the people were quite familiar. The next two works of this series, the Daham and Saṅgha Saraṇas, deviate from the path followed by the first, and use a more Sanskritic and learned language. The Thūpa-vaṃsa, attributed to Sakala-Vidyā-Cakravarti, 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 Pali version, may have existed prior to the composition of this work. The *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Volume IV, page 265, refers to a Thūpa-vaṃsa, which Dr. Paranavitāna considers to be a Sinhalese version.

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 Makhādeva Jātakas. Both works show strong influence from Sanskrit, although it was a Sanskrit of poets inferior to Kālidasa. 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 has been assigned to the first reign of Queen Līlāvati, but its author too is not known.

Next we come on to the Daṁbadeṇiya period. This period commenced in chaos due to invasion and strife, which continued until Vijayabāhu III restored peace and order. He also did all he could to re-establish culture and learning. 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 spoken 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 Vivarana up to his Parinibbāna. These the author recounts to justify the appellation Arahaṇ, 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 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-Pratirāja in the 30th year of the reign of Parākramabāhu II, by Mayūrapāda-Pariveṇādhīpati Buddhaputta. It is not a translation from Pali. 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 Bodhi-sattva 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 Pali work Visuddhi-magga, and is attributed to King Parākramabāhu II, who seeks in it to reconcile the views of the rival sects. It is written in a mixed Sanskrit style. To the king is also attributed the Vanavinisa-sannaya, which is apparently lost. Another work of a similar nature is the Jātaka-gāthā-sannaya, assigned to this period, and attributed to a scholar named Rājamurāri. 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 Sasādā and 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 Vijayabāhu II. That the authors of Sasadā, Muvadevā 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 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. Mr. M. Wickramasingha considers this work the crown of the Sinhalese poets' efforts in the study of Sanskrit alaṅkāra.

The Sidat-saṅgarāva is the first grammar of the language we have. Opinions regarding its authorship are divided. Some attribute it to Vedeha, who is said to have composed a Sinhalese grammar (Sīhalaṃ Saddalakkhaṇaṃ), as is attested to by the colophon of his Samantakūṭa-vaṇṇanā. Later investigations have revealed that the work itself refers to the

author as the Principal of the Pratirāja-piriveṇa, and also to the fact that it was written at the request of Deva-Pratirāja, the governor of South Ceylon. With the help of the MV. this Deva-Pratirāja has been identified with Parākrama-bāhu 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 Vadeha is presumed to be lost. The Sidat-saṅgarāva is a collection of accepted rules, gathered from literature. Mr. J. de Lanerolle, commenting on it, says that it is a grammar of the Eḷu language of those days as different from the mixed language of to-day, and that it is based entirely on padya (verse) is made clear by 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-saṅdas-lakṣaṇa, 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 in 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 from the earliest times.

The most important prose work of the Daṁbadeṇiya 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 Pali 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. Mr. Martin Wickramasingha observes :
'Saddharmaratnāvaliya liyana kālayehi lakdiva pāvati sirit virit da, minisunge situm pātum hāṅḍum deḍum āsrayen gālapū upameyayōda varṇanayōda ehi piṭak pāsā dāknā lābeti. Pāraṇi siṁhalayange samāja tattvaya sevīmaṭa metaram upakāravana anek siṁhala potak nātteya' (' In the pages of Ratnāvaḷiya 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') (Dress and Ornament in Ancient Ceylon, p. 40). Some however doubt whether this book truly represents conditions in Ceylon during the time it was written. Two arguments may be given by those who hold this view. Firstly, it may be said that, as the book is based on a work written in Pali, it may not be ^a correct representation of life in Ceylon. The presumption seems to be that any literature in Bali describes conditions in India and not in Ceylon. Secondly, it may be contended that as the author has kept much material contained in the Pali 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 SDR. 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 tranquillity¹, 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 Pali, 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 Sīhala Commentaries, or as legend and folk tales. Summarising Dr. Malalasekara's discussion, quoted in the foregoing pages, we see that he concludes that the author of the Aṭṭhakathā

merely presented in literary Pali 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 Buddhaghosa 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 Pali from Sinhalese, though they disagree on the question whether the stories were a part of the Aṭṭhakathā's or not. Mr. 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. Such a commentary is the Dhammapada commentary. Ostensibly it is a commentary on the stanzas of the Dhammapada. B.C. Law in his History of Pali Literature agrees with Mr. 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 Buddhaghosa, 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 Mr. 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 previous (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 judgement 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 else-

where and that they did not belong to Mahinda's school' (see Pali Literature of Ceylon, p.97). Hence it is quite reasonable to suggest that some of these stories may have originated in Ceylon, and Buddhaghosa 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 Pali. 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 SDR. has no doubt brought in much material, by addition of words, phrases, similes and paragraphs that are not in the original Pali. In volume the Sinhalese version is about three times the size of the Pali, 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 or changing one word in the text. The Cakkhupāla story in the DPA. states that the two brothers were married (ghara-bandhanena bandhimsu) that they were bound by the bonds of household life. In Sinhalese this phrase is rendered as 'sarāṇa pāvā dī venkalaha'^{genvā}

which would mean that the persons concerned were married and also that they were made to live separately from the 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 modifications, 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 Milinda-pañhā, Anāgata-vamsa-desanā etc. This too indicates that he never meant 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 Pali.

Now the question remains how far the material in the SDR depicts contemporary conditions in Ceylon. It will be generally accepted that whatever new material was added by the author of this book portrays such conditions, that is 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 Pali original. It can be argued that this material does not refer to conditions in Ceylon, but to conditions in India. Now we have to consider two important aspects of this question. (1). How far does the material in the Pali 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 Pali, 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 all the material, with the exception perhaps of what was added by Buddhaghosa, should portray conditions in Ceylon before the fifth century A.D. We are also aware of the fact that a 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. It is not unlikely that 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 Pali is true of 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 SDR, while adapting the material of the Pali version, changed and modified the original to suit 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 SDR, itself we may take the vow taken by the seṭṭhi before the large tree, to honour it, if he should be blessed with a child. This shows the germs of the practice that exists up to date 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. This only shows a development or evolution of the early practice; but 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 of the institutions, customs and manners might have remained unchanged during the course of years from the fifth to the thirteenth century, while others may have changed or developed with the course of time. Therefore it may not be unreasonable to conclude that even the material common to both the books may depict conditions of the thirteenth century as well. This can be further established if it is possible to produce corroborative evidence

to show that a certain institution or custom was in vogue 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 SDR. depicts contemporary social conditions

PART I.

POLITICAL.

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL DIVISIONS

The Pali Chronicles refer to various kings who ruled in different parts of the island. The incessant wars and the establishment of one sovereign rule over the whole island by more powerful kings are referred to. So there is no doubt that the island was first divided into different kingdoms which were ruled by different kings at various times. In the 12th century the island was divided into:

(1) Raja-raṭṭa , (2) Dakkhina-deśa , (3) Ruhunu-raṭṭa.

(1) The first Raja-raṭṭa 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) The Southern country, the southern border of which ran from Adam's Peak to the sea, included Pañca Yojana and also included the districts of Tabbā, Giribā, Moravāpi, Mahīpāla, Pilaviṭṭhika and Buddhagāma, Ambavana, Bodhigāma-vara and Kaṇṭakapetṭaka-raṭṭha (CV. 69.8).

(3) Ruhunu was divided into (a) Doḷosdās-raṭṭa, roughly the Southern Province, with the capital at Mahānāgakula (modern Marakaḍa or Nākulugamuva) and (b) Aṭadās-raṭṭa with Uddhanadvāra as its chief city (roughly Uva) (see Codrington, J.R.A.S. C.B. Vol. 29, 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 Pihiti 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 Līlāvati (A.D. 1197-1200). The first use of the term Tri-Sīhala helps us to establish the date from which the new divisions were definitely recognised. The first mention of this term Tri-Sīhala in the MV. occurs in CV. 81.50 in connection with Vijayabāhu III (1214-1235). In the inscriptions, the term first occurs in an inscription of Līlāvati (1197-1200), who, it states, attained the sovereignty of Tri-Sīhala (EZ.1.5.181). The inscriptions of Sāhasa Malla (1200-1202), and of Kalyāṇavati (1202) use this term in referring to the whole island: 'Sāhasa Malla was crowned king of Tri-Sīhala at a lucky moment' (EZ. 2.5.228); Kalyāṇavati 'attained the supreme regal splendour in the three Siṃhalas' (EZ. 4.2.80). These references make it clear that the three divisions Ruhūṇu, Māyā and Pihīṭi were established by this time. It is significant that the inscriptions of Nissanka Malla (1187-1196), who ascended the throne prior to Līlāvati, bear the term 'Tun-rajaya' and not Tri-Sīhala; for example, the Galpota inscription (EZ. 2.3.117) states that he 'repaired great tanks, irrigation canals ... in the three kingdoms'.

The Hāṭadāge slab-inscription has 'prānīṇṭa abhaya dī tun rajaya pādakunukota' (1192-1196). The Nissanka Malla slab-inscription, which is earlier than the above, says:

'Avurudu gaṇanakata aya hāra vadārā tunrajayehimā hāma kalata kāti ada hāra' ('He graciously remitted taxes for several years and abolished the tax on chena cultivation in the three kingdoms') (EZ. 2.2.81).

Hāṭadāge vestibule wall-inscription states: 'Lankāva sisārā gam niyamgam rājadhāni balā vadārā' ('Toured Lankā inspecting towns, market towns, and villages'); 'Tun rajayehi noyek tānhi māligāda ... naṃvā' ('Having erected mansions in various parts of the three kingdoms') (EZ. 2.2.93). The Kaṭugahagalge inscription of Nissanka Malla refers to the kingdoms of Rūṇu and Māyā. Adding a note to this, Dr. Paranavitāna states that the Yudaṅganāva and Vāligatta pillars insert Pihiṭi 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 Dr. Muller says that 'the contents are identical with those of the inscription at Kaeligatte; only that here the words Pihiṭi rajayehi (Kael.A.14) are missing' (EZ. 3.6.326). If, as Dr. Paranavitāna 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 Nissanka Malla; but it is not possible to overlook the fact that the term Pihiṭi is not mentioned in many of his inscriptions and Tri-Sīhala is not used in any. The Kevulgama inscription of October 10th A.D. 1200, of Sāhasa Malla refers to Pihiṭi in 'Pihiṭi rajaye bada māṇdivak saṃvālle āvū

vālimaḍa liyatda' (EZ. 3.5.234) ('vālimaḍa liyatda in Māṅdivak Saṃvālla of the Pihīti Kingdom'). Queen Kalyānavatī's inscription of Batalagoḍa vāva refers to Maḍdhyadeśa in the kingdom of Māyā (A.D. 1200) (EZ. 4.2.80). Considering the evidence of the MV., we have already seen that the term Tri-Sīhala occurs for the first time in 81.46. according to the translation (see CV.81.46, n.2). The name Patiṭṭhāraṭṭha (S. Pihīṭṭaraṭa) occurs in CV.82.27 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 translators state that 'it is noteworthy that in this second continuation of Cūla-vāṃsa the names Dakkhīṇa-deśa and Rājaraṭṭha vanish and are replaced by Māyāraṭṭha and Patiṭṭhāraṭṭha' (CV. p. 136, n.4). This statement seems rather inaccurate, as at least the term Rājaraṭṭha occurs more or less half way through the second part of the CV., e.g., 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 Dakkhīṇa-deśa by the translators by the insertion of the word within brackets. These references, and also the reference to Pihīṭṭiraṭa in the PJV., show that the divisions of the island were known as Ruhūṇu, Māyā and Pihīti by the time of Parākramabāhu II (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

later part of the reign of Nissanka 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 vogue in his time, as no mention is made of Māyā at so early a time either in the chronicles or the inscriptions. Dr. Mendis in his Early History of Ceylon states that during the period A.D. 362-1017, the Northern region of Ceylon, the capital of which was Anurādhapura, came to be called Pihiṭṭi-raṭa. The foregoing facts will show that this conclusion is open to doubt, as the name Pihiṭṭi does not occur either in the inscriptions or the MV. so early as the time referred to by him. His assumption that Māyāraṭa 'along with Rajaraṭa and Ruhuna were considered the three main divisions of Ceylon' at this time, is also quite doubtful, for the same reason.

The CV. corroborates Dr. Mendis's view that the Dakkhina-deśa was given over to the heir to the throne; but his statement that Dakkhina-deśa came to be called Māyāraṭa finds no such corroboration, as CV. 42.8. only says that 'the province of Dakkhina-deśa with the appropriate retinue be made over to the yuvarāja'. The PJV. mentions that Vijaya-bāhu 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' (A Contribution to the History of Ceylon from Pūjāvāliya, Gunasekara, 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.

The three kingdoms were also divided into other main divisions, as provinces (danav), districts (raṭa), towns, market-towns (niyamgam) and villages. The SDR. and the SDA. both speak of gam, niyamgam, and raṭa when the Pali originals do not mention raṭṭha. The SDA. translates the Pali gāma, nigama, janapada as gam niyamgam raṭa danav, and the SDR. translates the Pali gāme vā nigame vā as gameka vevayi niyamgameka vevayi rateka vevayi toteka ... 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 Dr. Paranavitāna observes that raṭa was applied to a territorial division corresponding to a modern Korale. The references made in SDA. of the early 14th century, make it clear that the country was divided into various janapadas during this time. Rohaṇa Janapada is frequently mentioned (cp. p.718, 391, 368), and does not seem to be identical with the Rohaṇa of the three main divisions. The SDA. refers to a Kuḍḍharajja-danavva from which a certain monk came to Māgama to listen to a sermon (398). The story also states that people came from far-off places to listen to these Ārya-vamśa-desanā. Hence it is difficult to say whether Kuḍḍharajja was a province in Rohaṇa or in some other part of the island. SDA. also refers to Giripāda-danavva (451). The reference is in connection with Kāvantissa

of Rohaṇa. 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 Giribā province. It is quite likely that Giripāda herein referred to was another province in Rohaṇa. The Badalagoḍa-vāva inscription of Kalyāṇavatī (A.D. 1202) refers to a lord of Maṅgalapura alias Badalagoḍa... Madhyadeśa in the kingdom of Māyā (EZ.4.2.81). In this connection Dr. Paranavitāna observes that the 34th chapter of the PJV. refers to Vijayabāhu as having appointed the people of Badalagoḍa-nuvara 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 SDA. also refers to villages inhabited by people engaged in specific occupations, e.g. Kevuḷugama, fishermen's village (611, 521); Veḷeṇḍagam, merchants' villages (196); Vādigam, hunters' villages (437); gopālayan vasana gamaka, cowherds'

village (423). This shows that some of the villages were occupied by people of the same occupation, and were hence named after the occupation of the people living in that particular village.

The same book also gives us a description of the town of Māgama (395): 'There was', it says, 'in the province of Rohaṇa, 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 (SDR.1005.3). 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 SDA.

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 bodhi 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 Chandravaṅka, 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 dance-halls or theatres where danced and sang clever dancers and musicians (SDA. 389).

CHAPTER II

THE KINGa) Kingship.

The origin of kingship in Ceylon from that of the Gāmaṇī has been discussed by Dr. Paranavitāna 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). Herein he has discussed the hypothesis that kingship was founded in Ceylon by Asoka with the consecration of Devānampiya 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 15th 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 Kalinga. We see, for example, that from the time of Nissanka Malla of Kalinga, towards the end of the 12th century, this rivalry was acute, and a quick succession of a number of rulers was the result, though Kalinga and Pāṇḍya-deśa 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. 1.4.125). Dr. Paranavitāna 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 Kalinga and Sinhalese princes and officers of State, for political ascendancy' (EZ. 1.5.177). In a footnote of 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 Mānābharana, 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 Nissanka Malla (EZ. 1.5.177). He was placed on the throne on Wednesday, 23rd August, A.D. 1200, by Kittī, 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 Āyasmanti, and the throne was restored to queen Kalyāṇavatī (CV. 80.33, PJV.36). These intrigues continued until Vijayabāhu III, a Lambakarna of the line of Saṅghabodhi, attained supreme power. During the 13th century his successors held sway over the island. Dr. 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 Bodhisattas. The Jetavanārāma slab-inscription of Mahinda IV testifies to this when it says that none but the Bodhisattas could become kings of prosperous Laṅkā (EZ. 1.6.240). This view was expressed by Nissanka Malla towards the end of the 12th century in his Prīti-dānaka-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 Bodhisatta king who, like a parent, protects the world and the religion' (EZ. 2. 4. 176).

Nissanka 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., Rājaratnākaraya, and Nikāya-saṅgraha, p. 24, 1934 (ed. Kumārapatunga), bear evidence to this when they refer to one of the kings of this period as Bosat Vijayabāhu (CV. 88.35). 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. Dr. 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 Nissanka 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 Nissanka 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

and essential 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, Nissanka 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 Coḷa, Kerala, or other countries, should not be chosen' (EZ. 2.4.163). The absolute necessity of a king is plainly shown when Nissanka 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 subjects regarding the choice of king. 'They should elect for kingship the sons of ... kings, āpā, mahapā, 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 sway of the queens... People should not establish in the Island of Laṅkā, which belongs to the Kalinga dynasty, non-Buddhistic kings of Coḷa, 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 Dr. Paranavitāna 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 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 Buddhist Church. The slab inscription of the Velāikkāras 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), 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 even 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 Saṅgabo is said to have brought down rain (CV. 66-76), and is also said to have stopped the pestilence of the red-eyed demon (CV. 66-90). 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-thera-vatthu bears evidence of this in the story of the ascetics Nārada and Devala, when it says: 'nāgarā aruṇe anuggacchante rājadvāraṃ gantvā "Deva tayi rajjaṃ karonte aruṇo na uṭṭhati. Aruṇam no

uṭṭhāpehīti khandimsu. Rājā attano kāya kammādīni olokento kiñci ayuttam adisvā kinnuko kāraṇanti cintetvā... (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 SDR. in his translation of the above story. Herein he adds a little flavour, and also a certain amount of force, to the Sinhalese rendering when he says: 'mumba vahanse raja kamaṭa paṭangena metek davas nāṅgena hira ada metek velā venatek nonāṅgeyi raṭatoṭavalin havurudu noyikmavā badda naṃvannāsema adat davasa ikut nokara hira nāṅguva mānavāyi kivūya' (SDR. 85.2).

The translator here adds the statement 'havurudu noyikmavā badda naṃvannā sema', for this idea is not expressed in the Pali 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 does not fail to collect his taxes. This statement also shows that the Jātaka concept was yet lurking 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. 2.5.229). The SDR. 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 (SDR. 815.33, 331.22 respectively).

The kings, as patrons of the Buddhist church, were expected to fall into line with the order of morality set

forth by Buddha and also to practise the virtues demanded of every lay devotee. But this demand was a hundred-fold greater in the case of rulers. Hence they were enjoined to practise the tenfold royal virtues (dasā-rāja-dharma), which are also rules of morality that every good Buddhist is expected to practise. Further, 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:

dānam damaśca yajñaśca svādhyāyastapa ārjavam
ahimsā satyamakrodhastyāgaḥ śāntirapaiśunam
dayā bhūteṣvaloluptvaṃ mārḍavaṃ hrīracāpalam
tejaḥ kṣamā dhṛtiḥ śaucamadhronātīmānitā

(Bhagavadgītā, XVI, 1b, 2, 3a),

yajña (Sacrifice), svādhyāya (Vedic learning), satya (truthfulness), apaiśunam (non-slander), dayā (compassion), aloluptvaṃ (non-greed), hrī (modesty), acāpalam (non-fickleness), tejaḥ (subtlety of intellect or majesty), dhṛti (firmness), śauca (purity), anatīmānitā (humility), The dasarājadharmas or rules of government or Norm of Kingship are: dāna (alms-giving), sīla (moral observances), pariccāga (liberality), ajjava (straightness), māddava (gentleness), tapo (self-restraint), akkodha (non-anger), avihiṃsā (non-hurtfulness), khanti (forbearance), avirodhana (non-obstruction).

Literary evidence also shows that a king was expected to reign in accordance with the ten principles of royal conduct - dasarajadam. The KSM. has it that the king, having married a queen, lived without transgressing the tenfold royal virtues: 'visī tamā kara kalak - kalak dasarajadammen' (KSM. v.5). The chronicles always refer to a noble king as having reigned righteously and impartially, practising these regal virtues. The inscriptions of Nissanka Malla are full of reference to these ten qualities. For example, the Kalinga forest 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 rājadharma nokopā mulu lakdiva eksatkara rajakala siri saṅgabo vijayabāhu' ('Siri Saṅgabo Vijayabāhu reigned without violating the ten principles of royal conduct') (EZ. 4.2.71). The slab-inscription of the Velāikkāras states that Vijayabāhu Devar 'was graciously pleased to rule the kingdom for fifty-five years practising the royal virtues' (EZ. 2.6.245). The slab-inscription of Līlāvati records that she 'reigned in accordance with the ten virtues belonging to royalty': 'loka sāsana semehi tabā dasa-rāja-dharmayen rajakaranaseyek' (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 SDR., too, refers often to kings reigning righteously and impartially - dāhāmin semin (SDR. 239.6)

Nissanka 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 is 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), pinanumodanā (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 Duṭṭhaka attempted to preach, having learnt that 'a gift of the doctrine was more than a gift of worldly wealth'. 'At the foot of the Lohapāsāda, 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): 'rahatuṃ vahanse madhyayehi dharma dānayaḥ duna mānavāyi dharmāsaṃnayaṭa pāna nāṅgi hiṇḍa maṅgala sūtraya kiyanta paṭangat sek'. 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 kusala), 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 long description of the king, qualifies him as ājara hamuyehi eme dham desum viyakhan kala siyabasnen bud gūṇa 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 theras, 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). The kings were

expected to refrain from wrongful conduct caused by any of the four, chanda (desire), dosa (guilt), bhaya (fear), and moha (delusion), for it is stated that the glory of those who do not transgress the path of righteousness grows like the waxing moon:

chandā dosā bhayā mohā yo dhammam nātivattati
vaḍḍhatī tassa yaso sukkha-pakkheva candimā

If a king desired peace and safety, it was absolutely essential that he should practise these four heart-winning qualities dāna (liberality), peyyavajja (kindly speech), atthacariyā (beneficent action), and samānātmata (equanimity), to win the goodwill of his subjects. The Galpota inscription of Nissanka Malla records 'catussaṅgraha vastuyen loka śāsana sanahā sit gat bahujanayā venā venā taman sit āti sneha pakṣapāta kota 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 are the ideals set before every king that 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 SDA. (ed. B. Saddhātissa, 2478, 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, spreads 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 samanas and Brāhmanas,

satisfying the wishes of suppliants. If, Your Majesty, the serpent of lust and 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 Mānaṅga Dharmaśāstra, the Laws of Manu, is clear from the CV. when it records that Parākramabāhu II was well versed in the Ordinances of Manu (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 trace their origin to the Sun or the Moon, unlike Indian kings (Mendis, Early History of Ceylon, p.29); but by the tenth century this claim of kings to belong to the Solar or Lunar dynasty was general. 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 Dr. 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 SDR. and by later authors. The author of the SDR. in his story of the origin of the Sākyas includes the genealogy of Mahāsammata up to Makhādeva, though this does not occur in the Pāli version (SDR. 312.8). The PJV. gives a detailed account of the genealogy of the Ambaṭṭha Sākyavaṃsa (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 Parakramabāhu II, the supposed author of the Kav-siḷumīṇa, states in the colophon of this

work that he belongs to the Solar 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 Lunar 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 Palkumbura Sannasa when he says that he was of lineal descent from Mahāsammata named Vaivasvata Manu (EZ. 3.5.247). The SDA. 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) (SDA. ed. Saddhātissa, p.131).

This practice of tracing descent from Mahāsammata seems to have been started when kings were looked upon as Bodhisattvas, 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 Bodhisattvas 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 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 (Mīnākṣi, 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 senāpati (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, at least in the earlier periods. 'As to the right of succession', observes Prof. 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.' In support of this view he quotes a few examples; but an examination of these shows that they do not justify such a conclusion. Only two instances occur where his hypothesis seems to hold good; and these were probably due to precedents that were set up owing to accidental circumstance, or exceptional cases when a few brothers seem to have taken possession of the throne, when, in accordance with the rule of heredity, the sons should have succeeded their fathers. These were perhaps due to abnormal circumstances, when one brother assassinated another, or when the son of the king was a minor at the time of his

father's death. It seems to have been due to a number of precedents of this nature, that at a certain stage about the period between Dappula II (A.D. 792) and Sena II (A.D. 851), the brother was considered to be the rightful heir. On the other hand, the statements of the MV. confirm our view that the normal succession was from father to son. The SDR. and the SDA. refer to no other succession except that from father to son; for example, the SDR. says: 'putanuvo taman piyānan santaka rājyaya ganiti' ('the son succeeds to the father's kingdom') (172.35); 'vādimālu putanuvanṭa rājyaya dīpiyā' ('having given the kingdom to the eldest son') (314.19); and the SDA. says: 'rajyaya rākalanta obage nisi putruvanek nāta' ('there is no suitable son of yours to protect the kingdom') (p.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, Mr. 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' (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 from father to son, both in the Kandy period and previously, and this indeed was in keeping with the Indian law, which has been thus summed up by 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 bhikkhus 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 perhaps was unworthy to hold the royal dignity in the view of the Saṅgha and the ministers. 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 (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 Rohana, they took counsel together, and when they had become of one mind they bestowed the consecration as king of Laṅkā on the yuvarāja' (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 and demerits of the princes concerned, that unanimity was reached. The Galpota slab-inscription of Nissanka Malla refers to the selection of a king (see p. 67 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 Buddhist church. That this practice of choosing a king was in vogue even during Kandyan times is mentioned by Codrington: '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 considered unfit to succeed for some reason or other. Under normal circumstances the heir succeeded to the throne without any such trouble.

e) Consecration

The consecration was the most important event in a king's life. 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 Devānampiya Tissa, who, according to Dr. Paranavitāna, was the first to be instituted king in Ceylon (J.R.A.S., 1936, p.456). The ceremony of abhiṣeka 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 coronation ceremonies. There is no doubt that much of the Indian ritual was repeated here, and customs and traditions were established after the first coronation that was carried out under the instruction of the Emperor Aśoka. The MV. tīkā embodies an account of the consecration of a king. Thus it is written in the Sinhalese commentary of that portion of the Majjhimanikāya known as Cullasihanadasuttavaṇṇanā: 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 abhiṣeka. 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 abhiṣeka water over his head, and says as follows: "Sire, by this ceremony of abhiṣeka 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 abhiṣeka water over his head, and says as follows: "Sire, by this ceremony of abhiṣeka 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 Seṭṭhi and the Grahapati 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 Dhammasoka, performed the ceremony of abhiṣeka over the head of Devānampiya Tissa with a right-handed sea-chank filled with water from lake Anotatta. Previous to this no such ceremony was known (in Laṅkā).⁴ (The Inauguration of the King in Ancient Ceylon, C.M. Fernando, 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 course 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, Justice Lawrie had remarked that the later kings of Kandy were certainly spoken of and portrayed as wearing a crown, and raised the question whether there was an actual coronation. According to Mr. Coomaraswamy, the coronation was the third item of the ceremony, and abhiṣeka 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. Asoka is recorded to have sent all that was needful for consecrating a king. The list of things sent by him is '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, nay, all that was needful for consecrating a king' (MV. 11.27). 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 a part of the ceremony of our kings, as during the Jātaka times. 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 coronation which will be poured over the head (CV.67.16). The CV. account of Parākramabāhu I's second anniversary celebrations 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. 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 aloe-wood 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 consecration 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' (CV. 71.28). The placing of the crown on the head is not mentioned in the Indian accounts. This being an account of the ceremony of the 12th century, we are justified in concluding that the coronation ceremonies of the succeeding century were 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. Parākramabāhu IV celebrated it every year in a manner worthy of the highest kingly power, and also is said to have held an opulent sacrificial festival in conjunction therewith (CV. 90.61).

The Rambāva slab-inscription of the 10th century (EZ. 2.2.67) states: 'radvā (minivuṭṭnen pāhāyū) siya mundnen louturā bisevnen bisevā' ('became king, was anointed on his head, resplendent with the jewelled crown with the unction of world-supremacy'). The author of SDR. in translating 'taṃ rajje abhisiñcimsu' says 'mahatvū rajaperaharin raja kumaruvan ātulu nuvarata gena voṭunu palaṅḍavā rājyayehi pihitavūha' (SDR. 173.36). In this translation the author loses sight of the word 'abhisiñcimsu', 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 SDR. describes the coronation of Kāṣṭhavāha (ibid. 472.37) (this story does not come in the DPA.) saying, 'having placed the crown on his head, he was made king'. The Thūpa-vaṃsa and the SDA. too use the phrase 'oṭunu pāḷaṅḍa' (having worn the crown) in describing the attainment of kingship, which no doubt refers to the consecration (Thūpa-vaṃsa, ed. D. E. Hettiāratchi, p. 33, and SDA. 530). This is perhaps because by this time the principal act of consecration 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 coronation of Devānampiya Tissa is stated to have been performed by a Kṣatriya maid sent by Aśoka. With the lapse of time this

custom seems to have been discontinued, as the consecration of later kings seemed to have been performed by either ministers, chaplain, or even monks. We see, therefore, that the ceremony was 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 anointed. '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 Suddhodana asking for brides for his son Siddhārtha, the SDR. translator adds the clause 'bisovarun ātamanā bävin' (SDR. 980.13) that 'queens are necessary for coronation'. The Jātakas show that the queen was anointed chief queen, Aggamahesi, along with the consecration of the king (Fousböll, Jataka IV, p.407). It is likely that this was the custom even in Ceylon. This gains support from the fact that Paṇḍuvasudeva 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 his spouse Suvannapālī as queen, on the occasion of his coronation (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-devi) as queen (22.22).

f) Harem

The harem (antaḥpura) 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 orodha, antepura, 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 women of the harem of Vijayabāhu I (60.85). The Hāṭadāge vestibule wall-inscription of Nissanka Malla states that he got 'queens from various countries, such as Kalinga, Vengi, Karnāṭa, 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 Vohara Tissa (MV.36.42). Prince Mahinda, the yuvarāja and younger brother of Sena 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 Mahāsena's wives was the daughter of a scribe, and was exceedingly dear to him. In the case of the chief queen, or agga-mahesi, as Prof. 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 Dhātusena (CV. 38.80, 112). Prof. Geiger also observes that some of the kings had two mahesis or two chief queens (CV. Introduction, p. xvi), and that the mention of the title agga-mahesi makes it possible that there was a difference in rank between the two. The Potgul-rehera inscription mentions a second head queen of Parākramabāhu: 'nara devassa dutiyam

yā aggatam 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. 1.2.49). The Ruvan-mala gives the synonyms:

bisev lada kāt kat - mehesun ho bisev ve
radū rājāna kāt kat - navatā āmbudu kalaturu†.

According to this the anointed queen is called the bisava or mahesi, and rājāna denotes any other queen (Ruvan-mala, ed. Wijesekara, p.47, v.239). The slab-inscription of Kassapa V states that Sīlāmegha Varṇa Abhaya was born of the 'bisev rajnā', the anointed queen, as distinct from the other queens (EZ. 1.2.49). The Kataragama slab-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 Mahida IV states that Sirisaṅgabo Abā was born of the anointed queen Dev Gon of equal birth and descent (EZ. 1.6.224). The SDR. also recognises that queens were not debarred from wielding the sceptre, 'bisovarun rajakamaṭa hāki heyin' (SDR. 441.10). This is attested by the reigns of a few queens who held sway in the island. The SDR. also refers to an instance when a king sent his queen back to her parents as she was barren (SDR. 304.27). 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 Kalinga country the charming young princess ... Tilokasundarī 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 udyaṇa 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 Bodhisattvas, could not have taken delight in hunting. After the establishment of Buddhism, says Mr. 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 Nissanka Malla where he refers to one of his hunting expeditions. Herein 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.

The literary works of this period refer off and on to uyankeli and diya keli (water and garden amusements). The traditional requirements of a king demanded a park and a beautiful pond as an essential feature. 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, 114). The inscriptions of Nissanka Malla refer to this kind of seat: for example, the prītidānaka maṇḍapa, from where he enjoyed the bliss of alms-giving (EZ. 2.4.178). A seat from where the same king completed the function of lustral bathing is referred to in his Sivadevālaya inscription (EZ. 2.4.148). The same king in his Kalinga park Galāsana 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 long 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 down 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 the enjoyment of juice of the manifold blossoms. There were campaka, asoka and tilaka trees, nāgas, punnāgas and ketakas, sal trees, pāṭalī and nīpa trees, mangos, jumbu and kadamba trees, vakulas, coco-palms, kuṭajas and bimbijālakas, mālatī, mallikā, tamāla and navamālikā shrubs, and yet other trees bearing manifold fruits and blossoms, rejoiced the hearts of 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 was 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 the highest among rulers of the earth, who had attached the good without number to himself. Still more delightful was the garden by (means of) 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 excavations 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 galāsana inscription

states: 'The exact locality of the Kalinga Park, which we are told was formed by this king Nissanka 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. Mr. 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". 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 Nissanka Malla made just a few trifling alterations and improvements and re-named the park as Kalingodyāna (Kalinga Park) after the name of the land of his birth' (EZ. 2.3.131). 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 Nissanka Malla.

As for water sports, we are told that Duṭugemupu '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 Sandeśa poems afford us some information regarding water sports in general. There is no doubt that the kings also indulged in the same types of sports. These will be discussed in the third part under games and pastimes.

The descriptions in the KSM. give us an idea as to the nature of the park and water sports. The king is shown amusing himself amidst his queens; it is more an 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 feet of one woman with the pollen 'drank of the sweetness (honey) of her face with the coral vessel, her lips':

gena muvarṇāda ron - kataka patale sadamin

muvaṃī hāyī e niriṇḍu - lavanaṭa pabaḷa oḍamin (KSM.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 - nāṅgeta sadombata hallata

lomūdehen piya pahas - nomā lada piya ura pahas (KSM. 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 are conventional poetic exaggerations; yet they give us an idea of the nature of the sports.

The KSM. also gives a beautiful description of a drinking scene - (āpāna kriḍā.) 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 tresses of hair that had fallen into the cup of mead, he kissed the lady on her lips:

kataka bona mī vit - hī heta kiyāmbu siñduvara

duralannasin piṁbiye - muva mī gate naravarā (KSM. 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 - naṅgata matakātana niriñdu

nupupule aṅga nuvanin - sulu delē nogilīmat (KSM. 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. No doubt many of the ideas are 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. Mr. Kumaraṅgata, one of the island's leading scholars of the day, threw a challenge, asking anyone to show any place in the Sanskrit literature where such a drinking scene is similarly described. Mr. R. Tennakone in his appreciation of the book remarks: 'ekati kavsiḷumīni karuvan oye avanēdī nam okāvās ṛaju siya sevaṇāllen muvā kaḷa bava nam' ('It is definite', he says, 'that king Okkāka herein reflects or portrays the writer king himself') (Kavsiḷumiṇa Heḷa havula maṅgin, 1946, July 6, p.10). There is some truth in all this, and we cannot just 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; though perhaps this was within the privacy of the royal apartments.

h) Royal Ornaments

A king seems to have had two sets of ornaments, one the Royal Insignia, and the second 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 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 Coḷas 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' (CV. 55.17). Kassapa is said to have fled to Malaya taking his comrades and the royal treasure (CV. 41.28). Another seized power together with the royal ornaments (CV.48.89).

These five royal insignia were known to the Indians as the Rājākakudhabhaṇḍāni:

Nikkhippa pañca kakudhāni kāsīnam ratṭha-vaḍḍhano
vālavijaniṃ unḥisaṃ khaggaṃ chattaṃ upāhanam

(Saṃkicca Jātaka, Fausböll, Jātaka V, p.246).

In rendering the term 'rājākakudhāni' the Ratnāvaliya names the five, viz: Maṅgul kaḍuva (royal sword), heḷa kuḍaya (white umbrella), naḷal paṭa (forehead band), val vidunā (yak-tail fan), ran miri vādi saṅgala (royal golden slippers) (SDR. 308.23). It also refers to the lustre of the polished gems of the forehead band (ibid. 939.12). The PJV. also refers to the same five (PJV.113). These five were known from earliest times as essential belongings of a monarch. The Jātakas refer to them (Fausböll, Jātaka II, p.297). That these were necessary for a consecration ceremony is seen from the fact that Aśoka is said to have sent them with the other necessary articles for Devānampiya Tissa's coronation.

The personal ornaments of the king were sixty-four in number (ṣṣāṭa ābharana). The literature often describes a king as 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 abharana pālaṅḍa ruvan rasiṇ dīliyena anargha oṭunnak pālaṅḍa' (PJV. 283). 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: 'lakaḷa saha vuṭunā tamā baranin tulā ag arā' ('wearing the insignia of royalty, including the crown, he mounted the scale-pans') (EZ. 1.6.229). Nissanka Malla's inscription states that he, 'wearing the crown and other royal insignia, mounted the scale-pans' (EZ. 2.2.81; 2.3.118). 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 SDA., too, confuse the issue. In one place it says: 'ran saḷuvak haṅḍa ranpaṭa ... oṭunuya yana me ādivū siv sāta ābharanayen sārahī' ('wearing a golden robe and decked with the 64 ornaments as golden chain and crown') (SDA. p.87). In the page previous to this it says: 'manahara oṭunnak pāḷaṅḍa ranpaṭa ruvan soḷu ādivū sūsāta ābharanayen sārahunu rajatema' ('the king, who wore a crown and was decked with the 64 ornaments as the golden chain ...') (SDA. p.86). 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 PJV. mentions thirty out of the sixty-four, viz: 1) pādāṅguli, 2) pādābharana, 3) pādā sṛṅkhalā, 4) pādasiri, 5) jaṃghāpātra, 6) vaḷalu, 7) kayurābharana, 8) ūrujāla, 9) hina sāda, 10) makarapaṭa, 11) udara bandhana, 12) hastāṅguli, 13) hastamudrikā, 14) kaipoṭṭu, 15) aṅgadābharana, 16) galamutumāla, 17) ēkāvāla, 18) avulhara, 19) sak dam, 20) mutu dam, 21) ran dam, 22) ridī dam, 23) siddatu dam, 24) pabalu dam, 25) karnā-

bharaṇa, 26) karṇāvataṃsa, 27) karṇa kuṇḍalā, 28) lalāṭa poṭa, 29) pādajāla, 30) voṭunu. Out of these, 4, 5, 23, and 24 are not included in Revata's list (see below). The above list includes the crown, and, therefore, according to the PJV. the crown is one of the sixty-four. Revata Thera in his Sinhalese dictionary (Mahā akārādiya) gives the following list:-

- 1) raṇ paṭa (gold forehead frontlet) (EWP).
- 2) ruvaṇ tōḍu (golden earrings).
- 3) nāga vaḍam (armlet shaped like a coiled-up cobra, with outspread hood; also an ear ornament resembling a cobra's hood worn by women) (Madras T. Lexicon).
- 4) kādu kāppu (ear ornament, rings for the ear; kāppu by itself means a bracelet).
- 5) mutupaṭa (string of pearls).
- 6) kaccodaṃ (EWP. gives this as kaṭṭodaṃ. Kaccha means a tortoise, hence this may be an ornament made of shell. T. kaccu is a belt, girdle, or sash, and vaṭam is a string of jewels or chain of a necklace (Madras T. Lexicon). Therefore kaccodaṃ can even be a jewelled girdle)
- 7) bāhu daṇḍi (sceptre? armlet?) (EWP).
- 8) miṇi kayivaḍam (bracelets made entirely of gems) (EWP).
- 9) gigiri vaḷalu (tinkling bangles).
- 10) hastāṅguli (literally fingers). These seem to have been some sort of ornament for the fingers, perhaps different from finger-rings. These may have taken the shape of the fingers themselves - hence perhaps the name. The Hāṭadāge portico slab-inscription of Nissanka Malla refers to raṇ āṅguli (EZ. 2.2.87), which has been rendered as 'golden fingers' by the translator, who has added a note to say that Mr. Burrows renders it as gold rings. Perhaps the two, raṇ āṅguli and hastāṅguli, are identical.

- 11) hasta mudrikā (cp. hasmunda, the signet ring).
- 12) kaipoṭṭu (possibly a bracelet) (South Indian Inscriptions, ii, 80.7).
- 13) aṅgadābharana (bracelet for the upper arm) (MW).
- 14) ekāvāla (a single string of pearls, beads or flowers) (MW).
- 15) karnāvataṃsa (hanging ornament for the ear) (MW).
- 16) grīvālamkāra (ornament for the neck).
- 17) padakkam (a pendant set with gems and suspended from a necklace) (Madras T. lexicon).
- 18) karna sūtra (possibly a string-like ornament for the ear).
- 19) mini bandhi (a gem-set ornament, ornament of pearls) (MW)
- 20) galmutumāla (pearl necklace, or may be an ornament set with precious stones and pearls).
- 21) mutu māla (strings of pearls).
- 22) gelamutu māla (pearl necklace).
- 23) mini mutu māla (strings of pearls and gems).
- 24) darśana māla (?)
- 25) nilmini māla (strings of sapphires).
- 26) ranpeti māla (strings of golden roundels; cp. what is known as the payum māla, which is a necklace made of sovereigns attached to a golden chain).
- 27) liya ran māla (?)
- 28) ruvan māla (may be strings of gems; also cp. ruvan vāla, golden girdle) EWP).
- 29) vaṭa ran māla (cp. ranpeti māla. This may be a string or necklace made of balls of gold, as ran peti may be one made of golden discs, like the coins).
- 30) tunkot māla (possibly a three-pointed chain).
- 31) siv kot māla (possibly a four-pointed chain).
- 32) hasta poṭṭu (cp. (T) poṭṭu, a gold ornament in the shape of small metal cups strung together and worn round the neck; also a kind of jewel (Madras T. Lexicon) (cp. kayi poṭṭu).

