SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN ANCIENT CEYLON
(c. A.D. 300-1000)

by

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ABSTRACT

This work is an attempt to analyse the social conditions in ancient Ceylon (c.300-1000 A.D.). The first chapter starts with an introduction which briefly deals with the reasons why this topic was chosen. It also gives some indications of the socio-anthropological techniques to be applied in this study. The next part of this chapter is concerned with sources and examines both literary and archaeological sources with a view to assessing their historical value. Chapter Two deals with a discussion of family as a social unit with kinship terminology and the rights and obligations of kinship. Chapter Tree is concerned with marriage and examines the different aspects of this institution including its influence on royal families in so far as the maintenance or restoration of their solidarity is concerned. Chapter Four concerns the position of women. In this, the general attitude of men towards women, the place of women in society and the position of the bhikkhunī Order are examined. Chapter Five contains a discussion of the emergence of new settlements in order to determine the expansion of Sinhalese. In chapter Six, different kinds of local groupings such as gāma, nigama, nagara and rāja-dhāni are discussed. Chapter Seven deals with the social groups and ranking including a discussion of caste and class. The Conclusion summarizes the major results of this study.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.N.	Aṅguttara Nikāya, (PTS).
Anc. Inscr. Ceyl.	Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon, ed. E.Müller.
A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.
A.R. Arch. Surv. India	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
CHJ	Ceylon Historical Journal, Colombo.
CJSG	Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G, Colombo.
Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times	W.Geiger, Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times.
Cv.	Cūlavaṃsa, ed. W.Geiger,(PTS).
Cv. Transl.	W.Geiger, Cūlavaṃsa Translation.
Dh.A.G.	Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya, ed. D.B.Jayatilaka.
D.N.	Dīgha Nikāya, (PTS).
Dv.	Dīpavaṃsa, ed. B.C.Law.
Ep. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica.
Ep. Zeyl.	Epigraphia Zeylanica.
Gaut. Dharm. S.	Gautama Dharma Sūtra, ed. Sirinivasacariya.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly.

Inscr. Ceyl.	Inscriptions of Ceylon, ed. S.Paranavitana.
Introd.	Introduction.
J.	Jātakaṭṭhakathā, ed. V.Fausböll.
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bangal Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JCBRAS (NS)	Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series).
JMBRAS	Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
M.N.	Majjhima Nikāya, (PTS).
Mv. Ṭīkā	Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā, (PTS).
NkS.	Nikāya Saṅgrahaya, ed M.Wimala-kitti and H.Indavamsa.
Pali-Engl. Dict.	Pali-English Dictionary, (PTS).
Pjv.	Pūjāvaliya, ed. M.Wimalakitti and H.Indavaṃsa.
PTS	Pali Text Society.
Rjv.	Rājāvaliya, ed. W.Pemananda.
Rsv.	Rasavāhinī, ed. Saranatissa.
Sahas.	Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa, ed. A.P.Buddhadatta.
Samv.	Sammohavinodanī, (PTS).

Sār. dīp.	Sāratthadīpanī, ed. B.Devara-kkhita.
Sīg. Graff.	Sīgiri Graffiti, ed. S. Parana-vitana.
SII	South Indian Inscriptions.
Sikhav. V.	Sikhavalaṅda Vinisa, ed. D.B. Jayatilaka.
Sinh.	Sinhalese.
Skt.-Engl. Dict.	Monier Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary.
Smp.	Samantapāsādikā, (PTS).
S.N.	Saṁyutta Nikāya, (PTS).
Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl.	H.Ellawala, Social History of Early Ceylon.
Soc. Med. Ceyl.	M.B.Ariyapala, Society in Mediaeval Ceylon.
Sumv.	Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, (PTS).
UCHC	University of Ceylon History of Ceylon, ed. H.C.Ray and S.Parana-vitana.
UCR	University of Ceylon Review, Colombo.
Visuddhim.	Visuddhimagga, (PTS).
Yājv. S.	Yājñavalkya Smṛti.

CONTENTS

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES

In this work an attempt is made to study the
social conditions in Ceylon from about the fourth to the
tenth century A.D. This period is generally known as
the later Anurādhapura period.

As to the early Anurādhapura period, (i.e. before
c. A.D.320) the social history has already received
considerable attention. In addition to a number of short
contributions in periodicals written by different scholars,
H.Ellawala in his work on the Social History of Early
Ceylon, published in 1969, has fully succeeded in
reconstructing many aspects of Sinhalese society from
the earliest times to the end of the third century.

No systematic study of this topic during the
period with which we are concerned has so far appeared.
From time to time scholars have studied certain aspects.
Thus, M.B.Ariyapala in his work on the Society in Mediaeval
Ceylon as depicted in the Saddharmaratnāvaliya and other
Sinhalese literature of the thirteenth century, published
in 1956, compared some passages in his sources with those
of the Anurādhapura period. Similarly, the Culture of

Ceylon in Mediaeval Times, a posthumous work of W.Geiger,
contains a chapter on 'Social Organization and Caste
System' in which some points of the family organization
and caste system during the Anurādhapura period are
briefly discussed. Geiger's study is based almost
exclusively on the main chronicle.

Another study of this kind, made by S.Parana-
vitana, is included in the History of Ceylon sponsored
by the University of Ceylon. Another contribution by
Paranavitana appeared in the Sir Paul Pieris Felicitation
Volume. The essay entitled 'Glimpses of the Political
and Social Conditions of Mediaeval Ceylon' in this volume
contains, however, only relatively few data on the social
conditions in the Island.

In addition to the works cited above, the Insti-
tutions of Ceylon from Inscriptions (3rd century B.C.
to the 10th century A.D.) by L.S.Perera, a doctoral
thesis, presented to the University of Ceylon in 1949
deserves mention. Perhaps because Perera's subject covered
a fairly long period, the social conditions prevailing
in the period of our present study have received relatively
little attention in this work.

Other sources, such as the Sīgiri graffiti, which contain invaluable material for the reconstruction of the social histroy of ancient Ceylon, have hitherto remained unutilized for this purpose. Also the data provided by the most important chronicle, the Cūlavaṃsa, as well as by the inscriptions have not yet been systematically analysed.

Finally, the later Anurādhapura period has some special features which make it a very attractive field of study. For example, the increasingly close contacts between South India and the Island from about the seventh century are a particularly significant feature of the history of Ceylon during that period. It is of great interest to examine how far such relations affected the social conditions in the Island.

Having thus briefly stated the reasons that led us to choose this subject for our present study, we intend next to outline our scope and to give some general indication of our approach. As far as possible, we shall follow the principle laid down by social scientists who study a model of social reality to ascertain 'how the social system works'.[1] Thus, our aim is not to make a

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1. See E.R.Leach, _Political Systems of Highland Burma_, 1954, Introd.,p.8.

descriptive study of all phenomena about which we receive

information: social relations, art, religion, philosophy,

and so on, but to analyse the social structure. Also,

unlike some social scientists, we do not aim to draw

from our study any laws either of the society or of

human behaviour in general.

The method of structural analysis generally

leads us to study the relationship between persons and

groups. Such relationships are always organized through

certain institutions. C.M.Arensberg and A.H.Niehoff

describing such institutions, maintain as follows:-

> 'Each people has its own conventions, social
> arrangements, and moral and ethical codes to
> govern their dealings with one another. There
> are at least three major institutions through
> which men have organized these relationships,
> though there are varying emphases on different
> sections of the three, according to the techno-
> logical advancement of the culture.
>
> First and foremost is the principle of
> kinship, upon which the very primitive people
> depend the most, and the most advanced people
> the least. This is the system of responsibilities
> toward relatives, and rights relied upon from
> relatives; it is derived from the basic human
> institution of marriage, the uniting of two
> unrelated people to produce a third. This ins-
> titution is universal among all peoples; its
> main function is to bind together larger numbers
> of people, its secondary function is to rear
> children.
>
> Common territory is the base of the second
> kind of social institution. This means that people

sharing the same area, and also having some
cultural ties, cooperate to a certain extent.
Such kinds of organizations are primitive hunting
bands, village communities, neighborhoods in
modern cities, the cities themselves in modern
states, and ultimately nations.