- 33) mevul dam (parure or girdle-band).
- 34) pasrū (fivefold form ornaments (EWP); cp. ornaments made in the shape of birds, etc., today).
- 35) pas perahara ?
- 36) sat ruvan vāla (string of the seven kinds of gems).
- 37) ran savadi (gold waist-chain (EWP); cp. T. savadi, an ornament for the neck consisting of three or more gold cords, also ear ornament worn by women (Madras T. lexicon)).
- 38) rajata savadi (silver waist-chain).
- 39) mutu savadi (waist-chain set with pearls).
- 40) sat ruvan savadi (waist-chain set with the seven kinds of gems).
- 41) ran mini savadi (possibly golden waist-chains set with gems).
- 42) keyurābharana (wrist-ornament).
- 43) ūru jāla (thigh ornament, perhaps worked in the form of a net).
- 44) inasāduma (waist ornament; may be some sort of robe set with gems or worked otherwise).
- 45) udara bandhana (waist-belt).
- 46) makara paṭa (chain worked with a makara?).
- 47) naḷal paṭa (forehead band).
- 48) pāda saṅkhalā (cp. cataṅkai (T), string of small metal bells; string of silver or gold bells worn by children and women as an ornament for the feet or waist (Madras T. lexicon). Also cp. pāda-saṅkha-jālā, conch-shaped ornament for the foot (EWP)).
- 49) pādābharana (ornament for the feet) (EWP).
- 50) pāda jāla (possibly a net-like ornament for the leg; a sort of net-work round the feet).
- 51) kiṅkinika jāla (tinkling bell net work) (EWP).

- 52) pādāṅguli (cp. hastāṅguli, a similar ornament for the feet); (toe-rings) (MW).
- 53) pāda jamghā vaḷalu (some sort of bangles for the calves).
- 54) patra vaḷalu (possibly bangles made of broad sheets of gold, etc., thick bangles; cp. pattiram (T.), a leaf-like ornament, and valaya (T), bracelet or armlet. Patra vaḷalu may therefore be an armlet in the shape of a leaf).
- 55) ran dam (golden chains).
- 56) mutu dam (pearl strings).
- 57) sak dam (shell strings).
- 58) ridī dam (silver chains).
- 59) mini dam (strings of gems).
- 60) mut hara (pearl chains).
- 61) nil mini savadi (waist chains of sapphire).
- 62) ran mutu māla (possibly golden chains set with pearls).
- 63) oṭunu (crown).
- 64) avulhara ?

The list given by Mādoviṭa Nānānanda in his glossary to the Butsarāṇa differs from this in three places. Instead of number 51, kiṅkinika jāla in the above list, he has ruvan soḷu and he also omits number 21, mutu māla of the above list. He has treated number 4, kādu kāppu, as two ornaments, kādu and kāppu, which is quite unlikely. The SDA. mentions ran poṭa, ruvan paṭa and ruvan soḷu, which are included in the above list (SDA. 86, 87, 183). The SDR. also mentions ruvan soḷu, viz., 'naḷala bāndi ruvansoḷuvehi mānik gal ginivara kaḷa heyin ī tejasa', thus referring to the lustre produced by the polished gems of the ruvan soḷu tied on the forehead (SDR. 932.12).

The Thūpa-vaṃsa (ed. D. E. Hettiaratṅchi, p.80) speaks of Duṭṭagemuṇu as being decked in the 64 ornaments, such as:

ran paṭa (gold forehead frontlet, according to EWP).

ruvan soḷu (an ornament tied on the forehead, according to the SDR) (see above).

karna kuṇḍalābharana (ornament for the ear; cp. kaḍukkama of today).

tāḍaṅka (tāṭaṅkam according to the Chūḍamaṇi-nighaṇṭu is a woman's ornament for the ear).

nāga vaḍam

kādu kāppu

mutu paṭa

kaṭṭodam

bāhu daṇḍi

mini vaḷalu

kayi vaḷalu

gigiri vaḷalu

maṇi kai vaḍam

pasrū

ruvan vāla

ran savādi

pāda saṅkhalā

pādābharana

pāsalaṃba (anklets) (EWP).

kiṃkinika jāla

Out of these the above list does not include tāḍaṅka, kayi vaḷalu and pāsalaṃba.

In the foregoing pages, EWP. refers to Mr. 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 Mr. Perera observes that though the 64 ornaments of Sinhalese royalty are frequently mentioned in history, sannas and literature, a list of them is not readily available. He refers to five kinds of oṭunu, crowns, viz., siddha (celestial),

mini (jewel), siṃha (lion), vyāghra (tiger), and ruvan (golden). He hardly affords us much information regarding the 64 ornaments.

We have already referred to the royal signet, hasmunda, of the Sinhalese kings. The SDR. 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 palasak peravagena' (SDR. 170.14), and 'lakṣayak vaṭinā ran saḷuvak hāṇḍa' (SDA.87). The slab-inscription of Mahinda IV also speaks of a white scarf, 'sevel badnā apa parapuren'. Dr. Paranavitāna translates 'sevel' as white scarf. The Kāvyaśekharaya describes the king as wearing a 'white scarf':

gata savbaraṇa sādi
balamin isa sevuḷu bāndi
kirulada tama pālāṇḍi
tabā ohu mudunātehi 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 head') (Canto 15, v.14).

A simile worked out in the Kataragama inscription mentions the dress of the chief queen: 'Taraṅgavāḷa raḷi ot mahamuhundme nildiyul han numba gaṅgama daḷa leḷa muṭ harin hobnā hat udā girikuḷume mini koḍulu palan dambadiṅ poḷov ag mehesna palan mini suṃbuḷuvak bandu nan siri lakaḷa...' ('adorned with the varied splendour, comparable to a jewelled wreath worn by the chief queen, the land of Daṃbadiṅ, 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 jewel earrings worn by whom are the mountain peaks Hat and Udā') (EZ. 3.4.223). The SDA. also mentions paṭṭakāra, pāmutiliṅgam,

kādukāppu, koṇḍamal, as the ornaments of a queen (biso
paḷaṅdanā) (SDA. 182).

.....

CHAPTER III.ADMINISTRATION.

We have hardly any information regarding the real nature of the administration of the island at this time; but we can form a faint idea of its chief elements by examining the conditions that came before and after. It is unfortunate that the inscriptions mostly deal with immunities granted to temples or individuals, and hardly ever speak of constitutional matters. We can be almost sure that there existed no written law or constitution by which the king was guided and the administration controlled. 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). There being no written law, the king was at liberty to act according to his wishes, being supreme in matters both civil and military. He was guided no doubt by custom and tradition that was handed down, and should have acted according to the wishes of the council. How far he disregarded these 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 Vevälkäṭiya 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 Jayawardhanapura (EZ. 3.2.67). The Poḷonnaruva Council-Chamber

inscription of the tenth century refers to the settlement of disputes regarding a Tamil allotment by the gentlemen who sit 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 Prime Minister. 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 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 pleased or annoyed 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 Mr. 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' (ibid. 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

the kings have toured the island on various occasions. For example, Nissanka Malla refers off and on to the fact that he toured Tri-Sīhala. The SDR. also mentions that kings were wont to tour the country in disguise (SDR. 234.18). Stories of this nature are often related in connection with the kings of Kandy. King Gajabāhu is said to have gone about the city in the night. Nissanka Malla was pleased to tour 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, Daṁbadeṇiya, and Anurādhapura (EZ. 2.3.141). The VSM., too, refers to kings going about on elephants (VSM. IV.36).

Mr. 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 in vogue during the succeeding century, at least as far as the general principles were concerned. He states: 'With Parākramabāhu 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. The Nikāya-saṅgraha attributes to Parākrama the creation, or rather the reorganization, of the great offices of State, as well as of the various departments, to which the villages throughout the kingdom were attached. It seems possible that he abolished the practical autonomy of the "sub-king's country" and of Ruhuna, establishing instead a centralized form of government for the whole island' (A Short History of Ceylon, p.67).

The SDR. refers to the mode of proclamations. Decrees, orders of the king, enactments, endowments, etc., seem to have been made known to the public by beat of drum. 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., became valid and came into effect only after such documents had been stamped with the Royal Seal. This is brought out by the SDR. when it says: 'liyannan liyālū patkaḍeyi rajjuruvan lū oppuva nisā e teme sanhas vīda' (SDR. 55.24). The inscriptions bear evidence that this was the practice even in the preceding centuries, e.g. the Nāgama pillar-inscription states 'hasin pamunu kot vadāla taṇa bimhi' (In the 'taṇa bima' (grass land) which had been assigned with (His Highness's) seal as a pamanu (descendible grant) land) (EZ. 2.1.16).

a) The Council of State.

'Luckily the inscriptions on the Pillars of Nissanka

Malla's "Council Chamber" at Polonnaruva supply us with definite information as to its constituent members. These were the Yuvarāja, otherwise known as Māpā or sub-king; the Epās or princes; the Senevirad 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 Siṭu-nā. But we are still without knowledge as to the powers of this body' (Codrington, A Short History of Ceylon, p.68). Though Mr. Codrington gives the composition of the council and this has been accepted by Dr. Mendis, it is unsafe to assert that all officers mentioned in the list did actually go to form the council. The reference in the inscription may be to some general state assembly, and it is probable that the council itself may have been formed 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 rather 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 makes out, 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, specially so with no quick modes of transport available. Therefore the reference in the Kaṇḍavuru-sirita to a rajanāyaka (Provincial Chief), and a disānāyaka (District Chief) among the officers who sat in some sort of assembly (see below), seems to be to two officers, a provincial and a district chief, who were very likely 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 Rohana, Malaya and Vanni. The CV. also refers to the monarchs of Vanni and also to the ruler of Vīrabāhu in the time of Parākramābāhu II (CV. 88.87,90). Whether these principal officers formed something like a Cabinet it is not safe to surmise. The Moragda 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', Dr. Paranavitāna says that it may be a derivative of Skt. eka+āsthāna', the one (or supreme) assembly' as distinct from other assemblies (ibid. n.2). This reference shows that there was an assembly which was distinct from all other councils. Hence it is most probable that some assembly similar to the Cabinet of today was known.

The Kaṇḍavuru-sirita further states that later on in the day the king (Parākramābāhu II) sat on the throne surrounded by the following officers: Senānāyaka (Commander-in-Chief); ekanāyaka (probably an officer of the Treasury. The Haṃsa-sandēśa mentions ekanāyaka in describing the royal assembly (Haṃsa, ed. P.D.S. Weerasuriya, v.49); baṇḍāranāyaka (Chief of the Treasury); disānāyaka (District Chief); adhikaranāyaka (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.1, Introduction, p.xxvi); arthanāyaka (Economic Adviser); gajanāyaka (Superintendent of Elephants); ratanāyaka (Provincial Chief); mudalnāyaka (Chief Accountant); badunāyaka (Chief Revenue Officer); dahampasaknā

(Ecclesiastical Commissioner); mahaviyatnā (probably Minister of Education); mahanākātinā (Chief Astrologer); mahavedanā (Chief Medical Officer); siṅgānā (P. asiggāhaka-nāyaka. With reference to this title Geiger observes: 'Among 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 Sīlakāla and entrusts him with the guardianship of the Hair Relic') (CV. pt.1, Introduction III, p. xxviii); dahamgeyinā (probably a Minister of Justice); mahaveleṅdanā (Chief Merchant); siṭunā (Chief setthi); mulaṅginā (probably superintendent or officer in charge of the royal kitchen); arakmenā (Chief Conservator); mahadoranā probably chief officer of the royal household, perhaps similar to the Lord Chamberlain or chief of the Gate Mudaliyars (vāsala mudali); kilimnā (The term kiliṅ 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-Goḷobāgama Baḥaṭusivim (EZ. 1.5.200), Kiliṅ Gavayim (EZ. 2.1.18). In a footnote to the first example above Wickrama-singha gives Kalinga Goṭhābhaya-gāma as an explanation. According to the inscriptions this official was one who went to set up pillars of Council Warranty (EZ. 2.1.19). He must, therefore, have been a high officer of the state); kapunā (Chief Officer of Popular Cults).

Compared with this list, that quoted by Mr. Codrington from the inscriptions seems to be incomplete (or it may even be that the council of Parākramabāhu II had a larger personnel); in any case, we may consider that the Kaṅḍavuru-sirita gives a fuller list of the personnel that formed the

council. Mr. Codrington also concludes that at the head of the principal merchants was the siṭunā; but we shall see later that the merchants were represented by the veleṅṅnā, the Chief Merchant, and that the siṭunā was quite a distinct official who represented the seṭṭhis.

b) Officers of State

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

'The dignity of uparāja', 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 Bhuvanekabāhu and made over to him^e part of the kingdom (CV. 82.4). We hear of two uparājas in the reign of Kirtiśri 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 ...' The SDR. refers only to a yuvarāja in the lists of officers, e.g. raja, yuvaraja, maha āmati; raja, yuvaraja, senevi (268.24, 450.36).

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 Sīlakāla is said to have conferred the dignity of ādipāda on his eldest son Moggallāna (CV. 41.34). On the second he conferred the title of Malayarāja (41.35). This shows, as remarked by Geiger, that 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, mapā, mahayā) which also seems to have been borne by the heir-apparent. We first hear of Aggabodhi I conferring the title of mahādipāda on his sister's son. The thirteenth century pillar-inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu 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 Bhuvanekabāhu held the dignity of yuvarāja (CV. 82.4).

Referring to the above inscription Dr. Paranavitāna remarks that the inscription records the grant of land to a pirivena by the heir-apparent māpā Bhuvanekahāhu; this prince held the office of yuvarāja, which is very often synonymous with māpā (EZ. 3.5.387). The PJV. states that Parākramabāhu bestowed the titles of yuvarāja and mahāpā on his brother (PJV.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 mahādipāda Dr. Paranavitāna 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 Bhuvanekabāhu Mahapā and the Nāgama pillar-inscription of Udā Mahapā definitely show that the mahapās and the sub-kings wielded a great amount of authority in matters of state. These two māpās made endowments on their own authority. The phrase 'Udā Mahāpā had assigned with (his own) seal as a pamuṇu 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 mahāpāda, and the other princes of royal blood uparājās or ādipādas.

Purohita

Another official who wielded great influence in the king's court was the formidable personage, the purohita, the chaplain. He was the king's adviser on all matters, and hence a trusted companion of the king. The institution of the purohita seems to have been maintained even up to the last phases of the Sinhalese kingdom. Pandit Puññaratana thera states that Delgoḍa Vijetunga atapattu mudiyanse held this post under Rājasimha II (Laṅkāve-purā-tattvaya, p.77). The first chaplain mentioned is Canda in the time of Paṇḍukābhaya (MV. 10.79). Devānampiya Tissa is said to have bestowed the title of purohita on a brahmin (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 brāhmaṇas who served as chief domestic chaplains (EZ. 3.2.68). The PJV. also refers to the fact that a purohita reigned for six months during the intrigues of Līlāvatī (p.724).

Literary works, such as the SDR., make copious references to purohitas; and they have been depicted as being very free and familiar with the king. The appointment of a brahmin par excellence to this office was in keeping with all Indian tradition. It is difficult to say whether this post was always held by a brahmin; that this was not so in the later periods is seen by the appointment made by Rājasimha II. Irrespective of the person who held the post, we see that the purohita

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 senāpati 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 senāpati Deva during the time of Parākramabāhu I. The CV. records the treachery of senāpati Mitta, who caused Vijayabāhu to be put to death (CV. 90.2). The beginning of the thirteenth century saw the investiture of Laṅkādhikāra Lolupālākūlu Duttāṭi Abhonāvan as senāpati, 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. 2.5.228). Here we see an instance of a senāpati who held a double portfolio, that of senāpati and prime minister. The senāpati 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 peacetime. With reference to this office, Geiger makes the following remarks: 'Head of the whole army is, however, the senāpati. 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. Dhātusena appoints his sister's son senāpati (38.81). In the same way Parākramabāhu II, in the war against the Jāvakas, entrusts the highest command in the army to his sister's son Vīrabāhu (83.41). I do not think, however, that the conclusion is warranted that this position was reserved for the bhāgineyya. He could indeed become senāpati if he had the necessary qualifications and if he possessed the confidence of the monarch, but the king was not bound in his choice by conditions of relationship' (CV. pt. I, Introduction, pp.26-7). 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 Kaṇḍavurusirita mentions five chief officials: 'raja, yuvaraja, senevirat, āpā, māpā pañca pradhāna maha senaga dākum dī siṭi saṇḍa', thus showing that they were the chief officials of state under Parākramabāhu II. 'Raja' here no doubt refers to the provincial rulers who ruled in the provinces, acknowledging the supremacy of the king. The Masulipatam plates of Ammarāja II mention several high officials of state as the vassal kings, purohita, senāpati, 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 may have been 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. only states that because they were constantly engaged in the different duties of a king, they were also expected to have a knowledge of the Dhamma. Referring to the title 'amacca', minister, Prof. 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.25). 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 thereof.

We are told that Devānampiya Tissa had his nephew Mahāriṭṭha as his Chief Minister, along with whom he sent his Chaplain, his Treasurer and another minister as envoys to Aśoka (MV. 11.20). 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'. Referring to this, Prof. 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 poss-

ible 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 Kāamboja. Parākrama, 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 Demaḷādhikārin, by name Adicca...' (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 Saddharmaratnāvaliya refers to an interesting episode connected with a minister of King Duṭṭugemuṇu, Lakunṭaka Atimbaru by name. It is stated that he once went to a village called Mahāmuni in Digāmaḍulla on some official business, and there he fell in love with a beautiful girl, Sumana by name, and married her (SDR. 851.8). The Galpota inscription of Nissanka 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 also seem to have come to the court in the morning to pay their homage to the king. This is also 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. Parākrama-bāhu II, after holding the ceremony of his consecration is said to have received on account of his learning the title of 'kalikāla-sāhitya-sarvañña-paṇḍita'. 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 yuvarāja (CV. 82.3). Aggabodhi 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). As for the withdrawing of such titles and endowments thus given, we are told that King Dhātusena, who being 'wroth with those belonging to noble clans or to kinship villages who had attached themselves to the Daṃḍas, 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 who attached themselves to his father's murderer (CV. 39.35). King Jetṭha 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 SDR. refers to occasions when the ministers were banished from the kingdom. Thus we see that the king got rid of anyone who incurred his displeasure.

At the head of the ministers was the Prime Minister. King Mahāsenā had a high minister who was known to be just. This minister is said to have decided a matter according to right and law, but against the wishes of the king (MV.35.39). This reference may be to a Minister of Justice, who seems to have acted independently of the king, as a judge should always do. The CV. also refers to more than one high

dignitary at the same time (CV. 72.70, 72.181). It may be that some kings had more than one chief minister. Two chief officials, 'mūlāmaccā', of Gajabāhu are referred to (CV.69.29). These chief ministers were known as Mahāmaccā or Mūlāmattā.

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 SDA. 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. Tissa lived happily ever after (SDA. 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 SDR. also refers to a royal preceptor or rājaguru in the story of Kāṣṭhavāhana. It is very likely that 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 Mugālan Mahāthera of Uturuḷa-mūḷa, who is endowed with piety and virtuous

conduct and with a knowledge of all Sāstras 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 can glean some evidence from the MV. to show that there was such a post, or that a monk occupied the place of a royal teacher or adviser under certain kings. We hear that during the time of Goṭhābhaya a Coḷian monk named Saṅgha-Tissa was employed as teacher of his two sons Jeṭṭha-Tissa and Mahāsena, and that Mahāsena wrought many an evil deed under the influence of this monk (MV. 36.116, 37.13; Nikāya-saṅgraha, p.13). Next we hear of Aggabodhi 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, Prof. Geiger adds that Dāṭhāsiva apparently took a post at court corresponding to that of purohita in the Indian courts. The CV. also records that 'a grandson of King Dāṭhopatissa, 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 pāsāda. 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 mūlatthāna, 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 devatās, 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 'mūlatthāna' 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 Aggabodhi I shows that this post may have originated about this time; and probably the office referred to is that of the rājaguru, 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 purohita in certain times, as often happened in India. From the very origin of this post, the purohita has remained an ācariya, teacher of the king. What often happened was that the purohita was the teacher of the king in his youth, and was ultimately appointed to the post 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 Coḷa 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 Rājaguru Baṇḍāra, a pupil of Saṅgharāja Saraṇaṅkara. We also hear of Moratoṭa Dhammakkhanda thera, the royal teacher of Rājādhirājasimha. The following verses from the Moratoṭa-vata establish this, and also throw light on the CV. passage regarding the appointment of a royal preceptor, and quoted above:

metun kalata oba vāni viyatek nāta tevaḷābaṇa pelarut dānenā
mevan mahimaval viṣituru kara kara yedilā nimanāti guṇa varuṇā
etān paṭan avavāde pihiṭā delovin vāda sādā kiyānā
utūm rājaguru tanaturu moratoṭa teriṇḍuṭa deviyangen lābunā
 (Moratoṭa-vata, ed. Albert De Silva, v.61). This verse

states that Moratota thera received the title of rājaguru at the hands of the gods. This no doubt 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 post of rājaguru.

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 recognition and social eminence 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. This also reminds us of the practice that exists up to date of bestowing honorary titles and ranks of honour, as was characteristic of Indian life. 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, thus showing that he had certain official duties to perform ('daham geyi nā, maha veleṇḍanā siṭunā', Kaṇḍavuru-sirita). This reference also makes it clear that the siṭunā was an officer different from the mahaveleṇḍnā (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 (dhammagehaka-nāyaka), and the chief of the seṭṭhis (seṭṭhinātha), during the time of Vijayabāhu I (CV. 59.17). The Nikāya-saṅgrahava, too, mentions the siṭunā as an officer of state during the time of Parakramabāhu I (Nikāya-saṅgrahava, ed. Kumaraṇatunga, p.20). The Maḍavala rock-inscription also refers to a high official by the name of Joti Siṭāṇa, who has set his signature to a grant of land along with the Āpā (EZ. 3.5.236). The Gaḍalāḍeṇiya slab-inscription of the 16th century mentions siṭu in a list of officials, viz. 'raja, yuvaraja, āpā, māpā, siṭu senevirat adhikāra ātuluvū kavarataram kenakunṭat' (EZ. 4.1.22).

We have a parallel to our seṭṭhinātha in the Indian inscriptions. There is no doubt that the position of our chief seṭṭhi was similar to that of the śreṣṭhins 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 vishayapatis (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-śreṣṭhin, 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-śreṣṭhin, it is stated that he probably represented the various guilds or corporations in the town, or the rich urban population, and that the word śreṣṭhin came to mean a 'banker' in later days (ibid. p.131, n.4). Another title used in the plates is kula-śreṣṭhin, which is explained in a note as the foremost person in the company of artisans. According to this, the nagara-śreṣṭhin was only the richest man in the particular city, and there would have been at least one in every vishaya (district) to help the vishayapati (District Commissioner). Considering these, we may say that our siṭunā was either the representative of the seṭṭhis, 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 śreṣṭhin of these inscriptions, who seems to have held a high position in the court. That the śreṣṭhin 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 antaḥpura-mahāmātra, the purōhita, the amātya, the śrēṣṭhin, the sēnāpati, the śrīkarana, the dharmādhyakṣa, and twelve sthān-ādipatis' (EI. Vol.24, p.273). The Bannahalli plates of Kṛishṇavarman 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 Devānampiya Tissa bestowed the rank of setṭhi (setṭhittam) on his treasurer or accountant (gaṇakassa):

adā senāpatiṭṭhānam tuṭṭho ritṭhassa bhūpati,
porhiccam brānmaṇassa, daṇḍanāyaka tam pana
adāsi tassāmacassa, setṭhittam gaṇakassa tu

(MV. 11, 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 śreṣṭhin was only the 'foremost man' in a town. We also have evidence that this term seṭṭhi (T. eṭṭi) was conferred on rich merchants even in the Tamil country. In explaining the term eṭṭi 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. Eṭṭi was one such title' (Cilappatikāram, Introduction, p.39). Dr. Swaminātha Aiyar, in his commentary of the Maṇimēkalai, states that the term eṭṭi is a title that was conferred on the people of the vaiśya caste: Vaiśyar perum paṭṭap peyar (Maṇimēkalai, 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 now be conjectured that as time went on, the two things, namely, the śreṣṭhins 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 śreṣṭhins. 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 Nissanka Malla (EZ. 3.3.151). Prof. 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 Kauṭilya. 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 mūlaṭṭhāna (57.38) "the first, the highest and most influential position", the foremost office in the state. My impression is that jīvitapotthakin 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 foodstuffs which were under the supervision and control of the potthakin' (CV. pt.I, Introduction, p.29).

The SDR. also refers to officers who were engaged in the distinct work connected with that of revenue and expenditure and also of recording the income or revenue (SDR. 127.15). The same officers are no doubt referred to in the Giritale pillar-inscription of Udaya II: 'Officers of the two treasuries

and the two départements...' (deruvanā de kamtān) (EZ. 3.3.141). According to Dr. Paranavitāna, the two departments referred to are those of revenue and expenditure (ibid). (The term āyapotthakin is explained as 'dravya ā kākāspan hevat lēkam' in the Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya, p.7). The SDR. also refers to a title mudalpat (335.33). Pat here is perhaps identical with pan of the Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya, meaning books, and account books are no doubt meant. Therefore mudalpat may have been an officer of the Treasury similar to, or even identical with, that of mūlapotthakin of the CV.

The CV. also refers to the treasurers of Gajabāhu's father, and to the fact that Gajabāhu separated finance administration from that of the army (CV. 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. Prof. Geiger's views on this may be first 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 Māyāgeha as a reward for his military services, the dignity of an adhikārin (adhikāripadaṃ). 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 ganakāmacca named Adicca (76.39 ff.)' (CV. pt. I, Introduction,

p.25). The Batalagoḍa vāva slab-inscription dated in the fifth year of Queen Kalyānavatī (AD. 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, Dr. Paranavitāna 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 Dr. Paranavitāna. Other records also show that there were adhikārins of high status designated by the titles Laṅkādhikārin and Deṃaḷādhikārin. Gajabāhu is said to have bestowed the office of adhikārin on the chief Māyāgeha, and that of Laṅkādhikārin on Saṅkhanāyaka Kittī (CV. 70).

The Adhikārin Rakkha, who was stationed at Maṅgalabegāma, 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 Mindal who held the office of Deṃaḷa-adhikārin was administering the Pasyodun district (EZ. 4.4.198). Referring to the same inscription, Dr.

Paranavitāna adds that 'the official title Demaḷa-adhikārin is known from the Mahā-vaṃsa 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 Daṃbadeṇiya period, though of course we cannot definitely assert that they had fallen into disuse' (EZ. 4.4.199,200). Though Dr. Paranavitāna makes this statement, the references to these two officials, namely, Laṅkā- and Demaḷa-adhikāra by the author of the SDR. make us conjecture that these two posts were in vogue during the Daṃbadeṇiya period. In translating the Pali passage 'amma sasuro kira te kosala rañño saddhiṃ āgato, tassa katara gehaṃ paṭijaggitabbaṃ, rañño kataraṃ, uparājādīnaṃ katarānīti', Dhammasena says: 'puta, topage mayilanuvo kosol rajjuruvaṇ vahanset kāṇḍavāgena avuya, topagē mayilapuvantaṇa navātānaṇa kavara geyak nilakaramōda. Yuvarajjuruvaṇa ... laṅkādhikāra demaḷa-adhikāra mudalpat ādīvū ē ē denāṇa kavara kavara geval...' (SDR. 335.29). 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 very mention of the two adhikāriṇs makes us feel certain that he was definitely conscious of the existence of such offices. Hence we have not the slightest doubt that these titles were in vogue in the Daṃbadeṇiya period. Further, we see no reason to presume that these posts fell into disuse, specially when they were very much in use and conspicuous in the times just preceding the Daṃbadeṇiya 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, Ābōnāvan, 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 in vogue during the Kandyan times. Puññaratana thera refers to a number of adhikāriṇs as Palle gampāhe mahā adhikāram, Uḍagampāhe deveni adhikāram, and also a tunveni adhikāram of Vikramarāja-siṃha (Laṅkāve purā-tattvaya, p.84). It is difficult to ascertain what exactly their duties were; but no doubt they were high officials of state in whom both administrative and military duties were combined.

Pratirāja

The PJV. records that Parākramabāhu II carried out immense religious activity through one of his ministers, Deva-Pratirāja, who was a true believer in the Triple Gem (see also CV.86.4). Mayūrapāḍa Thera is also said to have sent his religious treatise Pūjāvaliya to the king through this minister (PJV. 51). The PJV. refers to him as Prime 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 Deva-Pratirāja...' (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 Dunukevatu-vaṃśa (Eḷu-attanagalu-vaṃśaya, ed. Kumāraṇaṅgunga, p.48).

This title also appears later in the Gaḍalādeniya rock-inscription of the 14th century, where māy^ṃ pratirājas are mentioned. Dr. Paranavitāna, 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 Bhuvanekabāhu 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 rāja is most probably suffixed as an honorific, precisely as it occurs in the Sinhalese word senevirada (Skt. senāpatirāja)... 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 Deva-Pratirāja, or Deva-Patirāja in the CV., PJV., and the Attanagalu-vaṃśaya suggest that this was his name. The CV. says: 'Devapratirāja by name'; and the PJV has 'Devapratirāja namvū amātyayā'; the Attanagalu-

vaṃśaya also has 'Devapratirāja namvū amātyayānan yavā'. Hence it is not unreasonable to conclude that this was the name of the minister, and that in later times pratirāja or patirāja may have been used as a title, as supposed by Dr. Parānavitāna.

Territorial Officers.

The SDR. often refers to a class of officers known as mudali, which is a Tamil word meaning 'first man'. The writer of the book, however, uses this term in translating the Pali term 'gāma-bhojaka'. 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 (PJV. 510). It says that certain people carried tales or sneaked to the mudaliyars and roused their anger against others. The references in the SDR. are numerous; e.g. 'ek danav vāsi minisek gam-mudalin daknata ennē ... gam-mudalinta demīyi kiyālā', is the translation of the Pali, 'janapadassa manusso gāma-bhojakam passitum āgacchanto ... gāma-bhojakassa dassāmīti...' (SDR. 497.11). It is interesting to note that the term gāma-bhojaka is explained as 'tumā vasana gamā-vaḷaṅṅjanuvā' in the Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya in the same context as given above (DPAG. p.158). The SDR. and DPAG. again give the same renderings, viz. gam-mudali and gam-vaḷaṅṅduhaṭa respectively (SDR. 106.23, DPAG. p.33). Again the SDR. in translating the Pali 'saputta-dārakam gāma-bhojakam tesam dāsam ... adāsi' says: 'aṃbudaruvan piṭinma gam-mudaliyā unṭa ... dunha' (SDR. 258.31). The DPAG explains gāma-bhojaka in this context as 'gam-ladu' (p.89). These references definitely show that during this time there was an officer of state who was known as mudali, and that no such title was in vogue at

the time of the DPAG. The Palkumbura sannasa shows that this title was used during the later times: 'was pleased to command in the midst of the mudaliyars (mudaliṅḍu) 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 SDR. refers to a mudali in charge of a hundred villages (182.2). It also seems likely that these village headmen were appointed from amidst the people of the village itself. The position held by them may have been similar to that of the mudaliyars whom Ceylon knew under British occupation. This officer may also have enjoyed the revenue from the village, in which he lived as his emolument, as the term 'gam-lādu' itself indicates.

Another official, no doubt of a higher rank, is mentioned in the SDR. in rendering the Pali terms 'āyasādhako' and 'āyuttaka puriso', as 'raṭa-vicāraṇa dhurayaku vāniyaha' (815.39). By this is perhaps meant a local official with civil judicial authority in the village, without distinction as to the nature of the cases that might be tried by him. In another context the SDR. uses the term 'raṭa-nāyaka', referring very likely to the same official (816.21). 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 Diyāvālla Kasbā who has received (the governorship of) the district of Maharaṭ in the province of (Giri) vaḍunnā, and by Hivaḷā Agbo, who has received (the governorship of) the

adjoining district' (Mahamal Budāhu vajjanin (Giri) vaḍunnā-
danaviyehi Maharaṭ-lad Diyavāllā Kasbāyahu isā v(e)ta-raṭ-lad
Hivaḷā Agboyahu isā ... (EZ. 4.1.41). That district headmen
 (raṭ-lādu) or keepers of district record-books (pas-ladu)
 should not appropriate the melāṭsin, etc., is recorded in the
 Iripinniyāva pillar-inscription of the same century. In the
 introductory remarks to the Poḷonnaruva inscription quoted
 above, Dr. Paranavitāna 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, he says, was
 probably an officer of the rank of raṭe 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 Dr. Paranavitāna (EZ.
 2.5.216). In an explanatory note to the term he equates it
 with the Skt. diśānāthānām or diśā-nāyakānām. He further
 states that dasa-nā may be the title of the chief administra-
 tive officer of a dasa-gam, 'group of ten villages', which
 term is explained by him in the introductory note to the
 Vevālkāṭiya slab-inscription of Mahinda IV. 'We are con-
 fronted', 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 Pali dasa, "ten", or with dāsa,
 "a slave", it is difficult to decide. The fact, however, that
 the dasa-gamā 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 Khālimpūr 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-grāma), "villages that supply robes to the priesthood", gabaḍā-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. 1.6.243). The Alutnuvara slab-inscription of the fifteenth century refers to raṭa-nāyakas and disā-nāyakas of the Satara Kōrale (EZ. 4.6.270). The SDA relates the story of a minister Siva, who was sent as gāma-bhojaka to Māvatu paṭungama. Siri Saṅgabo Udā in his Baḍulla 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 SDR., which also mentions that people were in the habit of taking presents to these officers (SDR.497.11), and that very often these officials were badly 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 held judicial administration in their hands, and it is very likely that the biggest fee had the best deal.

Other Royal Officers

In addition to all the officers above mentioned, the State also employed a large number of other officers in administrative and executive capacities. They also 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 (SDR. 854.3, 828.1). The Pali expression 'rājapurisā naṃ gaheṭvā rañño dassesiṃ' is translated in the SDR. as 'gam-rakavallu geyaka hasukotagena gasā alvāgena rajjuruvanta pāvūya' (the village watchmen caught them in a house and showed them to the king). The SDA., too, mentions that thieves were waylaid by village watchmen (SDA. 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 Udaya became the nagaraguttika in the time of Paṇḍukābhaya, and also states that there were nagaraguttikas (guardians of the city) from that time onwards. The statement quoted above from the SDR. slightly hints that a certain amount of manhandling was also practised by these officers.

The PJV. also mentions an office arakmenā tanaturu, and Nissanka Malla's slab-inscription speaks of a Lōke Arakmenā, who was charged with the restoring of the Mirisavāṭi and other vihāras. He was also given great wealth and a hundred

yālas of paddy. Dr. Parānavitāna renders this title as 'conservator-in-chief of monuments' (EZ. 2.2.83, n.2). It is therefore likely that the monarchs appointed someone to look after the temples, monasteries, and other religious establishments.

As personal officers the kings seem to have had quite a large number of employees. In the first place, there were the palace guards; then there were the bodyguards. The inscription of Sena I refers to the gentlemen of the bodyguard (EZ. 3.6.290). The Kaludiyapokuna inscription of the tenth century refers to a Commander of the Bodyguard (EZ. 3.5.269). 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, 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 of theirs to the officials of the secretariat of the State Council for redress of such grievances (e.g., EZ. 3.2.81). In the Āmbagamuva rock-inscription employees of the royal family are prohibited from entering the lands dedicated to the sacred Footprint (EZ. 2.5.218).

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c) Administration of Justice

The administration of justice was one of the primary functions of the state. 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 SDR. says: 'voṭunu paḷan rajadaruvan adhikaraṇayehi hunamaṇā bāvin' (238. 30). The kings are often advised to rule righteously, by which is meant a conscientious, rightful and impartial discharge of legal 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 Law 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 āttevī nam boru yukti kiyālā ... śāsanika vuvot pakṣabala ladin ... nāvata atlas kāpiyā ... tavada yam kenek pohosattu vū nam nohimi vūvan himikaravā nulūvot gahaṭak vādahetī yana bhayin ayuktiyama yuktikoṭa kiyatda' (SDR. 780.10). 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 SDR.

refers to bribes to witnesses: 'des kīvavunṭa dena atlasakse' (SDR. 55.34). 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). As is shown by this reference, it is likely that corruption was largely practised only by the subordinates. The king's keen sense of justice is brought out by the well-known stories connected with Eḷāra (MV. 21.14).

Courts of Law are often mentioned as adhikaraṇasālā. The Prīti-dānaka-maṇḍapa rock-inscription of Nissanka 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 pakṣayenma ādyanta asā gannā daḍekda (SDR.365.26). The people also seem to have had a right of appeal to the king against judgments delivered by the judges or ministers. The judges seems 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 Kalyāṇavatī: 'He, 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 it may have been a code of the laws of the country, or even a law-book based on the Dharmaśāstras, that was popularised in the island. 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 SDR. when it renders the Pali 'Athekadivasam vinicchaya kūṭaṭṭa parājita manussā bandulam āgacchantam disvā mahā viravam viravantā vinicchaya amaccānam kūṭaṭṭa kāraṇam tassa ārocesum. so vinicchayaṃ gantvā taṃ aṭṭam tīretvā sāmikameva samikamakāsi. mahājano mahā saddena sādhu-kāraṃ pavattesi ... so tato patthāya sammā vinicchi', as 'yuktiyak bāna pārdi ekek bandula mallayan hunnavun dāka adhikarṇanāyakayan atlas kālā karana ayuktiya kiya. ū e asā adhikarṇayata gosin yuktiya tarādiyak se mādahatva vicārā' (SDR.306.30). The SDR. writer thus renders the Pali 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 highest of crimes and was met with death, mutilation or banishment. The SDR. refers to these different forms of punishment meted out to traitors, as, for example, 'me rājadrohiyā veda at pā ho kāpuva mānava hula ho nāṅguva mānava ... sampat haragatot maṭa ayinādan siddhaveyi ... mūsāparādha tānāttahu raṭin neriyayi varada nāta' (239.34) ('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'). The book also refers to other instances when ministers were banished or imprisoned for conspiring against the king (ibid. 395.21). 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 '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 Lambakaraṇas 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). Jetṭha-tissa 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 Kaṇira-jānutissa is said to have taken sixty monks captive with all that was theirs, and flung them into caves called Kaṇira (MV. 35.11). Parākramabāhu 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 of the thirteenth century as more humane, for he inflicted as severer 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 punishments of rebels, thus showing that these were in force prior to the 15th century, for it is unlikely that the monarchs changed their codes of law every now and then. 'To anyone behaving in submission, neither loss of property nor loss of limb nor loss of life shall be inflicted' (EZ.3.5.281).

Theft Cases of theft are the most discussed in the SDR., where the stories show that very severe were the punishments meted out in cases of theft and robbery. The

stories record instances of execution and impaling in cases of robbery. Impaling was intended to inflict torture on criminals. The SDR. says: 'ekvīta nomarā dukgena miyana lesaṭa divas hulaṭa nāngūya' (852.21). 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 (SDR. 393.30). These forms of punishment are also recorded in the SDA (SDA. 259, 242), and by Parākramabāhu himself in his VMS., where we have first-hand information coming from a king himself. That the thieves had to suffer very great torture is shown by the SDA. which says: 'Rājapurusaṣayō ohu piṭitola hayā bāṇḍa siyalu śarīrayehi ulu sunu galvā ratmal vaḍam kara palaṇḍvā hisa pas konḍayak koṭa bāṇḍa e nuvara kove mahave ādivu e e vīthi sandhiyehi situvā gēna kaṭusāmiṭi ādiyen piṭa palā pahara dahasganan gasvamin mese noyek vicitra vadha keremin vadha berā gasvā gena hulak karatabā...' (p.242) ('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'). 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 VMS. 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 kāvumudu vālaṇḍiyayutudādu malgaṇḍavilavunudu bulatudu dennāha' (VMS.

3.64). It also refers to the mutilation of hands and feet of thieves (VMS. 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). In cases of theft, too, King Parākramabāhu II 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 SDR. refers to the fact that thieves caught in villages were produced before the Headman, who perhaps had the right to deal with such cases. The MV. speaks of Vohāra Tissa as having set aside (bodily) injury (as penalty), and thereby he is said to have received the name Vohārika, 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 (VMS. 846), who were no doubt in the permanent employment of the State. The execution block is referred to as the damgediya (SDR. 648.26). The SDA. 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 (pp. 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.

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 quarreling, 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 kalaṇḍas 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 kalaṇḍas of gold to the State' (EZ. 1.6.250). Commenting on this inscription, Dr. Paranavitāna 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 democratical character, this tribunal differs from the courts prescribed in the Hindu Law books unless the judicial assemblies men-

tioned 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. It 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, 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 kaḥāpanas; 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 Keḷaṇi Tissa, who burnt a monk in a cauldron of boiling oil: 'Tel kaṭārayehi lā ginigasā maravayi vidhāna kaḷaha' (SDA. 439). The Vevālkāṭiya slab-inscription of Mahinda IV of the 11th 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 11th 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 SDA. also refers to the tearing of the jaws in

cases when royal orders were transgressed (SDA. 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 rājadroha kaḷa puruṣayek ula annā varada ātivat rajahuge prasādayen massak pamana daḍaḍī e drōhayen gālavēda' (PJV. 630) ('Just as a traitor who deserves to be impaled, escapes with a small fine if he wins the king's heart'). 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 Mr. Codrington bring out clearly 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 palmyras 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 kalaṅḍas 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 kalaṅḍas, 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).

Adultery. The VMS. refers in the Sīlava Jātaka to the punishment meted out to the adulterer. A pit seems to have been dug in the cemetery and the criminal buried up to his neck. We cannot ascertain whether this was done in Ceylon, but we definitely know from the SDA. 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 Somadatta Brāhmaṇa shows that they were mercilessly handled by the king's officers: 'matu paradārayehi risi yana paridden atin payin talā marā durvala koṭa piṭitola hayā bānda ...' (SDA. 265).

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CHAPTER IVREVENUE AND TAXATION, LAND TENURE

Revenue and taxation have been 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, it might be with the help of the local authorities. The inscriptions point to the fact that the people had to pay a certain tax on account of their holding lands, and, in addition, they had also to pay other taxes. In discussing taxation in the 12th century, Mr. Codrington says: 'Nissanka 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 Nissanka'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 12th century continued to be so levied in the succeeding years.

The SDR. 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 Pali 'sunkaṃ dadāmi' in the Kumuduppalānīta story is rendered into Sinhalese as 'raṭa hunnāṭa nuṃbavahansēṭa baddak dīlā hiṅdimi' ('I shall live paying you a rent for living in this land-country') (SDR. 373.21). 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. 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. The Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya explains 'his ran' thus: 'hisakaṭa massak dunamānavayi nohot hisakaṭa metek ran dunamānavayi kiyā mese 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.12.10). The SDR. also refers to Kāṣṭhavāhana doing away with a tax by beat of drum: 'nuvara sungam haranā lesaṭa bera lavā' (473.19). The word sungam seems to have come into Sinhalese from the Tamil. The Vedic 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. 'sunḡa', and P. 'sukka'. Another form used is 'sut', as in 'sut vat'. In the Tēsakunajātaka, in a manuscript of the Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya, the word is explained as 'thala jala pathesu yana tanhi thala pathayehi aya nam noyek mārgayehi sungam ādiyayī. Jalapathayehi

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 'ime asse suṅkatopi mocessati' as 'mohugē vikrama duṭuvō sumvat gannā tānin mē asun sumvat koṭasa povā nogannāha. eheyin me saindhava tema sesu asvayan sumvat gannā tānin povā muṅdannēyayi kī' (Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya, 149.19). 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 DAGP. throws no light, as it just explains the term suṅka as sumvat. 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 ...' ('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 ... double toll-dues should be taken') (EZ. 3.2.79).

A few other particular kinds of taxes are also referred to in Nissanka Malla's inscriptions. The Kantalai galāsana inscription refers to the 'pisāmburu vata' and 'kāti aḍa' which he is said to have remitted for all times (EZ. 2.6.288). The pisāmburu vata, according to Dr. Paranavitāna, was apparently a tax on fallow or barren land (EZ. 2.3.117, n.11). 'Kāti aḍa', he says, 'is equivalent either to Skt. ḷṣatriya + 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 Duṭugemuṇu 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 a tax levied from early times. Mr. 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 pāttam 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). The slab-inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu VI of the fifteenth century speaks of this tax: '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 amuna of seed shall be left to the (original) owner of the estate' (EZ. 3.5. 281). Dr. Paranavitāna, 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 Gaḍalādeṇiya, of a king named Senāsammata Vikramabāhu, where we read ätvagē duva vātunu kenekunge maḷārayaṭa himi kenek nätuva 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 SDR. speaks of the

same institution: 'siṭānan maḷa niyāva asā kosol rajjuruvō sampat himivaṅṭa nisi darumalu kenekun nāti kalata mē sampat kavurun santaka vēḍāyi vicārā rajadaruvaṅṭa vēḍāyi 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').

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 SDR. and SDA. 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?') (SDA. 425).

The law of treasure trove in ancient India, as expounded by the Lawgivers, 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 partiaary rights (In India the land was held under the Crown under a tenure, in some respects similar to Colonia partiaria still in force, e.g. in 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. 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 13th 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 the observations made by Mr. Codrington: 'The technical terms in the inscriptions would be scarcely intelligible but for the analogies offered by South India, and in particular by Malabar ... In the Indian land system "traditionally there were two parties, and only two, to be taken into account; these parties were the ruler and the subject, and if a subject occupied land, he was required to pay a share of its gross produce to the ruler in return for the protection he was entitled to receive"; in addition, the village commonly supplied an amount of unpaid labour (ūliyam) for the service of the king or lord. Further, there were numerous grants of the revenue due from particular villages or plots of land in favour of temples, charitable institutions, or individuals. Such grants were often expressed in terms expressing perpetuity, but "in practice they were always resumable at the pleasure of the ruler of the day; and under native rule there was a continual process of resuming old grants, and granting new ones". The tenth century system seems to have been in no way different from that of the mainland. The body of the tenants (kuḍin) in a temple village held land on "instrument" (kere) tenure, and paid a portion of the crop to the lord. The "instrument" was perhaps analogous to the running statement of account (patta) in Mysore. Presumably the kuḍin were tenants-at-will, as was the case in India in theory till ~~the~~ recent days, but the Mihintale tablets forbid the removal of "cultivators" who held their

fields by "cultivator succession". Thus heritable holdings among tenants had already begun. As might be expected, the policy of non-interference with succession is found first in the case of the peasant, who was too insignificant for the lord's notice. The process was a gradual one, and even at the end of the Dutch period the more important lands held by service tenure were still not heritable, while the holdings of the village servants and others had become so, provided, of course, that the service was performed. In the tenth century the lord's officials and the village headmen (kemiyan) were paid for their service by "maintenance" (divel) lands, as were also the temple slaves and village servants. The ordinary holding of a mason in such a village was one and a half kiriyas (about 25 acres) of paddy land, an enclosure or dwelling garden, and a plot of high land. Some, if not all, of the above tenants would seem to be those styled "holders of allotments" (kebeli laduvan), who, not being complete owners, were not entitled to fell jungle.

The superior tenures were pamunu ("possession") and ukas (mortgage). Pamunu 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. Pamunu 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 15th 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 12th 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 Malla, A.D. 1200, records a grant to Gulpiti But for valour shown in battle: 'There were given to him, having been made a pamuṇu 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 Vālimada liyadda in Māndivāka Samvālla of the Pihiti 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 13th 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 Koṭṭange of the 13th century, ascribed to Lōkeśvara II, records the grant of a village named Kalama to the general Lōke Arakmenā, in recognition of services in defeating the Cōḷas. It is interesting to note the boundaries of the said grant: 'On the east, the pillar at Kapallagoda, on the south, the silk-cotton tree, standing by the side of the high road, on the west, the gātakos (a species of jack) tree standing on the side of the hill, on the north, the ātamba 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 Thera of the Vilgammula fraternity granted to the saṅgha the pamuṇu village called Kalama and some other lands belonging to him. Dr. Paranavitāna comments that this thera was a grandson of Lōke 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 thera came into possession of the land as it was heritable. Dr. Paranavitāna remarks that pamuṇu lands were heritable, as distinct from diveḷ, held ex-officio. This is shown by the Oruvela sannasa of the 15th century, which records that the grant should continue in the lineal descent of the children and grand-children (EZ. 3.2.68).

The SDR. also records the grant of lands, movable property, and serfs. It mentions two types of tenure, pamuṇu and bat-gam (288.31, 712.28). The Pali words 'taṃ ca gāmaṃ yathā sukhaṃ paribhogaṃ katvā adāsi', in the Mahāli-pañha are rendered into Sinhalese as 'Macala gamat pamuṇu koṭa dunha' (he granted the village of Macala as a heritable land). The SDR. also renders the Pali word kammakāra as rajadaruvangē bat-gam parivāra ('the

people of the bat-gama'). The Gaḍalādeniya rock-inscription also refers to seed from a bat-gama; and in a note to this Dr. Paranavitāna states that a bat-gama in Kandyan times was a royal village tenanted by the people of the Padu caste (EZ. 4.2.107, n.3). The SDA. records that Kaḷakandēṭatis gave Māgama as a bat-gama to his minister Saṅgha (p.617), and that King Kāvan Tissa granted a village as a bat-gama to the hero Nandimitta (SDA. 481). According to Mr. Codrington, bat-gama is the older name for vidāna-gama, a village governed by a Disāva in office or other chief as King's vidāna, and not by the Gabada 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).

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 some kind of service in return for it. Some lands were private endowments, pamuṇu, which were heritable and granted as gifts to individuals or institutions (The nature of the religious endowments recorded by the inscriptions are discussed by Mr. 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 Nissanka 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 12th century refer to this practice

(e.g. EZ. 1.4.129). 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 in vogue 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 in vogue in India. The SDR. refers to such boons. We have no direct evidence of them at this time, but we may conjecture that kings of Ceylon may have done so. The kings also no doubt withdrew any privileges 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).

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CHAPTER V
COINS AND CURRENCY

The SDR. and the PJV. mention kahavaṇu, masu, and ran in certain places. Money is often mentioned only by numbers or amounts, as for example 'siyak vaṭinā gasaṭa desiyak dī ... desiyak vaṭinā ... hārasiyak dī ...' (PJV. 462); 'Lakṣa lakṣa vaṭanā palas dekak' (SDR. 553.32); 'ohu piṭa dahasin bāṇḍi piyallak tabā' (SDA. 168). 'In Ceylon', says Mr. Codrington, 'from the reign of the first king Vijaya onwards money is mentioned, usually by numbers only, e.g. "a thousand" and "a hundred thousand", and the like, kahāpanas being understood ... Kahāpanas first appear by name in chapter 21.26 (MV), in which it is recorded as an act of munificence that the Tamil king Elāḷa spent 15,000 kahāpanas to replace fifteen stones of the thūpa on Cetiyapabbata or Mihintale, accidentally broken by his chariot. His Sinhalese conqueror Duṭugemuṇu, 161-137 B.C., rewarded the archer Phussadeva with a heap of kahāpanas ... and the designer of the Ruvanveli Dāgāba with "a pair of garments worth a thousand and ornamented shoes and 12,000 kahāpanas" (MV. 20.14). 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 kahāpanas, and this may be a genuinely ancient tradition' (Ceylon Coins and Currency, p.11). Mr. Codrington also mentions that the use of this name was continuous, though it was doubtless applied to more than one coin (ibid. p.12).

The commentaries in connection 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 a property worth a pāda". Now at that time at Rājagaha five māsakas were a pāda; twenty masakas, therefore, were then equal to one kahāpana ... The ancient scholium embodied in the Vinaya text explains jātarūpa by satthuvaṇṇa, "colour of the Teacher", and rajata as meaning the kahāpana, and the base metal, wooden or lacquer māsaka "which are current", and includes both jātarūpa and rajata under the common term rūpiya. Buddhaghosa 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 kahāpanas and other current money. He adds that the kahāpana 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 Sāriputtās Pāli-muttaka Vinaya-vinicchaya-saṅgha, the Ṭīkā 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 fifth century the kahāpana was of all the three metals... and in all probability the kahāpana 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 kahāpana ... Māsaka, therefore, by the fifth century, must have come to signify "coin", "money", just as salli, kāsi, at the present

day. In mediaeval Ceylon, the kahāpana was a coin of gold, in weight one-half of Manu's piece of 80 raktikās' (Ceylon Coins and Currency, pp. 12, 13). The Pūjāvaliya also mentions a variety of kahāpanas - soḷos dahasak nīla karṣāpana saṅkyātavū randī (PJV. 556). In discussing this coin Mr. Codrington observes that 'the kahāpana of Magadha consisted of 20 māsakas and is known in the Commentaries as the nīla or "faultless" kahāpana. The Ceylon tradition, which seems to be as old as Buddhaghosa, represents it as a coin of gold divided into 20 māsakas, that is, mañjāḍis, of the same metal, and thus equal to the kaḷaṅḍa; according to the fourteenth century version of the Ummagga Jātaka it was composed of 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 kahāpana, would also contain five guñjas of pure gold ... The nīla kahāpana 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 kahāpana as 20 pieces of 'ran', which were in use: 'bāvahara ranin vissek nam nīla karṣāpanayen ekak veyi' (PJV. 556). Therefore by ranin was meant perhaps a māsaka.

'The māsaka (S. masaka, later massa), according to the Vinaya, was the one-twentieth of the kahāpana, 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 mañjāḍi 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 keṇa. The

kiriya was treated as being a karsha or kahāpaṇa of land ... The payaka or paya is undoubtedly the quarter (Pali, pāda); the māsaka or massa presumably is the twentieth' (Ceylon Coins and Currency, p.15). The SDR. seems to throw some light on the māsaka as a weight when it says: 'demassen tun massen, dasa kalaṅḍin visi kalaṅḍin panasin sātin' (890.20). This ascending order no doubt indicates that the massa formed a certain fraction of the kalaṅḍa, though it does not actually state how many massas formed a kalaṅḍa. This also indicates that the massa was used as a weight as well.

Another mode of currency seems to have been weighing with seeds of paddy. The SDR. renders the P. 'pāda mattampi na agghati' as 'satalis viyaṭakut novatti'; further it continues: 'mu viyaṭa gaṇanin vīnam eksiya sāṭa viyaṭak vitara demhayi' (SDR. 497.18). According to this we see that a pāda, one-fourth, is equivalent to forty seeds of paddy. Now we have:

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

The SDR. also mentions a series of currency in the Sirimā story. The DPA. says: 'Rājā pañca satāni datvā gaṇhantūti bherin carāpetvā carāpetvā kañci gaṇhākaṃ adisvā aḍḍhateyyāni satāni dve satāni satam pannāsam pañca vīsati kahāpaṇe dasa kahāpaṇe pañca kahāpaṇe ekaṃ aḍḍham pādama māsakam kākanīkaṃ datvā sirimaṃ gaṇhantūti bherin carāpetvā'. The SDR. translates this as 'rajjuruvō agaya aḍu karannō kahavaṇu dahasin bhāgavū pansiyayak in bhāgavu desiya panasak in bhagavū eksiya pas visseka in bhāgavū desāṭa kalaṅ satara akeka, in bhāgavū ektis kalaṅ de akeka, in bhagavū pasaloṣ kalaṅ paseka, in bhagavū aṭa kalaṅ akeka

in bhāgavū satara kaḷan dasa viyateka, in bhāgavū dekaḷan pas viyateka ... ek kaḷan deviyāta samārekāyi ... asū viyātak dīlā ... satalis viyātak ... deviyāta samārak ... ek viyāta yela hamuyak ... (623.19). Now we have -

half of 125 = 62 kaḷaṅdas and 4 akas
therefore 1 kaḷaṅda = 8 akas

half of 8 kaḷaṅdas and one aka = 4 kaḷaṅdas and
10 paddy seeds
therefore one aka = 20 (twenty) paddy seeds - vīyāta
half of $2\frac{1}{2}$ paddy seeds = one paddy seed and $1\frac{1}{2}$ amu seeds
therefore 1 paddy seed = 3 amu seeds.

This tallies with the Yogaratnākara table as given by Mr. Modder (JRAS CB. Vol. 12, p.176).

Aka is again referred to in 'ran dā akak' (SDR. 388.5); akek nāta massek nāta (PJV. 232). 'The value of a pala is given as two akas. Again, the Mulusika-gāṭapada-vivaraṇaya explains the phrase in the Mulsikha "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 kahavanuva be divided into four parts each of two akas".' (Ceylon Coins and Currency, p.53). Mr. Godrington also gives the following table of gold coins of mediaeval Ceylon:

<u>kahavanuva</u> ,	about 68 - 70 grains
<u>ada kahavanuva</u> ,	" 34 - 35 "
<u>pala</u> or <u>deka</u> ,	" 17 - 17.5 "
<u>aka</u> ,	" 8.5- 8.75 "
(?) <u>massa</u> ,	" 3.4- 3.5 " (ibid).

The PJV. also refers to the letters stamped on the face of the coins when it says: 'alleka tubū masseka akuru daknavunse!

(499). Mr. Codrington's account of the thirteenth century coinage may be noted here: 'The coins of the rulers of this period are traditionally known as Daṁbadeṇi kāsi, "Daṁbadeṇi 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", pēypperumān-kāsu, "demon king's money", or Irāvaṇam-kāsu, "Rāvaṇa's money". With the exception of the "lion" coin of Parakramabāhu, and the rare eighths, this coinage is of one type, closely following that of the later gold pieces of Vijayabāhu I. 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 dhoti 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 Parakramabāhu, 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 Coḷa, 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).

The SDR. also refers to a system of usury: 'Mudala
sit̥iyadīma poliyenma prayōjana viñdināse' (418.17). It is
likely that it was possible for the people to deposit certain
sums of money on interest with a guild or some such corpora-
tion. 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.

In one place the SDR. renders the Pali 'aṭṭha kahāpana'
as 'aṭa massak' in the Marapa-paridīpana-vatthu (204.4). It
is very likely that the author was here thinking in terms of
the cost of flowers in his day, and was not translating the
Pali as it was.

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CHAPTER VI
WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Rev. Moggallāna's Abhidhānappadīpikā gives a number of tables of weights and measures (pp. 267-269, 194, 479, 484). Referring to these weights given by Moggallāna, Prof. 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 Prof. Rhys Davids in his Numismata Orientalia (p.14), is as follows:--

<u>2</u> <u>guñja</u>	=	<u>1</u> <u>māsaka</u>	(a seed of phaseolus)				
<u>5</u> <u>guñja</u>	=	<u>2½</u> <u>māsaka</u>	=	<u>1</u> <u>akkha</u>	(a seed of the Terminalia bellerica)	=	<u>karṣa</u>
<u>40</u> <u>guñja</u>	=	<u>20</u> <u>māsaka</u>	=	<u>8</u> <u>akkha</u>	=	<u>1</u> <u>dharana</u>	= (S. <u>kalaṇḍa</u>)
200 "		100 "	=	40 "	=	<u>5</u> "	= <u>1</u> <u>suvanna</u> (gold)
1000 "		500 "	=	200 "	=	<u>25</u> "	= <u>5</u> " = <u>1</u> <u>nikkha</u> (an ornament for the neck)
400 "		200 "	=	80 "	=	<u>10</u> "	= <u>2</u> <u>suvanna</u> = <u>½</u> <u>nikkha</u> = <u>1</u> <u>phala</u> (fruit)
40000 "		20000 "	=	8000 "	=	1000 "	= 200 <u>suvanna</u> = 50 <u>nikkha</u> = 100 <u>phala</u> = <u>1</u> <u>tulā</u> (scale)
800,000 "		400,000 "	=	160,000 "	=	20,000 <u>dharana</u>	= 4,000 <u>suvanna</u> = 1000 <u>nikkha</u> = 2000 <u>phala</u> = 20 <u>tulā</u> = 1 <u>bhāra</u> (load)

The underlined figures 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 dharanas, 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. '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 shoulders'. He also states that 'according to Mr. Childers, the word kahāpana 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 Böhrtlingk-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 SDR. also establishes beyond doubt the use of this weight in the monetary system of the period, as we have already seen. The Pali 'devasikaṃ soḷasa kahāpana paribbayena' is rendered into Sinhalese as 'davas patāma soḷos kaḷaṇḍak viyadam koṭa' ('having spent 16 kaḷaṇḍas daily') (SDR. 621.2). 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 malmila soḷos kaḷaṇḍak (16 kaḷaṇḍas as price of flowers) (EZ. 1.3.87). Herein we must observe that the monetary system was closely

connected with the metrological. 'In Ceylon the number of kalañjus in the palam 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 palam is used in weighing all liquid poisons, the second all spices, and the third all kinds of roots. It was this last that was employed by the goldsmiths. The weight of the mañjādi or madata also seems to increase with the dryness of the locality' (Ceylon Coins & Currency, pp. 8,9).

Two other weights mentioned are aka and viyaṭa, both as weights of gold. The PJV. uses viyaṭa (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 Rhys Davids, will show the paddy seed in relation to the other weights:

4	<u>vīha</u>	=	1	<u>guñja</u>					
8	"	=	2	"	=	1	<u>māsaka</u>		
20	"	=	5	"	=	2½	"	=	1
160	"	=	40	"	=	20	"	=	8
800	"	=	200	"	=	100	"	=	40
1600	"	=	400	"	=	200	"	=	80
							"	=	10
							"	=	5
							"	=	1
							"	=	2
							"	=	1
									<u>pala</u>

25 dharana = 5 suvanna = 1 nikkha

100 pala = 1 tulā

2000 " = 20 " = 1 bhāra

According to the Yogārṇava, the table is as follows:-

8	<u>vī eṭa</u>	=	1	<u>madeta</u>			
160	"	=	20	"	=	1	<u>kalañda</u>
480	"	=	60	"	=	3	"
1920	"	=	240	"	=	12	"
						4	"
							=
							1
							<u>palama</u>
20	"	=	1	<u>aka</u>			
160	"	=	8	"	=	1	<u>kalañda</u>

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

4	<u>nel</u>	(paddy)	=	1	<u>kunri</u>				
8	"	=	2	<u>kunri</u>	=	1	<u>mañjāḍi</u>		
16	"	=	4	"	=	2	"	=	1 <u>kānam</u>
160	"	=	40	"	=	20	"	=	10 " = 1 <u>kalañju</u> (molucca bean)
320	"	=	80	"	=	40	"	=	2 " = 1 <u>kaisu</u>
1280	"	=	320	"	=	160	"	=	80 " = 8 " = 4 " = 1 <u>palam</u>

100 palam = 1 tulam

2000 " = 20 " = 1 pāram

Comparing these tables, Mr. Codrington states: '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 & Currency, p.8). It may be noted in passing that these weights of kalañḍa and mañjāḍi are used even today in weighing gold and medicinal ingredients.

Measures of Length

The measures of length referred to are: aṅguli (finger joint), viyata (span), riyana (cubit, fore-arm length), gavu and yōjana. The aṅguli and viyata are mentioned in connexion with the length of a small piece of kihiri wood, and the SDR. also 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 SDR. also gives us a table of these measures, viz., isub ganānin visi isbak vitara hā vaṭa ganānin sārasiyayak vaṭa hā riyān ganānin dedās aṭasiyayak riyān vitara digā paḷala āti bima (592.5). According to

this table 20 isaba = 400 yaṭa = 2800 cubits, that is,
1 isaba = 20 yaṭa = 140 cubits. This tallies with Moggallāna's
table as given by Rhys Davids (Numismata Orientalia, on the
ancient coins and measures of Ceylon, p.15):

36	<u>paramānus</u>	=	1	<u>anu</u>											
36	<u>anus</u>	=	1	<u>tajjāri</u>											
36	<u>tajjāris</u>	=	1	<u>rathareṇu</u>											
36	<u>rathareṇus</u>	=	1	<u>likkhā</u>											
7	<u>likkhās</u>	=	1	<u>ukā</u>											
7	<u>ukās</u>	=	1	<u>dhaññamāsa</u>											
7	<u>dhaññamāsas</u>	=	1	<u>aṅgula</u>	(finger-joint, inch)										
12	<u>aṅgulas</u>	=	1	<u>vidatthi</u>	(span)										
24	"	=	2	"	= 1 <u>ratana</u>	(cubit, fore-arm)	= <u>hattha</u>								
168	"	=	14	"	= 7	"	= 1 <u>yaṭṭhi</u>	(pole, walking-stick)							
672	"	=	56	"	= 28	"	= 4	"	= 1 <u>abbhantara</u>	(interval)					
3360	"	=	280	"	= 140	"	= 20	"	= 5	"	= 1 <u>usabha</u>				
268800	"	=	22400	"	= 11200	"	= 1600	"	= 400	"	= 80	"	= 1 <u>gāvuta</u>		
1075200	"	=	89600	"	= 44800	"	= 6400	"	= 1600	"	= 320	"	= 80	"	= 1 <u>yojana</u>

1 kosa = 500 bow-lengths.

The PJV., too, mentions these measures in ascending order, viz.,
aṅguleka viyateka riyaneke yaṭeka isbeka gavuveka yodaneka
siyak yodaneka (p.5).

The distances between certain towns as given in the SDR.
and the PJV. will help us to deduce the relation between certain
distances:

From Sāgala to Sāvatti,	480 <u>gavu</u> (SDR. 440.10);
From Buddha's residence at Sāvatti up to the river Candrabhāga,	480 <u>gavu</u> (SDR. 441.24);
Sāvatti to Sakaspura,	120 <u>gavu</u> (SDR. 697.18);
Devram to Kurarasara,	480 <u>gavu</u> (SDR. 880.2);

Kusinārā to Rājagaha,	25	<u>yojanas</u>	(PJV. 681);
Rājagaha to Visālā,	8	"	(PJV. 424);
Sāvatti to Sakaspura,	30	"	(PJV. 497);
Kalutoṭa to Bentoṭa (in Ceylon),	1	"	(PJV. 746).

The SDR. also makes 300 yojanas equal 1200 gavu (75.14), thus giving 4 gavu as equal to 1 yojana. This is also established by the two distances given from Sāvatti to Sakaspura, viz. 120 gavu equal 30 yojanas. Again the SDR. renders the Pali satta yojana as 28 gavu, giving the same result. This is in agreement with the Navanāmaṅgala and other glossaries as quoted in the EZ. Vol. 2, p.82, n.5.

7 <u>ukā</u>	=	1 <u>viyaṭa</u>
7 <u>viyaṭa</u>	=	1 <u>aṅgula</u>
12 <u>aṅgulas</u>	=	1 <u>viyata</u>
2 <u>viyat</u>	=	1 <u>riyana</u>
4 <u>riyan</u>	=	1 <u>baṃba</u>
7 <u>riyan</u>	=	1 <u>yata</u>
20 <u>yata</u> or 35 <u>baṃba</u>	=	1 <u>isaba</u>
80 <u>isabas</u>	=	1 <u>gavuva</u>
4 <u>gavu</u>	=	1 <u>yojana</u>

The note also adds that a Sinhalese gavuva is equivalent to about $3\frac{1}{2}$ English miles according to Clough. 'Taking the vidatthi or span at $8\frac{1}{2}$ to 9 inches, and the ratana or cubit, (which should be measured from the elbow to the end of the little finger) at from 17 to 18 inches, the yojana, according to Moggallāna's scale would be equal to between 12 and $12\frac{1}{2}$ 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 to-day. 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 yojana, and this tallies exactly with the distance of the yojana as given by Childers. We now see that Moggallāna's table also tallies with this length, thus establishing his table of lengths, 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 use of the Hindus may also be noticed in passing. Dr. Barnett observes that the Hindus used both a long and a short yojana; 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 yojana 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). Nissanka Malla also records that he fixed the distance of a

gavu and called it the Nissanka gavu. He is said to have set up mile-posts in their proper places (EZ. Vol.2, p.91).

The length baṃba is used in the SDR. in measuring depth, e.g. of a pit (937.23). Baṃba is used even to-day to measure depths, as for example of a well, etc., and also as a square measure, e.g. gal-baṃbaya, a square baṃba of stone. The SDR. renders the Pali 'aṭṭha usaba vitthārāya nadiyā' as 'ek dahas eksiya visi riyan paḷala āti gaṅga' (985.28). According to this rendering, one usaba is equivalent to 140 cubits, which tallies with the table given in the Navanāmaḷaliya (see above).

We have: 8 usaba = 1120 cubits
 1 " = 140 "

According to the Navanāmaḷaliya 1 usaba = 35 baṃba, and 1 baṃba equals 4 cubits. Therefore 1 usaba = 140 cubits.

The glossary to the SDR. gives -

35 baṃba = 1 usaba
 7 cubits = 1 yaṣṭi
 20 yaṣṭi = 1 usaba (SDR. Granthipada-vivaraṇaya).

This table agrees with that of the Navanāmaḷaliya.

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 riyan pamana usa cintā-mānikyaya' (SDR. 694.29); 'vaḍu-riyanin dolos riyan pamana usa āti byāma prabhā' (SDR. 395.13). SDR. also renders the Pali 'Aṭṭha paññāsā hatthubhedam' as 'vaḍu-riyanin aṭṭa panas riyana' (SDR. 130.37). According to this the Pali 'hattha' is rendered as 'vaḍu-riyana', and the same figure, 58, is given as in the Pali. This reference therefore does not point to a difference between 'hattha' and 'vaḍu-riyana'. Hattha is the hand or forearm

as measure, which is equivalent to a cubit (see P.T.S. Dic.). The SDR. also uses the term sama-riyana, thus differentiating the vaḍu-riyana from the ordinary riyana; e.g. 'sama-riyanin eksiya satalis riyanak usaya' (SDR. 132.31). This is the rendering for the Pali 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 Pali hattha has been rendered as vaḍu-riyana, and this does not point to any, or at least, very much, difference between the riyana and the vaḍu-riyana, if the Pali hattha is taken to mean the ordinary riyana. We may therefore conjecture that the difference between the two is probably negligible.

Measures of Capacity

The measures of capacity mentioned in the PJV. and the SDR. are yāla, pāla, amuna, kiriya, kuriniya, nāliya, manāva, lāssa and tiṃba. The tables given by Rhys Davids help us to ascertain the relation between these:

4	<u>pasata</u>	(handfuls or <u>kuḍuba</u>)	=	1	<u>pattha</u>	or	<u>nāli</u>
16	"	=	4	<u>pattha</u>	=	1	<u>āḷhaka</u> or <u>tumba</u>
64	"	=	16	"	=	4	" = 1 <u>doṇa</u>
256	"	=	64	"	=	16	" = 4 " = 1 <u>mānika</u>
1024	"	=	256	"	=	64	" = 16 " = 4 " = 1 <u>khāri</u>
20480	"	=	5120	"	=	1280	" = 320 " = 80 " = 20 "
							= 1 <u>vāha</u> (<u>sakata</u> , cart-load).

$$11 \text{ doṇa = 1 amūṇa \\ 10 \text{ amūṇa = 1 kumbha}$$

Clough gives:

$$5 \text{ kurunis or yālas = 1 parrāh}$$

$$12 \text{ kurunis = 1 pālā}$$

$$8 \text{ parrāhs or 160 measures = 1 amūṇa}$$

$$40 \text{ lahas = 1 pāla \\ 4 \text{ " = 1 amūṇa = about two acres}$$

(Numismata Orientalia, p.18, n.3). He also makes the following observations: 'Karīsa = 4 amūṇas = about 4 acres (Moggallāna). Karīsa seems to have been the measure of extent really in use in Ceylon in the fifth century; it is used quite independently of amūṇa (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 ... (Sinhalese) always measured land by the quantity of seed which could be sown in it; and the peasantry do so still in practice ... The amūṇa (T. ambana) now varies in different parts in Ceylon from 5 to 7½ bushels ... The nāli in use in the island is larger than the Tamil one. The Magadha nāli is the right measure. It is said in the Great Commentary that one Sinhalese nāli is equal to 1½ of this Magadha nāli ... Nāli was a liquid as well as a dry measure ... The original meaning of the word is "pipe" or "reed", then "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 paya are used as measures of extent, the kiriya being four amūṇas, while the nāliya, aḍmanā and pata are used

as measures of capacity; the pata being the same as pasata, a handful, and stated by Clough to be the eighth of a seer, that is, the 256th part of a bushel, while the admanā is probably another name for nāli' (Numismata Orientalia, p.18,20).

Dr. Parānavitāna 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 aṭṭha karīsa occurring in the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā is rendered by ek yāla doḷos amuna ... We know that a yāla is equivalent to twenty amunas, therefore one yāla and 12 amunas is equivalent to 32 amunas. Hence a karīsa, Sinhalese kiri, is equivalent to four amunas. Again, the word adḍha karīsa in the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā is translated as bijuvata dāmunak... according to this, half a karīsa is two amunas, therefore one kiri is the same as four amunas. Thus a paya, which is one-fourth of a kiri, is shown to be equivalent to an amuna (sowing extent) according to the present-day usage. The English equivalent of an amuna 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 tenth 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 pāla. 'Payala is obviously a term of land measurement. It is probably the same as paya. It is doubtful whether payala is, as Dr. Wickramasingha assumes, the same as pāla, a measure of capacity, also used as a term of land measure 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, pāla is invariably spelt with a cerebral "ḷ", whereas the "ḷ" of payala

is dental' (EZ. 4.4.175, n.6). 'The word hakata is derived from the Pali sakata, 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. Sakata is the same as Sinhalese yahala or yāla, for the phrase "sakata-sahassa-mattam occurring in the Jātaka 1.467 has been rendered dāsak yāla 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 sakata. Sakata was the highest term in this system of measurement with which we are familiar from the Pali writings. It was divided into two ammaṇas, a word occurring in Tamil as ammaṇam, in modern Sinhalese as amuna. The Pali 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 amuna is subdivided into 4 pālas (derived from Pali piṭaka through pekaḍa). The original meaning of the word piṭaka was "basket", and this term, therefore, must have its origin in a "basketful", just as sakata originally meant a "cartload", and amuna a troughful. These two 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 SDR. as four nāli (satara nāli gannā lāssen) (SDR. 774.24). The VMS. refers to this measure, showing how milk was adulterated ('lāssak pamāna kirehi noyek lāsu diya vatkalada') (IV.256). This reference, as well as the statement that oil should be supplied at the rate of a laha 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 harinnāse 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 gana-lahassa ('Commodities should not be measured with lahasu measures other than the gana-lahassa') (EZ. 3.2.79). 'In this word the reading gana 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 gana 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 Ūruvela sannasa (EZ. 3.2.68) of the 15th century also refers to the laha measure.

The PJV. mentions the tiṃba as a measure of capacity.

The SDA. renders the P. doṇam as tiṃbak (SDA. 570), thus equating a doṇa with a tiṃba. The P.T.S. Dic. gives the capacity of a tuṃba as 4 nāli, and that of a doṇa 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 tuṃba as equal to four nāli. Therefore one laha equals a tuṃba. The above table also equalises one tuṃba with one ālhaka, regarding which the P.T.S. Dic. gives Buddhaghosa's explanation, 'cattāro pattā ālhakāni doṇam', i.e. 4 pattas or ālhakas equal one doṇa. According to the above table one doṇa equals four tuṃbas. Therefore the SDA. rendering of doṇa as timba cannot be correct. Further, the SDR. establishes the table as correct when it says 16 nāli equal one doṇa, 'magadha nāliyen soḷos nāliyak' is the rendering of the DPA. reading tanḍula-donassa odanam. (SDR.837.39). The VMS. throws light on the same when it gives the table -

4 miṭa (handful) = 1 kuḍuba

4 kuḍubas = 1 nāli

16 nāli = 1 drōṇa = 12 nāli from a Magadha nāli (IV.137).

The PJV. refers to another measure as uḷakkuva (p.49).

The Sinhalese Mahā-Akārāṅgiya of Revata Thera equates this with a pata, one-fourth of a nāli. The manāva meant half a nāli, as it does even to-day. This is shown by the SDR. when it says: 'me sāl nāliyen uḷukāṅḍak pisam nam manāva manāva bāgin develakata āta' (773.32) ('If out of this nāliya of rice, gruel were to be made, it would be sufficient for two meals, a manāva each time'). 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 to-day is

2 kālas (quarters - usually teacupful) = one manāva, and

2 manāvas equal 1 nāli

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

Both the SDR. and the PJV. refer to the kuruniya, which is in use even to-day, specially for measuring paddy. The Mahā-Akārādiya equates it with one laha or 4 nāli, and also gives 10 kurunis as equal to one pāla. The glossary to the SDR. gives the same measure of one kuruni as equal to one lāsu, in explaining the term pallāsa as pan lāsa, equal to 5 kurunis.

The VMS. refers to the well-known distance a monk is expected to look: 'viyadañdu pamanak balanneyi', in rendering 'yugamatta daso siyā' (VMS. 110). Yuga is the yoke of a plough, and yuga-mattam therefore is only 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 viyada^{da} 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 Mahā-Akārādiya gives the length as four cubits.

The SDR. also refers to a measure of height, e.g. sat talak pamaṇa ahasa (about the height of seven tāla-trees or palms into the sky) (430.25); Asa sat talak pamaṇa pānanāṅgalā, ('having risen into the sky to a height of about seven palm-trees') (605.14). The MV. indicates height in the same way (MV. 31.11, 17.44). This shows that the height was measured in terms of a tall tree, the tāla or palmyra in this case. This is the case even to-day. Compare, for example, the modern usage pol gahak vitara uha (as tall as a coconut tree), and puvak gahak vage (like an arecanut tree).

Some passages throw light on the measurement of area. Thus 'magē uyana nam ayamin vitarin vaḍu dahas dahas riyan

ätīyēya. ese heyin ek yāla dolosamunak vap yannāvu maha bimeka' (PJV. 321) ('The field referred to is a square of 1000 carpenter's cubits on each side and is of one yāla twelve amunas of sowing extent'). In another place the book uses the expression 'riyanak tāna aba dāmunaḥ gannā heyin', meaning that the area of one square cubit will hold two amunas 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 tenth 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 used.

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CHAPTER VII
MILITARY ORGANISATION AND WARFARE

The island's history shows that foreign invasions and internal civil dissensions were quite frequent occurrences. The MV. constantly refers to the wars and the large armies that were maintained by the Sinhalese kings. Every king was in constant fear of foreign invasion or internal strife, and had to maintain a powerful army. The campaigns of Parākrama-bāhu II described at length in the CV. show the strength of his military organisation. The army was under a commander-in-chief, senāpati, and various divisions were under other subordinate generals. In important wars the King himself undertook the supreme command. Mr. 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 "moon-light 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 Vēlakkara 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 Nissanka Malla of the later 12th century, which 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 KSM. refers to a sivuraṅga senaga, four-fold army, and describes it as tahata sarahaminavi- dese nāṅgāhi nan baḷa rās,
ātaruva ihi asaruvan- pālāmbini vam poroḷa gat.

(KSM. 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 lakhs and 25,000 Sinhalese, 12,000 Tamils, and also 900 archers. The army also consisted of other technicians and workmen, as stone-masons, numbering 900, 790 potters, and 800 washermen. The Asna also gives a full list of officers and other such service corps which were part and parcel of the army: mini van bālayōya, savalakkāra bālayōya, konta bālayōya, voḷakkāra bālayōya, lekam bālayōya, mūkula agampadiya, netti agampadiya, Rajuta tevākara siṭina atāvudayōya, saḷu vaḍannōya, diya vaḍannōya, bat vaḍannōya, tel vaḍannōya, nānu vaḍannōya, bulat vaḍannōya, kapuru vaḍannōya, saṅḍun vaḍannōya, palis vaḍannōya, chatra vaḍannōya, cāmara vaḍannōya, pavan vaḍannōya, pahan vaḍannōya, mal vaḍannōya, kapuvōya, kiliṅguvōya, nākātiyōya, vedavaruya, bāttavaruya, pulavaruya, gabaḍā nāyakaya, baṅḍāra nāyakaya, raṭa nāyakaya, artha nāyakaya, gaja nāyakaya, badu nāyakaya, mudali nāyaka, bulat geyi bālayōya, rahas geyi bālayōya, taṭu geyi bālayōya, savari bālayōya, meru bālayōya, mallavayōya, aṭabāge mura pirisya, vaga pirisya, kotmalē āṭa-piṭiye vāddōya, polu vāddōya, mas vāddōya, oṭunu paṇḍita varuya, sudhavarīhuya, baḍālluya, aṅḍuvḍuvōya, liyana vaduvōya, ī vaḍuvōya, baḍahālayōya, kulu pottōya, kaḷāl gasannōya, radavuya, ambāttayōya, bali batuvoya, kāli naṭannōya.

This list shows us that the army was accompanied by some of the high officials of state, as the baṅḍāra nāyaka, chief treasurer, and artha nāyaka, chief economic minister. 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 nākātiyā, astrologer, suggests that certain undertakings or ventures, such as attacks, may have been launched at auspicious moments. An agampadi army has been known even from the earlier times. The Nikāya-Saṅgrahava refers to a 'ran sivi ban agampadi

army' of 25,000 of Parākramabāhu I. This was an army collected from South India, according to Pandit H. Puññaratana thera (Lankāvē purā-tattvaya, p.95). He also states that these troops were South Indian Maravars, who were well known for their skill in war. The Dambadeṇi-asna refers to two agampadi corps, mūkula and netti. The thera also refers to Mr. Codrington's account of these agampadi, wherein these are said to have been of four divisions, rāja agampadi, the paid servants of the royal palace; muhukala agampadi, those engaged in the collection of taxes; netti and bala, who may have been paid servants or attendants (*ibid.* p.96).

The Mayūra-sandēśa makes reference to this army:

vikum dādi dapaya biṇḍa rudu rupun gatā
taram vādi padavi nan tiyu sirin yutā
adam ada nokala laka ana sakin gatā
agampadi senaga veta yali sitan setā (verse 153)

('May you request the God to bestow prosperity (victory) on the agampadi army, which is free of all evil and which destroys the pride of the enemy'). In the same to this verse, Rev. V. Dīpaṅkara states that this army was 24 lakhs and 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 is described thus: 'They began in the first instance to hand over their pay to the chivalrous Ariya warriors, at the head of whom was Thākuraka. 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 Ariya 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"... Thakuraka ... took his sharp sword and in a moment swiftly struck off the Senāpati's head ... now when hereupon 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 foot-note to the words 'Āriya warriors' Prof. 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 Pāṇdyas, in Southern India. The CV. itself states that Aryacakravartin was not an Aryan (CV. 90.44). The Rev. there quoted above seems to consider this army as of Āryan Kṣatriyas from North India (Laṅkāve purā-tattvaya, p.97). This account bears further evidence that the armies were paid by the state, as is said in the SDR.

The armies were of considerable size: Duṭṭugemuṇu'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 (SDR. 59.10). The CV. also refers to such a review held by Kīrtisrī Rājasīṅha (CV. 99.42). The soldiers wore a certain 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 silpa and āyudha saraṃba (SDR. 309.25). For defence they employed a shield, 'pahara vālahīmehi phalakāyudhayak vānivū' (SDR. 252.32). Codrington also observes that a

soldier's armour is stated to have been of buffalo-hide in one passage of the MV., and that prepared for the expedition to Rāmañña is described as coats of iron and deer-skin. The weapons mentioned are sword, dagger, lance, spear, hunting-spear, bow and arrows which are sometimes poisoned (kaḍu, siriyak, ada-yaṭi, konta, teba, dunu, ī respectively). The SDA. also mentions bheṇḍivāla; tomara, pike or lance; karavālārdha; candra-cakra (cakra is a discus or a sharp circular missile (MW)); iṭṭi, boar-spear; pattiram (an arrow according to the Tirukkurrāla^{ttalā} Purānam, 14.39); palaṅga, large shield; suraga; and muṭṭuru (SDA. 57,460). In the above list bheṇḍivāla may perhaps be two weapons, for according to the P.T.S. Dic. bheṇḍi is identical with bheṇḍu, a kind of missile used as a weapon, arrow, and vāla may be some sort of circular weapon. The PJV. also refers to a group of five weapons, namely: dunu, muguru, kaḍu, siri, ada-yaṭi (84). The MV. also refers to the army of Gajabāhu as being armed with the five weapons (MV. 7.16). The PJV. mentions other weapons: keṭeri, axe or mattock; cakra; kaṇaya, a sort of spear or lance; kampana; and palis, small shield. It also distinguishes between varieties of sharp weapons, as eka-dhāraya and dvi-dhāraya, single and double-edged. The Daṁbadeṇi-asna gives us a list of the different varieties of weapons, as bow, sword, club, and other weapons known at the time. Some of the names indicate the country from which they were perhaps imported.

Kinds of bows: yon dunu, Arabian swords; tattāri dunu; gal dunu; maṭṭan dunu; ran dunu, golden bows; ridī dunu, silver bows; ruvan dunu, perhaps gem-set bows; māra dunu; māra paṅgam dunu; mālakkam dunu; ōlakkam dunu; kalu dunu; kaluvāl dunu; naḍa haṁbu dunu; māḍa haṅgu dunu;

miṭi dunu and us dunu - us dunna is a simple long bow, generally exceeding the height of the user by one to three spans. A smaller but thicker, and probably more efficient, is the miṭi dunna (short bow); candra vaṅka dunu; sūrya dunu; tri vaṅka dunu; sindūran dunu.