The third kind of institution men have devised
to organize their relationship with others is the
special interest group or association. The
individuals of such a group may be unrelated
and have no territory in common, but they do
have some special mutual interest—ritualistic,
occupational, recreational, or other. All except
some of the most primitive peoples have such
relationships'.[1]

Our present study will mainly be in terms of

these three bases of social relationships. We shall try

to analyse 'kinship' in the section on family, kinship

terminology and marriage. In this context, the position

of women requires a detailed discussion. We therefore

intend to deal with this topic in a separate chapter. Then

we proceed to a discussion of the emergence of new settle-

ments in the Island and subsequently to an examination

of the patterns of settlement. Lastly, we intend to deal

with the social groups and ranking. In this section,

however, no attempt will be made to study the Buddhist

Sangha mainly because this is a topic, which has already

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1. Conrad M.Arensberg and Arthur H.Niehoff, Introducing
   Social Change,1967,pp.39-40; cf. S.M.Hafeez Zaidi, The
   Village Culture in Transition,1970,pp.60ff.

been dealt with by many scholars, and in fact, would
require a separate study. We shall, of course, always
keep in mind the significance of the Saṅgha in relation
to the rest of the society.

We are fully aware that a study like this presents
a number of problems. I.M.Lewis pointed out that 'The his-
torian's dialogue, however, is primarily with documents.
He cannot directly interrogate his subjects, but can only
deal with such artifacts as, by choice or hazard, they have
bequeathed to posterity. The social anthropologist in
contrast derives most of his primary data from direct
personal observation and inquiry, studying social life as
and where it is lived'.[1] Especially those who are concerned
with the study of ancient society collect materials from
a strictly limited number of extant ancient sources.
Therefore, the paucity of evidence and the nature of the
sources themselves presents certain problems which the
social anthropologists do not encounter.

Scholars, particularly social anthropologists,
are concerned with investigating in what respects
social anthropology and history draw strength for one

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1. I.M.Lewis (editior), History and Social Anthropology,
   1968, Introd.,pp.X-XI.

another to their mutual advantage.[1] In the present study,
however, we have no intention of going into details of
this kind. Yet it is fair to add that any attempt at
analysing the ancient historical sources by applying
some of the methods of social anthropology may contribute
to a better understanding of the value of social anthro-
pology for history.

Sources

The study of social conditions in Ceylon during
the period under review depends on many sources. These
can be divided into two broad categories, literary and
archaeological. The former cover the literary works,
including foreign notices, and the latter inscriptions,
including the Sīgiri graffiti, archaeological remains and
coinage.

Many of these sources are well known to students
of the history of Ceylon and have already been discussed
by many scholars. We therefore confine ourselves to
drawing attention to the importance of these sources as

1. See E.E. Evans-Pritchard, _Essays in Social Anthropology_,
   1962,pp.46-66; E.R.Leach, _Pul Eliya_,1968,pp.13-32.
   I.M.Lewis (editior), _History and Social Anthropology_,1968.

far as our present study is concerned and to a consideration
of the comparatively less known works.

The Mahāvaṃsa, in particular its later sections
usually known as Cūlavaṃsa, is among the most important
sources of information on ancient and medieval Ceylon.
The importance of this source for a study of social
conditions in the Island should not be overrated, as it
mainly concentrates on religious and political developments.
But nevertheless, it contains many more examples of great
value for this study than any other single source.

A general study of this text, including problems
concerning its authorship, sources, contents and authenti-
city, has been undertaken by a number of scholars.[1] The
comments made here are therefore mainly confined to those
chapters which are of particular importance to us. The
so-called Cūlavaṃsa begins with the reign of Meghavaṇṇa
(303-331 A.D.) and what is now regarded as its first part
ends with the account of the reign of Vijayabāhu I (105⁵-1110
A.D.). This part was written by one author. It has also been /suggested

1. W.Geiger, IHQ, VI,1930; Cv. Transl., Introd.; Sirima
   Wickramasinghe, The Age of Parākramabāhu I, Unpublished
   Ph.D.Thesis (University of London,1958), chapter of
   sources; C.E.Godakumbura, 'The Cūlavaṃsa', JCBRAS,XXXVIII,
   1949,pp.123ff; W.Rahula, History of Buddhism in Ceylon,
   1956, Introd.,pp.XIIff; L.S.Perera, UCHC,(vol.I.pt.)
   I,chapter of sources, etc.

that it comprises two sections—one, up to the Cōḷa

conquest of Rājaraṭṭha (<u>viz</u>. from XXXVII,51 to chapter

LVI) which, in fact, covers the period of our study,

and the other, from the account of Vijayabāhu I to the

end of that of Parākramabāhu I (<u>viz</u>. chapters LVII to

LXXIX).[1]

According to tradition, the <u>Cūlavaṃsa</u> was written

by a <u>thera</u> named Dhammakitti[2] who wrote during the reign

of Parākramabāhu II (1153-1186 A.D.). This as has been

suggested by Sirima Wickramasingha, should be identified

as the second part of this chronicle.[3] The next problem

is to determine when and by whom the preceding part of

the text was written. With reference to the first part

of the question it can be suggested only that it was

written during the period between the end of the reign

of Vijayabāhu I and the beginning of that of Parākramabāhu

I. According to another tradition, the <u>Cūlavaṃsa</u> was

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1. Sirima Wickramasingha, <u>op. cit.</u>,pp.12ff; A.Liyanagamage,
   <u>The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Daṁbadeṇiya</u>,
   pp.5ff.
2. The author of the <u>Dāṭhāvaṃsa</u> was also a certain Dhamma-
   kitti, who lived during the reign of Līlāvatī (1197-1200,
   1209-1210,1211-1212 A.D.)
3. A reference to the <u>Dāṭhāvaṃsa</u> is made in this part, but
   it is not clear whether this to the original Sinhalese
   text written, it seems, in the time of Meghavaṇṇa.

written by a _thera_ named Moggallāna a contemporary of
Parakramabāhu I.[1] This _thera_ was a great scholar, who
wrote the _Abhidhānappadīpikā_. Does the above tradition
relate to the author of the first part of the _Cūlavaṃsa?_

It is, however, obvious that there is a considerable
gap between the date of the earliest events described in
the _Cūlavaṃsa_ and that of the composition of the chronicle.
But as has been suggested by many scholars the events
included in the _Cūlavaṃsa_ were already recorded in earlier
writings, some of which may even date back to the events
they describe. It is also believed that the chapters and
some passages of the _Cūlavaṃsa_ dealing with Rohaṇa are
based on chronicles of that region.[2]

The most important question is to decide to what
extent the _Cūlavaṃsa_ can be regarded as a source for a
study of social conditions in Ceylon during the period
under consideration. As we have indicated above, the
Cūlavaṃsa is a record of religious and political activities
of people belonging mainly to the court circle. These
were concentrated mainly in and around Anurādhapura and

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1. See _UCHC_, (vol.I.pt.)I,p.51,note,1.
2. W.Geiger, _Cv. Transl._,I,pp.92, note,3; p.94, note,1; p.192,
   note,3; G.S.Ranawella, _A Political History of Rohaṇa,_
   Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis (University of London,1966),
   pp.21ff.

in the other urban settlements in the Island. Hence,
prima facie it would seem that the Cūlavaṃsa has no
direct bearing on social conditions of other classes in
the Island. Nonetheless, this text proves of great'
value to the study of social history. Many aspects of
political, religious and economic life, as described
in this text, can not be divorced from social conditions.
On the other hand, the chronicle contains many accounts
that can be utilized for a study of social conditions
in the Island. These accounts can generally be accepted
as genuine, as there was no reason why the author of
the Cūlavaṃsa should have distorted such material. It
is also to be pointed out that many data mentioned in
this text are corroborated by inscriptions or by other
literary works and by archaeological evidence.