Varieties of swords: ran kaḍu, golden swords; ridī kaḍu, silver swords; miṇi kaḍu, gem-set swords; sat ruvan kaḍu, swords set with the seven kinds of precious stones; aparā kaḍu; gurjara kaḍu, perhaps swords from Gujarat; pāṇḍi kaḍu, swords from Pāṇḍya; vaḍiga kaḍu, swords from the Telugu country; jina kaḍu; malaya kaḍu, from Malabar; madura kaḍu, from Madura; teliṅgu kaḍu; jāvaka kaḍu, from Malay; vaṅga kaḍu, from Vaṅga, Bengal; Ayādyā kaḍu, from Ayodya; dāt kaḍu, swords with saw-like edge; mūna kaḍu; dāra kaḍu; sirivāl kaḍu; dilena kaḍu; lelena kaḍu; visī kaḍu; dhavala kaḍu; vak kaḍu, bent swords; dik kaḍu, long swords; luhuṅḍu kaḍu, short swords.

Varieties of weapons: vaṭāyudha, circular weapons; cakrāyudha, steel quoit with plain cutting perimeter; kaṇḍitalāyudha; khallukāyudha; kattāyudha; mūkontāyudha; āna kontāyudha; rajata kontāyudha, silver spears; jaya kontāyudha.

Varieties of clubs: sivrās muguru, square clubs; patās muguru; tunās muguru; ruaṭās muguru; loho muguru, metal clubs; miṇi bāṅḍi muguru, gem-set clubs; ridī muguru, silver clubs; dāra muguru, edged clubs.

Two other weapons are valataḍi and aḍa yati.

Mr. Deraniyagala in his article on 'Sīhala weapons and armour' gives us 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 descriptions of some of the weapons with which we are concerned are as follows:

'Bow. The best 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 bow, the arrow shafts are half the length of the bow.

Keṭēriya. 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 fully crescentic with a concave edge instead of the usual convex one.

Iṭiya. An unornamented type is the iṭiya or boar-spear of the Baṇḍāravēla, Badulla area, which possesses a heavy triangular head about six inches long, two-and-a-half wide, and a strong seven-foot haft.

Shield. The larger, known as paḷaṅga, and the smaller, the palisa or paliha, are among the earliest defensive armour. Stone carvings at Anurādhapura 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.

Clubs and maces. These are among the most primitive of human weapons, and were first made of wood, which was later studded with stone flakes, spikes or metal points, until eventually the wood was completely replaced by metal. The Sīhala name is muggara or mugura, and the early chapters of the Mahā-vaṃsa

frequently mention the fact that the regiment of club-bearers consisted of unusually powerful men. The usual iron mace is the yagadāva, a type of weapon fancied by Gajabāhu's giant warrior Nīla' (J.R.A.S. C.B. Vol. XXXV. No.95, Part 3, 1942).

Mr. Deraniyagala's general remarks are also of great interest. 'The study of Sīhala 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' (ibid.).

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 Vīrabāhu, 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). Mr. 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 Mahā-vamsa, 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 Kūrunāgala 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 SDR. refers to such when it says: 'yodayek saṭan bima balakoṭuvak koṭa gena saturan hā saṭankaranne' (284.38).

Siege-warfare also seems to have been in practice. 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 despatched heralds and champions to demand single combats and army-contests, and prepared for war'. Army encampments are also referred to, e.g.: 'avut nuvara samīpayehi kaṇḍavuru bāndagena hiṇḍa rajjuruvanta kiyā evannāhu rājya hō'.

deva nohot apa hā samaga saṭan karava' ('having set up an encampment near the city, he sent messengers demanding their surrender or asking for battle') (SDA.99). The Bōpiṭiya slab-inscription of Kalyāṇavatī refers to the fact that her stronghold (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 Duṭugemuṇu, 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 SDR. (738.17). It is likely that the commencement of the battle was announced by the beating of a drum (saṭan bera). When a battle was won, trumpets 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 rajadaru-vaṇṭa pāṇṭa gena yannāse' (SDR. 452.53). The army in general also might be rewarded when triumphant in battle: 'saturan kavara lesin vuvat sadhālū senaṅgata prasāda devaṇṭa vuva mānava' (SDR. 241.33). One 13th century rock-inscription at Koṭṭange proves this beyond doubt when it states that a pamuṇu land was given for valour shown in the disposing of the Cōḷas: 'To this (village) Kalama, granted as a pamuṇu (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 Kaliṅga dynasty, to Loke Arakmenā, for the valour shown in disposing of the Cōḷas' (EZ. 4.2.88).

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P A R T II.

R E L I G I O U S

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 at hand is vast; but we do not propose to discuss this, as much of 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 SDR. 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 fore-runners 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 Nirvāna, without the practice of sīla. Hence the people are advised to practise at least the five precepts (pansil) 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 aspired attainment of the three bodhis (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 also should at least practise 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 Nirvāna' (SDR. 29.12 etc.).

Thus we also see that the book presents more or less the same Buddhist|canonical religious thought as other works of a similar nature. 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 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 the roots of our culture lay in religious principles; and one cannot speak of a culture without taking into consideration the religious thought that made the people imbibe such a culture. 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, took great care that it should spread all the island over, and 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, as those of Hinduism, were wielding 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 Theravādins here, 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 Theravāda (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 their adherents. Whether they had any real converts, it is difficult to surmise; but no doubt the people took refuge in 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 no doubt, lingered through the ages that followed, and we hear of heretical sects and their practices that took 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' (CV. 80.75). The Chronicles also often refer to the Hindu cults, beliefs and practices that were in vogue 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 purohita 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, Vedas 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 Dharmasena and Buddhaputra, 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 SDA. 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 kāmavilunṭa siṃha taram nāttāse yahapat taram nātāt lābhaya nisā sasun vāda mahanava mānik tibiyadī tirivāna poḍi gannāse tama tamange labdhi pirimasamin karana sāsana vilōpaya dāka' (SDR. 64.16); 'Tavus vesin daḷa maṅḍulu valkalā ādiya ātiva mahanava' (SDR. 477. 17); 'Veda igēna sūtra hū karalā sak hāragena hōma koṭa āvidim pamaṇakāṭa pāvati bāvahara seyin bamuṇuaya kiyat mut' (SDR.912.20); 'Raṅga maṅḍaleka purāmāṭṭu pānā kenekun se kabal gat at ātiva raknā tapasak nātāt udara pōṣyaya nisā dora dora siṭa siṅgat' (SDA.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. One is here reminded of Milton's lines from the Lycidas-

' How well could I have spared for thee, young swain,
 Know of such as, for their bellies' sake
 Creep and intrude, and climb into the fold.
 Of other care they little reckoning make...'

The books also refer to homa as well as other sacrifices

that were held on various occasions. The PJV. says: 'Gini deviyān ho pudava nūmbage siva līṅga deviyān ho' ('either worship your god of fire or the Siva līṅga'). It is quite likely that these practices were in vogue during these times. We have definite evidence of a king who held a homa 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 homa sacrifice and others held to be salutary, he had performed by the house-priest and other brāhmapas versed in the Veda and the Vedāṅgas' (CV.62.33). The CV. also refers to some Vedic rites that were performed by Gajabāhu (CV.64.15). These examples testify not only to the fact that these Vedic rites were observed in Ceylon, but also to the fact that brahmins lived in very close association with the court circles. The SDR. also refers to certain other sacrifices (biliyam); 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'. 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 during those days.

The literary sources of the later centuries prove the presence of other religious sects, and also show that the Vedas were studied in the island. It is quite likely that the Vedas were well known and were also studied even during this time; for it 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-

sandesa in giving an account of studies conducted at the
thera's piriveṇa tells us that the Vedas were also studied,
viz.,

'dāpunu sitin iṇḍa kara vehera pūrana

bamupu rāseki vedarut karana dārana' (Girā-sandesa
ed. D.Paññāsāra, v. 214). This makes it clear that the educa-
tional 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 Vedas, for it is
very likely that others also took to them.

Another work, the Budugunālaṅkāraya, affords much
evidence regarding the extent of the influence of these hereti-
cal faiths. The author of this work denounces vehemently not
only such non-Buddhistic practices, but also the nigaṇṭhas.
Vīdāgama thera has levelled the most scathing attacks on them,
as one can see from a few of his verses.

boruven vaḍana baḍa

ebāvin durāra mun jaḍa (v. 134).

One 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 Vedas.

dat siyuve nokaḍa

genāra bamuṇan karava lovāḍa (v. 134).

He also denounces the Vedic yāga practices as utterly useless;
it is, according to him, sowing pebbles in the hope of reaping
suvanḍāl paddy :

gena bamuṇan kathā

karavana yāga mesatā

suvanḍāl vī patā

akuru vapurana vānna niyatā (v. 158).

He further adds :

boruve maturu bāṇḍa

valahana levan hämasaṅḍa

bamunāngen dulada

vāḍak vūye lovaṭa kikaleda (v. 137) (' When did the people benefit by the heretical brāhmaṇas, who deceive the people always with their false compositions'). Biting satire is seen further -

gāsū mas goduraṭa

diva ena masun vilasaṭa

yāgehi kiribatata

divana bamunan lesin ekaviṭa (v. 536), when he compares the brahmins who run to the sacrificial feast to the fish that rush at the bait thrown to them.

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. A Tamil slab-inscription from Pālamottai records the donations to god Śiva, in memory of her husband, by a brahmin lady Nāgaiccāni (EZ.4.4.195). In addition to all these evidences to show that other faiths held firm ground in the island, we also have direct evidence from the SDA., which relates the story of an Īshvarite paribbājaka of the province of Rohaṇa. We shall have occasion to refer to this story later.

There was yet another influence to be reckoned with, that of Mahāyānism. Though the SDR. does not betray any such tendency, yet the PJV. shows instances of the Mahāyānik influence that was felt at this time. The first chapter shows the minister Deva- Pratiṛāja admonishing Parākramabāhu to aspire to Buddhahood: 'A noble wise king like you should not show indifference to the ideal of Buddhahood. You should soon aspire to be a Buddha' ('himi pinvat rajakhu budubava pātīmehi upekṣā vanu noyedeyi. Buduvannaṭa vahā prārthanā kala mānava') (PJV. 12).

Dr. Parānavitāna in his article on Mahāyānism in Ceylon, in the Ceylon Journal of Science, gives us an account of the influence and the spread of Mahāyāna in Ceylon. He refers to epigraphical evidence, which establishes the prevalence of Mahāyāna in Ceylon. He speaks of an inscription containing invocations to Tārā and Avalokiteśvara, representing advanced stages of Tantric cult and affording evidence that Mahāyāna gods and goddesses were objects of popular worship. Images of Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi belonging to the 9th century have been found. He also refers to the Abhayagiri sects as those of Uttaramūla and Mahānetraprasāda-mūla, that flourished till the advent of the Portuguese. Thus he has established the existence of Mahāyāna Buddhism upto quite modern times (Ceylon Journal of Science, Vol.II, Section G).

The SDR. throws out a hint which may be construed to show this influence. The Pali phrase 'tumhākaṃ mayā esa dinno' is rendered in Sinhalese as 'mā buduvaṇṇa nopatata tela daruvan nuṃbavahanseṭa dan demi' ('I offer this child unto you even though I do not aspire to Buddhahood'). This may be a passing reference to the Bodhisattva cult that was then existing.

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, Dr. Parānavitāna 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 god Nātha is the same as the Mahāyāna Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, 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 Bodhisattva (MV. 35.30). The prevalence of the worship of Sumana, who is identified by Dr. Parānavitāna with a principal Mahāyāna Bodhisattva, is additional evidence.

Religious Cults

The religious cults may be examined here in a little more detail. Religion has always 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, that they formed 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 too adopted such forms of worship. 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 common 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 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 these, one or two more important cults have to be examined.

Most important of these were the Siva 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 or Saturn, who is considered dangerous. Literary works refer to these gods and the cults connected with them. The KSM. mentions that women can attain heavenly bliss merely through devotion to their husbands and without worshipping gods or practising the Dhamma (v.535). The SDR. admonishes the people to give up faith in Viṣṇu and Maheśvara and take refuge in the Triple Gem: 'sujanayan visin viṣṇu maheśvarādi bhakti nātiva tunuruvanhima bhakti ātīva' (516.1). The SDA. 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 Rohaṇa. The story relates that the ministers living in this province wanted to give alms, when a certain Saiva 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' (SDA. ed. B.Saddhātissa, p. 689). Reference may here be made again to the Tamil slab-inscription of Pālamottai, which records a donation to Śiva in the temple named Ten-Kaiḷāsam (southern Kailāsam) at Kantalai.

The story connected with Rājasimha and related in the CV., not only shows 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 Theras full of anxiety: "How can I undo the crime of my father's murder?". Then the wise Theras 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-devāla number 1, which has been assigned to the 12th century by Mr. Ferguson. We also have a Śiva-devāla number 2, dated in the reign of a Tamil king of the Coḷa dynasty, who ruled in South India A.D.1070-1073. It is to the period of the conquest of Ceylon by the Coḷas that these Hindu temples and bronzes belong. The images, says Sir P. Arunāchalam, 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 (J.R.A.S. C.B. XXIV, No., 68, pt. 2, Poḷonnaruva Bronzes and Śiva worship and Symbolism). In this connexion we may also draw attention to the references in the later Sandeśas, which describe many

devālas and kovilas dedicated to various forms of Śiva, such as Sudarśana and Bhairava. 'The author of Tisara-sandeśa 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.Ratnāyaka, Glimpses of the Social, Religious, Economic and Political conditions of Ceylon from the Sandeśas, pp.46-47). The Bhairava-kovila 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 was in vogue in Ceylon, though perhaps it was not as widespread as the cult of Śiva. Dr.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 Colians (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. Dr. Parana-vitāna states that Upulvan, the most popular of the local gods, is now considered to be the same as Viṣṇu. He also suggests that Upulvan may be a local name for Avalokiteśvara (Mahāyānism in Ceylon, Ceylon Journal of Science, Vol.2, section G). Mr. Ratnāyaka gives an account of Upulvan: 'Upulvan seems to have been the most popular of the Buddhist gods of the time. Several Sandeśas, the Mayūra, Kokila, Paravi and Tisara, are all addressed to him. The abode of the god is described as being at Devi-nuvara, Dondra. The Paravi speaks of him as protecting the Buddhist religion in Ceylon accepting the words of the Buddha just before his parinibbāna. Kokila and Mayūra refer to him as Kihirāli Upulvan, probably in reference to the traditional story of his image being made of kadirā wood. That

Uppulvan was distinct from Viṣṇu at this period can be proved from references both in the Kokila 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 Uppalavanna are to-day identified as those of Viṣṇu (Glimpses of the Social...in Ceylon from the Sandēśas, p.43). It may be noted that the devāla at Dondra is considered a Viṣṇu devāla to-day.

We hear from the CV. that during Parākramabāhu II's time, his nephew Vīrabāhu betook himself to Devanagara, 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 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 to-day a Hindu devālaya and a Buddhist vihāra stand side by side in Dondra' (CV.pt.2, p.152,n.3). The CV. again tells us that this devāla was repaired by Parākramabāhu II : 'Then when the monarch learned that in the sacred town of Devanagara which was 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 Āsālha (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 in vogue 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) area (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 Pali stanzas refer to the god as Uppalavanna, e.g.,

Devassa uppalavannaṃssa devarājassa mandiram (CV.85.85).

The epithet devarājassa 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 to-day, where gods of whatever calibre are styled diviyarājayo: e.g., siyalu diviya rājayo pin ganitvā (may all gods partake of this merit) and sūrya divya rājayo (Sun-god). Even if we render the term literally, yet we do not normally refer to Viṣṇu as King of the gods. This is an epithet of Śakra. Therefore it is quite likely 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. Mr. Kumāraṇatunga 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 Paravi-sandeśa 205-6, and asks the question whether Viṣṇu had such a wife or such a son. He also quotes from the Laṅkātilaka rock-inscription which mentions Viṣṇu and Upulvan as two gods

(Tisara-sandesa-dīpaniya, p.76). The Mayūra-sandesa refers to the traditional story of Sakra's order to Upulvan to be the guardian of the island. In the sannaya to this verse :-

devrada laka rakinuva kala niyo vine

devrada himi devnuvarata vadina dine (Mayūra, ed. V.

Dīpaṅkara, v. 113), Vālipaṭṭanvila Dīpaṅkara 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 Sandesa, this thera has again identified deviṇḍu with Viṣṇu (ibid.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 enhanced the confusion.

Upulvan being considered the guardian of the island, it is likely that Vīrabāhu held his sacrificial festival after victory at the Upulvan-devāla and not at a Viṣṇu-devāla, as supposed by Geiger. Therefore, we may with the foregoing evidence surmise that the devāla at Donūra 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 SDR. The author, in rendering the Pali sentence 'antodevatā namassitabbā' in the Visākhā story, says: 'ātulalata deviyo vādayuttāhayi kivūya. viṣṇu īsvarādi deviyan lamkoṭa tabā ganṭat puluvanda?' (You have said that 'inside gods' should be worshipped. What, is it possible to have Īsvara and Viṣṇu by one's side?); and again in translating the Pali 'ekacce bali-kammena āyacaṇāya maṅgala-kiriyāyāti', he says: 'samahara kenek biliyam kala sanhiṇḍeyi kivūya, samahara kenek devatā Īrādhānāyēn sanhiṇḍeyi kivūya, samahara kenek viṣṇu īsvarādi pūjā kala kala sanhiṇḍeyi

kivūya' ('Some said that the evil could be destroyed by sacrifices, some that it could be by appeal to gods, others that it could be by homage to Viṣṇu and Īśvara etc.)(SDR. 805.11). In the rendering of these statements we see how far 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 Kṛiṣṇa was worshipped in the form of Upulvan, or was it even Rāma, who was thus worshipped after his victory over Rāvana? Both Rāma and Kṛiṣṇa are painted black or blue, and are considered to be incarnations (avatāras) of Viṣṇu (Gopinātha 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. As to the worship of Rāma in Ceylon, we have direct and definite evidence. The Kokila-sandeśa refers to a Rāma kovila in Jaffna, viz.,

sobaman ramiṅḍu suraniṅḍu babalayi epura (Kokila, ed. W.F.Gunawardhana, v. 255 d). 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 Kṛiṣṇa, 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 Kṛiṣṇa? When we consider how widespread and popular the cult of Kṛiṣṇa was in India, it is unlikely that it did not leave its

impress on the island of Ceylon. The popularity of this cult is thus expressed by Gopinatha Rao : 'As king and statesman, as warrior and hero, as friend and supporter, as guide and philosopher, as the expounder of the all comprehensively monotheistic religion of love and devotion to God conceived as Vāsudeva, his achievements have been so great and glorious that, among the incarnations of Viṣṇu none receives more cordial or more widespread worship than Kṛiṣṇa' (Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, p. 200).

Such being the position, it is not unreasonable to raise the question whether Kṛiṣṇa-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 with the Buddhist religion according to the traditions. As for Rāma-worship, it is quite likely that he came to be worshipped after his victory over Rāvana, and the people may have looked upon him as a protector.

Sun-god.

Among the bronzes of Poḷonnaruva was that of the Sun-god (J.R.A.S. C.B. XXIV, No. 68, pt. 2, Poḷonnaruva Bronzes and Śiva worship and Symbolism), whose figure 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 to-day the people look upon him as a guardian, and he, besides other gods, is often requested by them to partake of the merits they may acquire by the performance of meritorious deeds.

Sumana.

The worship of Sumana has persisted to this day. Dr. Paranavitāna identifies him with the yakkha Sumana, mentioned in the Āṭṭānāṭṭiya-sūtra, and thinks that this yakkha was later

elevated to the dignity of a deva (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 Bodhisattvas of the Mahāyāna prominent in Chinese Buddhism, green in colour, and riding on an elephant. The principal seat of this cult is the Saman-devāla at Ratnapura. The CV. attests his worship in the time of Parākramabāhu II. It states that the minister Deva-Pratirāja set up an image of Saman at Adam's Peak, at the shrine of the Foot-print: 'Deva-Pratirāja agreed with 'aye' and betook himself in the first place to Gaṅgasiripura. There he had fashioned a magnificent image of Sumanadeva 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 Bodhitāḷa, 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 cetiya 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). Dr. Adikāram states that Sumana is a local deity, and that according to the Papan̄casūdanī his daughter Kālī 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 Devas, 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.

Dr. Parānavitāna in his article on Pre-Buddhist beliefs in Ceylon refers to the memory at least of Brahmanic sacrifices that were 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 (MV. 37.41). The SDR. also speaks of various sacrifices and temples of gods (kovil): 'māge raṭa deviyaṅ nāti kovil se' (331.5). The SDA. refers to a temple of a god at Anurādhapura in the time of Duṭṭugemunu: 'Anurādhapura samīpaye pura deviyā kovil asa' (p.471). Mention is also made of offerings to the Fire-god. Both the SDR. and the VMS. 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 pūjāyak ātada eyaṭada vaḍā...utumi' ('It is nobler than offerings to a Fire-god for a hundred years') (VMS. 819); 'yam kenek tumū sitāgena ho anunge basin ho baṁba lova patā pasu ghātaya koṭa vala tabāgena havrudu siyayak mulullehi gini deviyā pidū nam... gini deviyāṭa kaḷa pujaṅven 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') (SDR. 515.28). 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.

Tree worship.

Commonest among other beliefs was the idea of a god or devatā inhabiting an inanimate object. The PJV. refers to

gods inhabiting mountains and trees (p. 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 trees and grass (p.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 became 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 to-day. It is the refuge of the gods that the people always sought. 'Deviyange 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 devatās were as common. A large tree was generally believed to be the home of a powerful god. Even to-day 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 SDR. says: 'mesevū gasaka ānubhāva sampanna devatā kenek ātamānava' ('In a tree of this sort there must be a powerful god')(27.28). 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 deviyan). '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 devas, who, according to the beliefs of Sinhalese Buddhists, haunt many a

tree of remarkable size and hoary age found in the country side. The nā (*mesua ferrea*) is considered to be a tree particularly fancied by devas of this class in the selection of suitable abodes for themselves and their families' (EZ.4.6.307). The VMS. refers to a tree-god in a midila tree at Situlpahuva, near Tissamahārāma. In explaining the term 'cetiya rukkaṃ' it says: 'deviyan vesetiya minisun visin pidiya yutu ruka' ('The tree that should be worshipped by people as an abode of a god') (VMS.192). The book also refers to ant-hills which were considered sacred and where offerings were made: 'biliyam pinisa tumbasa sisāla piyal' ('The ribbons that were hung as offering') (VMS.165).

The story 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 (VMS. 57): 'Situl pavvaṭa yanne deman sandhiyakata pāmiṇa me maga do me maga do hoyi sitamin siṭiye ... parvatayehi vasana devatāvek ata dik koṭa me maga yayi...'.

An important practice in tree-worship seems to have been the request or prayer to have a child by the favour of a tree-deity: 'devatā ārādhanayen darukenekun ladim nam yehekāyi sitā' (SDR. 27.29); 'topage 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')(SDR.27.34). The fulfilment of this request is also referred to (ibid.27.37). It is uncertain whether this same request was made of tree-gods in the period under survey; probably it was. To-day we see the same thing; but the general practice to-day is to ask this kind of favour of a more powerful deity, such as the god Kataragama. Thousands flock to the shrine of this god at Kataragama, 12 miles from

Tissamaharāma, many with offerings, largely figures of gold or silver, which represented the child, if a child was desired, or the person otherwise benefited.

The SDR. makes humorous reference to female deities saying that they too give birth to children like human beings (739.7).

Referring to tree-worship in pre-Buddhist Ceylon, Dr. Paranavitāna observes that ' worship of trees seem to have been intimately connected with that of the yakkhas and the cult of the cetiyas. Some of the sthūpas mentioned in the Piṭakas and which are said by Buddhaghosa 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.302).

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. Dr. Paranavitāna 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 it seems to have been a case of propitiation of them and 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 the pre-Buddhist times. The SDA. describes Goṭhayimbara's wife as possessed by a yakkha. Immediately she was possessed, she dropped the vessel that was in her hand, fell unconscious on the ground and rolled about, emitting white phlegm and then lying with eyes turned up: 'otomo ekenehi alvāgena siṭi odama bima helā

visaññava bima āta māta peralemin mukhayan sudu pena piṭat koṭa viruddhava peraliyavu ās ātiva uḍa balā hottīya' (SDA.493). The SDR. also describes one possessed by a yakkha as falling on the ground with face twisted in the opposite direction: 'āṅga āviṣṭavalā nomiyana lesaṭa kara aṃbarā mūna piṭi kara dasāvaṭa tabalā bima helāluva' (839.27). The usual places supposed to be haunted by these yakkhas were the burial grounds and forests.

Exorcism The remedy for all this lay in exorcism ceremonies, which were conducted in various ways. Reference may here be made to the Coḷian 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 pideni (offerings) were held to relieve the patient. These were conducted by a yakādura, one versed in the art of exorcism etc. The very terms used in the SDR. themselves suggest that tovil ceremonies were probably known to them. The terms used are: yakādura, pideni, vilakku, kaḍatura and bali, which are all terms used in connexion with demonology. The writer's similes too point to his acquaintance with these activities, e.g., 'vesa bāṇḍa pānā ruvak men' ('like a dance in various guises') (SDR.89.15); 'yakāduraṅga lamvū pisācayaku menda' ('like a pisāca in the hands of a sorcerer') (SDR.8⁰.15). Some of the requisites necessary for these ceremonies are also mentioned, viz., 'lada pas mal hā pān numusu kiribat' ('five kinds of flowers and milk-rice') (SDR.508.33); 'vana pas mal' (flowers of five different colours). Even to-day five kinds of flowers are taken for these ceremonies. Sacrifices, bali or pideni, are offerings of food etc. to the spirits. Another way of appeasing the yakkhas was with blood. The use of a fowl in to-day's ceremonies answers this need. All these ceremonies

were conducted with recitation of charms or mantras. Hence the SDR. statement that by the power of incantations the evil wrought by yakkhas will be dispelled: 'pralaya mantrānubhāvayen yakṣopadrava duruveyi' (SDR.806.14). Other superstitious beliefs are also connected with these beings, for example, it is very commonly believed even now that certain foods - specially those fried and prepared in oils - should not be eaten if one has to go out. The yakkhas are supposed to be fond of these foods: 'amanuṣyaṅṅa priyavū daḍamas, kuḍamas, piṭi kāvum, tala muruvaṅṅa ādiya nokāyutuya'. The belief to-day is that if one should eat any such food, he 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.

Dr. Paranavitāna 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 pideni; but in demonology it has now come to mean a particular kind of offering or sacrificial ceremony of various sorts. Pideni 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 pidenis or offerings. The ceremony is generally known as pideni dāmīma (giving of an offering). The pidenis consist of a few taṭus (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 an ekel, and are used in all ceremonies of these cults. Kadaturāva is a sort of curtain cloth, held between the patient and the pidenis. Yakādurā (exorcist) is the demonologist, who is well versed in the art of exorcism and other ceremonies of these cults. Tovil is the name for any of the ceremonies connected with all these practices, and covers a large number of forms such as hūniyam, sanni-yakun, raṭa-yakun, bali etc., which are conducted according to the suitability 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 kolama 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 the late Mr. W.A.De.Silva in his article on Sinhalese magic and spells (J.R.A.S. C.B. Vol. XXX, p.193). 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 contain words of Telugu, Canarēse and the languages of the Deccan'. This statement helps us to see that these cults have been handed down from very early times .

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 SDR., e.g., in case of bites of poisonous reptiles, ^{such} as the snake. Making the snake itself to extract the poison is known even to-day: 'nayi lavā daṣṭa kaḷa mukhayen viṣaya uravā māṭ nirviṣa koṭa' (SDR.

100.36); 'e e viṣayaṭa pratiniyata mantrādiya tibiyadī anik mantrayakin viṣa bāmin siṭiyadī vādīgena yana viṣayak men' (SDR. 47.21). The second quotation refers to the increase of the effects of poison by the use of a wrong mantra. The SDR. 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 āvaunṭa matuṭa povana pānak men' (SDR. 737.3). This seems to be quite similar to the chanting of the Āṅgulimāla-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: 'sobhā nātikarana mantrayak' (SDR. 924.13). The SDA. refers to another charm by which the limbs of a person could be cut off. What one has to do is to recite the incantation the necessary number of times, and blow the air out of the nose, and whatever limb this air touches will drop off the body (SDA. 138). The same process could be adopted to kill a person: 'mantra pirivahā nāsā vātayen minisun marana mantrayak' (SDA.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'. Mr. W.A.De. Silva refers to the Māraṅganā-sāhalla, 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. 66.138).

The Ḍāmbadeṇi-katikāvata affords further evidence of these practices. It shows that these had even penetrated into the hands of the monks, and this is why it was found necessary to include a rule ordering the monks not to resort to these

improper practices of propitiating the yakkhas for the cure of various illnesses: 'upan rogaya nisā yakun kelāvīm bili tibīm bali bat kiyavīm ādi nosarup dā nokatayutu' (Katikāvat-saṅgarā, ed. D.B.Jayatilaka, p.19).

The story of the merchant Nandiya in the SDA, 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 at this time 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 over 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. The yakkha was thus 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 (SDA. 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, for such beliefs seem to have been quite widespread in 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 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 vetāla in Hindu fiction appears as a mischievous goblin. He is always ready to play some rotten, 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 a human than by tenanting a corpse' (The Ocean of Story, ed. N.M.Penzer, Vol.VI, p. 136). The Sinhalese parallel to the vetāla of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara is the pilli, 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 Dr. Barnett observes about the magical rites in respect of India applies with even greater force to conditions in Ceylon. He says: 'From the earliest ages India has been full of magic. Side by side with the official cults of the Ṛig-veda and their liturgies, there existed among the Āryans a crowd of superstitions of every kind. Magic is the raw material of primitive ritual, and is still present to a greater or less degree in most of the liturgies of India. 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 pisācas 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 to-day, to frighten their children by referring to the yakkhas and rākṣasas and other such evil spirits. The SDR. 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 (965.17). The SDA. gives a far more exaggerated description: 'The fearful 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 paṃba 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' (SDA.89). No ceremonies or rites of propitiation etc. are referred to in the case of rākṣasas and pisācas.

Pretas.

Another class of evil spirits were the pretas, the spirits of the departed. It was commonly believed that miserly people who died were re-born as pretas. This indeed is the view expounded by the religious teaching itself. Hence the popular belief. Buddha himself is said to have preached the Tirokuḍḍha-

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 instigating the laity to be generous to the clergy.

The common man believes that these pretas 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 from being pretas 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 'pretaya bāṇḍīma', literally the binding of the preta. Mantras are chanted and a nail is struck on a piece of wood, which is then thrown into some room, such as the attic. 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 pretas, carried out during the reign of Parākramabāhu I : 'The two adhikārins Manju and Kittī 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 preta, a 'roaming

soul". The ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha is offered to the preta' (CV.pt.2, p.35, n.1). In India ceremonies connected with the dead are called śrāddha. In Ceylon to-day the first ceremony held on about the third day after the cremation or burial is called the 'mataka baṇa', a sermon delivered in remembrance 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 yojans. It also refers to Nāgas of the mountains and to eighty koṭis (crores) of snake-spirits, 'dwellers in the ocean and on the mainland' (MV. 1.48, 1.51, 1.62).

We may note here the observations in the Hindu Iconography of Gopinātha Rao. 'The Nāgas', it says, 'are according to Purānic authorities a race of serpents who inhabited the Pātāla loka or the nether regions. The Mahābhārata and the Varāha Purāna give the origin of the Nāgas. By Dākṣyaṇī, the daughter of Daksha, Kāśyapa 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 loka 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 Buddhistic 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 Brāhmaṇas' (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 Dr. Vogel in his volume on Indian Serpent-Lore. He says: 'The distinguished German indologist, the late Prof. 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. Śeṣha 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 snake-hood' (ibid.p.27). The figures of the Nāgas found in almost all parts of India show the popularity of the cult. Ceylon 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 Ruvanvāli dagāba, which Mr. Vincent Smith assigns to the early centuries of the Christian era, must belong to a considerably later period' (ibid. p.43). Dr. Vogel also 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. Dr. 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 to-day. To kill a snake is considered a grave sin by every one irrespective of caste, and if one were to kill a cobra, it is believed that one would fall into 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 Kokila and the Paravi sandeśas refer to a Nāga-kovila somewhere near Wellamaḍama, near Dondra. Mr. Ratnāyaka 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 Paravi-sandeśa 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... from the Sandeśas, p.48). The Kokila verse is -

savaṇa savaṇa satiyehi vāḍahiṅḍina lesa
leleṇa darana vālalū mudaliṅḍu vilasa
karana pahev peṇarāṅḍi nārada sakasa
sobaṇa nāga kovila daku mituru tosa (v. 42)

('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 SDR. refers to this cult in connexion

with the story of the Nāga king Mahā-Dona, in the stories dealing with the Maṅgala-sutta etc. (SDR. 963.16).

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.

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CHAPTER IX.SUPERSTITIONS, MYTHOLOGY, ETC.a) Superstitious Beliefs

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 even to-day. These, no doubt, have 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 (kata 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 kăpīma', literally 'cutting lime'. Mantras or incantations are chanted and the limes are cut. Mr. 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 to-day to what is called äsvaha vatura mätirīma (charming of evil-eye water), which is considered to be equally effective for one

or all of the three evils. Mr. 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 KSM. 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 Kāvyaśekhara and the Kavmiṇi-konḍola:

Iṭu devīyan nāmāṅda
pansil rāgena mananaṅda
ranpaya gitelā soṅda
balā siya muvataṅbara maharada.

(Kāvyaśekhara, canto eight, v.13).

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

Sobaman ran baṅdana pirū suvaṅda gitel tulehi lakala
tamuvan naraṁbā siri dāka yali pansil gena manakala

(Kavmiṇi-koṇḍola, v.351).

Mr. Martin Wickramasingha 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 (Sinhala-sāhityaye-nāṅgīma, p.47). He has lost sight of the belief in the evil-eye and the precautions taken against it. The Kaṅḍavuru-sirita makes it quite clear that Parākrama-bāhu II observed this practice, when it states that he looked at his own face in the ghee and caused that oil to be given to religious mendicants (gitel pātraya vata balā ehi tel mahana bamunanta devā). Mr. 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 SDA. says that the cry will indicate the good or the evil that is to befall a person (550.40). To-day the belief is that it portends death. To meet a monk when one sets out on a journey was also considered inauspicious and a sure sign of disappointment, as it is even today (SDR. 572.35). 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 even to-day, considered

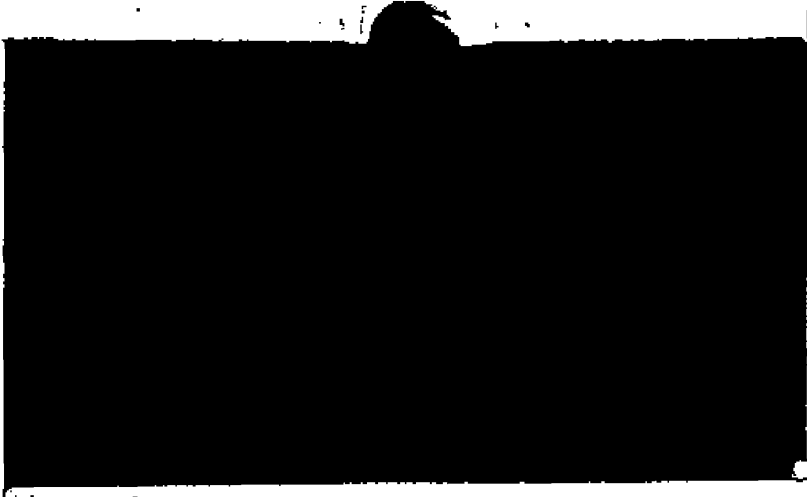
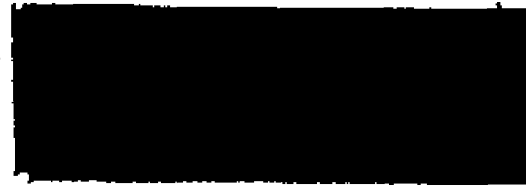
auspicious to meet a cow, a person bringing a pot full of water, or a pregnant woman (SDR. 952.37). It is the practice even to-day, to arrange for someone carrying a vessel of water, to meet a person setting out on a journey or a bridegroom leaving his home. The SDR. also adds that a young girl decked in a pearl necklace and bangles is an auspicious omen (ibid.). This is not given in the list in the Pali 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 SDR. expresses the commotion on this day when it says, 'yamse saṅḍa ādiyen ḍaknā kalāṭa mahotsāhayen balā dakitda' (462.29). 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 to-day that some 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. 'Dreams', says Dr. Barnett, 'naturally offered a fertile field for the ingenuity of diviners. They were soon classified according to their supposed import, and rules were drawn up for averting the evil portended by ill-omened ones by means of lustratory offerings and recitations' (Antiquities of India, p. 184). Even if these rules were not generally known, personages such as the purohitas were versed in them. In everyday life almost every man, as to-day, would have

THESIS

ARIN PALA



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 'īye rā napuru sīnayak diṭimi' ('I saw an ill-omened dream last night')(SDR.209.7). In the story of Kāla thera, the author again adds 'sīnenut bat dutu kala bādhāse'(SDR.653.5), 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 SDA. 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 (SDA. 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 a consecrated king within seven days (p.180).

The time of the dream was also an important factor. It

was believed that if one saw a dream in the early hours of the morning it inevitably gave results; at least, the dreams seen during these early hours were more true. The SDR. refers to this when it says that a dream seen in the morning will give results sooner (249.30). Hence we see that it depends upon the time when it is seen whether it is fulfilled soon or late; but the dream which is seen at the end of the night is quickly fulfilled.

In this connection the PJV. refers to an important custom of our peoples. It says that betel with the five fruits (paspala vat) were offered to the Brahmin who was asked to interpret the dream. It is the general custom to offer betel on similar occasions - at least to give the due fee along with betel.

Astrology. The rather copious references to astrological as well as astronomical data establishes beyond doubt that these sciences during these times were much in vogue, though they are on the decline to-day. Astrology played an important part in men's lives, as hardly anything of importance was done without due astrological considerations. 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 an honoured branch of science 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 one kiriya of land and a vasaga from damiya (a measured quantity of provisions from the almonary of the monastery) (EZ. 1.3.89). The Prītidānaka-maṇḍapa rock-

inscription of Nissanka 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 even 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 Sivadēvālaya slab-inscription of Nissanka Malla refers to a ceremony conducted to propitiate the nine planetary gods (EZ. 2.4.148). The SDR. refers to the selection of auspicious days for marriage ceremonies: 'māṇiyōda oba gosin sarana vicārā nilakōṭa kāṇḍavāgena yaṇṭa nisi nākatakut vicārālā nisi nākatakin gēnavut putanuvanta pāvā dunha (88.23). The literature refers to religious ceremonies conducted at auspicious moments. The SDA. refers to the enshrining of relics at such favourable times. The CV. refers to the enshrining of relics by Vijayabāhu IV at a favourable moment when constellations, day, and hour were auspicious (CV. 89.39). The CV. also records the portrayal of the character of Prince Kittī by a distinguished astrologer (CV. 57.48), thus indicating that the character of a person could be known by the constellation under which one is born. It is the custom even to-day to cast the horoscope when a child is born. This enables one to read the full life of the individual concerned. Horoscopes are, somehow, 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. 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 Laṅka under one umbrella' (CV. 81.69). As for external objects and phenomena (nimiti), it is stated that the sight of a pierced tank on the way to battle is not a good omen. The SDA. also states that eclipses of the sun and moon, falling of meteors, and earthquakes portend evil (SDA. 530). It also relates that King Kāvan-tissa made inquiries from soothsayers about the meaning of the desires of his pregnant queen (SDA. 449).

Though these 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 (visā) (EZ. 4.5. 258), and the SDR. constantly refers to Uttarāśāḍha (Uturusala) (975.18, 985.13, etc.).

As in the case of other things, we are no doubt indebted to India for this science as well. Hence the system in vogue here was the same as that practised in the mainland. The year was composed of twelve lunar months named Durutu (December-January) (EZ. 2.1.42); Navan (January-February) (EZ. 2.2.55); Mādin (February-March) (EZ. 1.3.115, 2.1.24); Bak (Baga - March-April) (EZ. 3.3.140); Vesak (Vesaga - April-May) (EZ. 3.4.224; SDR. 989.6); Poson (May-June) (EZ. 1.6.229; 1.5.198; SDR. 712.26); Āsala (June-July) (EZ. 3.2.67; SDR. 522.31); 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).

The month consisted of two lunar fortnights called pura

and ava pālaviya, corresponding to the Indian śukla and kṛiṣṇa 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 Pali term 'anvaddha-māsaṃ' has been rendered 'depōyen depōyāta' by the SDR. author (SDR. 385.30), and 'addhamāso' as 'depōyak' (SDR. 744.29).

The day was reckoned as 60 hours (sāta pāya). The PJV. has 'sātapāya giya kala' for the lapse of a day (163). The SDR. refers to the fore-noon as consisting of fifteen hours (peravarū pasalospāya), and afternoon as consisting of fifteen (pasvarū pasalos pāya) (SDR. 368.3, 368.5). The night consisted of 30 hours (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 hours (SDR. 84.39, 153.10, 879.32 resp.). The practice of reckoning 60 hours for the day has persisted up to the present: 60 vinādis = 1 ghaṭikā, and 60 ghaṭikās (hours) = a day and night. A week of seven days named after the planets was in use: Iru dina (Sunday); Saṅḍu dina (Monday); Kuja dina (Tuesday); Buda dina (Wednesday); Guru dina (Thursday); Kivi dina (Friday); and Śani dina (Saturday). The SDR.'s reference to Aṅgaharuvādā (Tuesday) (808.13, 20.10) also shows that the names of the days of the week as popularly known to-day were in vogue at this time. The names in order are: Iridā (Sunday), Saṅḍudā, Aṅgaharuvādā, Badādā, Brahāspatindā, Sikurādā and Senasurādā.