Another important fact that may be noted in this
connexion, is that the author of the Cūlavaṃsa, though
he was a Buddhist monk, also included some examples
of kind treatment of brāhmaṇas by the Sinhalese Buddhist
kings as well as some religious developments in Ceylon
which undermined the influence and the good name of the
Buddhist Saṅgha. On the whole, it would seem that the
Cūlavaṃsa provides us with a great deal of information

which is reliable and can be used profitably for our
purposes.

The Pali commentaries, particularly those of
Buddhaghosa composed at the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura
in the fifth century A.D., contain some material useful
for our present study. The commentators, when explaining
difficult points in the doctrine of the Buddha or when
defining terms in the original text often gave hypothetical
examples. Such examples, it would seem, belong to different
categories. First, there are examples quoted from the
original Sinhalese commentaries composed in earlier
times.[1] Second, there are some examples which may have
been meant to illustrate stories in the Indian subcontinent.
Third, there are some theoretical examples and, finally,
some other examples which commentators such as Buddhaghosa
may have based on contemporary events and conditions.

The last kind of examples may be helpful in this
study, but even in that case some caution is needed as
commentators such as Buddhaghosa may well have been
influenced by ideas of their own country. Therefore, it
is necessary to analyse the details in the Aṭṭhakathās

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1. See introductry verses in the Dhammapada aṭṭhakathā,
   Papañasūdanī and Manorathapūraṇī.

carefully before they can be used as evidence for the
history of Ceylon, and each instance must be assessed
separately. Nonetheless, the precise references to
events in Ceylon as described in the Atthakathās can be
accepted as genuine, for the commentators were generally
free from sectarian prejudices. They had no intention,
as appears from their works either to exaggerate or to
underestimate the importance of persons, events and
institutions.

In order to elucidate the nature of these examples
a specimen may be given: the Samantapāsādikā, describing
the passage ekakuṭiko gāmo in the Pārājikā Pāli, explains
as follows:- yasmiṃ gāme ekā kuṭi ekaṃ gehaṃ seyyathāpi
Malayajanapade, ayaṃ ekakuṭiko gāmo nāma ('ekakuṭiko gāmo
means the village where there is only a single kuṭi, (i.
e.), a single house, as in the Malaya region').[1] Thus,
Buddhaghosa, in order to elucidate the definition of
ekakuṭiko gāmo, pointed out that this indicates settle-
ments like those in Malaya. The existence of village
settlements in Malaya with only a few homesteads at
the time of Buddhaghosa is supported by other evidence.
Even to-day this type of gāmas is by no means rare in
the central highlands of Ceylon.

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1. Smp.,II,p.298; cf. infra,pp. 263 ff.

Although the commentaries of Buddhaghosa are
based on Sinhalese works as has been indicated above,
the <u>Visuddhimagga</u> is an original work written on <u>sīla</u>,
<u>samādhi</u> and <u>paññā</u>. This work, it would appear, has been
greatly influenced by contemporary ideas in Ceylon. It
contains, as hypothetical examples, many stories dealing
with incidents which most probably took place in Buddha-
ghosa's own day. Many of these stories, which depict the
day-to-day life of ordinary people, are complementary
to the <u>Cūlavaṃsa</u> accounts which deal mainly with the
people of court circle as mentioned above. Such stories
may be of great help in the study of some aspects of the
relationships between husband and wife, parents and
children etc.

The <u>Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa</u>, a collection of
stories of both Indian and Ceylonese origin, written
after the composition of the <u>Mahāvaṃsa</u> and before that
of the <u>Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā</u>,[1] would seem more valuable than
the <u>Visuddhimagga</u> in this respect, for it contains
interesting passages which throw light on some aspects
of the life of certain classes like <u>dāsas</u> and it contains
some examples of the patterns of behaviour of ordinary
people.

1. <u>Sahas</u>.,pp.89,108; <u>Mv. Ṭīkā</u>,pp.451-452; cf. A.P.Buddha-
datta, <u>Sahas</u>.,Introd.,pp.XXIVff; W.Rahula, <u>UCR</u>,II,
1944,pp.86-92.

The Vaṃsatthappakāsinī, the Ṭīkā of the Mahāvaṃsa,
is attributable to the period between eighth to the
tenth century A.D.[1] It contains a mine of additional details
which do not occur in the Mahāvaṃsa. There can be no doubt
that some of these details reflect ideas and events in
the time of the author of the text. It is in many cases,
however, difficult to distinguish such details from
others borrowed from earlier literature.

The Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya was composed by
king Kassapa V (914-923 A.D.).[2] This is a Sinhalese
commentary on the Pali Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā (by Buddha-
ghosa ?). It is considered to the oldest known text
in Sinhalese prose apart from the inscriptions. Kassapa,
explaining the different Pali terms in the Dhammapada-
ṭṭhakathā, has included many interesting examples which
can be used for our study. Particularly, there are
data in this text which prove useful for a study of
Sinhalese kinship terminology during that time. It
also contains passages enabling us to define certain
terms of sociological interest which carry, however,
different connotations.

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1. G.P.Malalasekara, Mv. Ṭīkā, I, Introd.,pp.CIV-CXI.
2. Dh.A.G.,p.290: Debisaväjā Abhā Salamevan Kasub maha
   rajahu Dahampiyā Aṭuvāvaṭa kaḷa sanyayayi; see also
   D.E.Hettiaratchi, JCBRAS,XXXII,1933,pp.359ff; D.B.Jaya-
   tilaka, Dh.A.G.,Introd.

The Sikhavalañda Vinisa, a Vinaya manual written
in Sinhalese in the tenth century A.D., is also a useful
work for our present study in some respects. Particularly,
the implications of some terms described in this text
are of great value for our present study.[1] Some other
literary works which contain historical matter are the
Pūjāvaliya, Rājāvaliya, Nikāya Saṅgrahaya and Saddharma
Ratnāvaliya. As the importance of these works as sources
of Ceylonese history, as well as their age and authors
have already been dealt with by many scholars, it is not
necessary to go into details here, but it may be pointed
out that, like the Pūjāvaliya, they contain some popular
traditions and other new material not available in other
sources.[2]

Apart from literary sources so far considered,
some foreign accounts dealing with the period of our
study will be utilized in this study. Of these, mention
may be made firstly of the Christian Topography of the
Byzantine writer Cosmas Indikopleustes,[3] (between c.
530 and 550 A.D.). It is believed that he was a merchant

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1. D.B.Jayatilaka, Sikhav. V.,Introd.; W.Wimalakitti,
   Sikhav. V.,Introd.; C.Godakumbura, Sinhalese Literature,
   p.53.
2. C.E.Godakumbura, Historians of India,Pakistan and Ceylon,
   1962,pp.72ff; A.V.Suravira, Sāhityaya,I,1958,pp.67ff.
3. 'Cosmas was most probably a native of Alexandria, and
   may have been of Greek parentage', see J.W.McCrindle,
   Christian Topography,Introd.,p.IV.

whose business took him to many places on the Persian

Gulf, to the west coast of India and as far east as

Ceylon. He later became a priest and composed many books.

But only the above-mentioned work is still extant.[1]

The Christian Topography is a valuable record

for a study of the foreign trade of Ceylon in the later

Anurādhapura period. This is of particular importance

for us in the study of the paṭṭana-gāmas (sea ports).

Marcian of Heraclea, a Greek geographer, who lived

in the first decade of the fifth century A.D. and wrote

about the ports in Ceylon, also deserves mention in

this connexion; but the way in which Marcian collected

the material for his monograph is unknown. J.Emerson

Tennent assumes that Marcian used data originally collected

by Ptolemy, as there is no evidence to suggest that

Marcian had ever visited Ceylon.[2] He must therefore have

compiled his work on the basis of materials which had

been already used by his predecessors as well as those

collected by him from merchants who had gone to Ceylon.

In addition, there are some Chinese records

which are useful for our present study. Of these, the

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1. See for more details, McCrindle, op. cit. Introd.,pp.IVff;
   K.A.N.Sastri, Foreign Notices of South India,Introd.,
   pp.8ff.
2. J.Emerson Tennent, Ceylon,I,1859,p.562,note,1.

record of Fa-hsien must be mentioned first. Fa-hsien
was/Chinese Buddhist monk who visited Ceylon in 412 A.D.
and stayed in Anurādhapura for two years.[1] His descrip-
tion of the Tooth Relic festival and of the city of
Anurādhapura is of particular importance for the present
study.

Hiuan-Tsang (Yuan Chwng), another Chinese Buddhist
pilgrim in the first part of the seventh century A.D.,
wrote a brief account of the Island in his work named
Si-yu-ki. As Hiuan-Tsang had never gone to Ceylon, he
must have written this section on the basis of second-hand
accounts while he was in India. In general, his account
is in agreement with other sources. Therefore, Hiuan-Tsang's
account cannot be ignored in a study of the history of
Ceylon; in particular, the description of the city of
Anurādhapura and the Tooth Relic festival are of interest.

In addition, we shall call attention to two
Chinese records which throw important light on Sinhalese
nuns. The first is the Kao-seng-chuang ('High Priests'
Record') composed by Houei-Kieo in 519 A.D.,[2] the second
is the Pi-chiu-ni-chuang ('Biography of the Bhikkhunīs')

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1. John M.Seneviratne, JCBRAS,XXIV,1915-16,pp.106ff;
   W.Pachow, UCR,XII,1954,p.184.
2. Quoted in the Taisho Tripiṭaka,50,1927,pp.340-342.

compiled by Pao Chang in 526 A.D.[1] The former contains

the biographies of Guṇavarman, a Buddhist monk of Kashmir

and Saṅghavarman, a disciple of Guṇavarman. Guṇavarman

was invited to China by the Chinese emperor in 424 A.D.

and visited Ceylon on his way to China. It is described

in the above text how Guṇavarman, when he lived in China,

took a leading part in giving Higher Ordination (upasam-

padā) to Chinese nuns in chapter formed by Sinhalese nuns.

But after Guṇavarman died before his/was completed, his
                                          task

above-mentioned disciple brought the ceremonies to a

conclusion. This is corroborated by the Pi-chiu-ni-chuang,

which gives also further details. Thus, Sinhalese nuns

gave Higher Ordination to Chinese nuns, which demonstrates

that Sinhalese women had attained a good position in the

monastic community.

We are fortunate to have a large number of ins-

criptions which can be used in our present study. We

have, however, no intention of going into details of

all the inscriptions found during the period under

discussion, but have to limit ourselves to some general

comments and to a more detailed discussion of the most

important ones. As a rule, inscription should be

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1. Quoted in the Taisho Tripiṭaka,50,1927,pp.934-948.

considered more reliable than literature as they were contemporary documents and therefore close to the events compared with literary works composed often long after the events or conditions that they describe. But it has to be pointed out that even in the epigraphic sources there are instances where allowance has to be made for exaggeration and literary form. There are parts of the inscriptions issued during the period under review, which though less than in later times, are devoted to eulogies of the king in whose reign the inscriptions are dated.

Before the fourth century A.D., there are many inscriptions, but these are short and mostly written near the entrance of the stone caves. But afterwards we get relatively long inscriptions engraved on rocks, pillars, stone-slabs and on parts of ancient buildings. Many of these inscriptions are referred to in Müller's Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon, Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G and Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Reports. The best edited inscriptions of Ceylon belonging to the period under consideration are published in the Epigraphia Zeylanica. A number of such inscriptions are published in the University of Ceylon Review, too. Paranavitana's new edition of inscriptions recently

published covers only the Brāhmī inscriptions attributable
to the period from the earliest time (_i.e._ the third
century B.C.) to the first century A.D. New inscriptions
are still being discovered and are usually given in the
Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.

It is important to mention that there are ins-
criptions throughout the period under consideration, though
there are only few for the period from the seventh to
the eighth century A.D. It is also worth noting that
these inscriptions are found in different parts of the
Island. These, together with the information on tanks and
vihāras in the chronicles, are of immense value to a
study of the emergence of new settlements and to define
the areas, which were opened for cultivation.

The main purpose of writing of the inscription
was to register a religious grant made, mostly, by the
people of court circle. But these records contain
invaluable data capable of giving interesting ideas about
many aspects of social conditions in Ceylon. As land
grants and other grants became more and more abundant
from the eighth to the tenth century A.D., we get a large
number of edicts concerning the matter. These edicts are
of the greatest importance for us as they throw much light

on the social conditions of donors and also of donees:
they show that some of the grants were made by an extended
family and some were granted to an extended family; they
also reveal that land grants were made in order that the
land might be enjoyed by the donees in hereditary succession.
These examples clearly imply the existence of true land
ownership during the period under review. They also
furnish us with details of the position of tenants. Thus,
these inscriptions are of particular importance for a
study of the relationship between the land-owners and
the tenants.

As has been indicated above, it is necessary to
discuss some inscriptions which are of the greatest
importance for the present study. The oldest of these is
the Tōṇigala Rock Inscription of the third regnal year
of Meghavaṇṇa. This record concerns the deposit by a
certain Deva of a property in the niyamatana called
Kalahumana situated in the north of the city of Anurādha-
pura with stipulation that the interest on the property
be spent on the Ariyavaṃsa-festival in the Devagiriya
Vihāra.[1] The controversial term niyamatana may indicate
a guild, as will be argued later. This record thus suggests

1. Ep. Zeyl.,III,no.17.

that the north of the city of Anurādhapura was inhabited partly by people with commercial interests. Again, a similar kind of information is contained in the Labuātabāndigala inscription of about the first half of the fifth century A.D.[1]

Another interesting inscription has been found at Vēvālkätiya about 21 miles to the north-east of Anurādhapura. This inscription, which dated back to about the tenth century A.D., refers to dasagama which has been described either as a 'a group of ten villages' or 'a slave village'.[2]

The inscription found at Hōpiṭigama near Badulla, generally known as the Badulla Pillar Inscription of Udaya IV (946-954 A.D.), is of special importance for this study.[3] In particular, this is the only known inscription which throws light on the structure and function of a market town in ancient Ceylon. This market town appears to have been given as a fief to a high military officer (daḍa-nāyaka). It is known from the preamble of the edict that when the king visited the Mahiyaṅgana

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1. Ep. Zeyl.,III,no.26.
2. Ibid.,I,no.21.
3. Ibid.,V,no.16, see also Paranavitana's excellent introduction to this edict which has been published with its new edition.

Vihāra, the traders' and house-holders of Hōpiṭigama, in their petition complained that the bailiffs of the lord of the market town exacted illegal dues contravening regulations made by an earlier king. The king thereupon ordered that a Statute of the Council (saba-vavastha) be promulgated, prohibiting such illegalities. As a result, this edict was promulgated by the lord of the Chancellery (lēkamgē). The regulations embodied in the edict may be divided into some parts.[1] Firstly, it deals with the exaction of dues by bailiffs of the lord of the village in consultation with the representatives of the mercantile community and the elders of the village.[2] Secondly, it deals with the rules to be followed by royal officers in their dealings with the village.[3] Thirdly, it contains the details of the conduct of business by the traders in this market and the duties of the royal officers in this respect.[4] And finally, it deals with the rights and obligations of the house-holders and the responsibilities of the village institutions with regards

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1. Cf. Paranavitana's introduction: Ep. Zeyl.,V,p.181.
2. See lines II,A39-B19.
3. See lines II,B19-C3.
4. See lines II,C3-36; the regulations in II,C3-7 may also to be considered as applying to the lord of the village.

to the maintenance of law and order.[1] 'The document', Paranavitana notes, 'thus is of capital importance for the study of tenurial rights of feudal lords, local administration, and social and economic conditions during the later days of the Anurādhapura kingdom'.[2]

Another very important document for our present study is the Mihintalē Slab Inscription of Mahinda IV (956-972 A.D.).[3] The purpose of this inscription was to promulgate the rules for the administration of the Cetiyagiri monastery.[4] This inscription is of particular importance for us in different connexions. Firstly, it states that land was granted to the officers in the monastery as their <u>divel</u>[5] and so provides us with material for this type of land. Secondly, it gives details about tenants of temple domains. Thirdly, it also reveals that <u>dāsīs</u> and other women worked in the monastery as paid employees. Finally, it indicates that land was granted as a collective payment to crafstsmen in the service of the monastery in order that they might stay together or enjoy its revenue.