The planets are nine in number. (1) Ravi, (Sun); (2) Candra or Saṅḍu (Moon); (3) Angaharu or Kuja (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 of the zodiac, 27 nākāt grahas (asterisms), and 108 pādas (PJV. 650, 280). It also states that in one vinādikā these planets move 725 yojanas, or within one breathing space, 120 yojanas, 24 isabhas, 13 yaṣṭis, 1 riyan, 1 viyat and 4 aṅgulis (PJV.280). The twelve signs of the zodiac as used by the Sinhalese are: Meṣa (Aries), Vṛṣabha (Taurus), Mithuna (Gemini), Kaṭaka (Cancer), Siṃha (Leo), Kanyā (Virgo), Tulā (Libra), Vṛścāka (Scorpio), Dhanu (Sagittarius), Makara (Capricornus), Kumbha (Aquarius), and Mīnā (Pisces). Discussing the 27 asterisms, Dr. Barnett observes that the 'celestial circle was divided into 27 parts of 13° 20' each, corresponding to the 27 asterisms or nakshatras. The system of the nakshatras was originally based upon the sidereal revolution of the moon in about 27 days, according to which a lunar zodiac of 27 or 28 asterisms near the ecliptic was made, so that in each night of the sidereal month the moon entered a different asterism. In the astronomy of the third period the nakshatras are as follows, in regular order: (1) Aśvinī, (2) Bharanī, (3) Kṛittikā, (4) Rōhiṇī, (5) Mṛiga-śiras (6) Ārdṛā, (7) Punarvasū, (8) Pushyā, (9) Āślēshā, (10) Maghā, (11) Pūrvaphalgunī, (12) Uttara-phalgunī, (13) Hastā, (14) Chitrā, (15) Svātī, (16) Viśākhā, (17) Anurādhā, (18) Jyēshthā, (19) Mūlā, (20) Pūrvāshādhā, (21) Uttarāshādhā, (22) Śravaṇā, (23) Dhanishthā or Śravishthā, (24) Śata-bhishaj, (25) Pūrvabhādrapadā, (26) Uttara-bhādrapadā, (27) Rēvatī. A 28th, Abhijit is sometimes included; it is inserted between Uttarāshādhā and Śravaṇā' (Antiquities of India, p.190-191). The Sinhalese terms for these 27 nakshatras (nākāt) are:

- 1) Asvida, 2) Beraṇa, 3) Kāti, 4) Reheṇa, 5) Muvasirisa,
 - 6) Ada, 7) Punāvāsa, 8) Pusa, 9) Asliṣa, 10) Mānākāt,
 - 11) Puvapal, 12) Utrapal, 13) Hata, 14) Sita, 15) Sā,
 - 16) Visā, 17) Anura, 18) Deṭa, 19) Mula, 20) Puvasala,
 - 21) Utrasala, 22) Suṽana, 23) Deṇaṭa, 24) Siyāvāsa,
 - 25) Puvapuṭupa, 26) Utrapuṭupa, 27) Rēvatī (28. Abhijit)
- (M.M.P. Wijayarātna Appuhāmi, Lit Hōdiya, 1915).

Each of these nakshatras is divided into four pādas, thus giving a total of 108 pādas.

b) Mythology

'Along with the growth of ritual', says Dr. Adhikāram, '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 the worship of gods was denounced by it; 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 Dr. Adhikāram. '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 Kosala 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 mistranslation, it is certainly true that the Dhamma had little to do with devas' (Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, p.145). Referring to this statement, Dr. Adhikāram 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 Pali Commentaries. The old Canonical accounts dealing with the devas were expanded and mythology grew round them, but to the Ceylonese Buddhist these devas 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 Mara (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' (Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, 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 are the Brahmās, who 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-vihāras, are called after their name. 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 SDR. gives forty-eight gays (leagues) as the height of Brahmā (405.24). The KSM. looks upon him as a 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 (KSM. 234). The same idea of creation is expressed by the SDR. when it says that we are the children of Brahmā and therefore do we aspire to be born in the world of Brahmā (514.5). 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 yojanas, wearing a robe of twelve yojanas 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' (p.199).

Sakra.

Sakra occurs 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. Dr. Adhikāram 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). Sakra has been known by different names, some of which, according to the SDR., 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 Sakra; he once built a rest-house for wayfarers, hence he is Vāsava; he is called Thousand-eyed (dahasās) 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 Devinda (SDR. 256.1). He is also referred to as Tidasiñdu, the Chief of the Thirty-three gods of Tāvatiṃsa, and as Suriñdu, Chief of the gods. Mātali was his charioteer, and Pañcasika his musician, who is represented as playing a lute known by the name Beḷuva (SDR. 697.36). The palace, frequently referred to, is Vejayanta (vijayat), and the assembly hall was Sudhammā. His park was Nandana, his chariot also was Vejayanta, and his elephant Airāvana (SDR. 1001.22). Buddha is said to have given him an additional span of life of three crores and 60

lakhs of human years (SDR. 525.2). 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 (SDR. 42.6). On occasions of this nature Śakra always appeared in the guise of an old man who showed great need himself. The SDR. refers to this when it says: 'kavara kalat dukpat kamama kiyā ena śakravarun heyin' (450.10).

The most important thing in his equipment was his marble seat, which became hot or cold according to his wishes (SDA. 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 SDR. 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 (41.36). The PJV. describes this seat as 60 yojanas in length, 50 in breadth, and 15 in thickness, red like bañdu-vada (shoe) flowers; 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 (p.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 kobolīla tree as a shelter to wayfarers in the world of men; and he was given a marble 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 Puṇḍarīka, and in the centre of this grew the Pārijāta tree.

The trunk of this tree was five yojanas, circumference 15 yojanas, height 100 yojanas; it had five branches, each 50 yojanas in length. It was a white kobilīla 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 yojanas, and the circumference of the branches was 300 yojanas. The flowers of this tree were used as parasols by the gods. Their scent spread to a distance of 100 yojanas, and the lustre from the tree illumined a distance of a radius of fifty yojanas. The same text also affords us a lengthy description of the abode of Śakra and all his equipment (PJV. p.426).

The Gaḍalādeṇiya rock-inscription shows that these gods were looked upon as devout followers of Buddha: 'In the lowest storey (of that image-house, he) 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 Bodhi-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, Brahma, and others, led by Mātr-devaputra' (EZ. 4.2.106).

The Four Guardian Gods

The four guardian gods are often referred to as Satara-varumun or lokapālā. These gods, says Dr. Adhikāram, held posts under Śakra and are Dhatarat̥tha, virūḷha, Virūpakka and Vessavaṇa. The PJV. states that their abodes were on the four Yugaṅdara mountains. Vessavaṇa, also known as

Kuvera, seems to have been the most popular. He dwells in Alakā, in the Himālayas. The Alutnuvara slab-inscription shows that these four deities were invoked by the people along with deities as Upulvan, who were considered guardians (EZ. 4.6.269).

Sarasvatī is the goddess of learning. The KSM. starts with the pious hope that people may become poets by a glance of Sarasvatī. 'In Vedic literature', observes Dr. Barnett, 'this is the name of a sacred river, worshipped as a goddess ... Towards the end of the Vedic period Sarasvatī was identified with vāk "speech", and finally became the divine embodiment of language, literary expression, and learning, and wife of Brahman' (Dr. Barnett, Antiquities of India, p.25).

Śrī: Goddess of prosperity or luck, plenty and success, and consort of Viṣṇu. She is also known as Lakṣmī.

Kāma or Anaṅga. The god of love, son of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī, is a very popular figure with all literary artists. He is known by a variety of names: Kaṇḍapa, Naraṅga, Malkehellā, Madana, Malsarā, Makaradvaja. 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.

Asuras: A set of non-divine beings who were the enemies of gods. 'In the Veda originally a title of the gods; but also, as usually later, a class of demons at war with gods' (Dr. Barnett, Antiquities of India, p.19).

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' (ibid. 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 Duṭṭhagāmiṇī contemplated the building of the Mahāthūpa, Sakka sent his attendant Viśsakamma to make bricks for the king, and later when the time for the enshrining of relics came, he sent Viśsakamma again to decorate the whole of Ceylon' (Adhikāram, Early History of Buddhism, p.147). The SDA. records that he was sent by Śakra to make a ship of seven gems for a kuṭumbika-putta (a rich householder) (SDA. 728). Thus he was the symbol of perfect craftsmanship. Anything that is beyond human skill is considered to be the work of Viśvakarma.

Planetary Gods. 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' (Dr. Barnett, 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 SDR. refers to Rāhu 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 Meru in an abode 10,000 yojanas in extent. He is 4,800 yojanas 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 yojanas round his head, forehead in breadth 300 yojanas, 50 yojanas between the eyebrows, mouth 200 yojanas, depth of mouth 300 yojanas, hands and feet 200 yojanas broad, 50 yojanas from knuckle to knuckle, 750 yojanas a step, forearm 1,200 yojanas, span 600 yojanas. He could cover the moon and sun with one of his finger-tips (p.350).

Brhaspati: Jupiter, is the teacher of the gods, and a very wise person is always compared to him ... 'he became a spirit of wisdom, and ultimately in post-Vedic religion Brihas-pati or Vāchas-pati appears merely as a divine sage, the master of wisdom and policy, and teacher of the gods' (Antiquities of India, p.20).

Earth. Mīdeduva is the mother earth, or Earth-goddess, also referred to often as Mahīkāntā.

Divine Tree (classically known as Kalpa-vṛkṣa or taru). The PJV. describes the divine tree thus:- Its trunk is 5 yojanas in thickness, 15 in circumference, 50 in height. It has five branches, 50 yojanas each in height, and the foliage expanse is 300 yojanas. 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.

Cintāmani. The belief in five divine objects which satisfied all desires of beings was widespread. The five are: Cintāmani, the wish-conferring gem; kalpa-vṛkṣa, the divine tree; kalpa-latā, 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).

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, in one a club, a shell in another, in the third a discus, and a lotus in the fourth. His vehicle is the Garuḍa bird. 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 Mahādeva, Maheśvara, Īshvara, etc. 'His wife is Umā (Pārvatī, Chāmuṇḍā, Chāṇḍī, Kāmākshī, Gaurī, Kālī, or Durgā), the daughter of the Himalaya, regarded either as a goddess of sublime beauty and sweetness, or as a furious being delighting in bloodshed and death. In the Tantric cults she is conceived as the śakti or cosmic energy by which the power of the supreme Śiva is realised in the universe, and is often worshipped with him in bloody and obscene rites. The liṅga (image of the male organ of generation) and yōni (image of the female organ), are often worshipped as symbols of Śiva and Umā respectively' (Dr. Barnett, Antiquities of India, p.27). The Sandeśas refer to an Umā kovila (Sāvul, vv.92,93).

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 these deities. The following quotation from one of the inscriptions illustrates this fact: 'He has sur-

passed the Sun in majesty inherent in him, Maheśvara (Śiva) in prowess, Viṣṇu in haughty spirit, the Chief of the gods (Indra) in kingly state, the Lord of riches (Kuvera) 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 Bodhisattva in the fullness of his benevolence' (EZ. 2.5.215).

Cakravarti.

A concept which seems to have been widespread is that of universal rulership. The SDA. gives us some details of a Cakravarti or universal monarch who, it is believed, will appear in the world when the Bodhisattva Maitri attains enlightenment. He would be Saṅka by name, and will be born in the kingdom of Kētumatī. He will have a mansion made of the seven kinds of gems; 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 flowers. Four gods shall keep guard in the four directions, with swords in their hands. His orchestra will occupy a space of 12 yojanas, his circle of Brahmans a space of 25 yojanas, the ministers, decked in all splendour and in battle array, a space of 48 yojanas, the remaining assembly a space of 90 yojanas, his army in armour a space of 500 yojanas. 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 laks of crores of consecrated 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, admonishing the whole world. 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, within one morning, and return to his palace for his mid-day meal (SDA. 750). The SDR. also refers to the fact that universal rulers are wont to practise the four heart-winning qualities (catu-saṅgaha-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 (SDR. 524.6). 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 (SDR. 705.4). 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 Cakra-varti 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. Every king's desire 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.

c) Concept of Heaven and Hell.

Position. The universe is 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.

To-day this view has been contested and some maintain that all these heavens and hells are in this animal world; but the SDR. specifically mentions that paralova (the next world) is not a part or portion of the world of human beings. It also states that the worlds of Devas 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 where the stars were seen is indicated by the phrase 'taru penena diyyalokayehi' (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. 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 (SDR.16.34) (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 VMS., explaining the words 'adho' and 'uddham', clarifies the position. By 'adho' is meant the beings of the hells and the Nāga abodes who are below you, and by 'uddham' is meant the beings of deva-worlds or other beings who are above you (VMS. 44). Again it says that Avīci was beneath Jambudvīpa.

This no doubt was the common Buddhistic concept, which is thus stated by Keith and is quoted by Law: 'The universe consists of many world systems, each equipped with earth, heavens and hells, and each system or sphere is divided into three regions' (Kāma, Rūpa, Arūpa). 'In the first are hells or purgatories, eight or more in number, while others exist between

the spheres (lokantarika); the animal world; the abode of ghosts (pretas); the abode of asuras or demons; which make up the places of punishment (apāya); then comes the abode of men, and then six abodes of gods. The Buddhist hells, the prisons of the lost, are in some cases situated underneath the region inhabited by man ... A comparison with the Brahmanical idea of hell will show that the conception of the infernal regions is very much the same in the two systems. The names are often the same and the tortures described in the literature of the respective faiths have much in common' (Law, Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, pp. 93, 104, 115).

The PJV. describes the hells as 10,000 yojanas each in length, depth and breadth. They have an iron sheet 9 yojanas in thickness. The eyes of those who stand even 100 yojanas away will burst owing to the heat of the hell-fires (PJV. 55). According to the SDR. 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 (SDR. 144.39).

The PJV. describes the fate of the unfortunate beings who fall into the eight hells, Sañjīva, Kālasūtra, Saṅghāta, Raurava, Mahāraurava, Tāpa, Pratāpa and Avīci (PJV. 55). Another hell frequently referred to is Lokantārika, which, according to the PJV., is situated where three world-systems met. In there is no light, sun or moon. The pretas 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. 'Raurava is in truth 2,000 yojanas in size. There is a cavity

containing burning charcoal into which sinners are thrown ... in the Mahāraurava, the earth to the extent of 35 yojanas is made of copper, beneath it is fire that keeps the whole region hot. Here the sinner is thrown with his hands and legs tied together. Scorched by the heat, he rolls about. He is attacked by crows, herons, wolves, owls, scorpions, mosquitoes and vultures. Burnt by fire and confounded by beasts, he cries at the top of his voice, "Father! Mother! Brother! Dear one!" (Law, Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, p. 117). The SDR. refers to the pouring into the mouth of molten lava with a metal spoon (144.21). Thus heaven and hell are looked upon as places of reward and punishment respectively.

Ages or Life-spans

The PJV. gives the spans of life in most of the hells, whilst the SDR. only makes a passing reference here and there. The SDR. 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 cob-web when one compares it with the life-span in some of the hells (316.8). The age-span of the Avīci is given as one antaḥ kalpa (SDR. 409.9). According to the PJV. the beings who fall into the first (Sañjīva) hell, suffer for a length of one lakh 62,000 koṭis of human years; in the second hell, for 12 lakhs 96,000 koṭis of years; in the third, one koṭi 3 lakhs and 68,000 koṭis; in the fourth, 8 koṭis 29 lakhs 44,000 koṭis; in the fifth, 66 koṭis 35 lakhs 52,000 koṭis; in the sixth, 530 koṭis 84 lakhs 16,000 koṭis; in the seventh, half a kalpa; and in the eighth for a kalpa (56).

The frequent descriptions, both in the PJV. and the SDR., afford us interesting information regarding the heavens. The Tāvatiṃsa deva-world is the one 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, three sighs. Therefore, they eat twice within a period equivalent to a hundred years on earth (488). According to the same book, 50 years on earth equal one day in the Cāturmahārājika deva-world, where the life-span is just 500 years, each year being 12 months, and 30 days being a month(56). The SDR. gives 12 years on earth as 7 hours and 12 minutes in Tāvatiṃsa (955.28), where the life-span is given by the same text as 57 koṭi 60 lakhs. These figures are corroborated by Law (see 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 (SDR. 30.20).

Certain common beliefs regarding these heavens are also expressed by the author of SDR. For example, in one place he adds that there are no women in the 'Brahma-world (678.27); there are no animals in the deva-worlds (261.9); Pāramitās (Perfections) cannot be fulfilled in the deva and brahma worlds (249.13); even if women were to attain the five dhyānas, they could only be born in the sphere of the First Trance-heaven (849.37); and the gods could smell human beings at a distance of 400 leagues as if a dead body were tied round their necks (722.10).

Yama. In Yama we have the king or the lord of the hells. He is one of the Brahmanic deities adopted by Buddhists. He is assisted by a set of officers, the nirayapālas, or guards of the hells, in his work. 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 Dr. Adhikāram, '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', says Dr. Adhikāram, 'to have originated in Ceylon, and even to-day it exists in the island among some people' (*ibid.* p. 150).

According to the Hindu conception, he is the son of Vivasvat (sun) and Saranyā, the daughter of Tvastri (Viśvakarma). In the Ṛig-veda, 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 (see W.J.Wilkins, Hindu Mythology, pp. 68,70). He is the Indian equivalent of Pluto.

d) 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 sakvala (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 aparimāna (innumerable). Our world-system is the only one we know of. According to belief, the whole world-system was surrounded by the cakravāla mountain, 36 lakhs 10,350 yojanas in circumference. Within was mount Meru with the four continents and their satellite

islands: 'Vaṭin satislakṣa dasa dahas tunsīya panas yodun cakravāṭa parvataya ātulata dedahasak kodev piṭivarā mera satara muduna pihiti satara mahādvīpayehi' (SDA. 130). The extent of this cakravāṭa, as given in the SDR., is 48 lakhs 13,800 leagues in length and breadth, one koṭi, 44 lakhs, 41,400 leagues in circumference: 'ḍiginut paḷalinut aṭasālis lakṣa teḷes dahas aṭasiyayak gav pamaṇavū vaṭin ek keḷa sīvsālis lakṣa ek sālīs dahas sārasiyayak gav pamaṇavū sakvaḷa ātuḷa' (866.7). This cakravāṭa consisted of the four main continents, namely, Uturu-Kuru, Aparagōyāna, Pūrvavideha and Jambudvīpa, situated on the four sides of Meru. The PJV. gives an account of these: The Jambudvīpa is 10,000 yojanas, out of which 3,000 yojanas were the Himalayas, 4,000 were beneath the ocean, the remaining 3,000 were Daṃbadīva, in which were 96 koṭīs of villages (paṭun gam), 99 lakhs of landing places or harbours, and 56 of gold mines. In the best era it has one lakh, 99⁰⁰⁰ human kingdoms, in the middle era either 84,000 or 63,000 beautiful cities, and a 100 kingdoms in the last era. In the centre of the land of Jambudvīpa was the sacred Bo-tree (105). The Uturu-Kuru has a surface of 8,000 yojanas in length and breadth, and is 24,000 yojanas 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-vṛkṣa or Divine tree (PJV. 570). The Aparagōyāna and Pūrvavideha are each 7,000 yojanas in extent (PJV. 105). According to the SDR., these three continents are lit up by one moon (662.19).

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 of ours are the abodes of snakes (Nāgas).

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 Akaniṭṭhā Brahma-world (SDR. 809.38). According to the SDR. the earth itself is about 9 lakhs, 60,000 leagues in thickness, while the PJV. gives the thickness (bol) as 2 lakhs 40,000 yojanas (PJV. 133). 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 SDR. (see above). The rate of growth of the earth's crust is one inch in a thousand years, according to all the three books, SDR., SDA., and PJV. (SDR. 489.33, 406.38; SDA. 632.36; PJV. 238).

Kalpa-vināsa - Cosmic dissolution

The Kalpa-vināsa or cosmic dissolution occurs at the end of a kalpa or aeon, which consists of a thousand colossal cycles of time (mahā-yuga), each of which is divided into four yugas (ages), Krita, Tretā, 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 Vehappāla (SDR. 30.25). A lakh of years before its destruction by the appearance of seven suns, the gods, addicted to sensual 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 Meru itself will be destroyed, and they admonish them to practise mettā, universal love (SDR.954.33).

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 (SDA. 733).

The vast expanse of time is also divided into Buddhāntaras or intervals between Buddhas. Both the PJV. and the SDR. 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, SDR. 847.13).

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CHAPTER X.
THE BUDDHIST CHURCH

a) The Buddhist 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, the religion was much mixed with other cults and practices which were in spirit quite foreign to Buddhism. What Dr. Adhikāram 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. Dr. Adhikāram 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 we have reason to believe 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 or Matikāvatas

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 Theras, headed by the Great Thera Mahākassapa, formulated the code of disciplinary injunctions with ^{out} deviations from the customary formalities observed in the lineage of preceptors, and 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 inscription 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. Between these two kings was Nissanka 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 Hāṭadāge 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 SDR. hints at this when it deviates from the Pali text to make the seṭṭhi of Pāṭalīputra ask Nāgasena whether he knew anything of the doctrine or whether he was one who had entered the Order for his own convenience (75.32). Again, in the story of Lāluḍāyi, he states that this monk had entered the Order merely because he happened to live there: raṭa hunnāṭa sasun vāda mahanavū pamaṇak vinā (388.34). These and other such references make it clear that the Order at this time was very corrupt, and that it was full of those who had entered for their bellies' sake. This does not mean that there were no religious monks - far from it; but this is only an index to the general standard of religious attainments. The remarks made by Dr. Paranavitāna 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 Hāṭadāge wall-inscription a fragment of the one issued by Kitti Nissaṅka Malla (A.D. 1187-1196). During the reign of Vijaya-bāhu III (A.D. 1227-1231), Saṅgharakkhita Thera, a pupil of the celebrated author Sāriputta Thera of Poḷonnaruva, with the co-operation of another eminent elder, Diṃbulāgala Medhaṅkara, 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 Daṁbadeṇi-Katikāvata issued by an assembly of elders of the Diṁbulāgala 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 Thera Dharmakīrti brought from a place called Tamaliṅgamuva, and honoured him greatly (PJV. 740). It further records the presentation of the monastery at Attanagalla to Anomadassi (PJV. 745). The VMS. also mentions the theras Tissa, Mahātissa, Piṇḍapātika, and Vebhātika of the Koḷapav, Mahā Karaṇḍana, Devputraṭa and Situlpav vihāras respectively (VMS. 1052).

The Saṅgha at this time was divided into a number of factions, as in the preceding centuries. The slab-inscription (No.1) of Mahinda IV of the 11th century makes reference to four fraternities. Another inscription of the same century refers to a sect - the Kapārā fraternity of the Pubbārāma-vihāra. 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). The slab-inscription of the Veḷāikkāras of the next century state 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 fraternities, which, according to Dr. Paranavitāna, are

Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri, and Jētavana. He however points out that according to a ms. copy of the Daṃbadeṇi-katikāvata the fraternities in question were the three heretical sects called Dhammaruci-nikāya, Sāgaliya-nikāya, and Vetulya-vāda-nikāya (EZ. 2.6.275).

The slab-inscription of Kalyānavatī records that Her Majesty gave great largesse to the resident monks led by the venerable elders of the seven confraternities (EZ. 4.5.260). Dr. Paranavitāna, commenting on the term 'satgenehi', states that the 'Buddhist Church of Ceylon in the Poḷonnaruva period seems to have been constituted of seven Colleges or Confraternities (gaṇas); but I do not know,' says he, 'of any place where the seven are enumerated' (EZ. 4.5. 260, n.8). The later Alutnuvara inscription of the 15th century also refers to seven gaṇas. Dr. Paranavitāna here observes that the same seven organisations recorded in the inscription of Kalyānavatī may have remained in force 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. 4.6.269, n.2). The two rock-inscriptions at Koṭṭange of the 13th century refer to a fraternity known as the Vilgammula (P. Sarogāmamūla). This fraternity, says Dr. Paranavitāna, 'figures in history for the first time in the Poḷonnaruva period. Moggallāna, the author of the Pali lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā, who lived in the Jetavana-vihāra built by Parākramabāhu I at Poḷonnaruva, was a member of this fraternity. The authors of several well-known Sinhalese and Pali 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).

Now it is clear that during the 13th century the Buddhist community of monks was divided into seven factions - though it is difficult to establish the names of these nikāyas. The word gaṇa may very well refer to the saṅgha, for it is not uncommon even to-day for the people to refer to the saṅgha as 'gaṇaya'. Out of the seven, the three main bodies, the Mahāvihāra, Dhammaruci, and Sāgaliya are well known. Dr. Adhikāram refers to three others, namely, the Mahīsāsakas, Vitaṇḍavādins, and Lōkōttaravādins (Early History of Buddhism, p. 88 etc.). The inscriptions quoted above refer to two, the Kapārā and Vilgammula fraternities. Reference is also made in the VMS. to the Sarvāstivādi-nikāya (VMS. 819). It can be gathered that the Kapārā and Vilgammula were seats that belonged to the Abhayagiri sect: 'The slab-inscription of the Velāikkāras, in Tamil, at Anurāddupura', states Dr. Godakumbura, 'mentions Uttarolu-mulai as the agrāyatana or the chief dwelling place of the Abhayagiri, and states that the grammarian Moggallāna lived there. The Cūlavaṃsa also mentions the Uttarolhamūla and the Kappūra-piriveṇa. A slab-inscription of Kassapa V tells us that the latter two belonged to the Abhayagiri' (Godakumbura, Some Ancient Seats of Learning, Ceylon Daily News Vesak Number, May, 1941).

There were also two other sections - the Āranyakavāsins (forest dwellers), and Grāmantavāsins (the village dwellers), both of which of course belonged to the same fraternity, and were different only in their mode of life. 'Tradition records that the beginning of these two seats go back to the early Anurādhapura period when the Vessagiriya and the Issarasamana were the two seats of the forest and village dwellers respectively. Both these belonged to the Mahāvihāra fraternity' (ibid.).

That these seats were in existence during the time of Parakramabāhu II's time is shown by the CV. when it describes the great work done by the king in furtherance of the Buddhist Church. '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 Theras who dwelt in the eight sanctuaries, and for the discerning theras dwelling in villages or in the wilderness of the forest, many communal monasteries suitable for dwelling in, extensively embellished with diverse pāsādas, provided with various maṇḍapas, furnished with diverse 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).

Temple Slaves

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 thera, Kākapreta, etc., refer to the slaves or serfs of the temples. The former refers to the freeing of two servants from bondage, and the latter to servants as property of monks (SDR. 43.13, 409.5). The CV. states that King Buddhādāsa assigned revenues and servants to the monks who held forth on the doctrine (CV. 37.173). The inscriptions show that the Buddhist temples had their own slaves from the earliest times. The sixth century rock-inscription of Dalamugalan refers to the gaining of freedom from slavery by granting a hundred kaḥāpanas to a monastery. (EZ. 4.6.295). The 12th century Rankot-dāgaba pillar-inscription of Nissanka Malla records the granting of serfs to the temple (EZ. 2.3.142). The 14th century rock-inscription of Gaḍalādeṇiya records the granting of slaves 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. In the introductory notes to this inscription, it is stated that some of the names of these slaves are Tamil, or of Tamil origin, and that no one who is familiar with the names of the Sinhalese people to-day could, 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. the slaves who belong to the family hereditarily, the purchased slaves, and those acquired by paying gold from the funds of the vihāra (EZ. 4.4.210). Dr. Paranavitāna'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 number four obtained their manumission by paying 100 kahāpanas 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. 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 show 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, we 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 Kukkuṭamitta story in the SDR. states that a siṭāna voluntarily offered himself along with his family as slaves to a monastery, and that the people redeemed them, paying their value to the temple (572.5). 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.

b) Buddhist Monasteries

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. Dr. Adhikāram has dealt with a large number of places where the faith flourished, and there is no doubt that most of these were at this time still places of worship and religious activity.

Mahāvihāra. We should first refer to the Mahāvihāra, which was the first to be built shortly after the introduction of the faith into the island, and which was for many centuries the leading monastery in the island. The SDR. author mentions the Mahāvihāra in Śakra's story, wherein he also refers to the Lōvāmahāpāya, which was also referred to in his Ekavihāriya therā's story (SDR. 866.14, 823.29). The Mahāvihāra was the

monastery that preserved the Theravāda doctrine under very trying circumstances. At the time of Buddhaghosa, when the commentaries were written, the views held by this school were considered to be unmixed with heretical thought.

Lovāmahāpāya. Closely connected with the Mahāvihāra were the Lovāmahāpāya, Ruvanvālisāya, Thūpārāma, and the sacred Bodhi tree, all of which are mentioned in the records of this century. The SDR. refers twice to the Lovāmahāpāya, and twice to the Ruvanvāli (SDR. 245.39, 23.4). The Lohapāsāda (lōvā-mahā-pāya), or the Brazen Palace, was built in the early part of the 2nd century B.C. by Duṭṭhemunu, and was the uposathāgāra of the Mahāvihāra.

Ruvanvālisāya is also mentioned in the slab-inscription of Kalyā^āvatī, 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). This was considered the biggest cetiya, and was also built by Duṭṭhemunu.

Thūpārāma and Mahā-Bodhi 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 SDA. also refers to a piriveṇa called Asiggāhaka-piriveṇa of this monastery (SDA. 561). The VMS. 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 (VMS. 236). On account of this belief, this vihāra became one of the most venerated temples.

Mirisavāṭi-vihāra is mentioned in the SDR. in connection with the story of Prince Anitthigandha. It was built by Duṭṭhemunu. The SDR. records an incident which occurred during the consecration festival of the vihāra. The story is that a sāmaṇerī

offered a rag to a sāmaṇera whose hands were burnt by the hot gruel offered to him. Both of them obtained the Higher Ordination, 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 (SDR. 246.5).

Tissamahārāma. The most important among the many centres of learning in Rohaṇa was the Tissamahārāma, which 'held a position in the southern half of Ceylon corresponding to that held by the Mahāvihāra in the northern half' (Adhikāram, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, p.116). The SDR. refers to this monastery in translating the story connected with an incident that took place in the time of Duṭṭhagemuṇu. The reference is to the wife of the minister Lakunṭaka Atimbaru. She is said to have joined the Order of Buddhist nuns at Tissamahārāma and attained the Path of Sotāpatti (Stream-winner) on listening to the Mahāsatipatṭhāna Sutta (SDR. 851.18) Situlpav comes next in importance in Rohaṇa, and is mentioned in the VMS. and the SDA. (VMS.36; SDA. 691). This is situated about 15 miles north-east of Tissamahārāma. Both these vihāras were built by Kāvantissa in the 2nd century B.C.

Kōṭapabbata (Keḷapav) is another vihāra mentioned in the SDR. in the same connection as Tissamahārāma (851.11). Dr. Adhikāram says that it is a monastery not far from Situlpav, and that the Viśuddhi-mārga mentions a thera Tissa of this vihāra, who knew exactly when his life-span would end (Early History of Buddhism, p.119). The SDR. refers to a thera named Anula who went on his begging round to the village called Mahāpunṇa. This thera is said to have seen Sumana, the wife of Lakunṭaka Atimbaru, and told the other monks how wonderful it was that a pig should become the wife of a minister. Sumana, who heard this story, attained the power of seeing the past, and realised

that she had been born a pig in her previous birth.

Samanoḷa. The PJV. records that the minister Deva Pratirāja was requested by Parākramabāhu II to clear the way to Samanoḷa (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 (Devā Pratiraja) 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 Samanoḷa accessible, but he also set up an image of the god Sumana in the courtyard of the cetiya. The PJV. also gives an idea of the pilgrim parties to this sacred footprint when it says: 'Siṅhala dīpavāsī satvayan Samanoḷa daknoṭa yannāse kāla bānda gos' ('Went in bands just as the people of the island of Ceylon go to see Samanoḷa' (PJV.567). The belief is that the Buddha left his foot-print on the summit of this mountain on his third visit to the island. An inscription of Nissanka Malla also refers to Samanoḷa as one of the places he inspected (EZ. 3.6.331).

The Āmbagamuva 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 footprint (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 almonaries established in his name, one at each of the last five gavus of Rāja-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).

Kālaniya. The Kālani-vihāra mentioned in the PJV. 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 Dr. Adhikāram, 'occurs for the first time in the Mahā-vaṃsa about the middle of the 2nd century BC. 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 cetiya was built. Cave gives the probable date as the 13th century' (Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, p.113).

Cetiyaḡiri (S. Sāḡiri) is mentioned in the VMS. and SDA. (VMS. 20, SDA. 408). This was the cetiya at Mihintale, about eight

miles from Anurādhapura, and was the place where 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 to-day (PJV. 689).

Mahiyaṅgana, mentioned in the PJV., is the Alutnuvara of to-day 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 Mahā-vaṃsa 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). The MV. account is as follows: 'When the Sambuddha had died, the thera named Sarabhu, disciple of the thera Sāriputta, by his miraculous power received even from the funeral pyre the collar-bone of the Conqueror and brought it hither (to Laṅkā), and ... laid it in that same cetiya ... and made the thūpa 12 cubits high... The son of King Devānampiya Tissa's brother, named Uddhacūḷābhaya, saw the wondrous cetiya and covered it over, and made it thirty cubits high. The King Duṭṭhagāmiṇī, dwelling there while he made war upon the Damiḷas, built a mantle cetiya over it 80 cubits high. Thus was the Mahiyaṅgana-thūpa completed' (MV. 1.37). The CV. also records that Sena II enriched the temple with a maintenance village (CV. 51.74). Maṅḍulu and Kallaka vihāras are two other monasteries referred to in the SDR. The minister's wife, Sumana, above referred to, is said to have attained Arahātship in the Kallaka-vihāra in the village called Bhekkanta (SDR. 851.22). The book refers to a monk, Mahā Tissa, of the Maṅḍulu-vihāra, who was in the habit of learning the Dhampiyā commentary.

The Mādiligiri or Maṅḍalagiri is in Tamankaḍuva, north east of the Minneriya lake. The Medirigiri inscription refers to this vihāra (EZ. 2.1.28). The CV. records that Aggabodhi IV

gave a costly relic-house for the cetiya in this vihāra (CV. 46.29). 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).

Senevirat-pirivena. The Batalagoḍa vāva slab-inscription dated in the fifth year of Kalyānavatī's reign (A.D. 1207) records the repairs effected to the Batalagoḍa-vāva and the endowments made to a shrine in the proximity by Adhikāri Cūḍāmaṇi: 'Having seen that the monastery called Senevirat-pirivena, established in this town by the generalissimo Lakvijaya Saṃ Siṅgu, remained dilapidated and uninhabited, he repaired the image-house, rebuilt the dāgaba, making it a mantle-dāgaba, 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 Dr. Paranavitāna, 'does not contain anything to show that Queen Kalyānavatī 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 Mahā-vaṃsa, to have founded a vihāra at the village Paṇṇasāla, which has been identified with the modern Pannala near Batalagoḍa' (ibid. p.77).

Daṃbūlu-vihāra is the celebrated rock-temple at Daṃbulla, 26 miles north of Mātale. The CV. refers to this temple as Jāmbukōla-vihāra and Jāmbukōla-lena, which was one of the places restored by Vijayabāhu I (CV. 60.60).

Mahasengamu-vihāra. The vihāra in the village of Mahāsena was also restored by Vijayabāhu I (CV. 60.62), and a maintenance village granted to it. Aggabodhi V is said to have restored

the Tālavatthu-vihāra and granted the village of Paṇṇabhatta (CV. 48.8) to the vihāra called after the Ruler of men, Mahāsenā. Geiger explains that Tālavatthu was an older monastery which Aggabodhi restored, and to which he granted a village, afterwards giving it the name of Mahāsenā, by whom perhaps the older structure had been built (CV. Pt. 1, p.111, n.1).

Abhayagiri 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 Mahā-vaṃsa 33.42-44, the monastery of the nigāṇṭhas, 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 Jetavana-dāgāba. On the other hand, the site of the Jetavana-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).

Jetavana. This vihāra was built by Mahāsenā for the 'thera Kohontissa, and monks of the Sāgaliya sect came over from Dakkhinagiri and settled down in it. There seems to have arisen a confusion regarding the sites of this vihāra and the Abhayagiri. Geiger points out that Abhayagiri is without doubt the northern of the three large thūpas in Anurādhapura, Jetavana the eastern, and not conversely (CV.p.3, n.2). The CV. mentions another Jetavana monastery founded by Parākrama-bāhu 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) Girihaṇḍu-maha-vehera. Both the FJV. and the VMS. mention this

vihāra (PJV. 689, VMS. 372). This Girihañḍu-vihāra has been identified with Girikaṇḍa-vihāra by Dr. Paranavitāna. 'The identity of Girikaṇḍi with Girihañḍu is proved beyond doubt by the fact that, in the Sinhalese paraphrase by Parākrama-bāhu II, of the Visuddhi-magga, the word Girikanda-mahāvihāra occurring in the Pali text is paraphrased as Girihañḍu-vihāra. Therefore, we may be quite certain that, at the time when this inscription (Tiriyay rock-inscription, late 7th or early 8th century) was written, there was a local legend connecting Tapassu and Bhalluka with the ancient stūpa at Tiriyay and that it was believed that this stūpa 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 Pūjāvalīya, who added this additional information to the legend of Tapassu and Bhalluka given in the Nidānakathā. Girikaṇḍika is obviously identical with Girikaṇḍa, a monastery of which name occurs in the Mahā-vaṃsa (lx, v.60) in a list of vihāras repaired by Vijayabāhu I. But there is nothing to decide the question whether it was the ancient monastery at Tiriyay or a monastery of a similar name situated elsewhere. Of particular interest is the statement, in line five of the inscription, that Girikaṇḍa-caitya was an abode of Avalokiteśvara ... This also explains why the Girikaṇḍa-caitya, which, from this inscription, appears to have enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity, hardly finds mention in the chronicles written by the Theravādins. 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 Girihaṇḍu; thus the belief that the Girikaṇḍa-caitya was built in Ceylon during the life-time of the Buddha existed in the 13th century' (EZ. 4.6.319).

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 (bojun-hala 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 (CV. 78.43). The monasteries also had kitchens (ginihalge), and bathing ponds, amongst other necessities for the monks. Some of the vihāras must have had their own confession-halls (poyage), where the monks assembled and confessed the wrongs they had committed.

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 Bodhi trees. Every temple had at least a dāgāba, Bodhi, and an image-house. The remarks made by Dr. Adhikāram regarding the growth of ritual in the island may be observed here: 'A religion which enters into the everyday life of a people is very likely to be influenced or corrupted by the beliefs and

superstitions of that people. Adherents of a religion do not corrupt it consciously or in a day ... the beliefs, forms of worship and the like which are absent in the Canon and are to be found in the Commentaries, may well be regarded 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 cetiyas and Bodhi trees', observes Dr. Adhikāram, '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 cetiyas were the sanctuaries where the relics of the Buddha were deposited, and these were built from early times, starting from that of Devānampiya Tissa, whose example was followed by almost all his successors. Hence we see that cetiyas were worshipped from the time of the introduction of the religion and have existed up to the present day.

These forms of external worship have undermined the real religious practice of sīla and meditation, which are hardly the concern of the Buddhists to-day. This situation is no doubt the result of gradual decadence. People undertook pilgrimages to distant places only to worship at a cetiya or a Bodhi tree. It was not only the laymen that 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 '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'.

Thus we can realise how much importance was attached to the Tooth-relic even during this period. The festivals celebrated shall be discussed later. The worship of the Bodhi 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 Bodhi tree in close proximity. Image-worship, as already remarked, started much later. 'The first mention of it', says Dr. Adhikāram, '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 Bodhi 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 (PJV. 690). The MV. refers to the Jātaka tales which were used as motives for decorative scenes (MV. 27.34, n.1).

Offerings of various descriptions, food, flowers, incense, lamps, etc., were made to all these shrines, image-houses and Bodhi trees. Hence an altar where those offerings could be placed became an essential need. To meet this, there were provided the mal-āsanas or seats for flowers in all these places of worship. Another feature mentioned by the SDA. 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.

c) 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 (pirit, protection, -sūtras). The general belief is that during times of danger, calamity or adversity, the recitation of the sūtras, like the Ratana-sūtra, would bring relief. As time went on it became the practice to chant these sūtras 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 parittas was meritorious (punya) 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 over-powering evil. It also was the practice to chant them at death-beds. This is brought out by the SDR. when, in translating the Pali 'dhammaṃ sotukāmo,' the writer says, 'marāṇa añḍuraṭa āsannava baṇa asanu kāmāti va hevat pirit banavanu nisā budun karā vahandā aṭanamak ho soḷosnamak' (SDR. 146.34). 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 in vogue 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 Gaṅgārohana-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 Parākramābāhu 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 to-day. 'The belief in the efficacy of the chanting of the parittas', says Dr. Adhikāram, 'is perhaps even older than the time of Upatissa ... When laymen were ill, it was customary for the people to invite the bhikkhus 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 kaṭhina ceremony, which is held annually even to-day in almost every vihāra. As a rule the monks have to observe the rainy or vas season, and at the end of this period is the pavāraṇa or termination ceremony, which is marked by the offering of kaṭhina robes. 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 kaṭhina gifts, and re-established offerings to gods (EZ. 2.3.118). A kaṭhina 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 kaṭhina festival by Parākramabāhu II: 'Now when the great king heard that unimaginable blessing attaches to a kaṭhina offering, he thought... "I will give a great and splendid kaṭhina offering of eighty (robes)" ... called together the men and women... of Laṅkā, 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 kaṭhina 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 to-day. The PJV. refers to the festival of the Tooth-relic held by Parākramabāhu II: 'mahatvū utsāhayen danta dhātu pūjāvaka koṭa' (PJV. 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 ...' (CV. 85.24). The extent of the veneration paid to the Tooth-relic may be understood by the offering of the son and daughter, made by Nissanka Malla, and recorded in the Hāṭṭadāge vestibule wall-inscription (EZ. 2.2.90).

Reference must also be made to an account in the slab-inscription of Kalyaṇavatī of a special offering performed by three personages at the Ruvanmāli-cetiya at the very dawn of the 13th century (EZ. 4.5.258).

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PART III.

SOCIAL

CHAPTER XI.