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1. See lines II,C36-D39.
2. Ep. Zeyl.,V,p.181.
3. Ibid.,I,pp.91ff.
4. Ibid.,loc. cit.
5. Cf. infra,pp. 188-189, 396.

In addition, there are a larger number of Sīgiri graffiti, written between the eighth and tenth century A.D., which can be used for our present study. There are a few graffiti of the latter half of the fifth century, but none of these has yet been deciphered. There are also a few graffiti in Sanskrit, some in Nāgarī script of about the ninth century, and others in scripts that were in vogue in Ceylon or South India in the seventh or eighth century. About half a dozen graffiti in Tamil found on the wall dating back to the eleventh and twelfth century. There are graffiti in Sinhalese script of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, too.[1]

We are indebted to H.C.P.Bell who was the first to bring to light these writings.[2] John Still, who was Bell's assistant for some time, and E.R. Ayrton, who succeeded Bell, appear to have taken some interest in the survey of these graffiti. In 1928, S.Paranavitana, assistant archaeological commissioner at that time, continued this survey.[3] It is the great merit of Paranavitana that in

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1. Cf. Sīg. Graff., Introd.,p.XII.
2. H.C.P.Bell, A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1905,pp.53-55.
3. See for Paranavitana's early writings on the Sīgiri graffiti, Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, 1937,pp.34-37; JCBRAS, XXXV,1939,pp.309-346.

1956, he was able not only to edit 685 graffiti attributable to the period from the eighth to the tenth century, with their translations but also to point out their importance as a source for the study of the history of Sinhalese grammar and the development of Sinhalese script.[1]

But Paranavitana does not appear to have shown the same interest in the study of these writings as a source of social history of the Island. It is true that there are many graffiti which are not sufficiently clear to reveal the real meaning intended by their authors, some are merely poetic expressions but, as we shall see, there are many other graffiti which throw much light on such topics as the position of women, wedding ceremonies and the emergence of new settlements in the vicinity of Sīgiriya.

There are remains of many religious monuments widely scattered in different parts of the country. Unfortunately, only a few of these are of a secular nature. There are also of numerous ruins of ancient irrigation works, but most of these have neither been

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1. Cf. C.H.B.Reynolds, 'Sīgiri graffiti and Sinhalese phonology', <u>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</u>, 20,1950,pp.481-486.

restored nor properly investigated. Similarly, many archaeological sites have not yet been excavated.

Nevertheless, the data conveyed by the archaeological evidence at our disposal may be important to determine in so far as they may enable us to get an idea of what areas were in cultivation. In addition, they are important for the study of the town plans in the Island and may provide us with information about the nature of the different centres in the Island, so that we may be able to define whether they were administrative, commercial or religious.

Lastly, the Chinese, Indian, and Roman coins belonging to the period under review and found in the Island, are worth mentioning. These coins alone would not have much value for our study, but taken in the light of what we can know from other sources they may also contribute to our knowledge of some aspects of the social history of the Island. These foreign coins, found mainly in ports, were no doubt brought there by foreign merchants. They may therefore confirm the view that foreign merchants, as visitors or as temporary residents, were established in the ports of the Island in ancient days, as is suggested by other sources.

Chapter Two

FAMILY AND KINSHIP

The family is the basic social institution as
well as the most permanent one. As Radcliff-Brown pointed
out 'kinship results from the family'.[1] We therefore
intend to commence this study with an analysis of family
and kinship to be carried out with socio-anthropological
techniques applied to historical data available mainly
in the inscriptions, chronicles, old Sinhalese literature
and Pali commentaries.

The family is defined by Burgess and Locke as
a group of persons united by ties of marriage, blood
or adoption, constituting a single household, inter-acting
and communicating with each other in respective social
roles of husband and wife, mother and father, son
and daughter, brother and sister, and creating and
maintaining a common culture,[2] Hence, it is obvious,
that the total of sentimental, economic, political

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1. Man, XXXIX, 1929, p. 52.
2. E.W. Burgess and Locke, The Family—from Institution
   to Companionship, 1953, p.8.

and legal ties between spouses, parents and children,
etc., make the family as defined above, a social unit.

Owing to variety of types of family structure
and function, it is necessary to differentiate bet-
ween such types. Therefore firstly, we intend to
study the family as unit by itself, and then to examine
kinship terminology and inter personal behaviour
patterns. As 'marriage lays the legal foundations
for the family',[1] our aim is next to deal with marriage
and then to examine the position of women.

In most contexts the term <u>kula</u> denotes a
particular type of 'family'. Yet the contexts are not
always clear to show whether <u>kula</u> denotes the nuclear
family or the joint family or the household group.
By joint family we mean a corporative kin group
consisting of a man and his parents, sons, sons'wives,
daughters, daughters'husbands, brothers, brothers'wives,
sisters, sisters'husbands and other dependant relatives.
The term may also denote a group consisting of members
of the nuclear family together with some other kin
living together, sharing a common household or other-

1. Lucy Mair, <u>An Introduction to Social Anthropology</u>,
   1972,p.94. See also A.R.Radcliffe-Brown, <u>African
   Systems of Kinship and Marriage</u>, 1960,Introd.,pp.4ff.

wise living separate but holding property in common.
The household group on the other hand was even larger,
and could include slaves and household servants. It
perhaps included friends and acquantances, agricultural
workers and their superintendents.

In the following pages we try to discuss the
family as a social unit. As the precise implications
of the term _kula_ may raise difficulties in some contexts,
as mentioned above, it will also be defined.

We may start with the discussion of some examples
illustrating the typs of family found in our sources.
A certain _senāpati_ conspired with his brother-in-law
(_i.e._ Kassapa I) to seize the treasure of the royal
family (_nidhī rājakule_).[1] This passage suggests that
this treasure was still undivided, so that the term
kula would here imply the joint family. According
to the _Cūlavaṃsa_, the royal family in this context
consisted of the king and queens, at least two sons
of the king by two queens, the king's daughter and
her husband, and the king's sister.[2] _Kula_ may in this
context indicate the household group, too, because
the royal family normally comprises attendants and

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1. _Cv._,XXXVIII,88-89.
2. _Ibid._,XXXVIII,80-83.

domestic servants.[1]

On the other hand, it is by no means clear whether kula in some passages denotes the nuclear family or the joint family. For instance, the Timbiri-väva inscription states that a lady named Anulabi, the daughter of Mitaya, donated a certain property[2] of her family (kula sataka, in Pali: kula santaka).[3] In this case it is not specified whether the property means that belonging to the nuclear family or to the joint family.

In some contexts the family may mean either the nuclear or the joint family or even household group. Thus, Buddhaghosa explains that any close contact of a monk with ñātikula constitutes an infringement of his own religious discipline.[4] This may be used to denote different types of families of one's relatives: the following ñātikula was a nuclear family. A bhikkhu named Sangharakkhita at Mahāgāma spent a whole rainy season of three months in retreat with a ñātikula.

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1. See infra, p. 405.
2. I.e. the materamaji-baka of which the meaning is uncertain. Paranavitana believes that the tax due from the fish caught from the canals of the tank is meant by this term. See Ep. Zeyl., IV, p.222.
3. Ep. Zeyl., IV, p.222.
4. Visuddhim., p.91.

This ñātikula consisted of husband and wife only. As described in the Visuddhimagga, Saṅgharakkhita's association of ñātikula, however, by no means affected his priesthood because he was of well desciplined character.[1]

In contrast, Sudinna, another monk who lived during the time of the Buddha, had a similar association with a ñātikula, but eventually rejointed his former wife. In this case, the ñātikula may, as has been suggested by N.Wagle,[2] imply the joint family. The story describes that Sudinna went for alms to one of his ñātikula i.e., to his parental house. A female slave of Sudinna's ñāti (ñātidāsī) while throwing away the previous evening's barley gruel, saw Sudinna standing near the door and recognized him. She ran to Sudinna's mother and told her that Sudinna had come home. In the meantime Sudinna was busy eating the barley gruel in the room provided for that purpose. Sudinna's father, coming from his work, saw Sudinna and requested him to go to his own house. Thereafter Sudinna used to go to this ñātikula very often and later had sexual intercourse

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1. Visuddhim.,pp.91-92.
2. N.Wagle, : Society at the Time of the Buddha,pp.16-17.

with his former wife.[1] In this passage, the female slave was Sudinna's ñāti but not his parents'. Thus, Sudinna's parents and his ñātis lived together sharing a common household.

The expected pattern of behaviour in ancient Ceylon was that, in principal, every-one should favour his relatives. This is gleaned from the following instances. An uncle, in this case king Dappula II (815-831 A.D.) assisted his sister's sons in attempt to establish their power in Rohaṇa fealing 'concern for the welfare of his kinsmen' (bandhu-hite rato).[2]

In another instance, we read of king Udaya II (887-898 A.D.): '... considered that one should show favour to his kindred and gave his brother's son (likewise) called Kassapa, the daughter of the Yuvarāja (Kassapa), Senā by name, to wife. The king himself took the other (daughter) called Tissā'.[3]

According to another passage of the Cūlavaṃsa, king Sena gave all kind of favours to his relatives. Thus, on the death of Kittaggabodhi, who was a ruler

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1. Vinaya Piṭaka,III,p.11.
2. Cv.,XLIX,66-68.
3. Ibid,,LI,92-93; cf. Geiger's transl.,p.157.

of Rohaṇa, his sister seized the kingdom and murdered
Mahinda, the eldest son of Kittaggabodhi. The other
members of his family, consisting of three daughters,
betook themselves to the court of their mother's
brother, i.e. Sena I. Sena had them brought up in the
palace. When Kassapa, the eldest of them, was old
enough, the king supplied him with an army and sent
him to Rohaṇa to recover the kingdom.

On the success of Kassapa, the king sent for
his two brothers, Sena and Udaya, so that they might
share the kingdom with him, and the sisters remained
in the palace at Anurādhapura with the king. When
they had attained marriageable age, the king gave
Saṁghā, on whom he had conferred the title of rājinī,
to his nephew, the uparāja Sena, and the other two
princesses, Tissā and Kitti, to Mahinda, the younger
brother of the uparāja.[1]

It is also to be pointed out at this stage that
kin solidarity appears to have been the basic characte-
ristic of the settlements in ancient Ceylon, as in
other parts of the world. As we shall see the gama
generally consisted of a group of families united by

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1. Cv.,L,50-60.

ties of kinship.

In contrast, the occasional occurence of in-
ternal conflicts is a feature common to every family
organization. As we shall see there were many instances
of people acting contrary to the expected pattern of
behaviour.[1]

The nobel families appear to have been distin-
guished from the ordinary families in certain contexts.
References are made frequently to the compounds kulageha,
mahākula or isurukula which always seem to have indicated
a well-to-do family or perhaps an aristocratic family.
Nahdimitta, a paladin of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, was born in a
kulageha of which the daily income is said to have
been one thousand kahāpaṇas.[2] The kulagehas generally
commanded the service of slaves.[3] Thus, as has been
pointed out by H.Ellawala, an ordinary family could not
afford the service of slaves, the compound kulageha may
denote well-to-do families.[4]

Similarly, kulaputta or kulīna may mean a noble
person, and kulagāmas may denote villages where nobles

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1. See infra, pp. 70ff.
2. Sahas., p.27: divase divase sahassuppādana-kulagehe.
3. Ibid., pp.32,148 etc.
4. Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl., p.77.

lived or villages enjoyed by nobles.[1] The compound
mahākula obviously indicates a great family. The Saman. -
tapāsādikā speaks of a number of ordinary families
(kulas) which earned their livelihood from a great
family (mahākula).[2] Thus, mahākula was a great family
which commanded the service of the people of ordinary
families as domestic servants and other workers.

Well-to-do families are denoted as isurukulas,
too. The Pali compound aḍḍhakula ('rich family') has
been translated in the Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya as
isurukula.[3] The term isuru is used in the Mahāvaṃsa in
place of the word kuṭumbika in the Rasavāhinī: Saṅgha,
the father of Suranimala, is mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa
as an issara, whereas the same Saṅgha is referred to
in the Rasavāhinī as kuṭumbika.[4] Kuṭumbika may denote
a well-to-do person. The Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya
defines the kuṭumbika as a person who owns some wealth.[5]

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1. Cv.,XXXVIII,12,38; LX,1,XCII,22; cf. Cult. Ceyl. Med.
   Times,pp.29,205.
2. Smp.,II,p.57.
3. Dh.A.G.,p.131.
4. Mv.,XXIII,55 and Rev.,   II,p.83; cf. Soc. Hist.
   Early Ceyl.,p.30.
5. Dh.A.G.,p.9: kuṭumbaṃ vuccati sāpateyyaṃ, taṃ asaa
   atthī 'ti kuṭumbiko; cf. ibid.,p.223: kuṭumbaṃ:
   bhogo, taṃ etassa atthī' ti kuṭumbiko.

It is extremely difficult to draw a hard and
fast line between ordinary families, nobel or well-to-
do families, but the above-mentioned examples leave
no doubt that there were distinctions of this kind
between families in ancient Ceylon.

Evidence for hereditary succession to family
property may be indicative of a well established
family organization. But the right of inheritance in
ancient Ceylon is very complicated. Some scholars who
have dealt with this aspect attempted to show that the
right of inheritance among the ordinary people may
not have been very different from that of the royal
families. For instance, H.Ellawala maintains as
follows:-

> 'Even though it is difficult to say with
> any degree of certainty what actual practice
> was customary so far as the right of inheritance
> among the ordinary people was concerned during
> this period, on the analogy of the two traditions
> of royal succession discussed above we are
> inclined to suppose that the right of inheritance
> among the ordinary people also may not have
> been very different from that of the royal
> families'.[1]

The two traditions of the royal succession, as
Ellawala himself has pointed out are that the tradition

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1. Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl.,p.96.

of succession from father to son, which was followed
by the kings from Mahānāga to Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, who belonged
to the so-called Rohaṇa dynasty, and that from elder
brother to younger brother as among many kings of the
Anurādhapura period.

The right of succession to the throne during
the period under review is rather complicated. According
to Geiger, the rule was that 'first the whole generation
must have died out, before the next generation came to
the throne. When a king who had brothers died, not his
sons, but the younger brothers succeeded him one by
one according to age. Only when the last of them had
died, the eldest son of the eldest brother of the
preceding generation ascended the throne'.[1]

On the other hand, M.B.Ariyapala argues that
the rule of the succession was that the eldest son
of the _mahesī_ of the king should succeed his father
on the throne and only in the absence of a son, his
younger brother was to secceeded him.[2]

As far as the available evidence is concerned,
it seems to us however that both systems were in existence

1. _Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times_,p.114.
2. _Soc. Med. Ceyl._,pp.53-54.

during the period under discussion. From the beginning
of the period up to the reign of Mānavamma (i.e.303-
718 A.D.), it seems that the Sinhalese royal succession
quite often passed from father to son, whereas from
Mānavamma to the end of the period under consideration
(i.e. 718-1029 A.D.) the most commonly followed system
was that of a younger brother succeeding his elder
brother; only if there were no brothers left, the
eldest brother's son should succeed his father's
younger brother; from the younger brother, the succession
should pass to elder brother's son and the latter should
be succeeded by younger brother's son. During the
first part of our period, there were ten kings who
reigned in succession to their fathers,[1] but there
were only four kings who succeeded their brothers.[2]

In contrast, during the latter part of the
period, there were only five kings who succeded their
fathers,[3] but twelve kings succeeding their brothers.