FINE ARTS, EDUCATION, MEDICINE.(a) 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, and the Memoirs 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 (SDR. 679.24, 417.15, 1010.13). The SDR. also mentions the vermilion lines drawn on golden images: 'ran pilimayaka hiṅgul rēkhā dennāse' (SDR. 1010.13), and the technique of heating images over burning coal to polish them (SDR. 527.25). The PJV. mentions images and statues of stone, wood, metal, silver and gold (PJV.690). 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 lay down a few of the observations made by various scholars regarding the art and architecture of the island during the century under review. Dr. Mendis has observed that the great prosperity under the Poḷonnaruva kings led to a great deal of activity in architecture, sculpture, and painting. Most of these, as the Demala-Mahāsāya, Kiri-vehera, Jetavanārāma, Laṅkātilaka of Parākramabāhu and Rankot-vihāra, Vaṭadāge and Hātadāge of Nissanka Malla, are buildings put up in the 12th century. These vihāras are

built of brick, lime and mortar. 'The figures carved out of rock during this period are in high relief, and are large in size. The images of the Buddha at Aukana (near Kalā-vāya) and at the Gal-vihāre (Uttarārāma) in Poḷonnaruva, are some of the largest in Ceylon. The best piece of sculpture of this period is the figure of the Hindu Sage cut out of the rock near the Potgul-vehera in Poḷonnaruva, identified by some as Parākramabāhu the Great, and by others as Agastya. But other pieces of sculpture in Poḷonnaruva, such as the moon-stones, show a decline in art. There is no longer the simplicity and the vitality of the Gupta style. On the other hand, perhaps as a result of Dravidian influence, there is a tendency towards over-ornamentation and excessive detail' (Early History of Ceylon, pp.90-91). These observations help us to realise that the fine arts were on the decline 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 their style, as was done by his predecessors. The Sivadevāla 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 Coḷa style. The style of the stairway of the Daḷadā Māligāva at Yāpahuva is Hindu, and shows the influence of the later Pāṇḍya style' (ibid. p.112). Thus we see the extent of the Dravidian influence. The 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. Mr. 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. 1215-1236), 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 Ruvanmāli, Abhayagiri, Jētavana, and Kelani; and all these were repaired by Parākramabāhu II during the 13th century. Mr. 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 (see Codrington, A Short History of Ceylon, p.188). Writing on Sinhalese architecture and sculpture, Mr. V. Smith states that 'the dagabas, 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 Nissanka Malla at the close of the 12th century, is considered by Mr. Bell to be the most beautiful specimen of Buddhistic stone architecture existing in Ceylon (Vincent Smith, 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 Adam's Peak by Deva-Pratirāja (CV. 86.18). It further states that Vijaya-

bāhu 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).

One of the observations made by Dr. 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 latter work (J.R.A.S. C.B. No.71, p.163-164).

(b) 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 SDR. indicate the types of paintings with which the writer was familiar: 'Asuci purālū kāḷa piṭa sittam karannāse' ('Just as painting the outside of a pot which is full of dirt') (624.26). This simile has been used a number of times. It shows us the author's familiarity with painted pottery. 'Piḷimageyaka sittam karannavun anik sittam hāralā rahat kāḷa hā buduruva mānda

añdanāse' ('Just as the forms of the Buddha and Arahats are drawn in the centre, leaving aside all other forms, in painting an image house') (810.19); 'Vayitīyak bita kaḷa sīttamak se' ('like the painting on a wall') (934.7); 'Yahapat pāyak gannaṭa vayiti hanannāse' ('Just as colours are mixed to get a good colour') (55.1); 'Amutu pāyak evaṇṭa noek pā āti vayiti yodannāse' ('As mixing different colours to get another colour') (444.23). Paintings on cloths are referred to: 'Sīttam koṭa hakuluvā tubū pettam vidahā pāna kalak paridden' ('just as a painted cloth that had been rolled up is unfurled') (SDR.299.16). The PJV., too, refers to similar paintings: 'Noek citrakārayan lavā peti kaḍeka sītiyam karavā' ('having got cloth painted by artists') (p.744). Petta or peti kaḍa was a piece of cloth on which some paintings were done. The SDR. also refers to the resin or gum of the wood-apple tree (*Feronia elephantum*) which is used for fixing colours (139.13, 137.29). Except for these references we do not get any account of the paintings of the times; but we are already aware of the high standard of art attained by the ancient Sinhalese from other sources. From the work of the Archaeological Department, and the writings of scholars like A. K. Coomarsvāmy and Vincent Smith, 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 paintings; 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 Sirivaḍḍhana 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. Mr. A. K. Coomarsvāmy 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 Mahā-vaṃsa 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 Aśoka's missionaries, and the great intellectual stimulus resulting from the contact of the art of Barāhat 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 Mahā 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 Mahā-sāya will give us an idea of the achievements of the centuries just prior to the thirteenth. 'Enough is left to suggest that the paintings 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

Ajanta ... "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 "Demala-Mahā-sāya" which rival some of the best at the Cave Temples of Ajanta' (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 achieved in this field of artistic activity is unfortunately uncertain.

(c) Music and Dancing.

Reference to music and dance is 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 very high place in court circles. Music and dancing were not confined to the higher circles by any means, for the love of music prevailed even among humbler classes. We often hear of dancing men and women; and women seem to have been specially gifted in these arts. Even a poor girl would sing while gathering herbs (SDR. 448.35). This is attested by the VMS. which says the same thing, viz., gī kiyamin palā biñdināhu (VMS. 309). Singing must have been very common among young girls, and this is perhaps why the SDR. author used the simile 'tumū kudā kella-kase gī kiya kiyā' ('singing like a small girl') (SDR. 353.39).

Reference is often made to song and dance taking place in the palace. The splendid description of the drinking scene in the KSM. 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 dancing women who sang harmoniously the notes, samaya, madhuraya and tāraya, to the accompaniment of the lyre' (KSM. 306). 'When an intoxicated woman sang the antalirāga rhythmically, the king went on clapping in harmony 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 to-day. '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 Pajjuna' (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 got up for the occasion. This makes it clear that on various festival 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 Mr. 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). Mr. 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 soft music too, as produced by stringed instruments like the vīnā. 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 SDR. also refers to the traditional five-fold music (pasaṅgaturu) (337.18). This comprises five kinds of special musical instruments, viz.: ātata, vitata, ātata-vitata, ghana, susira. Ātata, (PJV. 436) 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: instruments in which strings are stretched across the face and tightened on pegs, viz., vīnā. 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.

Instruments. Amongst musical instruments mentioned, the

vīnā (lute, guitar) takes first place, as it is constantly mentioned (SDR. 351.38, 475.28; KSM. 12.595, 1.19). The writer of the SDA. translates the Pali 'Candāla gandhabba brāhmanassa' as 'vīnā gāyanā karana ektarā candāla brāhmanayek haṭa' (SDA. 356), that is, the Pali phrase meaning a Candāla Brahmin musician is rendered into Sinhalese as a Candāla Brahmin playing on a lute, thus indicating that the lyre was a commonly known instrument. The work also mentions three varieties of the vīnā, viz., brahma vīnā, nakula vīnā, and daddara vīnā (SDA. 305).

Other instruments mentioned are:- maddala = Tamil drum, rendered as Mihingū bera (SDR. 983.16, 637.29); bera - drums, which are of various kinds (PJV. 170; 26). The 10th century inscription on a pillar-fragment refers to the sounding of tuḍi and solī drums (EZ. IV-4, p.191). The SDA. refers to the tunḍi bera (SDA. 130), and to other varieties as maha bera, pokuru bera and mihingū bera (SDA. 412), and to gāṭa bera, paṇā bera, paṭaha, loho bera, talappara, vīrandam, tammātta, and nisāna (SDA. 462, 99), roḍu bera, ekās bera, dūdu bera, dāduru bera (SDA. 130), ḍavura (SDA. 57), mṛdaṅga, ḍekki, koṭumbāra, ḍeḍḍima (SDA. 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 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). Gāṭa bera is 'a large-sized drum about 2½ feet in length with the centre bulging out and narrowing towards the ends' (ibid.); paṭaha - kettle drum (P.T.S. Dic.); mṛdaṅga - tambour (MW).

Also mentioned are:- sak - conch shells (PJV. 283, 170);

sinnam - T. a kind of trumpet (PJV. 606). The SDA. gives the varieties of these two, viz., ran sak (gold conches), ridī sak (silver), ruvan (gem set); ran sinnam (gold sinnam), ridī and ruvan sinnam (SDA. 462). Tiṃbili (PJV. 283; 170; 26); (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 14³/₄ 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). Ālavanni (SDA. 412, 129); vaṅgī (SDA. 412; PJV. 152); tanti (SDA.412; PJV. 283) T. lute; ekacchidra (SDA. 129); maṇiparva (SDA. 129); kaulasvara (SDA. 129); kamsutālam and samuttālam (SDA. 573);

Kāhala varieties:- randārā, ridī^o, daḷa^o (SDA. 462); daḷaham (SDA. 462, 305); lōham (SDA. 462, 305); viḷayodhvani (SDA. 129, 462); ottu (SDA. 129, 462), T. a reed instrument conical in shape and enlarging downwards, used for playing the drone note accompanying a Nāka-curam; sirivili (SDA. 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, lohō bera, yuvaḷa bera, maha bera, dāduru bera, rōḍa bera, karāṇḍi bera, gōṣā bera, talappara, vīrandam, tammāṭa, nisāna, raṇaraṅgagōṣā, samudragōṣā, anukkattuli, tiṃbilivu, davul, morahu, mallari, sirivili, tappu, tatsara, dākki udākki, maṇḍala, nāgasara, uccaṃbhayāṅgi, kombu, sakunaviridu, surana, kāla, dam, dārā, daḷaham, lōham, sinnam, kinnara, kayitālam, samuttālam, gīṭalam, paṭaha, ḍamaru, maḍu, deṇḍima, dhvani (varieties of drums);

ran sak, ridī sak, ran sinnam, ridī sinnam, ran dārā, ridī dārā,
dala dārā, dāḷham, loham, gavaraham, vijayōdhvani, ottu, tantiri,
paṭasiri (kāhala varieties) (Thūpa-vaṃsa, ed. D. E. Hettiāratchi,
p.41). Iditti (idattidi, udākki, variant readings) and sak
pañca are also mentioned as varieties of drums on page 81 of the
same book. Varieties of vīnās mentioned are nakula vīnā,
bhrṅga vīnā, kṣudra vīnā, ālavatti, vaṅgi, vas danḍu (ibid. p.81).
To the list of sak (conches) are also added yuvaḷa sak and
dakuṇu sak (ibid. p. 81). Ālavanti, ālavanni are variant
readings for ālavatti. The vīnā has two strings of different
kinds, one made of a species of flax, and the other of horse-
hair, which is the material also of the strings of the bow,
which, with bells attached to it, is used as a fiddle-stick.
The hollow part of the instrument is half of a coconut-shell,
polished, covered with the dried skin of a lizard, and perforated
below (John Davy, Music of Ceylon, p.293). Tammāta is a drum
beaten with two sticks, the extremities of which are bent to
form circles and kept in a state of tension (ibid. p.29).
Technique. The information we have regarding the technique
itself is indeed very meagre. The KSM. gives us a few rāgas
(musical modes or melodies), viz., sama, madara, tara (KSM. 306):
sama - a note in music; madra - a personification of the first
mūrcanā of the gāndhāra-grāma (musical scale); tara - a rāga of
six notes. Gāndhāra here is a name of a rāginī (MW). The KSM.
also refers to four scales, viz., sampūrnaya, asumpūrnaya, sahas-
vaya and silumahakaranaya. Sampūrṇa is a scale which comprehends
all the notes of the gamut (MW). 'Bharata enumerates six rāgas
viz., Bhairava, Kauṣika, Hindola, Dīpaka, Śri-rāga, and Megha,
each mode exciting some affection. Other writers give other
names; sometimes 7 or 26 rāgas are mentioned; they are personi-
fied, and each of the six chief Rāgas is wedded to five or six

consorts called Rāginīs; their union gives rise to many other musical modes' (MW).

The KSM. also refers to seven notes (sapta-svara) (236). Svara is a note of the musical scale, of which 7 (rarely 6 or 8) are enumerated: (1) nishāda, (2) riṣabha, (3) gāndhāra, (4) śaḍja, (5) madhyama, (6) dhaivata, (7) pañcama (described as resembling respectively the notes of an elephant, bull, goat, peacock, curlew or heron, horse, and koil; and designated by their intial letters or syllables, thus: ni, ri, ga, sha, ma, dha, pa) (MW).

The KSM. also gives us the range of music that could be provided on the vīnā:

Sama madara tara oḷī -

devisi haṅḍa tegamrā,

sara sat unu panas tāt -

musa ekvisi vajambanā (601).

It consists of the three laya - sama, madara and tara. Laya in music is time, regarded as of three kinds: druta, quick; madhya, mean or moderate; and vilambita, slow. Laya may also mean a measure, or the union of song, dance and music (MW).

It has 22 haṅḍas (times, and divisions of the octave) including the ascending scale (ārōha) and the descending scale (avarōha); 49 sthānas (pitch or key of the voice - note or time); and 21 mūrcanās (modulation, melody or a regulated rise or fall of sounds through the grāma, musical scale).

The SDA. gives us the identical notes that could be produced on the vīnā. The seven notes are given as usabha, dhaivata, chajja, gandhāra, madhyama, pañcama, and niṣēda, thus agreeing with the list given in the Skt. Dic. (SDA. 681).

The notes or svaras are divided into three groups, viz.: chajjagrāma, maddhyama grāma and saragrāma. Each svara or note

has three mūrcanās (modulations), thus giving a total of 21 mūrcanās (S. mūsan). Each svāra also has seven sthānas (itches), thus giving 49 sthānas. The svāras are also divided into what is called the śrutis (the chromatic scale of the Hindus, consisting of sub-divisions, 7 notes of the gamut into 22 parts). The first svāra is sub-divided into 3 śrutis, the second into 2, the third into 4, the fourth into 4, the fifth into 3, the sixth into 2, and the seventh into 4, thus giving a total of 22 śrutis (SDA. 681). A śrutī, says the Skt. Dic., is a particular division of the octave, a quarter-tone or interval (22 of these are enumerated, four constituting a major tone, three a minor, and two a semi-tone; they are said to be personified as nymphs).

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 purāmāṭṭu in the SDR., were also known. Reference is also made to some sort of clowns (komālin), who took part in such dances (SDR. 990.16), and to dancing families (viddat kula) (SDR. 637.4, 946.37). The SDA. also makes reference to such forms of dancing - raṅgamāṇḍeleka purāmāṭṭu pānā kenekun se ('like a clown in a dance hall') (15). This type of dancing was no doubt similar to what we call Kolan nāṭīma to-day. 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 maṇḍalakāṣa komālin se' (like clowns for a dance hall) (SDR. 687.19). '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. 'Purāmāṭṭu pāṇṭa ā kōmālin men' ('like clowns who come to perform') (SDR. 990.16). The SDR. also refers to one form of dress worn by some of these clowns when it says: 'topi raṅgamaḍulleka purāmāṭṭu pāṇā kenekun men kuṇu reddakin amudak gotā gena' ('tucking up your dirty cloth as done by a clown') (447.14). In this connection we see from the MV. 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 of the more graceful, artistic type of dance. That this type of dance was very popular with Nissanka Malla is shown by many of his inscriptions. He had a seat constructed in the Kalinga 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 to-day. Reference has already been made to dances on festive occasions. VMS. distinguishes between those who dance and those who make others dance as 'naṭayo' and 'naccakayo' (VMS. 91).

(d) 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 and the establishment of peace in the island 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, who succeeded for some time in ^rwesting back the Māyārāṭa from the invaders. He is said to have repaired all the pirivenas 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 pirivena 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-pañḍita' was attached to him. The CV. speaks of his manifold activities in this field: 'With the reflection that theras who were acquainted with the sacred texts were rare in the island, he had all books brought from Jambudīpa, had many bhikkhus 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 theras and hold lectures of instruction thereon' (CV. 84.26-30). The king is also credited with the building of a number of pirivenas, which remain only names to us to-day, such as Mahāmahinda, Pārakumbā, and Bhuvanekabāhu. The CV. says:- 'The King made his yuvarāja erect in the Billasela-vihāra the pirivena called Bhuvanekabāhu after him, embellished with pāsādas, maṇḍapas and the like ... But also in the splendid town of Hatthigiripura (Kurupāgala of to-day) the king made the same (yuvarāja) erect a vast vihāra, and after having built in his name a superb pirivena called Mahāmahindabāhu ...' (CV. 85.59, 62). 'Thereupon the King erected a pirivena that was called by his name Parakkamabāhu, adorned with lofty pāsādas, 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 pirivenas in former times, but had been seized by people during the period of disorder and anarchy. Devāpratirāja, 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 Anomadassi, a pirivena at Attanagalla. Some believe that another pirivena of the same name was built for Vedeha, the author of Rasavāhinī: 'Devāpratirāja 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 Anomadassin by name' (CV. 86.37).

He is also credited with the founding of the Mayūrapāda-piriveṇa at Vākiṅgala, where the thera Buddhaputta, the author of the PJV. lived. The Mahāyānic bias reflected in this book in upholding the Bodhisattva ideal, makes us conjecture that this seat of learning belonged to either the Abhayagiri or the Jetavana sects. This view is strengthened by the fact that there was a school of the āraṇyakas near Beligala. After Parākramābāhu, 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 the torch of learning was kept burning. 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 doctrine 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 also. 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 Mr. Coomarswamy, '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 pirivenas, 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.

Pirivenas have been mentioned from the earliest times, and it is hard to determine the time when the term pirivena 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 (A.D. 896-319) records the grant of certain immunities to lands which were the property of Vādāra-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 Jetavanārāma slab-inscription of Mahinda IV (A.D. 956-972) states that in the vihāra called the Abhayagiri there 'rises in splendour the Ruvan-maha-pahā 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 Parakkama-bāhu, 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 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 amuna 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 Nissanka 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 Prītidānaka 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 pirivena constructed in his name (EZ. 3.5.288).

Subjects of study. We shall next consider the various subjects that are mentioned in the literature of the period. Constant reference is made to sūsāta kalā (64 arts) and aṣṭādasa śilpa (18 sciences) (PJV. 84; 14). The literary works also mention some of these arts and sciences. The PJV. refers to nakṣatra (astronomy); ganita (arithmetic); naimitta (science of signs) (452); dhanurveda (archery) (89, 147); bhūmivijaya (a science concerned with the features of the earth) (114); dharmanīti (ethics); lokanīti (wordly custom); rājanīti (law); akṣara (letters); likhita (writing) (736); and vaidya śilpa (medicine) (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 to-day 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 (553). The SDR. refers to the following: bhūmajāla (science of earth's features) 313.26); sālittaka (science of stone throwing) (412.18); adhikaraṇa śāstra (law) (780.4); dhanuśśilpa (archery) (309.25); 4 Vedas; nighaṇṭu and keṭubha (67.28). Nighaṇṭu is explained as

vocabulary or glossary, and keṭubha 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 glossary to the SDR. explains nighantu as 'vrkṣāoṅge nāma prakāśa karana śāstraya - nāmāvalī,' that is, the art which indicates the names of trees, etc., a list of names, and keṭubha as alankāra śāstraya (art of poetry). The SDR. further mentions ganita (arithmetic); gāndharva (music) (59.6); sabda (science of sound) (219.29); āyudha śrama (science of the use of weapons) (513.32); nakat (astrology, said to be a science suitable only for laymen) (994.39); and samudrikā (science of signs). The SDR. insists that heretical studies such as the study of Rāmāyana should not be undertaken (507.23). These words of advice are added at the end of the Kuṇḍalakesī story, where the writer requests the people to give up such heretical sciences (viṭaṇḍa śāstra) and study only the word of the Buddha (buḍu vadan). It is quite likely that this statement may have been necessitated by the fact that heretical studies were followed in his time. The VMS. also refers to a few subjects, namely: aṅga-vidyā (science of knowing the features of a person); nimitta (science of the sound of birds, divination, etc.); supina (science of dreams); lakṣhaṃ (science of signs, as marks on the body of a person, etc.); mūśikacchinnaṃ (the science that explains the good and bad results when a cloth is eaten by rats, etc., divination) (VMS. 86). The book also explains akkhara cintakā as grammarians (VMS. 53). In the Nāgasena story adapted from the Milinda-pañhā, the SDR. mentions only two subjects, ganita and gāndharva, out of nineteen enumerated in the Milinda-pañhā, (ed. V. Trenckner, p. 3):

1) suti, knowledge of the Vedas (holy tradition); 2) sammuti, tradition, lore, convention, secular law; 3) sāṅkhya, Sāṅkhyan philosophy; 4) yoga, concentration, devotion; 5) nīti, polity or Nyāya philosophy; 6) viśeṣika, Vaiśeṣika philosophy; 7) gaṇita, arithmetic; 8) gandhabba, music; 9) tikicchā, medicine; 10) cātubbedā, 4 Vedas; 11) purāṇa, traditional history, Purāṇas, legendary or religious teaching; 12) itihāsa, history; 13) jotiṣa, astronomy; 14) māyā, magic; 15) hetu, logic (causation); 16) mantana, Holy Scriptures, sacred texts, spells; 17) yuddha, art of warfare; 18) chandasā, metrics (poetry); 19) muddā, probably gestures of hands in dancing.

According to the SDA. (ed. Saddhātiss, pp.87,88) and the PJV. (147), the sixty-four Arts are as follows:- 1) akṣara, letters, speech, reading; 2) likhita, writing; 3) gaṇita; 4) gāndharva; 5) tarka, logic; 6) vyākaraṇa, grammar; 7) chandas, prosody; 8) nighaṇṭu, vocabulary; 9) alankāra, rhetoric; 10) śālihotra, veterinary science; 11) mantra, sacred text; 12) tantra, magical and mystical formulae, treatise on astronomy, or a class or 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) ātmodaya, self-advantage, elevation or self-realisation; 15) jyotirjñāna, astronomy; 16) itihāsa, history; 17) Purāṇa; 18) agnistambha, magical quenching of fire; 19) jalastambha, solidification of water by magic; 20) kaucumāra; 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; 29) māraṇa, magic for destruction of enemies; 30) mohana, 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) troṭana, destroying the enemy by magical means; 34) dūragamana, travelling; 35) dūradarśana, sight of distant things; 36) bhēri trōṭana, drum-beating?; 37) patracchedana, 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) puruṣalakṣaṇa, characteristics of men; 45) napuṃsaka lakṣaṇa, characteristics of eunuchs; 46) parahita-jñāna, knowledge of another's welfare; 47) kanaka-parīkṣā, testing of gold; 48) thenaka-parīkṣā, police work; 49) cāturvāda; 50) dhātuvāda, metallurgy, alchemy (MW); 51) khīlavāda; 52) kanyāvāda; 53) ākaraṣaṇa, attraction by magic; 54) akāsa-gamana, going through the sky; 55) śiṣya-karma, (instruction); 56) kāṣṭha-karma, woodwork (carpentry); 57) hema karma, gold work; 58) ratnaparīkṣā, testing of gems; 59) kaṇḍaraṇa; 60) śrūyāna; 61) adrśya-karaṇa, rendering invisible through magic; 62) parakāya-praveśana, entering another's body (a supernatural art); 63) veṇu-vīṇā-vādyā, playing of musical instruments, as the lyre and flute; 64) viṣa harana, removal of poison.

According to the same sources the 18 śilpas were: 1) śruti; 2) Veda; 3) vyākaraṇa; 4) chandolakṣaṇa; 5) sabdārtha, meaning of sound; 6) nakṣatra; 7) śikṣā, training (in higher thought, higher morality, higher learning); 8) mokṣajñāna, knowledge of final beatitude or emancipation (MW); 9) sirita, history? or customary law?; 10) dhānuśśilpa; 11) hasti śilpa; 12) kāma tantra (name of a work), erotics; 13) sāmudrikā; 14) parakathē, talk about another (MW); 15) nighaṇṭu; 16) nīti; 17) tarka; 18) vaidya (SDA. pp.87,88; PJV. 147).

The SDA. (ibid.) also refers to the finer divisions of the dhanu śilpa or archery, viz.:- 1) akṣana vedhi, shooting as quickly as lightning or with the help of lightning; 2) vāla vedhi, shooting at a hair; 3) śabda, shooting or hitting an object only the sound of which is heard; 4) śara vedhi, shooting at a falling arrow; 5) diyehi vidamanaya, shooting in water; 6) goḍehi vidamanaya, shooting on land; 7) ākāśa vedhi, shooting in the air; 8) dūra vidamanaya, long-distance shooting; 9) āsanna vidamanaya, short-distance shooting; 10) yapaṭa tāmbapaṭa vidamanaya, shooting through iron and copper plates; 11) piduru biṣi vālibiṣi vidamanaya, shooting through straw and sand-bags; 12) mīḥaṃ udalu tāṭili vidamanaya, shooting through buffalo skin, mamoties, metal dishes, etc.; 13) diṃbulpōru piyāpōru, shooting through wood. The PJV. adds a few more to this list:- śara pavuruya, śara toranaya, śara pokunaya, śara prasādaya; śara rānaya (PJV. 147).

The SDA. 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 (SDA. 605). The mention of the same by the SDR. 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 (289.32).

The Kāka vastuva, set at Rōhaṇa in Ceylon, mentions that there was a monk in the temple who understood the cry of crows (SDA. 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. Mr. Martin Wickramasingha has already examined the Katikāvata from this point of view. The rules that concern us here are:-

- 1) Grhasthayanta solō ādiya bānda nokiya yutu (no verses should be written and sung in praise of laymen);
- 2) Kāvya nātakādī garhita vidyā tamā nūgatayutu, anunut nūgānviya yutu (that disgraceful arts like dancing and versification should not be taught to others or learnt).

Mr. Wickramasingha draws our attention to the fact that such injunctions as these do not appear in the earlier Poḷonnaru Galvihāra katikāvata, and he concludes that the above-mentioned subjects or arts have not been included for one of two reasons, either that these arts and drama were not taught to the monks in the Poḷonnaruva times, or that the teaching of these to the monks was not considered improper (Sinhala-sāhityayē-nāṅgīma, p.72). However this may be, the Daṁbadeṇi 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 Mr. Wickramasinghe, was responsible for the non-production of any poetry for a considerable time after KSM. This no doubt must have been a great blow to secular learning during the period. The SDR., too, admonishes people to give up ^{such} useless studies as kāvya and nāṭaka (poetry and drama) (503.20).

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 pirivenas, or that they were studied by individuals. We have already stressed that teaching of the doctrine was the main object of the pirivenas. This being so,

Buddha Dharma and Pali itself must have headed the list. That Pali was a subject of study is also made clear by a rendering in the SDR. The phrase 'uddesagahana-kāle' in the DPA. has been rendered into Sinhalese as 'Pali ugannā niyāva asā' ('having heard that he studied Pali') (228.24). The CV. states that Parākramabāhu II had many bhikkhus instructed in the sacred texts, as also in all sciences, such as philosophy, grammar, and the like (84.27).

Other 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 pirivenas; 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 account. 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, namely the Kīrti Śri Rājasīṃha Katikāvata, 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 ganita), which are to-day referred to as the three R's.

As for the methods of teaching, we hear only of learning by heart. The VMS. explains the term 'uddesa' as reading of the text, and 'paripucchā' as teaching of meaning (VMS.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 brought out 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 pupil, that is, that they withheld some knowledge from them. This was perhaps the exception to the rule (SDR. 117.31). 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 has remained so even to this day (553). The SDA., too, refers to this ceremony. The children were decked in ornaments according to the ability of the parents, and with great cere-

mony initiated into learning. The book also mentions that children started their education at five (SDA. 425).

The PJV. 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 VMS. makes reference to a young monk who went to Rōhaṇa for his studies (VMS. 236). This suggests that Rōhaṇa enjoyed a reputation for its educational centres as early as the time of Buddhaghosa. That the south of the island had some such reputation is perhaps indicated by the existence of centres of learning there such as the Vijayabā-piriveṇa.

(e) 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 to-day 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 10th 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 admanā 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 Parā-kramabāhu 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 VMS., too, refers to lying-in homes (tiṃbirige) and hospitals (gilan hal) (VMS. 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 SDR. refers to the water mixed with medicine that was given to cattle, and the SDA. to the treating of a dog suffering from itch (1001.2, 262 resp.). We are also familiar with the surgical operations attributed to 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 (vinnaṃbu) are mentioned (PJV. 593, SDA. 166). The SDR. also tells us that the doctors had to be paid for their services and that their travelling expenses had also to be paid (46.36). As to the charges and the rates, we have no information. That the physicians jealously guarded their reputation is also brought out by the Cakkupāla^h story,

which states that the physician requested the monk not to say that he was treated by him (SDR. 37.2). 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 (SDR. 35.14, PJV. 563).

As for the methods of treatment, reference is made to administration of medicine through the nose (nasya) (PJV. 555, SDA. 644, SDR. 35.16, 914.17); application of oils (SDR. 746.19, SDA. 406); fomentation; to giving medicinal gruel (gruel cooked with herbs, as polpalā and gotukola kāṇḍa of to-day); decoctions, the chief form of treatment (PJV. 564); oils given to be drunk (PJV. 563); māllun (a medicine made by frying herbs in oils for external application (SDA. 263); and kalka, a medicinal paste (SDR. 396.26). A system of First-Aid (avasthā pīliyam) also seems to have been in vogue, though we have no information as to its nature (SDR. 114.23).

Some of the similes used by the SDR. are of interest, e.g., 'hunaṭa tiyaṃbarā yahapatāyi yannavun men' ('like those who say that tiyaṃbarā (a variety of goad) is good for fever') (805.14); 'Mēha āttavunṭa tel anubhava karaṇṭa kiyannāsē' ('like asking people who have too much fat to take oils') (555.12); 'semata uk sakuru kaṇṭa kiyannāsē' ('like asking the people who are phlegmatic to take cane-jaggery') (555.11). These similes show that tiyaṃbarā, tel (oily substances or fat) and uk sakuru were considered bad for fever-stricken, fatty, and phlegmatic people respectively. Another significant simile used by Dharmasena is: Vaṇḍata behet dunnāse ('like treating the barren (women) '), which shows that cases of barrenness were also treated (SDR. 663.9).

The following are mentioned as used in medicines:- vālmī (liquorice) (SDR. 914.17); suṃ (asafoetida) (SDR. 914.21);

siddhīngurū (dried ginger) and vagapul (long-pepper) (SDA.293); ghee, honey, cane-jaggery (SDA. 65).

The following diseases are mentioned:- atīsāra, dysentery (SDR. 184.18); akṣi rōga, eye disease (SDR. 34.82); barava, elephantiasis (SDR. 47.18); tanāl rōga (P. visaganda), poisonous abscess (VMS. 110); kuṣṭha, leprosy (SDR. 736.12); raktātīsāra, bloody dysentery (SDR. 722.2); pāṇḍu, jaundice (SDR. 704.20); ajīrṇa, indigestion (SDR. 855.35); ahivātaka, snake-wind sickness? (SDR. 804.33); hisarujā, headache (SDR. 326.13); udaravāta, wind of the belly, stomach-ache (PJV. 364); vaṇa, sores (SDA. 311); jvara, pyrexia, fever (PJV. 699); kāsi, coughs (SDR. 283.32); śastrakavāta, a windy (rheumatic) disease (SDA. 206); antaragaṇṭhi, intestinal obstruction, tumour

The SDA. also refers to 88 diseases, 99 illnesses, and 203 dangers (SDA. 740).

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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. Discrimination is shown by the use of the term 'kula' which is used even to-day to mean caste. Distinctions seem to have been always maintained between noble (yahapat) and low (hīna) families. That some such distinction was observed is also brought out by the mention, often made, of jāti (birth), and gotra (clan); 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. SDA.546 and SDR. 82.29).

The SDR. and SDA. both use the terms jāti, gotra and kula (SDA. 297, SDR. 819.25), thus making it clear that they based the social division on birth. The SDR. also states that the 'jāti' of those of noble birth will be noble even though they be poor (230.2). Whatever the English term 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 next noticeable feature of the system is that they seem to be more or less divided into kulas according to the professions followed by the families. Let us here consider what may have been the position prior to the 13th century. The MV. refers to the vessas when it explains the naming of the Vessagiri-cetiya. It says that this was the vihāra which was built where five-hundred vessas

lived (MV. 20.15). The Jetavanārāma Sanskrit inscription of the ninth century refers to five castes, which are of course not enumerated (EZ. 1. 1. 8). Coming to the 11th century, we hear from the Āmbagamuva rock-inscription of Vijayabāhu I that he had a terrace constructed below the 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 12th century we find Nissanka 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 13th 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 as well as with crows and dogs (EZ. II.5.229). A few years later, during his successor Kalyānavatī's reign, we find Āyasmanta, the Officer administering the Government on behalf of the queen, scrupulously separating the four castes who had become impure through mixture (CV. 80.41). The four are not enumerated here. Later on we hear of Vijayabāhu IV who, issuing a command to all inhabitants of Laṅkā, brought together the workers of iron, the turners, bamboo-workers, blacksmiths, potters, goldsmiths, painters, porters, workmen, slaves, the 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 Laṅkā 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 Dr. 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'. Dr. 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.

Mr. W. A. de Silva has made a few observations regarding caste in his article on 'A contribution to the study of economic and social organisation in Ceylon in early times from Saddharmālaṅkāraya'. 'Among the Sinhalese', says Mr. 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 grahapati (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 ... Asoka 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 none. 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' (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 SDA. pointed to a caste division. If Mr. Silva based his division on 'kula', we cannot say why he overlooked the other 'kulas' referred to in the book. The story of Asoka Mālā may be quoted here: 'ikbiti rajakumārayaṇṭa tamāgē jāti gōtra prakāśakoṭa kiyannāvū kumārikā toma

sāmi! hellolagāmasmiṃ - issarassa suto ahaṃ

kammāra dhītā caṇḍālī - iti maññanti maṃ janā

yanādīn svāmīni! mama hellolī nam gāma pradhāna nāvāmiyāgē dū
vū ektarā sādol duvakimi' ('Sire! I am a caṇḍāla woman - the
daughter of the chief smith of the village known as Helloli')
(SDA. 542). This conversation does not make the least refer-

ence to any eligibility for marriage, and further, Asoka 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 Gemepu 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 in-
dicated when the writer says: 'jāti gotra prakāśakoṭa kiyannāvū'
('explaining her birth and clan (caste)').

Let us now consider the kulas mentioned in the literature
of about the period under review: raja kula, royal family
(SDA. 190); brāhmaṇa kula, Brahmin family (SDR. 471.74);
caṇḍāla, depressed (SDA. 357); viddat kula, dancing family
(stated to be low) (SDR. 860.1); veḷaṇḍa, merchant (SDA. 657);
govī, cultivator (SDA. 657; EZ. 2.4.164); pukkusa, scavenger
(SDA. 657); suduru (Sudra), artisan (SDA. 746); vaiśya, trader
(SDA. 163). The PJV. enumerates four castes, viz: raja, siṭu,
bamupu, veḷaṇḍa (royal, seṭṭhi, brahmin and trader), and in
another place siṭu (seṭṭhi) is dropped and govī substituted
(PJV. 524). The SDR. enumerates: raja, brāhmaṇa, vyāpārayō
(artisans), govī and hīnajāti, in translating the terms brāhmaṇa,
vessa, sudda, caṇḍāla and pukkusā from the Milinda-Pañhā (61.35).
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) (SDR. 571.4; 418.26), and kapu kula (barbers). In the case of the latter, the DPA. has only 'kappantevāsikena' and does not refer to a kula, whereas the SDR. refers to the monk who entered the Order from the kapu kula (SDR. 300.7). Also vaḍu kula (carpenters) (SDR.472.33); baḍāla kula (potters)(SDR. 799.24); kevuḷu (fishermen) (SDR. 847.16); sannāli (tailors) (SDA. 125). The PJV. refers to radavun and beravāyan (PJV. 356). It is significant here that the Pali term 'tunnakāro hutvā' has been rendered into Sinhalese as 'sannāli kulayehi ipada' ('being born in the sannāli caste'). The Pali term gahapati is rendered into Sinhalese as govi kula, e.g. gahapatika = govi kulehi upan tānatto ('householder, the one born in the cultivator caste')(SDR. 937.35). Again, gahapati kula is rendered as govi kulehi (SDR. 853.25), and gahapati mahāsara kula as govi mahasal kulehi (130.3). Mr. de Silva's division has some meaning here. That is, the SDR. 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 bamunu. We may say that there was the govi caste, and then what has been termed 'vyapārayo' or artisans, who were again divided into a number of other divisions, as traders, carpenters, etc. The division by Mr. 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 vyāpāra castes had no fixed home - far from it. 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 pukkusa, were considered low (VMS. 854). The PJV. also states that members of the royal family did not mix with those of the govī caste (PJV. 58). The Viḍūḍabha story in the SDR. 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 (302.14). We can be almost certain that this was also the practice in Ceylon - that the so-called higher castes did not eat in the houses of the castes considered low in the social scale. With reference to kevuḷu the SDR. states that the people referred to were born in that caste as they had not done any meritorious deed which would have gained for them a birth in a noble caste (yahapat jāti) (847.16).

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 Māng, 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 MV. refers to a weavers' village, viz., 'The weavers' village Jambelambaya he affiliated to the Uttara-vihāra' (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 12th century refers to a berava-gama - 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 to-day 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 on to later times, we hear of the four castes, Kṣatriya, Brāhmaṇa, Vaiśya and Śudra, from the Gaḍalādeṇiya rock-inscription (A.D. 1341-2) (EZ. 4.2.106). Mr. A. Coomarsvamy, 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 Aryan civilisation came the Brāhmaṇical 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) bamunu (Brahmans); 2) raja (ruling caste); 3) govī (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 govīyo 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 goviyo included three ranks, the chiefs (radala or mudali pēruva), the nobles or titled men (siṭāno), and the rest of the goviyo; and these together formed, as we have seen, over 90 percent 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 Jana-vaṃsa, a most interesting Sinhalese poem of the 15th 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-vaṃsa, by one Siṃha of Kessellana, purports to be founded on a Pali 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-vaṃsa: 1) goviyo (haṅḍuruvo, 'hondrews' of Knox); vellālās (cultivators); 2) pēsakārayo (salāgamayo, "chalia", weavers); 3) kaṃburu (navandanno, gallado, artificers); 4) vaḍuvo (carpenters, blacksmiths, etc.); 5) hannāli (tailors and embroiderers); 6) radav (dhobies, washermen); 7) embettayo (barbers); 8) sommārayo (leather-workers, shoemakers); 9) durāvo (toddy-drawers); 10) kūmbakārayo (baḍahālayo, potters); 11) karāvo (fishers); 12) vāḍḍo (hunters); 13) beravāyo (musicians and weavers, and often astrologers); 14) hakuruvo (jaggery-makers); 15) hunno (lime-burners); 16) paṇṇayo (grass-cutters); 17) yamanno (iron-smelters); 18) vel-vaḍuvo (rattan-workers); 19) gahalayo (menial servants); 20) paḍuvo (servile or inferior cultivators and palanquin-bearers); 21) mālākārayo (inferior florists and

gardeners); 22) kinnarayo (mat-weavers); 23) roḍiyo (makers of ropes, tanners, etc.); 24) oliyo (dancers); 25) indrajaḷa-kayo (conjurers); 26) caṇḍālayo (eaters of unclean food, scavengers).

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 "koṭṭacalu" 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, Dr. Paranavitāna states: 'The washermen disputed the claims of the blacksmiths for the social privileges specified, the latter have been enjoying them in earlier times. On the other hand the Chronicle laments that even under the rule of Mānābharapa 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 Mahā-vaṃsa 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 for

anyone to assert that a system of caste division did not exist during the 13th century. Such an elaborate and rigid system as was found in the 15th 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 13th century, that raja, bamunu, govi (vellāla), caṇḍāla, were well established, and that other castes, as berava or radā, based on the different vocations followed by their members, were also known. The position may be summarised in the words of Prof. 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 Coḷas, vol. II, Pt. 1, Chapter XX, p.350).

b) 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 strength 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 (dāsi or keli kollan) flash across us in the stories of the SDR. The exhortation of Nissanka Malla to the people of Rōhāṇa 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 (SDR. 44.24, 593.38). The SDA. reflects the sad plight of the poor when it says: 'tamāge upayana vahalak sarakak nāti kala duk sāpa nositā kal novara-davā daḍa bima kaḷamanā mehevara koṭa' ('working in the household and the field without reflecting on joys and sorrows when there are no servants to work for them or do not possess any cattle') (SDA. 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 SDA. gives us the story of a poor man and his wife in the village called Helloli in Ceylon, who lived in the house of another, working for wages (571). Servants were employed in husking paddy (SDR. 539.34), fetching water (SDR. 540.5), cooking (ibid.), collecting firewood (SDR. 791.19), sweeping the compounds (SDR. 942.23), ministering to the members of the family and humouring their likes and dislikes (SDR. 109.32, 38.1). 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 to-day, a servant or two had to attend to all the work in the household. For example, the Jaṭila thera's story refers to the sweeper of Seṭṭhi Jotiya (SDR. 942.23). Reference is often made to a particular servant as kāla miṇḍiya, who fetched water (SDR. 654.26; 91.15). Fetching water was perhaps the only job of these servants. Even to-day 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, when servants are employed only for fetching water. In the SDA. 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 'ina dāsi' (debt-servant) (419). The story deals with a woman, Nāga by name, who worked for a certain family in Nāgadvīpa from which she raised a loan of 60 kahāpanas. 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 kahāpanas on the promise of working during the night this time. 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 Rohana, whose daughter worked as a servant in order to pay off a loan of 12 kahāpanas 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 (SDA. 549). 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 SDA. refers to the fact that a servant received only food in return for services rendered (SDA. 281). The PJV. refers to the rice that a servant got as wages (vāṭup sāl), which moreover was inferior rice (nimuḍu sāl) (PJV. 642). The SDR. 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 special circumstances. They had to sweat 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 Ghosaka story records that a maid was chastised by her mistress for delaying to return from her errand on which she was sent (SDR. 182.40). Another story shows that people often expressed dissatisfaction with the work of servants (SDR. 800.26). That servants were also recipients of gifts on certain occasions is also brought out by the Visākhā story in the SDR. It poses the question: Should anything that is given to servants be given with the expectation of a return? (343.33), meaning 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 all depended entirely on the financial 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 dukpat heyin hiṅḍina geyat miṭiya. nāmburu nova vadanāta nopilivana' ('as

they were poor their house was small and one could not enter it without bending') (SDR. 451.33). The rich had their houses built of stone, mortar and lime, and tiled their roofs. They were complete in all respects, with the necessary doors, windows, and also fan-lights (jāla kavuḷu) (SDR. 206.7). 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 SDR. renders the Pali 'ākāsatale' as 'ākāsatalayē abhyākāsaye saṅdalle', thus showing familiarity with balconies. The walls of the houses were whitewashed. The houses also had compounds or courtyards. The poorer people had their houses built of clay (māṭi). The structure was set up in wood, tied together vertically and horizontally with sticks. Then this wooden structure was covered with clay (lī ban bittiyeka māṭi-gasā lī vasālūvāsē) (SDR. 279.21). 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 (SDR. 286.7). 'Yata mālē goma piribada gānalā hiṅdina asun panavā lava' ('apply cow-dung mixed with clay on the ground-floor and then set up the seats') (SDR. 736.32). It is interesting to note that 'goma piribada gānalā' is the rendering of the Pali 'sammajjitvā'. This method persists even to-day.