1. They include Sotthisena, the son of king Mahānāma
   by a Tamil consort.
2. We have taken Jeṭṭhatissa II as the brother of
   Meghavaṇṇa; cf. Cv.,XXXVII,100; Cv. Transl.,Geiger,
   p.9,note,1; Pjv.,p.16; Rājaṟatnākaraya,p.27; Rjv.,
   p.37; CJSG, II,1928-1933,p.102.
3. At least one of these five kings through succeeding
   his father, acceded irregularly to the throne.

In addition, during the same period, there were five occasions on which the succession passed from younger brother to elder brother's son but there was none of such cases during the earlier period.

The following example, too, may suggest that it was believed that the eldest son of the king by the mahesī was considered the rightful heir to the throne in the earlier part of our period.

King Dhātusena had a younger brother who helped him in his struggle for the throne. As a reward he was granted land and other income by Dhātusena after he had become king.[1] The king had two sons, too, i.e. Kassapa by an unknown queen and Moggallāna by the mahesī. Kassapa murdered his father and seized the throne. In the end, Kassapa was defeated by Moggallāna and recovered the kingdom. In addition, the Cūlavaṃsa account would have us believe that Kassapa was not aware of any danger from his father's brother, but he feared action by Moggallāna, apparently because the latter was the rightful heir to the throne. Above all, if the succession would normally have passed from brother to brother at that time Dhātusena's

1. Cv.,XXXVIII,15,35,53.

brother, if he was still alive, would have made a claim to the throne of his brother.

On the other hand, the following examples may suggest the prevalence of the other system among the kings of Mānavamma dynasty: Mānavamma's sons (i.e. Aggabodhi V, Kassapa III, and Mahinda I) succeeded one after the other in the order of their age. On the death of Mahinda, Kassapa's son (i.e. Aggabodhi VI) became king as Aggabodhi V probably had no sons. It is worthwhile to point out that on the death of Mahinda, his son (i.e. Aggabodhi VII) sent a message to Aggabodhi VI who was at Pācīnadesa at the time, most probably asking him to come to Anurādhapura and have himself consecrate king,[1] because it was apparently the turn of Aggabodhi VI as he was the son of the elder brother of the father of Aggabodhi VII. Thus, Mahinda was succeeded not by his son but by his elder brother's son and Mahinda's son became king only after his father's elder brother's son.

Further, Mahinda III, Aggabodhi VIII and Dappula II, all sons of Udaya I, succeeded on the throne in

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1. Cv.,XLVIII,42; cf. Cv. Transl., Geiger,p.114 note,1.

the order of seniority. On the death of Dappula III, his son, _i.e._ Aggabodhi IX succeeded him though there Mahinda III had a son. This was somewhat irregular. The Cūlavaṃsa, therefore, explains its background as follows:- 'This king[1] having gone to the world of gods, Aggabodhi (by name) had the drums of dominion beaten the selfsame day. His father (Dappula) to safeguard the succession for his sons, had not made his brother's son, Mahinda by name, ādipāda'.[2] It becomes clear from this passage that Aggabodhi IX had no rights to succeed his father as there was a son of his father's elder brother.

We have, however, no evidence to show that the kings of any part of our period followed only a single system as there were at least a few cases which do not seem to comform to the system prevalent at that time. If we consider these cases exceptions to the rule followed in that part of the period it may be concluded that the normal succession of Sinhalese rulers from Meghavaṇṇa to Mānavamma was from father

1. _I.e._ Dappula II.
2. _Cv._,XLIX,83-84; cf. Geiger's transl.,pp.135-136; see for the importance of ādipāda, _Journal of the Greater India Society_, II,1935,pp.105-109.

to son and from the time of Mānavamma from elder to younger brother. There is, however, no evidence to determine whether only in the absence of sons, brothers succeeded in the earlier part of the period, and in the absence of brothers, sons succeeded in the latter. Therefore it seems that the available evidence is not quite sufficient to arrive at positive conclusion regarding the royal succession during our period. Hence, it is not possible to decide whether there is evidence for that the right of succession to the throne determine also the right of inheritance of ordinary people.

It is, however, stipulated in a number of inscriptions that land and immunities were granted by kings were to be enjoyed not only by the donee but also by his children, grandchildren and their descendants. For instance, a certain Niligalu Bud was granted land, while it was laid down that this land should be enjoyed by his children (daru) and grandchildren (munumburu).[1] This may imply that the descendants of Niligalu Bud had hereditary succession to this property. Similarly, the Rambāva inscription states that a certain Kaliṅgurad was granted land on the

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1. Ep. Zeyl.,IV,p.41.

identical terms.[1] In addition, the Puliyankulam Slab
Inscription of Udā Mahayā, i.e. Dappula IV (924-935
A.D.), registers certain immunities which were granted
to Saṅgalnāvan with the stipulation that his children
and grandchildren, too, were entitled to enjoy these
immunities.[2] This type of grants remained in use during
the Polonnaruva period and even later.[3]

These documents contain nothing to decide that
the properties concerned were enjoyed in common by
members of the family of the donee. But they suggest
that these properties were to be passed from father
to son.

From the foregoing discussion it follows that
family (kula) could mean the nuclear family, the joint
family or, perhaps, the household group. Although we
may regard the nuclear family as the basis of kinship
structure, the joint family system was in existence as
a social unit during the period under review.

Our examples show that the Sinhalese kings
were concerned with maintaining solidarity between
members of the royal family, though there are quite

1. Ep. Zeyl.,II,p.66.
2. Ibid.,IV,pp.41-42.
3. Ibid.,III,pp.67,246.

a few examples of princes killing their own relatives
for the sake of throne and acting contary to the expected
pattern of behaviour. However, family solidarity could
have been an important factor strenthning the position
of the ruling clan in the case of stray rivalries
between the Mauryas and Lambakaṇṇas, and invasions
from South India, as well as internal troubles.

The noble and wealthy families, were distinguished
from the ordinary families by the use of terms such
as <u>kulageha</u>, <u>mahākula</u>, <u>isurukula</u>, <u>kulaputta</u> and <u>kulīna</u>.

We are in no position to decide how far the
right of inheritance of ordinary people was influenced
by the laws and conventions regulating succession to
the throne, which itself raises numerous problems.
The available evidence shows, however, that children
would normally inherited their parents' property in
the ordinary families. In the next pages we shall try
to analyse kinship terminology and the rights and
obligations of kinship.

Kinship Terminology

It is important to investigate kinship terminology from the socio-anthropological point of view as Radcliffe-Brown pointed out: 'the first step in the study of kinship system is to discover what terms are used and how they are used. But this is only a first step. The terminology has to be considered in relation to the whole system of which it is part'.[1]

As to Ceylon, it appears that the classificatory principle[2] was the most prominent aspect of kinship terminology, although the descriptive principle[3] applied to some kinship terms during the period under consideration, as is the case at the present time.[4] Mutna[5] (father's father and mother's father), mutnu[6] (father's mother and mother's mother), mayil

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1. A.R.Radcliffe-Brown, _African Systems of Kinship and Marriage_, Introd.,pp.6-7.
2. 'A _classificatory term_ is one that applies to persons of two or more kinship categories, as these are defined by generations, sex, and genealogical connection', G.P.Murdock, _Social Structure_,1949,p.99.
3. 'A _descriptive term_ is one which, like Swedish _farbor_ (father's brother), combines two or more elementary terms to denote a specific relative', G.P.Murdock, _op. cit._,p.98.
4. See E.R.Leach, _Pul Eliya_,1971,pp.126ff.
5. _Dh.A.G._,pp.77,88.
6. _Ibid._,pp.77,103.