There is also a practice to-day of applying certain kinds of oil on timber to prevent decay. This same practice seems to have been well known to the people of the past, for the SDR. says: 'Kap nodirā mahatva tibena se tel kaḍa sisāraṅṅa kīseka' (SDR. 213.17).

The poor had no locks to their doors. Their doors were

either tied with a piece of string or a pole was kept against them to prevent their being open. The SDR. translates the Pali 'dvāraṃ pidahitvā' as 'dora bāṇḍalā yemi', and also says 'dora māṭ novanta avurā lālū daṇḍu kaṇḍaksē' (SDR. 221.5, 83.34 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 (aṭṭuva) for the purpose of storing paddy; and garages for keeping chariots. Latrines (vāsikīḷi) 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

The following household utensils and equipment are mentioned:- hāṇḍa (bed); koṭṭa (pillows); peṭṭagam (almyrahé chests); pān (lamps); kambili (blankets); tāṭi (dishes); pasaturuṇu (spreads); bumuturuṇu (carpets); pāpīsnā (rugs); kuṇḍikā (pitchers); payi (cases); kāṭapat (mirrors); keṇesi (spoons); tāli (vessels); akpatalā (large vessels); ātirīli (seat spreads); pāduru (mats); kaḷāl (large mats); koṇḍu palas (goat's hair rugs); paḍam (curtain or screen of cloth); puṭu (chairs); māvulā (mattresses); diya dabarā (water bowls); keṇḍikā (cans); koṭala (jugs, kettles); maṇḍā (harpoons, hog-spears with short barbed prongs); kanvayin (pillows); kessa (key); summāṇḍiya (daranna) (a spiral pad or coil to rest vessels); pasumbi (purse); hiraṭa musna (ekel-broom); kola musna (leaf-broom); porova (axe); kāti (large knives); rāna (rope); vāya (adze); hina (ladder); kuḷu (winnowing-fans); sāla (pots);

vana (mortar); mol (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 (kuda and sāramiṭi) are mentioned.

c) Marriage

Marriage is an institution where 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 up to the present day. Family being the unit of society, the continuance of the family system was most essential, hence marriage was of the utmost importance, and no doubt 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. It may also be emphasised here that our pattern of living approximated to the Indian in general in all spheres of our life. Hence the traditions between the two countries cannot be said to differ greatly. Probably the traditions governing the institution of marriage to-day 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. To this very day conservative parents conform to these rules in the choice of husbands for their daughters. The first thing

to which we look to-day is the caste (jāti), then whether the man is sufficiently educated, next his profession, 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 13th century refers to these orthodox traditions, and no doubt these were the considerations that guided the parent in the 13th century in the choice of a husband for his daughter. Of course there were many exceptions to these orthodox views. Love was scorned by them, 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 parents of both parties, and established between two families of the same caste (jāti) and rank (kula); marriage within one's own jāti was the rule, and the jātis or castes of the island remained endogamous. We also notice the efforts made to keep the families pure through marriage 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 Mugalan Mahā thera story states that a certain young setthi about to be married, was asked by his parents whether they should bring him a girl from a fit and suitable family (SDR. 596.26). 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. 88.8). Pūrṇavardhana in the Visākhā story is advised to select a bride from the same caste (jāti sari tānakin vicārā) (ibid. 332.10). 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. 28.10). The Māgandhi story relates how the choice of a husband

was based on considerations of caste, age and wealth (ibid. 199.26). The story of Saṅgharakkhita thera states that he would marry a girl who would be able to look after the activities of the home (ibid. 277.10). One may even to-day come across a mother asking a 'match-broker' the question whether the girl can attend to household work (gedara dore kaṭayutu). The SDA. establishes the foregoing considerations in the Rihal story. The parents inquired into the caste and family of the man and gave their daughter in marriage accordingly: 'Jāti gotra vīcarā' (SDA. 580). The story here deals with an Upāsaka of Rohaṇa in Ceylon. Yet again it renders the Pali 'dāra parivajjaṃ katvā' as 'taman hā samāna veḷaṇḍa kulayakin rūpa sampannavū kumārikā kenekun genavut' (SDA. 653). We also find the parents of Uggasena seṭṭhi 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 bring him a wife from a suitable family in keeping with their status. Some attention no doubt was paid to wealth. Visakhā's father wished to know the wealth of Migāra seṭṭhi (SDR. 335.3). It is not unusual even to-day for a parent to inquire into the financial stability of the families concerned in case of matrimony. 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 job, or that he knew some art or craft which would help him to maintain a wife. The Hunter's story relates how the 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 (SDR. 758.75). The PJV. supports the same view when it says: niśśilpī tānattantaṅga apa

daruvan no demha (PJV. 146). This same anxiety of some parents is reflected in yet another way: some parents somehow contrived to get their daughters married when they came across a young man who, in their opinion, would succeed in life. The story of Jaṭila therā speaks of such a situation: 'mū anargha keneka kotenaka vuvat rākī ganitī tamange vādiviya pāmiṇi duvaṇiyan unṭa pāvā devālā' ('This is a noble fellow. He will succeed anywhere. Thinking thus he gave his daughter in marriage to him') (SDR. 941.17).

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 (SDR. 744.30). It is difficult for us to assert here that religion was one of the chief considerations, as perhaps there was very little religious difference to reckon with.

Thus we may now 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.

As already remarked, love-marriage was the chief exception to the orthodox arranged marriage. 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 (SDR. 861.14). The story of Prince Sāliya of Ceylon is too well-known to be quoted here. The Sūkara-potikā story relates how a minister of Duṭugemunu fell in love with a lady called Sumanā when he was on circuit, and how he married her with all pomp (SDR. 851.). The SDA., too, refers to such interesting episodes. Love at first sight and love on hearing the voice are referred to. Runaway marriages were the result of some love-affairs. Occasions when girls stole away from their homes to meet their lovers were not unknown. The Paṭācārā story relates that a rich seṭṭhi'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 (SDR. 539.26). 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 (SDR. 88.11). 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 (SDR. 734.20). These no doubt were types of marriages which were largely dissociated from love and were based on economic or social considerations.

When children obeyed their parents against their own wishes, this no doubt was 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 Mr. 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, p.70). We can agree with Mr. 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 husband, 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 SDA. itself will show that Mr. de Silva's conclusions seem hardly accurate. He seems to have generalised perhaps from a particular instance or two. In the Kiñcisañghā 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' (SDA. 609). In the first place in this example we get a case where Śakra was 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 Nandirāja-vagga 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' (SDA. 180). This story also shows us, as does the previous one, that under normal circumstances the matter of choosing a husband was a matter 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-devi (SDA. 258, 213). The real position is amply made clear by statements like

sarana vicārā nila kaḷaha (SDR. 244.11), and vādiviya pāmiṇi daruvaṇṭa sudusu tānin sarana genvā pāvādī venkaḷaha (SDR. 24.10).

This second statement refers to the exact custom that has persisted up to the present day.

Cousin Marriage.

We may observe here that cousin-marriages seem to have been in vogue during these times. A few stories record the preference shown to this type of union. We also see that cousin-marriages - that is, marriage between cross-cousins - were in vogue up to modern times, and that it is only within very recent times that some disapproval of such unions seems to have been shown, and the practice may be said to be dying out to-day. According to this system, the children of a brother and sister could marry, but not those of two brothers or two sisters, and such marriages are taboo even to-day. The Nandika story stresses that the man was compelled to marry his cousin Revatī, even though she was a non-believer in the Buddhist faith: 'un vādiviya pāmiṇi kalhi ḷamva tibena geyaka hiṇḍinā mayilaṇu kenekunge duva revatī nam kumārikā kenekun putanuvanta sarana genenu kāmati vūha' ('when the son came of age, the parents were desirous of getting him married to Revatī, the daughter of one of his uncles, who lived in the neighbourhood') (SDR. 734.14). The Mahāli-praśna records the soliloquy of Sujātā thus: 'mama me magha māṇavakayaṇṭa sessavun se novemi nāṇḍi mayil saranaya un kaḷa pinkamek ātnam mā kaḷeya' ('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') (SDR. 260.12). 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 Pali makes no such refer-

ence: nā sambandha nisā apage putanuvanta saraṇa pāvā duna mānava (SDR. 744.16).

The account of the origin of the Sākya says: mage malun heyin topage mayiloya unge dū ātnam topaṭa biso karavayi ... avasya bānan heyin genavut pāvā dunamanā tāna kaḷa dāma itā yahapti ('He, being my brother, is your uncle; if he has 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') (SDR. 315.35). The story here is that the Princes carried away their cousins, and their uncle (now father-in-law) was only too jubilant that he had been spared the worry of getting them married, as they were his own nephews (avasya bānan, modern āvāssa bānā). These two examples are not translations from the Pali, and hence are quite significant and may be taken to indicate that cousin-marriages were in favour with the people during the 13th century. Cousin-marriages are losing favour to-day, 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 Pali 'sākiyā bhaginīhi saddhim saṃvāsam vasitakānaṃ' is rendered into Sinhalese as tirisanun paridden taman taman ge naṅgun hā samaga vāsaya karat ('they live (co-habit) with their sisters as beasts'). 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 the general principle in primitive society, where within the narrowest family circle sexual relations are universally taboo (See Lowie, Primitive Society, p.14).

As to the prevalence of other forms of marriage, such as the svayamvara, and marriage of purchase, that were in vogue in India, we have no information. A few references to what one may classify as purchase are found; for instance the Kisāgotamī story says: 'aya viyadam karavā un tamange putanuvanta genvādī' (P. dhanam pati sāmētvā) (SDR. 546.26). 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 some debts of the other party if the marriage is agreed upon, is not unknown even to-day. This type of contract-marriage may have been known even in the past; but we have no definite proof of such. The CV. gives us a solitary example: '..then make her at once my spouse purchased by combat' (CV. 72.9). The translation here adds that the allusion is to the old custom of purchasing the bride.

Marriage Age

A person 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 16th 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 it was their desire to ensure that they married before they were too old (geyi iṅdama mūkurā nogosin bālakalama saraṇa yāma piṇisa) (SDR. 590.27). In the case of women it was no doubt considered

shameful to remain unmarried for a long time after they had come of age. One significant reference to sixteen is: 'eyak paṭan soḷos häviridi vanaturu demavv^oḥiyan aturehi raṇḍā evakaṭa sarana hiṇḍinā vayas heyin sarana 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') (SDR. 315.19). The word 'evakaṭa' is noteworthy here. It may be that the SDR. author does not wish to recognise sixteen as the proper age for marriage in Ceylon, hence the word may refer to the time when the event actually took place. The phrase 'evakaṭa ... heyin' does not occur in the Pali. The SDA. offers us some information when the P. 'tam paṭirupena dārakena niyojesum' is rendered in it as 'kumārikāvan vādī soḷos häviridi vayasata pämiṇi kalhi' ('When the girl attained the age of sixteen') (SDA. 290). This may even indicate that at sixteen a girl was usually considered fit for marriage.

Polygamy.

We have already observed that the people were monogamous. Polygamy 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 (SDR. 88.40; 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 (SDR. 337.33). The Pali 'nahāna cunnamūlaṃ katvā dinno' is rendered into Sinhalese as dāyāda koṭa devā ('gave as dowry') (SDR. 720.17). Again the SDR. uses the simile 'pilvanna kiyavālā vastuve niyama dannāsema' ('as one knows the extent of the wealth having read the list') (1001.27). This

seems to betray his familiarity with a practice that is still in vogue to-day. To-day the dowry given to a bride is listed, and the list is read out in the presence of the gathering at a wedding ceremony. It is likely that the author of the SDR. was aware of this practice when he used the simile.

d) Food

The literature affords much information regarding the food of the people. We shall see later on that the country was prominently 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 meats and vegetables. 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 vegetables. 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 SDA. when the author speaks of the growing of coconut, arecanut, and plantain trees and jack in Jambudvīpa, where these trees are not grown. Hence we can be certain that the writers were

quite familiar with the conditions of their times. 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 (SDR. 33.5, 408.31, 301.7). All the people had not the good fortune to partake of the same kind of food, which, as all else, entirely depended on the economic position of the individual. The richer had richer and better food, while the poor had to be content with poorer food. A poor man's meal is at times referred to as consisting of cooked, unpolished rice, and a kind of fish (nivudu sāle bat and kuda masu). The PJV., too, refers to nimudu sāle bat as servants' food (dāsi bhojana) (PJV. 642).

The SDR. refers to the fact that some people always had a meat dish or a fish dish, however many other dishes there were (757.2). It also states that if gruel was to be made out of one nāḷi measure of rice it would suffice for two meals for five people, and if rice was cooked it was only sufficient for one meal (773.32). People were also in the habit of taking rice for the morning meal (breakfast) (SDR. 742.18). The inscriptions give us an idea of the menu of the earliest times in Ceylon. For example, the Tonigala rock-inscription of the 4th century says that '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). Dr. Paranavitāna, 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 4th century. It is noteworthy that among the

different dishes enumerated, fish or meat does not find a place' (ibid. p.177). This makes it reasonable to think that the monks in this period were vegetarians, and that as time went on they ceased to observe this rule. That monks of the 3rd century partook of meat is however shown by the story of Prince Sāliya in the SDA., which states that a hunter prepared meat in five ways to be offered to a monk. The Mādirigiriya pillar-inscription 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 the 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 the Eppāvala give us some of the 10th century foods: '...gave to the congregation ... one yahala or sasarapādi (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 nuts; two akas of sesame and chillies; and one padā of chunam' (EZ. 3.4.193). The 10th 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 13th century: 'They venerated them with heaps of aromatic rice ... They venerated them with diverse kinds of fruits, such as bananas, bread-fruit, 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 is more or less to the traditional four kinds of food, viz., khajja (that can be chewed), bhojja (that can be eaten, that is, hard and soft foods), leyya (that can be licked), and peyya (that can be drunk). Though the reference is in the usual jargon regarding food, we have no doubt that foods of all these varieties were known at the time, as is also shown by the foods mentioned. The kinds of food mentioned are:- a mess of unpolished rice (nimuṅḍu sāle bat); acid gruel (kādi) (SDR. 559.117, PJV. 642); flesh of hunted animals (daḍamas) (SDR. 569.7); barley (yavasāl) (SDR. 463.7); kākuḷu sāl) (SDR. 220.25); fowl (SDR. 207.35) (PJV. 376); river-fish (kuda mas) (SDR. 158.4); green herb (palā mālu); milk (kiri) (SDR. 456.16); milk mixed with ghee, honey and jaggery (SDR. 124.37); uṅḍu (a grain) (SDR. 690.1); milk-rice (kiribat) (SDR. 931.23); honey-comb (mī) (SDR. 652.38); pork (ūru mas) (SDR. 714.17, PJV. 88); rice cooked of hāl and rathāl paddy (SDR. 775.4, 338.2); beef (gomas) (SDR. 907.2, VMS. 4.84); turtle eggs (kāsub biju) (SDR. 813.32); fowls' eggs (kukuḷu biju) (SDR. 814.1); red fish (remas) (SDR. 253.13); rabbit (PJV. 88, SDA. 261); venison (muva mas) (PJV. 95); pigeon (paravi) (PJV. 583); snipe (vaṭu) (PJV. 586, SDR. 371.23); mā āṭa (a variety of bean); kirikāṅḍa (gruel mixed with coconut milk (SDR. 371.33); rice roasted and beaten (habala peti) (SDA. 652); lotus-roots (neluṃbu dāli) (SDA. 652); kaṭuala (a variety of bulb-roots) (SDA. 423); pea-fowl (monara mas) (SDA. 427); sheat fish (petiyo) (silurus pelorius) (SDA. 529); lūlu (ophiocephalus striatus); and sumgo (varieties of river-fish); teli (eel) (SDA. 529). The SDR. also refers to the fact that the roasted rice at

the bottom of the pot was eaten (damukada) (SDR. 776.10). The Saṅghadattā story in the SDA. 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 (SDA. 612). The most frequent mention is of rice and other dishes which are not specified. Gruel with avulupat (sweetmeats) is also often mentioned. The tempering of curries (duvāpu, modern temparādu) is referred to. The dishes which are not thus tempered were considered tasteless, and the process is widely used even to-day. 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 chillies (miris) (SDR. 928.93); cummin-seed (duru); mustard (aba) (SDR. 547.10); dried ginger and long-pepper (mentioned in the PJV. as spices). The other stuffs used in the preparation of curries were oil and coconut. Frying of curries is referred to (SDR. 214.38). Soup made of green gram is mentioned in the VMS. (VMS.54). The cereals mentioned are: uṅḍu (peas), mum (green gram), tala (sesamum), paddy, amu (gram, *Paspalum serobiculatum*). A few varieties of vegetable are also named: kākiri (cucumber); puhul (melon-gourd); del (bread-fruit); rat tampalā (red *mischodon zeylanicus*); tiyāmarā (kind of cucumber); tibbatu (*solanum indicum*) (PJV.165); labu (pumpkin-gourd) (SDR. 391) ; vātakolu (*luffa acutangula*) (SDA. 391); and alupuhul (ash-pumpkin) (SDA. 14). Coming to sweetmeats, etc., we have: pulub (āssada, a sweetmeat made of flour, sometimes fried in ghee) (SDA. 474); kāvum (rice-cake) (VMS. 82); pāni kāvum (rice-cake with honey) (SDR. 285.33); kuḍu kāvum (rice-cake or sweetmeat made of rice powder) - it is also mentioned that kuḍu kāvum is made solely of rice powder

and that no oil or flour is used with it (SDR. 99.33); tala muruvata (gingely oil cake) (SDR. 228.25); atirasa (a sweetmeat in the shape of a disc, made of flour); suñdāgiya (tala guli, sesamum mixed with sugar or honey and made into balls) (SDR. 414.31); kabalu (a variety of rice-cake); aggalā (flour fried and mixed with honey and then made into balls and again fried in oil) (SDR. 992.20); atsunu (rice powder mixed with honey (SDR. 992.20)). Most of these sweetmeats were made of flour. The rice is powdered and then sifted, the powder is then fried and used for making these various sweetmeats, which are made into various shapes, some fried in oil. Śarkarā (jaggery or candy); uk sakuru (sugar-cane jaggery) and uk (sugar-cane) are also mentioned. The fruits mentioned are: aṃba (mangoes of various varieties, such as mī aṃba, which is a very sweet variety; vāla and varakā (two varieties of ripe jack fruit, soft and hard) (SDR. 102.21); daṃba (jaṃbu, rose-apple) (SDR. 102.21); kehel (plantain) (ibid.); and beli (wood-apple) (SDR. 285.27). Some of the fruits were made into drinks, and eight kinds of drinks are often referred to, viz., mango, rose-apple, āṭa and mas kehel (two varieties of plantain, seedy and fleshy), grape, honey, lotus root, phārusaka or boraludamanu or ugurāssa (sweet lovi-lovi, Flacourtia Ramontchi) (SDA. 120). In addition to these, the juice of sugar-cane is also mentioned (930.24). The water of the king-coconut, which is a relished drink even to-day, is also referred to (714.16). Two other sets of foods are: catu madhura and pas gorasa, the four sweets or dainties, and the five products of the cow. The four sweets consisted of ghee, butter, honey, and jaggery (Glossary to SDR. p.28). The SDR. mentions jaggery as one of the four (683.21). The pas gorasa consisted of milk, curd, ghee, butter and whey (kiri, dī, yoda, tel, and veṅḍaru) (PJV. 410). Adulteration of

milk was not unknown, as is shown by the VMS. (IV.256).

Among the beverages liquor found its place. The SDR. is full of references to the drinking of toddy, which was perhaps the only intoxicant known. 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 drinking scene described in the KSM. gives the high-class equivalent to toddy in madhu (mead), which the king and ladies all drank and became intoxicated. A 10th 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). These not only show that toddy was quite a common drink in the villages, but also that an illicit trade in toddy was going on.

Yet another widespread - perhaps the most widespread - habit seems to have been the chewing of betel, which is constantly referred to in the literature of the period: bat bulat dī satapā (PJV. 555); bat kā antayehi bulat kā (having chewed betel after the meal) (SDR. 285.35). This also shows that chewing betel after a meal was a common practice. The VMS. states that betel was offered to a thief who was led to the scaffold (VMS. 3.64). The SDA. refers to the habit of chewing betel at sermons (SDA. 5). Five kinds of ingredients or flavours (pas pala vat) were used in betel. A 12th 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 his edition of the Ocean of Story: (a) karpūra (camphor), kaṅkāla (bakek), lavaṅga (cloves), jātiphala (nutmeg), and pūga (arecanut); (b) catch (Skt. khadira), chūna (lime), supāri (arecanut), lavaṅga (cloves), and ilachi (cardamon) (Ocean of Story, ed. Penzer, Vol. 8, Appendix 2, pp. 246, 247). Carter's Sinhalese-English Dic. gives: (1) puvak (arecanut), (2) kapuru (camphor), (3) kuruṅdu (cinnamon), (4) iṅguru (ginger), and (5) hunu (chunam). To-day the Sinhalese use other ingredients in addition to these five. Mr. 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 to-day.

(e) Dress

The question of dress has already been investigated by Mr. Martin Wickramasingha, one of the island's most eminent scholars of the day. In his study, data, specially from the SDR. 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 Rohiṇī story of the DPA. On the occasion when Anuruddha thera visited the city of Kapilavastu,

the lay devotee Rohiṇī did not come out to meet him as she was suffering from a skin disease. When the thera requested her to come, she removed the jacket she was wearing and came to the presence of the thera. The DAGP. explaining this, says that Rohiṇī, out of respect for the monk, removed the jacket she had worn to conceal the skin disease. It is observed here that the DPA. does not speak of any 'respect' in this connection. The same idea is again rendered into Sinhalese in the SDR., but rather differently. According to this version, Rohiṇī 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. The difference in rendering the same incident is significant here. It is clear that the SDR. author did not follow the DAGP. version. Mr. Martin Wickramasingha here observes that the practice of removing the upper garment in respect was a custom amongst the ancients. A remnant of this custom is seen even to-day when people remove their head-wear or scarfs out of respect (Dress and Ornament in Ancient Ceylon, pp. 33, 35). Mr. Wickramasingha considers the SDR. account as denoting a change in fashion that was taking place; but another interpretation is possible here. The SDR. rendering makes special reference to the wearing of the upper garment, and the lady says she did not come out as she was shy to expose her diseased skin. Does this not indicate that under normal circumstances the upper body was not covered and that she was compelled to put on a jacket to cover the skin? The words 'sāṭṭayak āṅga vasā lāgena āvavuntā' ('to the one who came covering the body') are quite significant. Does this not show that it was unusual to cover the upper part of the body?

Incidentally, it may be remarked here that these renderings

referred to above prove how the SDR. author portrays the conditions of his day. The different versions are as follows:-

DPA.:- kaṭa-kañcukaṃ paṭimuñcivā āgataṃ (p.479);

DAGP.:- Sivirovu piliseyanuvaṭa perevi paṭa kassa tuman kerehi gāvurin muṇḍā tabā (p.226);

SDR.:- paṭa kaḍa sātṭayak āṅga vasā lāgena āvavunṭa häyi, ... svāmīni, heḷi basinṭa lajjāvana taram kuṣṭha rōgayak siyal siruru vasā āti viya e nisā lajjāyen no ā bava mut, niharasarava noveyi (736.13).

All the references in the stories make it clear that a lower garment was worn by both sexes, for example: gopalu daruvek rajāsina gāvasunāvū śarīra ātiva kiḷuṭu kaḍa reddak āṇḍa ... (SDA. 423); hina tibū vastraya (SDA. 206); dahasak vaṭanā hina kaḍakut (SDR. 430.4); mā hina tubū kasī saḷuva (PJV. 159); viśiṣṭavū rū āti ran piḷiyak hāṇḍagena (SDR. 628.21); gihi minisun sē lajjā vasā piḷi nohāṇḍumha (PJV. 202). Mr. Wickramasingha 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 (SDR. 334.34). Before the custom of covering the upper part of the body came into vogue, says Mr. Wickramasingha, 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 to-day for people to cover their heads with the cloth worn by them, during a slight

drizzle or when 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). Mr. Wickramasingha quotes the story of Ciñcamānavikā as evidence of this, viz., 'devurayat badat vasā piḷiyak poravāgena' ('putting on a garment covering her abdomen and shoulders'). This is also shown by the Eka sātaka 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 hañdanāṭa ek kaḍek hā bāmiṇiyan hañdanāṭa ek kaḍek āta. pitata yana kala dasaruva vasāgena yanṭa dennāṭama kāṭiva eka uturu saḷuyek āta (SDR. 551.30). Even the women of the lower classes wore only a lower garment, as is shown by the SDR. and the Butsarana: 'siṭu duvaniyanda devana davas kiluṭu adahas sema kiluṭu kaḍa reddak koyindo soyā hañdagena ... miñḍi ves gat lesaṭa ...' ('The daughter of the seṭṭhi, wearing a dirty piece of rag ... like a servant (SDR. 539.32). 'o kiliṭi kaḍak, hāñda genā hisake vidālā śarīrayehi kuḍu galvā gena kaḷayak hāragena miñḍiyaka hā ekva ...' With the help of the foregoing evidence Mr. Wickramasingha 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 SDA. speaks of a person who was ^{too} shy to enter the street without an upper robe (264).

We also have evidence to show that some wore two lower garments while others wore only one. Both these forms are practised even to-day, villagers usually wearing two. The SDR. refers to two garments that were worn: 'hāñdagena giya saḷu saṅgala' (23.12). The PJV. says: 'ina tubū sātaka yuḡmaya'

('the two robes round the hip') (PJV. 160). The PJV. also refers to one such garment: 'val soru ohu kada udurāgena maranta alvā gata. hetema ... seluvama gālavī diva' ('The thief carried off the man's garment ... and he escaped naked') (450). The SDA., 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 (SDA. 450). It again speaks of one who gave away the garment he had, covering his nakedness with leaves (SDA. 393).

We shall for a moment examine the references made to both an upper and a lower garment worn by the same individual. The PJV. says: 'dahasak aganā kasī saḷu hānda 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 SDR. says, 'wearing a robe and also an upper robe': 'saḷuvak hānda esēma saḷuvak peravā' (556.33). Thus we see that both men and women were in the habit of wearing an upper garment as well, perhaps when going out - as is also asserted by Mr. Wickramasingha. As to the nature of this upper robe, we have some information. The Eka sātaka brahman's story already referred to says: 'dasaruva vasā gena yanṭa' ('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 piyumaṭa muvarada lolin basnā bṛnga valiyakse duṭu duṭuvan siṭ umatukaravana nil vasā roden hā ...' (PJV. 301).

dasa vamiyan visituru - rudu piyayuru maṇḍale

dulū pala kokumaṅgarā - gī vī tede naravarā (KSM. v.40).

These help 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 Mr. Wickramasingha for further details).

Mr. Wickramasingha 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 Svarnatilakā story of the SDA. in support of his view, and also states that it was a blue robe that they used for this purpose. The Diṭṭhmaṅgalikā story in the Amāvatura speaks of a blue robe; but the Svarnatilakā story does not refer to any particular colour worn by the women. It only says: visituru vū karmānta āti dahasak vaṭanā paḷasakin duvage śariraya vasā poravā ... (SDA. ed. B. Saddhātissa, 2478, p.368); also: tamā peravahun paḷasa maṇḍak pahakoṭa (ibid.). On the other hand, the Tebhātika vagga states that caṇḍāla Brahmins wore yellow, viz.: 'brāhmaṇa caṇḍālayot kāsāya vastra perava gena āvidināhumaya (ibid. p.322). This is supported by the MV., which states thus in connection with the same story: 'It was surely a caṇḍāla, for the caṇḍālas ever clothe themselves in yellow garments' (MV. 5.57). Another reference in the SDA. indicates that the different castes dressed themselves as befitted their castes: 'vaiśya sūdrādhuda brāhmaṇayoda yana hāmadenama taman tamanṭa anurūpavū vastrālamkārayen sārāhī (SDA. 163). It must be remarked here that Svarnatilakā 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 lower caste people were not permitted to wear upper garments till very recently.

Reference has already been made to the Rohiṇī story, which states that she wore a jacket. Though this jacket seems to have been known, it was not the custom to wear one, observes Mr. Wickramasingha, who also refers to a statement made by Mr. 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 (M. Wickramasingha, Dress and Ornament in Ancient Ceylon, p. 41). The SDR. 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 mululla vasā sātta lā gena pirimi ves gena' (SDR. 242.37). Thus this story also refers to the fact that men covered their upper bodies. Two references in the SDR. also show that small children did not normally wear any clothes: piḷi hāṇḍat noveyi bālavama giyaḍāya (SDR. 977.4); and piḷi nohaṇḍanō nam bāla daruvoya (ibid. 60.30). Mr. Wickramasingha 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 Nāgasena story in the SDR. in support of his conclusion.

As for the material, the chief seems to have been silk of various kinds. The VMS. refers to silks from China and Somāra; the SDR. and the VMS. mention other materials, viz.: tihiri (vegetable silk(?)), cotton, and komu piḷi (from goat hair (VMS. 282), and kasī saḷu (Benāres silk) (SDR. 976.31).

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 - baṇḍa muhulasa (KSM. 284); lahopalu kusuma bada - dī muhulu kārā muhulu (KSM.505) There seems to have been a distinction in tying the knot of hair in the higher and lower classes of women. The SDR. says:

miñḍiyange lesata līl koṭa hisa ke bāṇḍa gena ('tying the hair loosely like that of a maid&servant') (539.32). Mr. Wickramasingha also observes that those of the higher classes made the knot of hair large and raised and not loosely hanging (Dress & Ornament in Ancient Ceylon, p.40). He cites proof from the KSM. and the Sīgiriya paintings (see above for KSM). 'This view is supported', says Mr. Wickramasingha, 'by the Sīgiriya paintings and stone figures at Isurumuniya'. The SDA. also states that the hair was made into plaits and then tied: isakes gotā bāṇḍa (SDA. 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 hisake gotā piṭa helā (SDA. 295). The KSM. also refers to the peacock feathers worn on the curls: kiyaṃbu sikipil atule (KSM. 38). The attention needful to keep the hair clean and tidy is brought out by the SDR.: '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' (68.33). Dyeing of grey hair and use of combs and scent seem to have been in vogue 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 Nissanka Malla states: 'Diverse ornaments of gems, pearls, sapphires, emerald, topaz, gomedā(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 SDR. 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 (SDR. 29.38). The KSM. refers to the application of kumkuma paste or painting of the breasts: kokumaṅgarā piyavure (v.322). The PJV., too, refers to this painting: aṅgarāgayan tavarā (707). The women also used scents: is sodhā nahā mal suvaṅḍa pālaṅḍa (SDR. 190.18). The eyes were also painted with unguents: 'nuvanāt hi aṅḍunaṅḍamin' (KSM. v.363); 'aṅḍun gā sārāhū ās' (SDR. 125.35). The application of sandalwood paste on the body is referred to: sakala śarīrayehi saṅḍun kalka tavarāgena savbaraṇa lā sārāhī mal pālaṅḍa (SDR. 51.15). Sandal paste was applied on the hands, according to the VMS. (VMS. 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 SDR. also refers to nānu, an ointment, or a composition sometimes used to cleanse the hair (SDR. 365.13). Four kinds of scent are referred to: kokum, yonpup, tuvaralā, and turuktel (saffron, sandalwood, frankincense and a fragrant oil) (SDR. 640.22). 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 (SDR. 678.14). That garlands of flowers were worn round the head is also shown: 'hisa malvaḍamak sisārā lā' (SDR. 409.24). The SDA. speaks of the garland of idda (*wrightia zeylanica*) flowers which was worn round the head (SDA. 541). Something far more interesting is the idea of a hair stylist shown by the SDR. The Pali 'kappakaṃ āha kadā rañño massuṃ karissasi' is rendered as 'aṅḍam tabana karanavāmiyāṭa andam tabanne kavaraḍāḍāyi' (SDR. 235.12); mā dāḷirāvul kapā andam

taban̄ta ennāhu (PJV. 598). The word 'andam' suggests 'style', and it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the hair and mustaches or 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 barana lā sārāhī. The ornaments mentioned are: pāmudu, toe-rings (SDR. 263.37); pādagam, anklets (262.37); muḍu, rings (945.36); vaḷalu, bangles (21.2); muthara, chain of pearls (21.10); tōḍu, ear-rings (4.39); gele mutu dam, strings of pearls for the neck (PJV. 405); koṇḍola, ear-rings (PJV. 405); piyavuru muthara vāla, chain of pearls for the breasts (SDR. 14.702); mevul daṁ, girdle-band; parure (KSM.266); randam, gold chains (KSM. 147); rasan dam, tinkling chain (KSM. 9); tisara, neck ornament (SDR. 844.38); saṁkhalā, (mother-of-pearl? (SDR. 844.38); kayi bandhi, body band (SDR. 844.38); ridī savadi, silver waist-chain (PJV. 218). The SDA. distinguishes between some of the male and female wear: ekāvāla, dahanhū, kaṭī sūtra, tisara paṭa, oṭunu are male ornaments, while pāmudu, pādagam, ruvan tanapaṭa, pamuti-liṅgam, paṭṭakāra are female ornaments (SDA. 454). The SDR. also states that pāmudu and pādagam are female wear: gānun̄ta vuvamanā pāmudu pādagam ādivū abharaṇa (SDR. 461.21). Koṇḍa mal (wreaths for the hair) were also a speciality for women (SDA. 182).

The SDA. gives another set of female ornaments: kuṇḍalā, bharaṇa, nūpura, tādaṅga, raṇa toḍu, ek vāṭi, pāmudu pāsalaṁba, pādagam, sadaṅgā, oravasun, vijaya vastrā, kakusaṇḍa, pādāṅguli ādivū noyek biso paḷaṇḍanāyen sārāhunāvu (SDA. ed. B. Saddhātissa, p.96). Pāda pādāṅguli, pāda kaṭaka, pasrū, pasperahara, ek vāṭi, pā muḍu, raṇmaravādi, pādagam, hina kes vāla, siripaḷalu depaṭa vidyā, aṅgul dasaru, bāhudan̄ḍa, mutuvāla, gala mutu māḷā,

mānik māla, dākan, pasevikan, dasa aṅgātilaka, miṇidam, nīlamātrā,
mūdu oṭunu are the feminine ornaments (strī alaṅkāra) mentioned in the PJV. (129).

Tamil soldiers are also spoken of as wearing ear-ornaments (SDA. 442). Hence both males and females seem to have worn varieties of ear-ornaments. The slab-inscription of Kalyānavatī 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 Maḷla 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 KSM. says:

piyavuru barusulā - no sähā ev mevulni duvan
debarin yuga daṅga - nurū rāvni gugurapa van (205).

('The waist seemed to roar because of the sound produced by the girdle-band, being unable to bear the weight of the breasts, and the legs seem to roar because of the sound produced by the anklets, 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 (KSM. 293). Speaking about the girdle-band, Mr. Wickramasingha 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 breast pearl-chains, up to about the 15th century. He explains that this chain was connected with the pearl necklace, and then 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 Visakhā story, which states that it is not suitable for them to go to the temple in all their ornaments like dancers (SDR. 349.23). Even to-day, 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 SDR. speaks of parasols and foot-wear (SDR. 328.4). The MV. mentions ornamented shoes (MV. 30. 4). The various ornaments were also studded with various kinds of precious stones and with various designs. The Visakhā story tells us that Visakhā's girdle-band bore on its top the figure of a dancing peacock (SDR. 337.11). We are quite familiar with this type of necklace and the ornaments worn on the knot of hair, etc. The Maṭṭakuṇḍalī story speaks of designs on ornaments when it says that the necklace made for Maṭṭakuṇḍalī had no such decoration: 'uruṭṭu ādivū sūkṣama karmānta nāti' (SDR. 46.35).

As for the precious minerals (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 SDA. 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 vethaka (like rings), kakudha pala (like the kumbuk fruit - *Terminalia glabra*), and mutu (ordinary pearl) (SDA. 333).

(f) Women

It can hardly be asserted that women's position in society was very favourable. They may have been as 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' (SDA. 363). They are never satisfied with the number of men they have; they make no distinction of caste or creed. Their thirst for sensual pleasures, ornament, and decoration can never be satiated (SDA. 437). Women are like places for drawing water (SDR. 763.37); 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 (SDR. 764.6). They are counsellors to birth in purgatory (SDR. 40.30). They are the cause of all ills, and embrace men for their own gains, just as the creepers the trees for their own support (SDR. 600.10). They are always looked upon as full of wiles, māyam, which are said to be 64 in number. The KSM. describes them 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. The husband is generally depicted as obeying her will (SDR. 927.29). 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). The unpleasant relationship with mothers-in-law is also shown (SDR. 596.34). The relationship between parents and children was one of love. The aim of marriage was to have progeny, as already observed, hence some who were unfortunate in not having children seem to have adopted other children (VMS. 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 make up stories to deceive the other party lest they refused to accept her (PJV. 390).

Seclusion

We have evidence of the seclusion of women. The two sexes did not enjoy sufficient freedom to mix with each other. The young girls of well-to-do families were very carefully guarded and looked after. The stories in the SDR. often refer to such seclusion of girls when they came of age and attained puberty. Even in the present enlightened age the sexes have 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 there existed certain restrictions regarding the sexes during the past. It was only on certain festive occasions that young women came out of their homes and took part in the festivities (SDR. 190.18). This is shown in the description of the nakat 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 door-step 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. Every woman was expected to remain a virgin until given in marriage by her parents. A few observations made by Margaret Mead in her book 'Coming of Age in Samoa' seem to have much relevance to the position in Ceylon as it is even to-day: '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 to-day, and we have no doubt that they were equally true of ancient Ceylon. Of course to-day 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 balanta yāma (lit. going to see). If the girl proves to be a virgin, great merriment resulted; if not, great disappointment and much trouble. The PJV. speaks of the guard^{ing} of a girl's chastity: 'apaṭa taram svāmi puruṣayaku daknā turu para puruṣayaku no dakumha' ('We shall not even see a man until we meet with one suitable to be the husband') (PJV. 121).

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 not well-to-do families.

Pregnancy

Parenthood was the aim of married life. Barrenness, even to-day, is looked upon with a certain kind of resignation by the parties concerned, and with some sympathy by others. The stories refer to husbands who took 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 (SDR. 975.33). When the time of confinement approached, it was the custom, as it is even to-day, to take the lady to her parents' home for confinement (SDR. 91.8). During the period of pregnancy, very strong desires or fancies arose in a woman's heart, and were known to the Sinhalese as dola duka (Skt. Dauhrida) (SDR. 453.16; PJV. 64). Usually women were rather shy to express 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 (SDA. 446).

Certain ceremonies were performed during pregnancy and at

the time of conception for the protection of the embryo (gaba perahara) (SDR. 116.9). The exact nature of these ceremonies cannot be ascertained. We have reference to one such which was known as sunu gāma (application of chunam). This was done after seven months (SDR. 614.38). From the information available, it seems likely that this is what is known to-day as Māṭi pē kirīma (charming of clay), which is done by taking some earth from an anthill and fixing some tender coconut leaves on this clay. The earth or clay is then charmed by recitation of certain incantations. Another important religious ceremony, conducted during labour pains, is the chanting of pirit either by Buddhist monks or even laymen (SDR. 93.28). What is called the Aṅgulimāla-pirita is chanted, and the water thus charmed is given to the woman to drink. This pirita is considered, even to-day, as giving great relief from labour pains. Often it is chanted until the child is born.

Another 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') (SDR. 420.38). This is known to-day as doraṭa vādīma and is the occasion when the child is taken out for the first time. It is also called the isa diyara vatkirīma, that is, application of some liquid on the head of the mother. The stuff that is applied is called nānu, which is a mixture of lime and coconut milk, with a medicinal herb like bābila (*Sida humilis*). Nothing is applied on the child's head.

A pregnant woman had to take care of herself in certain ways, for example, abstain from taking certain kinds of foods, 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 (PJV. 128). The

SDR. also states that too acid or too salty foods, and too hot or cold foods should not be taken. These precautions were a part of the 'gaba perahara', attention paid to pregnancy (SDR. 420.22)

Prostitution

It cannot be said that prostitution was unknown to the people at this time. The literature of the later periods mentions that various cities were beautified by their courtesans. The Sandeśas 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 KSM. in fact speaks of abisaruvan (the prostitutes of the city)(324,12):

rata mini toraṇa rās - rāsin rate pura supun saṅḍa,
lahiru hoyī nosaras - dānavī 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 me 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 SDR. often speaks of veśyā women, and refers to their activities as ignoble (746.16). 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 (PJV. 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 ganikās

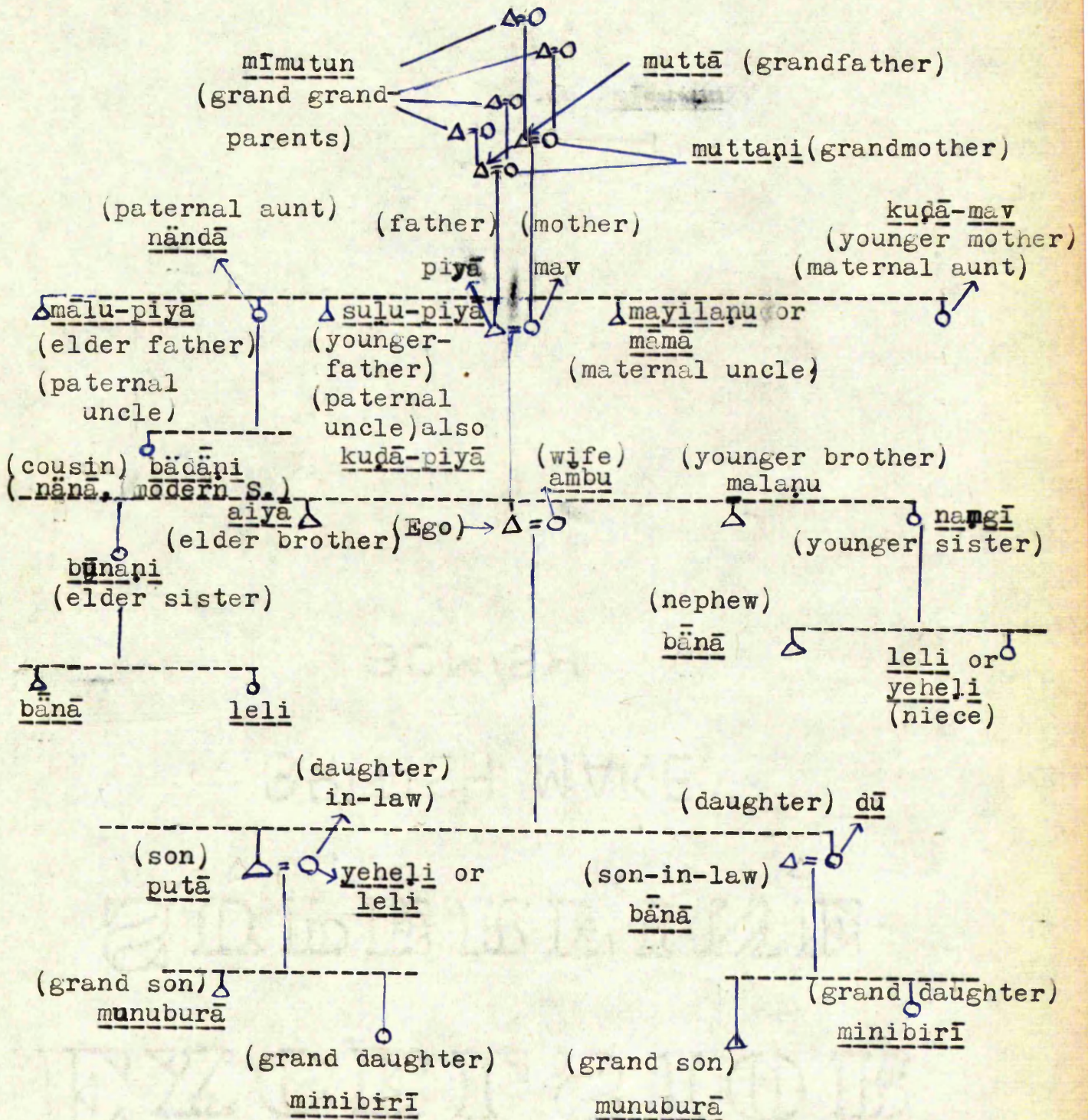
used to charge exorbitant sums of money for a night. A ganikā, according to Vātsyāyana, was 'marked out by high intellectual attainments and striking pre-eminence in the arts that she won the coveted title of ganikā. She must have her mind cultivated and trained by a thorough education and Vātsyāyana 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 ganikā, 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 ganikā in India, who was far above an ordinary prostitute as known to us to-day. 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

(g) Kinship

A family was generally surrounded by a host of other related families who helped each other in their time of need, sharing the joys and sorrows. The kinship pattern is as follows (see p. 376). The terms of kinship show a mixed terminology referring to both classificatory and descriptive systems. There is a recognition of the generations, sexes, and ages. The system is descriptive, as all the brothers of a father are grouped as elder and younger fathers, and the sisters of mothers similarly as elder or younger mothers.

Pattern of Kinship



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Forms of Address

The forms of address do not seem to be very different from those of to-day. Of course a variety of forms are in use to-day which were not in vogue then. The parents called their children, irrespective of sex, putā (son), which we find in literature as puta; this helps us to determine what was the usage in daily life (SDR. 675.32, 820.8). This term 'son', putā, seems to have been used when ladies normally addressed children, even strangers; it is generally a term of endearment, as it is even to-day (ibid. 221.14). A younger brother seems to have been addressed as mala (malli). The Pali term 'tāta' is rendered as 'mala' in Sinhalese (SDR. 892.36). The SDR. itself remarks that the form of address indicates whether one is younger or not (81.27). The nephew and son-in-law were both addressed as bānā; the grandson was munūburā. The mother-in-law seems to have been called nāṇḍā, and the Pali term 'amma' is thus rendered in Sinhalese. The maternal uncle was called māmā, as is done even now. The terms bānā, aiyā, putā were used for persons who were not necessarily relations. For example, any elderly man was called aiyā (elder brother) as a matter of courtesy (SDR. 259.8). 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 nanḍī (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: 'Mitrayāna kenekunge lesin ... nama kiyā haṇḍa gālā' ('calling him by name as in the case of a friend') (SDR. 34.5).

Daruva (child) seems also to have been a term used in addressing servant-boys as well as children (SDR. 201.35). The terms for mother, father 'māniyeni, piyāpanvahansa! and for a wife (soṇḍura and pinvata, 'loved one' and 'virtuous one') are all too literary to be considered as terms in daily use. The common

practice to-day is to refer to the wife or the husband as so-and-so's mother or father, e.g. mē lamayinge tātta (this child's father); Dāsalāyi amma (Dāsa's mother). It may also be that such a form of teknonymy was in vogue in the past.

(h) 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—no one could see the body burning. The Mahākāla story describes how the body was burnt (SDR. 108.31). The Pali phrase 'sārira-kiccaṃ' has been often rendered as ādāhana karavā (having cremated) (SDR. 185.38). Cremation of kings, laymen, and children is referred to. A pyre was erected and the body was placed in it and cremated. Mr. M. Wickramasingha makes the following observation: 'minipetṭiya pārāṇi siṃhala saṃskṛitīyehi upakaraṇayak novīya. malakaṇḍa minipetṭiyehi damā vaḷadāmīma da pārāṇi siṃhalayange siritak novīyayi sitami. ovhu maḷakaṇḍa ādāhanaya kaḷaha; noese nam amu sohonehi dāmūha. pārāṇi sirita indiyāve draviḍayan atarada muslimkārayan atarada venas novī pavatinu dākka hākiya' ('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 could see this ancient custom persisting yet with the Tamils and the Muslims of India') (Budusamaya hā samāja-darśanaya, p.141).

The story of Mahākāla thera 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 (SDR. 107.13). This is the practice in India even

to-day, and it is quite likely that such practices were prevalent in Ceylon in these early periods.

Funeral processions are referred to. In the case of monks the dead body was carried to the pyre on a beautifully built bier (PJV. 676). Only stray references are made to burial (SDR. 546.33, 1005.10). Reference is made to carrying of dead bodies in beds (SDR. 150.37). The story of the monks carrying Prince Tissa in a bed like a dead body is well known (SDA. 459). The Pali 'te mañcakena ādāya' ('carrying him on a bier') is rendered into Sinhalese as 'malavun genayannā sēma āṅḍaka tabā baṅḍagena' ('carrying him on a bed like a dead body') (SDR. 160.37). Probably in the case of poorer people a sort of bed-like structure was made instead of a costly bier (dena), or the dead body was taken to the grave in the bed itself.

The VMS. explains what a cemetery (susāna) is: a place where dead bodies are not cremated is not a susāna (S. sohona); a place where dead bodies are just thrown is called a sohona (VMS. 198). The SDR. seems to call such a place the amu sohona.

An epigraph of the 12th century makes mention of the cloths that were used to cover the faces of the dead. These cloths had to be supplied by the washerman, as was done by him on other occasions (EZ. 3.6.307).

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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. Owing to its importance, it was naturally patronised by the kings, who did all they could to improve the agriculture, on which the wealth of the country depended.

Trade came next in the list. Then came various minor occupations, 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. The seats of government of our kings were mainly in the dry zones of the island, and the rulers therefore had to provide the necessary water for the cultivation of the land. This was too heavy a task for the cultivator, and therefore the central government had to provide the necessary water. The ruins we see to-day 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 a king 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 Duṭugemunu sending his own brother to supervise the farming, etc., in one part of the country, while he himself supervised the Māgama area (SDA. 460). With the advance of years, the country degenerated in this respect, and when we come to the 13th century and the later periods we do not hear of any major schemes, irrigation works, etc. The Poḷonnaruva period saw these developments of agriculture in the island on an unprecedented scale. Parākramabāhu of the 12th 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. Dr. Mendis sums up the situation thus: 'These extensive irrigation works must have needed a great deal of labour to keep them in repair. Nissaṅka Malla, during his reign saw that they were not neglected, but the invasions and wars that followed his death, and the ravages made during the rule of Māgha left the irrigation works in such a state that no ruler that followed took up the task of repairing them' (The Early History of Ceylon, p.84). The Poḷonnaruva Galpota

inscription states that (Nissanka Malla) repaired great tanks, irrigation canals and embankments ... in the three kingdoms (EZ. 2.3.117). Referring to the two succeeding centuries, the 13th and 14th, Dr. 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 jack 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 13th 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 amūnas of seed paddy from Sotemūna, 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 Kalyānavatī, 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 decayed state of agriculture at the time.

The SDR. writer 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') (SDR. 454.24); 'Āla asuddha kalata kumburata vadanā diyak nāttāsē' ('as no water reaches a field when the canal is dirty'). He also gives a description of the process of cultivation: 'Paḷamu kota kumburu gevaḍiya yutuya. ikbiti bim nāṅgiya yutuya. pasuva desī sāva yutuya, miyara keṭiya yutuya tun sī sānta yutuya kāta talā poru gā yutuya kalallam kala yutuya isnan temiya

yutuya diya bānda yutuya goyam rogayaṭa kem kala yutuya goyam
pāsī giya kalāṭa dā māṅḍa vī aṭu koṭu vala liya yutuya peralā
hipināli sāva yutuya valpoḷa ketiya yutuya davā heḷi kaṭa
yutuya vapūla 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 dis-
eases 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 have to work for six months')
(SDR. 151.35). In another place he adds to this process the
throwing of sand, etc., until the plants ripen (SDR. 893.25).
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
books describe a man on his way to the field as taking a
plough and a pair of oxen (gon geyakut naṅgul viyadaṅḍut
hāragena sāṅṭa yannāhu) (SDR. 740.38). The SDA. 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 mid-day meals were brought to them to the fields. The
stories often refer to wives taking the meals to their husbands
(SDR. 579.27).

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 to-day. 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 VMS. uses the same term 'diya mura' in referring to certain disagreements which resulted in the prevention of some getting the 'diya mura' (VMS. 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 kiriyas (sowing extent of land) assigned to it from the Mahā-maṇḍala' (EZ. 1. 5.170). The MV. speaks of a share allotted to a vihāra: 'When he had built the Mucela-vihāra in Tissavaḍḍhamānaka he allotted to the vihāra a share in the water of the (canal) Ālisāra (MV. 35.84).

Cultivation had to be done at the proper time. (SDR. 81.15). The SDA. refers to yala and maha seasonal cultivations: 'sabāyo māhaṭa kuṃburu tanannāhu' (SDA. 490). Thus they had two crops in a year. The inscriptions of Nissanka Malla tell us that arable land was divided into three categories for purposes of taxation, as the best, medium, and last (utte, mānde, and pässe), according to the fertility of the soil (EZ. 1.4.133). Literature also refers to the rich harvest one may reap from a fertile field, as one yāla for one pāla of seeds sown: 'Saru kuṃbureka pālak vapuṭa yālak labannāse' (SDA. 10), and 'saḍuvū kuṃbureka yālak vapuṭa pālak labannāhuse' (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 (vap magul). The SDA. 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, uñdu, mum, yava, and menēri. The SDA. refers to the cultivation of varieties of yams, banana, mango, coconut, and arecanut (SDA. 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). Sugar cane also seems to have been a crop, and mills where sugar was refined are also referred to (VMS. 923; SDR. 929.22). Mention must be made of chena cultivation, which seems to have been widely carried on towards the end of the 12th century. If, as Nissanka Malla's inscriptions denote, chena cultivation was so widespread, we have no doubt that the 13th 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 Nissanka Malla (EZ. 2.2.122).

The implements used were mammoties (udalu), large knives (kāti), baskets (kūda), axes (poro), sickles (dākāti), adzes (vā), and iron ploughs (yanagul).

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 job, as in modern times. The SDR. aptly says: 'veḷādāⁿm nokala kalata vastu nāttāse' ('just as one has not wealth when he does not engage himself in trade') (SDR. 31.39). Profiteering does not seem to have been unknown, for the SDR. refers to a man buying at double the cost price (120.32). The country had both settled traders, who perhaps had their own shops, and merchants 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 SDA. refers to cart-loads of firewood thus taken from the villages into the cities for sale (SDA. 218). This is a common sight to-day, even in our largest towns. The SDR. also refers to a system of barter, which seems to have been in vogue. The PJV. refers to pingo loads of grass that were taken for sale (PJV. 294). Some of the articles of trade are mentioned: Firewood, kinds of fruits and herbs, honey, ghee, textiles, oil, rugs, flowers, betel, arecanuts, meat ginger, and turmeric. The actual practice of a villager is

portrayed in the SDA. 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 (SDR. 596.2). This is supported by a tenth century inscription which prohibits royal officers from demanding toddy and taking part in illicit trade (EZ. 3.2.79). The inscription also provides proof of sales of animals. An 11th century inscription states: '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 SDR. 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 poya days was prohibited. The guilty had to pay a padda 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 SDA. makes ample reference to these. It also speaks of the importation of perfumes, musk, sandal-wood, etc., from other countries (SDA. 485). The inscriptions too afford evidence of the existence of an import-export trade. Of the Alutvāva pillar-inscription Dr. Paranavitāna says: 'The presence of these merchants in Ceylon in the 12th century leads

us to infer the possibility of their having acquired important trading and other concessions during the time of Kīrti Niśśaṅka-Malla' (EZ. 2.5.236). Since at the end of the 12th century we had foreign traders, they doubtless held similar positions in the succeeding century. The Tiriyay rock-inscription 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 a pair of scales in trade is mentioned (SDR. 956.13).

Speaking of the trade in mediaeval times Mr. Codrington says: 'Presumably during the period under review as in later times trade was in their (Hindu Tamil) hands and in those of the local Muhammadans, now known by the Portuguese designation of Moor, who may be the Melāṭsi of the tenth century inscriptions. Muslims are first heard of in Ceylon in the late seventh century, and gold coins of most of the dynasties of Egypt and Hither Asia from that time, but in particular of the 12th and 13th centuries, are found in the west of the island. It was during these two centuries that the Muhammadans attained the height of their commercial prosperity and political influence in Southern India. The presence of Chinese traders is attested by coins dating from the tenth to the 13th century' (A Short History of Ceylon, pp.50-51). Dr. 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 13th 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 SDA. 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 some gruel, he was given a yam for his mid-day meal' (SDA. 423). The animals 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 and also to rearing of pigs.

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 (SDR. 225.25).

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 VMS. also refers to the turning of this wheel with a stick, and further refers to instruments (kaṭu) which were used to draw arcs on the clay (VMS. 369). This indicates that the earthenware had some designs on them. The SDR. 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, 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. Mr. Ananda Coomarasvāmy gives us a list of these artificers: 'A more particular account of the ācāri, navandanno 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, silver-smiths; vaḍuvo, carpenters; liyana vaḍuvo, turners; ridī kāṭayankārayo, damasceners; ātdat kāṭayankārayo, ivory carvers and cabinet makers; galvaḍuvo, stone cutters; ratna indrakā rayo, jewellers; ivaḍuvo, arrow makers (lac workers); sittaru, painters; lokuruvo, 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' (Medieval Sinhalese Art, p.54). This helps us to see the various branches of industry. The PJV. mentions goldsmiths, potters, metal-workers, blacksmiths, painters, stone-cutter, carpenters, lime and brick makers, and arrow-makers (PJV. 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 goes on in certain parts even to-day. It has already been observed that the island exported precious stones (see above). The SDR. refers to gem-pits (725.34, 315.13)

Reference must also be made to iron-smelting, which seems to have been quite widespread. 'Seeing that a knowledge of iron is so ancient and widespread in India', says Mr. A. K. 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 12th 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.332). This incident shows that the blacksmiths held a higher social position than the washermen. The Cūla-vaṃsa 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 to-day. The SDR. speaks of a pillow made of a multi-coloured cloth (91.38). 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 Kuveni was shown spinning when Vijaya landed in the island. The Maharatmale 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 (SDR. 484.20, 166.18). Mr. Ananda Coomarasvāmy refers to 'two groups of weavers, the beravāyo, who made the country cloth (home-spun, so to say), and the "chāliās" (salāgamayo), who were brought over from South India to make fine and gold-woven cloth'. He further adds: 'Vijayabāhu III of Dāmbadeniya, 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 beravāyo, on the other hand, have probably made their plainer homespun 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, p.54, 232). A weaver's family is termed a sāli-geya in the SDR. (665.8). The above account shows us that ordinary cotton weaving was practised in the island from the earliest times by the caste known as beravāyo, who are to-day 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. Therefore we can rightly assert that weaving was a thriving industry during the century from the time of Vijayabāhu.

Carpentry and Masonry

Having already seen the high standards attained in the field of art and architecture, one would rightly expect to find the art of the carpenters very 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 ādurak), all that belongs to the guild of artisans at Boṅḍ-vehera, to two master-artisans, to eight carvers and to two brick-layers - to (all of) these - the village Vaḍudevāgama' (EZ. 1.3.111). One or two practices of the carpenter are noted in the SDR. The drawing of lines in black when the wood is to be cut - a practice common even to-day - is alluded to (650.36): Some charcoal is mixed with water and a string 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 SDR. mentions the practice of closing one eye to see whether something is level (454.33). The heating of timber to straighten it is also referred to (SDR. 101.38). The VMS. 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 (VMS. 9)

Hunting

Hunting was the chief occupation of the Vāddās. Meats 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 (SDR. 341.7). The chief equipment of a hunter was the bow and arrow, traps, and nets. The existence of hunters is shown by the CV. when it speaks of Gajabāhu finding a way of approach to a city through a forest with the help of the hunters (CV. 67.18). 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: bālu 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 a man who found his daily bread by working for others. The number of such labourers seems to have been not at all small. These workmen engaged in different kinds of work, for example, the SDA. refers to a hired labour in sugar-cane mills (549). The wages apparently were 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 (SDR. 219.14). Another story states that a man hardly gets sufficient to fill his stomach even after working from morning till evening (SDR. 447.14). Yet another story describes the wage as 'vāṭup mātra (nominal wage). Labour seems to have been paid in kind, specially with rice and paddy. The SDR. refers to the payment of four nāḷi of paddy to a man who chopped wood (448.23). The PJV. and the SDA. refer to rice given as wages: vāṭup sāl, mehevara koṭa

laddāvū sahal (PJV. 642, SDA. 273).

Other Occupations

Amongst other occupations mentioned we read of carters or chariot-drivers (SDR. 739.37); watchmen of cities and palaces (ibid. 767.37); messengers (VMS. 54); bamboo-workers (SDR. 180.19); astrologers; honey-gatherers; undertakers at funerals (ibid. 106.1); snake-charmers (PJV. 585); dancers, archers, soldiers, devil-dancers (yak desso) (SDR. 906.24); painters (ibid. 192.3); coir-workers (ibid. 854.10); washermen (PJV. 356); drummers (beravāyo) (ibid. 356); accountants and scribes (EZ. 3.3.116) SDR. 561.16); native physicians (SDR. 44.20); cooks (ibid. 449.3); and barbers (ibid. 235.12). The books also refer to forestry. Trees seem to have been felled and the timber removed for sale or for private use in building etc. (SDR. 922.19). Florists are often mentioned. 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. As for the florists, the literature only mentions male garland-makers (mālākārayan). The inscription shows the existence of female florists as well. Hence it is reasonable to conclude that both sexes engaged in this occupation. The literature also makes reference to midwives and wet-nurses (PJV. 593; SDA. 166; SDR. 242.35).

Finally, we may refer to oil-mills mentioned in the VMS.

The Pali phrase 'yanta-cakka-yatthi' is explained in Sinhalese as follows: 'yantra nam ikṣu yantraya cakka-yatthi nam tala peḷana cakra yaṣṭiyayi' (VMS. 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 (VMS. 867). What is referred to may be something of the type of chekku with which we are familiar even to-day.

There seems to have been sometimes a certain amount of unemployment, and people seem to have turned robbers and thieves in such circumstances (SDR. 852.12). 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.

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CHAPTER XIVTRANSPORT 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. We cannot expect them to have had very quick means of transport as to-day. 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 SDA. refers to a street, three leagues in length, at Anurādhapura, known as the Mahavāli street (SDA. 391). The VMS. refers to a man who came to cross-roads on his way to Situlpahauva (VMS. 57). This indicates that the towns were well served with roads. The Kīrti Nissanka Malla slab-inscription also refers to the King's Street, Rāja vīthi (EZ. 2.2.81). The Diṃbulāgala māravīdiye rock-inscription states that Sundara mahā-dēvi constructed a road from Saṅḍa-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

flagstones, kābali gal hasvā (EZ. 2.4.189). The CV. gives us some information regarding the roads of the Daṁbadeṇiya 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 Jambuddoṇi and Pulatthi-nagara: 'had the great highway from the town of Jambuddoṇī to splendid Pulatthinagara, five yojanas wide made level and throughout, always at a distance of half a yojana, he had a costly rest-house built ...' (CV. 89.13). In addition to these major roads, the country no doubt had a net-work of minor roads as well. The places of religious worship were well supplied with roads. The inscriptions of Nissanka 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 to-day - was well known. The VMS. 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 dandaka setu. 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 'jaṁgha setu'. 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)(VMS. 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. We also know of Duṭugemunu's giant warrior who rode on horseback from Rohana to Anurādhapura. The poorer people seem to have used a cart drawn by bullocks. The SDR. vividly describes a miserly setthi who went about in an old cart drawn by haggard bullocks: 'gon māllan yedū mālu rathayakin' (868.6). The book also refers to garages where chariots were kept (ibid. 632.13). The richer, and perhaps those of some social standing, also seemed to have used another type of conveyance, namely, the doli and kūnam. These were varieties of palanquins or litters. The ransivige was used by royal persons, and was a palanquin with decorations of gold (SDA. 190; SDR. 185.26; 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.1; p.328, n.2). The chronicle also refers to King Bhuvanekabāhu travelling in a litter when it says that he left the town of Jambuddoṇī 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 - especially a batmula, packet of rice.

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. The goods were carried about in the pingo and sold. The 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. Then there was the use of man as a draught-animal. He carried the goods in bags and boxes.

Coming on to modes of water transport, we have no doubt that the rivers furnished a good means of communication and provided facilities for transport. The use of boats (oru), barges (pasu), rafts (pahuru), double canoes (agulu), and paḍay (kind of boat) is mentioned. The VMS. refers to the crossing of rivers in rafts (VMS. 93). The SDA. refers to a man who engaged himself in taking people across the river Mahavāli at Rihaltota in a boat, free of charge, with the hope of acquiring merit (SDA. 585). 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 (SDR. 472.10). 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. Saletore refers to the trade in pearls and journeys of merchants by ship from Tamluk to Ceylon in the fifth century A.D: '...in the fifth century merchants sailed from Tāmralipti (Tamluk) to Siṃhala (Ceylon) by ship in fourteen days for trading in pearls' (Life in the Gupta Age, p.143). The ships referred to were the sailing vessels which depended on the winds for their travel: 'sulam

balā karana yātra vakse' (SDR. 870.2). 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 (VMS. 352). The SDA. alludes to pilgrimages to Daṁbadiva, to worship the Bōdhi-tree, etc., which were made in sailing ships (SDA. 370, 535). The CV. refers to the arrival in the harbour of many ships laden with various stuffs - camphor, sandalwood, and other goods (CV. 58.9). This also brings us to the use of ports and harbours for navigation. The PJV. refers to the use of the stars by navigators as guides to direction (PJV. 7).

The means of communication between people seems to have been writing. Constant reference is made to letters (hasun) that were sent from one person to another. Some form of writing was in vogue from the earliest times. The MV. refers to Vijaya himself sending a letter to India (MV. 8.3). 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 stories are full of references to letter-writing. One motif was the letter of death, where a person to be put to death is made to carry the letter which instructs another to put an end to his life.

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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.

The chief form of amusement was water-sports (diyakeḷi), 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, rivers, and in the sea as well. The literary works of the period do not afford any details of the actual amusements; even the KSM. 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 their faces for lotuses (v. 570). This of course is one of the commonest concepts used by the poets in describing bathing scenes. KSM. also refers to diving from one another's shoulders (511, 517). We have already discussed the diya keḷi in connection with royal amusements; here we would furnish a few more details from the Sandeśas, which give more vivid descriptions of such scenes. One form of sport frequently spoken of is the splashing of water at one another. The KSM. itself describes it (v.513). The Paravi-Sandeśa refers to it thus:

man tosa kara naraṃbā komalaṅgaka vata
ḍun rasavat rasapaharin diya urata
van siha niya ät kumbu 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-kokila' :

kiyamin vena vena vāsī pā bala
iṅdimin diya tula nopenī bōkala
penemin tāna tāna viduliya se dula
gasa min keḷa keḷa yeti diya kokila (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-kokila'). The SDA. refers to sea-bathing in the Nesāda story dealing with an incident that took place in Rohaṇa. It refers to a hunter who joined the crowd of people bathing in the sea (SDA. 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 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 SDR. refers to balls of

lac which it says were like lālī used by boys at play: 'kuḍā kollan lālī lanṭa evālū lālī vaṭa men' (474.9). The KSM. states that the eyes of the ladies playing lālī do not close at all (v.25). This reference suggests that they had to be very sharp and had to watch the balls all the time. 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). Mr. D. S. Disānāyaka 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 SDR. has already told us that even little boys played at lālī. Mr. Disānāyaka also observes that it was not a game for drunkards like the game of dādu. He also discusses the SDR. statement: 'apage yālanuvo kuḍā kollan lālī lanṭa evālū lālī vaṭa men metek tāna siṭa metek kalakin māge raṭa lākaḍa arumayayi sitā ...' (744.9), 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 'eseda vuvat mama sakvaḷa gala hā hima kuḷa hā maha mera hā lālī vaṭa tunak se ... e tun parvatayama lālī vaṭa tunak se ahasaṭa dama damā bima hiya nodī lālī keḷi nam peḷaharak pavimi' (470). Explaining this Mr. Disānāyaka seems to take for granted that lālī would break if it 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 help us to conclude 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 does not give us any 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. Mr. Kumaraṇatunga also says that lā means 'lākada' (lac), and therefore the balls should not be dropped at any cost (Tisara-sandeśa dīpaniya, p.186).

There are references to another game called guḷa keli, '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 Pali word guḷam (ball) is translated into Sinhalese as hūvaṭa (SDR. 816.27). The Sumana-sāmaṇera story states the six princes were playing with balls (SDR. 891.32). The same number of players is given in the story of Devadatta, in which the Pali guḷa kīḷam is rendered in Sinhalese as palas hūvaṭa dama damā guḷa keli ... Here we see the word hūvaṭa qualified by palas, which means woollen. The story of Ghoṣaka does not indicate the number of players. The story of Paduma pase-buddha states that one prince was playing by himself: hū vaṭak dama damā keliti (SDR. 250.16). 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 son's story (Putra vastuva) states that a little child was playing by throwing up the 'hū vaṭa' (SDA. 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 Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya explains gūḷa-kīḷam as 'vaṭa keḷi' (ball-game) (DAGP. 65.22), and gūḷa kīḷāya as 'vaṭa keḷiyen' (ibid. 51.26). It also explains 'bahum lakkham jinimsu' as 'boho lak junuhu', 'boho vaṭa junu hayi seyi' ('won many stakes, that is, many balls') (ibid. 65.24).

What we can gather is that gūḷa keḷi was a game played with balls made of thread - sometimes wool - 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 - gūḷa-kīḷa: akkhan ti, gūḷa-kīḷam. The Jātaka-aṭuvā-gāṭapada explains akkha as vaṭa (ball) or pasa āṭa, and again gūḷakam as pasa āṭa (p.90). The meaning of pasa 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-gāṭapada both akkha and gūḷakam 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-gāṭapada. The disastrous extent of the stakes is shown by the SDA. in the Soma 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 KSM. states that the women bent while playing at balls (peṇḍa nagamṇī) and their faces that came in a line with the two breasts appeared like three lotuses. They also sang while playing:

kenekun gī naṅgam - nī peda nagamṇī nāmet

piyavuru laṅgāṇya vuvan - samagāya te piyum van (v.280).

The glossary to the book explains the word peda as kanduka, which, according to the Skt. Dic. is a ball made of wood or pith. The Thūpa-vaṃsa 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): 'solāvāliya nohāki gal keli peṇḍa vaṭa se osavāgena saru nātiva damanneya' (Thūpa-vaṃsa, ed. D. E. Heṭṭiāratchi, p.25). A variant reading for peṇḍa is pandu, which is used even to-day as a very general term meaning any ball-game, even any game. The SDA. uses the word panduva in the same context: 'vaṭa gal kelinā panduvase' (SDA. ed. Saddhātissa, p.514).

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). Mr. Kumāranātunga explains peṇḍa kelutu as kanduka (pandu) krīḍā. The Sasadā-vata says:

nāgeta nuba pahala - peda vamiyan hamitele

ihiva giya netā nilpähä - yasa lesini saṇḍa 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, it 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 certain kinds of balls, and that it was a pastime of the women.

A recreation of children is termed vāli-keḷi (playing with sand). Tyler remarks that many of the games of 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 boys and girls (Primitive Culture, p.72). These remarks are true of the village children of the island even to-day. 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 keḷi, we have no doubt, the same thing is meant. The SDA. gives a few examples. The children one day made a dāgāba of sand, hoisted up the cloth that one was wearing as a flag, imitated the drums and flutes with their mouths, and made an offering to the dāgāba (SDA. pp. 438, 685). The PJV. refers to the keḷi valan of the children (227). These were small earthenware vessels specially made for children to play with. The VMS. refers to the use of small

winnowing-fans and pestles in playing (VMS. 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 (SDA. 95, 617). In vāli keḷi are included all these types of children's games.

Other amusements referred to are playing with tops (at bambara) (PJV. 455; SDA.54), and swinging. Familiarity with swings is shown by the similes the writers used. The KSM. speaks of the lustre of ornaments as being like a swing. The SDA. compares ear-rings to two swings (575). Another pastime, specially of the young, is the flying of kites (ahas pat). Both the SDR. and the PJV. use similes connected with kites: Suleṅgaka bāṅdi ahaspatak men sālena suluya ('wont to shake like a kite in the wind') (SDR. 268.14); ākāsayata dāmu ahaspatak se vevla vevlā ('trembling like a kite flown into the sky') (PJV.179).

The SDR. also refers to horse-racing: duvāliye lālū asun (720.13); tada bimeka asun duvāliye lūvāse ('as if horses had been set for a race on some hard ground') (756.16). The DPA. does not refer to racing. Hence the use of these similes by the SDR. author shows his familiarity with horse-racing, so it is quite likely that some kind of horse-racing was known in the island. The SDR. also speaks of some kind of wrestling (mallava pora) (79.2, 63.37, 463.37, 582.23), and the PJV. of playing 'pusumbu'. We have no details about these sports.

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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 such a ceremony 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 dvasin nam tabana magul karanadā' (PJV. 141). The SDR. speaks of an occasion when it was done on the day of the birth (421.4,18). It also records that a monk was requested to name the child (453.26). It is likely that the naming was done by a monk, as it is usual even to-day 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. 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 (SDR. 183.37).

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 the most auspicious day (KSM. 371). Once a young man was married, he had 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 to-day. The SDR. 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. This no doubt was the custom at the time, and we see it persisting 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 (SDR. 335.26). 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 SDR. 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 (SDR. 493.3). We are not aware of any such custom prevailing in the island to-day, but it is the custom to pour water over the hands of the couple at the marriage ceremony. This is the practice in the case of any gift. The day of the wedding was also considered opportune to admonish the young couple. The SDR. brings this out in connection with Visākhā. It is the custom even to-day. 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 on-

lookers will see them. That this was so is amply brought out by the PJV.: 'paṭicchanna yānāven yem nam ... boho denā dākka noheti'...' ('If I were to go in a closed chariot many would not see ...') (338). Such is the common practice to-day. 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 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 sexual liberty. 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 elipata pāna piṭataṭa noyana kula strī taman tamange gevalin nikma pīrivarā hā samaga siyalu satuntama penī penī uyan pokuṇu gam toṭa ādiyehi sitse keḷimin semin avidināhuya. Edavas raja bamuṇu veleṇḍa govi siṭu kulayeyi srīmatvū sallāla puriṣayo ada apa hā samāna kula āti uttama strīn sitse balamhayi suvaṇḍa malkaṇḍu gena e e sandhiyehi siṭagena kāmati kāmati kula strīn karaṭa mal dam dama damā sitse 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 of followers. The spirited young men of the brahmin, cultivator,

merchant and siṭu families, 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 with them to their hearts' content') (329).

Mr. 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 Mr. Wickramasinghe, is connected with the park festival, and he also maintains that the festival of park and water sport mentioned in the KSM. is one and the same. He also conjectures that another festival, known as Kārttikotsava, is also the same. There he agrees with Dr. Parānavitāna that the festival of Cittarāja was a Saturnalia, and that it was identical with that of the Kārttika festival. Mr. Wickramasinghe considers them as fertility rites or cults (Purāṇa-siṃhala-strīṅge-āṅduma, pp. 62, 64).

Here we may refer to the nākāt festival ordered by Devānampiya Tissa as given in the SDA. (SDA . 341): 'Apa budun

pirinivī desiya satisvana havurudu dharmāśōka rajahata
aṭalosvannehi devanapātis rajahata palamu vannehi ema mihindu
maha terunvahanse upasampadā vū doḷos vana avurudu poson pura
mula nakata lada pasalo vak davasayā. ese heyin devanapātis
rajjuruvo palamu sat davasaka paṭan mulu nuvara devpurayak se
sarahā sānakeli kelanāhu e davas nuvara väsiyan hā maha
āmatiyān nakat keli kelana se niyōga koṭa tumū satalis dahasak
puruṣayan pirivarā mihintalāvaṭa muva daḍa giyaha' ('It was the
full moon day - the day of the chief asterism of the month of
poson in the 12th year after the higher ordination of Thera
Mahinda, first year of the reign of Devānampiya Tissa, the
18th year of the reign of Asōka and 237 years after the passing
away of the Buddha. Therefore, King Devānampiya Tissa caused
the city to be decorated like unto a city of gods and ordered
the people to hold the nakat festival during the first seven
days. He himself went out to hunt, accompanied by 40,000
people'). The MV. has: 'The king, Devānampiya Tissa who had
arranged a water-festival for the dwellers in the capital, set
forth to enjoy the pleasures of the chase' (MV. 14.1). This
account suggests that the nakat festival was held during a
certain asterism in the month of Poson, and does not refer to
any kind of fertility cult, etc. The Mahā-vaṃsa calls the
same festival a water-festival, and thus gives us additional
evidence for Mr. Wickramasinghe's theory that the water and
park festivals mentioned are identical with nakat keli. The
story of Goṭhaimbara 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 (SDA. 492).

The DPA. also speaks of an annual festival called the
'giragga samajja'. The SDR. 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 (SDR. 116.26). This explanation may show that the SDR. 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 13th century. Mahadāṭīkamahānāga is said to have held a giragga samajja: 'When he had made ready around the Cētiya-mountain a (tract of land measuring a) yojana, 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 Cetiya-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 yojana around' (MV. 34.75).

The SDR. states that the Karttika festival was held in the month of Hil (that is, November-December) (818.31). The SDA' refers to the nakat festival, which was held in the month of Poson. The park and water-sport festival (uyan-diya keli) mentioned in the KSM., and considered a part and parcel of the nakat keli by Mr. 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

13th 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 asāḷha festival every year, and this was no Saturnalia, as was the nakat festival: 'Hereupon he determined to celebrate every year in the town an āsāḷhī festival for the god' (CV. 85.89),

There is one more point to be observed about the uyan-diya-keḷi of KSM. 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 (SDR. 806.24, 33). Flowers of different hue were strewn on many an occasion (SDR. 810.39). Lada-pas-mal, namely, vilaṅḍa (parched grain), sun sāl (broken rice), heḷa aba (white mustard), saman (jasmine), 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 (pāvāda) were spread for the monks to walk on (SDR. 640.23). 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 one of the carol parties on Vesak days and also pantomimes and mimics on the New Year days of to-day. 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 (SDR. 237.19). This is the practice even to-day. 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 (SDA. 352). Certain religious rites were performed by the monks on these occasions (SDR. 470.7). 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 SDR. refers to the anumodanā ceremony conducted a few days after the cremation or burial (633.12). Perhaps the 'mataka bana' (preaching on the day of remembrance) to-day 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 (SDA. 568; SDR. 704.17). 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 of a person (sohon kaḍa) (PJV. 613). The SDR. says 'vasālu kaḍa reddaṭa lobhayan haṅḍannāse haṅḍayi', in the Maṭṭa-

kundalī story, describing the father lamenting the loss of his son after he had been buried (48.23). This may even refer to the shroud used to cover the dead body. It was the custom to carry the dead body to the grave in solemn procession, while near relations wept and lamented their loss.

One or two rites practised at the death-bed of a person are mentioned. The SDR. refers to one such practice as the 'āsanna karma' (758.12). It has long been the belief that each birth is determined by the last thought that arises in the mind of the dying person in his previous life, hence every endeavour was made to make him recollect some past good deed of his, or a monk was employed to chant pirit so to keep his mind fixed on some noble thought (SDR. 146.34). Reference is also made to the keeping of beautiful flowers by the bedside in order to achieve the same result (SDR. 146.38).

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 thera 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 (SDA. 112). The story of Jayampatikā records that Saṅgha, a minister of Māgama, in Rohaṇa, 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 (SDA. 641). After the death of the parents, the eldest brother in a family was invariably considered as the parent (SDR. 31.20, 492.37). The SDR. also refers to the practice of some people handing over whatever possessions they had to their children before their

death (186.1).

Other Practices

The SDR. refers to yet other customs and practices which are in vogue even in the present day; and one may be 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 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 any visitors on their way to his house (SDR. 735.27). This prior warning helped many a housewife to make necessary adjustments in her home so as to render it fitting to receive guests. When some 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 (SDR. 39.11). It was the custom not to visit anybody empty-handed; hence a visitor always brought with him some gift or present (SDR. 460.25). When gifts were sent in return, it was always thought proper that the return gift must be somewhat better than the gift received (SDR. 474.20). The necessity of knocking before entering another's house seems to have been recognised (SDR. 456.39). The elders in a family were held in great honour and respect. When a child started on a journey, it was customary to worship the parents when he took leave of them. Head-wear and foot-wear were removed when entering a house (SDR. 328.6). If a friend of one who had been attached to him or to his family were to depart, they embraced each other and tears were often shed (PJV. 673). Water was served when inviting guests to meals (SDR. 231.26). It was also customary to reward people as a mark of appreciation of their services (SDR. 259.7). 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 to-day (SDR. 56.9). Liberality and hospitality have been a great characteristic of our people. The alms-givings 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 (SDR. 187.30). Attention may here be drawn to the 'balu kapuṭu dāna' that is given to-day. 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 (SDR. 273.11). When a large number of visitors arrived, sometimes it so happened that their retinue was treated first because of delays in serving the guests themselves (SDR. 122.29). A wife had to serve the parents-in-law and the husband before she herself partook of any food (SDR. 344.23). Thus we see that a family did not sit together at meals. She also had to retire last for the night, having seen to the others of the household (SDR. 344.29). A parent often brought home for a child a portion of any sweets, etc., that he might have got at a place he had visited (SDR. 120.23).

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 (SDR. 259.12).

Nicknaming people and using abbreviated forms of names for convenience seem to have been prevalent (SDR. 316.31). A man named Tissa was nicknamed Nikamma Tissa as he did no work but idled away his time (SDA. 580).

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 SDR. writer makes this abundantly clear when he renders the Pali 'punnassa bhattam adāsi' as 'iñdul bat punna nam kollanuvanta dunha' (SDR. 776.23). When people went out of their homes, they usually left one servant behind to look after the house (SDR. 881.12).

Presents of clothes were made and betel was given at weddings (ibid. 315.33). We see this practice observed at our weddings even to-day. 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 betels to the guests. The bride and the groom held the betel-holders, with betel in them, and the guests take 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 reward the child with some small gift (SDR. 330.21). 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 (SDR. 44.19).

The people were also in the habit of loaning things on interest (SDR. 650.27). They often found it absolutely necessary to borrow loans of money or any other materials from others on certain occasions. 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 to return it (341). That human nature was not far different from to-day 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 the temple (SDR. 375.1). When abusing each other, it was usual to speak ill and use scurrilous terms of abuse referring to birth, etc. (SDR. 414.29; PJV. 510). Making someone swear by someone else not to do something has also been prevalent (SDR. 331.37). When a man was prosperous, he cared naught for those who helped him when he was in adverse circumstances (SDR. 44.28). Man has also been found to be crooked by nature, for the SDR. remarks that animals are straight and of one mind, and that they do not say one thing and think another as men do (176.25). The SDA. refers to three other practices which seem to be much in vogue even to-day. 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 (SDA. 711). Next is the throwing up and waving of garments, etc., as an expression of joy (SDA. 348). The third is the making of a slight noise or coughing to make one's arrival known to the people in a house (SDA. 277). This was often done instead of knocking. We have already made reference to the great sense of hospitality of our people. In this connection we wish to refer to a custom that, as Mr. Wickramasinghe conjectures, may have been prevalent in Ceylon during this time. The KSM. makes out that King Kusa's royal father indulged with the company of women from the harem during his visit to King Madra (KSM. 313). Mr. 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 Kandyan times, it is not difficult to conjecture that such a usage existed in Ceylon (Sinhala-sāhityaye-nāgima, p.47).

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CONCLUSION

Mediaeval Sinhalese society was a fully integrated whole in which religion or 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 Sangha, 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 the function carried out by the Summa 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 knows 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 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 māyā, it was illusion; and although this did not prevent Sinhalese kings from embarking on conquests or from looking to the security of their thrones, this attitude to life 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.

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