(or) <u>suhuru</u>[1] (mother's brother, father's sister's husband, father-in-law), ⁄<u>nändi</u> (or) <u>hus</u>[2] (father's sister, mother's brother's wife, mother-in-law), <u>siḷivi</u>[3] (father's younger brother, mother's younger sister), <u>mähävi</u>[4] (father's elder brother, mother's elder sister), <u>bäna</u>[5] (sister's son, son-in-law), <u>mini-mbirī</u> (sibling's daughter) and <u>munumburu</u>[6] (sibling's son) are a few examples of classificatory terminology which appears to have been in general use during the period with which we are concerned. Classifacatory kinship terminology is generally regarded as a primary mechanism which facilitates the establishment of a wide-range system of kinship.[7]

A notable feature of the classificatory system is the use of the same term to indicate the relatives of different categories. Thus, the term <u>bäna</u> (<u>bhägi-neyya</u>, Pali) is applied to a collateral relative (<u>i.e.</u> sister's son)[8] and to an affinal relative (<u>i.e.</u>

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1. <u>Dh.A.G.</u>,pp.164,225; <u>Amāvatura</u>,p.154.
2. <u>Dh.A.G.</u>,pp.25,80,120.
3. <u>Ibid.</u>,p.81.
4. <u>Ibid.</u>, <u>loc. cit.</u>
5. <u>Ibid.</u>,pp.80,164.
6. <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,I,p.186; <u>Sīg Graff.</u>,v.681.
7. A.R.Radcliffe-Brown and Forde Daryll, <u>African Systems of Kinship and Marriage</u>, Introd.,p.9.
8. <u>Dh.A.G.</u>,p.98.

son-in-law).[1] Similarly, the term nīhi (modern Sinhalese, lēli; yēli in the Vädda language)[2] stands for sister's daughter and daughter-in-law.[3] This feature reflects a fact of social significance: in a society with preference for cross-cousin marriage,[4] sister's children and sons-in-law or daughters-in-law are classed together. This principle is further illustrated by the classification of one's brother's children with one's own siblings because parallel cousin marriage is not allowed, as it involves close consanguinity; or, in Indian terminology, the marriage partners would belong to the same gotra. On the other hand, a mother's sister is classified in the same category as the mother (suḷu̅mav, mother's younger sister, mähävi, mother's elder sister),[5] the father's brother as father (siḷivi father's younger brother, mähävi father's elder brother),[6]

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1. Dh.A.G.,p.80.
2. A.M.Hocart, 'The Indo-European Kinship Systems', CJSG, I,p.186.
3. Dh.A.G.,pp.110,259, Lowie has pointed out that this feature is very popular among the Väddas in Ceylon. R.A.Lowie, Culture and Ethnology,1966,p.99.
4. This point will be elaborated in connexion with marriage.
5. Dh.A.G.,p.229.
6. Ibid.,pp.84,229.

the father-in-law as mother's brother (<u>suhuru</u> or <u>mayil</u>),[1] the mother-in-law as father's sister (<u>hus</u> or <u>nändi</u>).[2]

If the same classificatory term is applied, the context in which the term is used generally clarifies its meaning, enabling us to distinguish between different relatives. The following instances illustrate this point. In a passage of the <u>Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭa-padaya</u> a certain man is referred to as <u>bäna</u> of a certain woman. The passage also informs us that this man was married with the daughter of the above woman.[3] On the other hand, the some term <u>i.e.</u> <u>bäna</u> has been used as <u>Naṅga ... Saṅgharakkhita bäna</u> (younger sister's son named Saṅgharakkhita).[4] Hence there is no doubt that the first example concerns affinal kin, <u>viz.</u> a son-in-law, but the second collateral kin, <u>viz.</u> a sister's son.

Where the context does not establish the meaning of the terms there are often other indications. For instance, we find the use of supplementary words which further define the precise meaning of the terms. As <u>suta</u> can be used both for one's own son and for one's

1. <u>Dh.A.G.</u>,p.225; <u>Jātaka Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya</u>,p.126.
2. <u>Ibid.</u>,p.80.
3. <u>Ibid.</u>,<u>loc. cit</u>.
4. <u>Ibid.</u>,p.98.

brother's son, we find the word sometimes further defined by <u>tamā</u> (own).[1] In order to make a similar distinction between one's own mother and one's mother's sisters, the term <u>mav</u> ('mother') is defined by an adjective. For instance, the <u>Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya</u> specifies <u>luhuvuhu mavṭa</u> or <u>väjū mavaṭa</u>, (mother who gave birth to).[2] Once again to specify one's own father, the term <u>piya</u> is supplemented by the word <u>dunu</u> (begotten).[3] The utilization of such methods to avoid ambiguity is a common feature of almost every classificatory system.[4]

Another important feature of the classificatory system during our period is the use of separate terms to indicate the sex as well as the seniority of the relative with reference to the speaker. For example, we find the words <u>mal</u> (younger brother), <u>nanga</u> (younger sister) <u>buhunan</u> (elder sister), <u>mähävi</u> (<u>mahāpitā</u>, or <u>mahāmātā</u>, Pali) father's elder brother, and mother's elder sister and <u>siḷivi</u> (<u>cūḷapitā</u>, Pali) father's younger brother.[5] This is a salient feature of the kinship terminology in present Ceylon, too, but some terms we mentioned above have been substituted by other terms:

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1. <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,I,p.185.
2. <u>Dh.A.G.</u>,pp.67,88.
3. <u>Ibid.</u>,p.88.
4. R.Piddington, <u>An Introduction to Social Anthropology</u>, 1950,pp.124-127.
5. <u>Dh.A.G.</u>,pp.13,81,98,216.

the terms akkā (elder sister), mahappā (father's
elder brother) bāppā (father's younger brother) are
used to-day instead of buhunan, māhāvi and siḷivi
respectively. The words mal and naṅga continue to
exist to-day with small variations such as malli, and
nangi respectively. The moderm term ayya for elder
brother is not found during our period.

Another passage in the Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya
may elucidate another feature of the classificatory
kinship terminology. We read as follows:- 'Terms of
endearment are such endearing terms of address as
amma and tāta and the like to mother, father and such
others'.[1] This passage implies that the words amma
and tāta are used as forms of address, while the
terms mav and piya are used as terms of reference.
It also indicates that this principle is applied
to other relatives, too. This suggests that the use
of special terms of address was a part of kinship
terminology during the period under review, as
to-day.

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1. Dh.A.G.,p.88: molök tepul nam mātumatta pitumattā-
   dīnṭa amma tāta yana ä piya tepul.

References to the application of the basic
principles of descriptive kinship terminology, too,
are by no means rare during the period under discussion.
For instance, terms such as <u>mayilä duva</u> (mother's
brother's daughter)[1] and <u>nändäya duva</u> (father's sis-
ter's daughter)[2] appear to have been used. Instead
of <u>sohoyur</u> the terms <u>sulumav put</u> (mother's younger
sister's son)[3] and <u>silipiyä put</u> (father's younger
brother's son)[4] are used. Again instead of <u>puta</u>, <u>bäyä
puta</u> (brother's son)[5] appears to have been used.
Similarly, in the Timbirivava Rock Inscription a woman
named Anulabi is referred to as the <u>jhita</u> (daughter)
of Mitaya who is the <u>puta</u> (son) of ...[6] instead of
<u>minimbirī</u> (son's daughter). From these examples it
becomes clear that the descriptive terms of reference
were also used in special circumstances, notably if
there was a chance of ambiguity.

In the <u>Dhampiyä Atuvä Gätapadaya</u> and the <u>Jätaka</u>

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1. <u>Dh.A.G.</u>,p.225.
2. <u>Ibid.</u>,p.36.
3. <u>Ibid.</u>,p.48.
4. <u>Ibid.</u>,p.108.
5. <u>Ibid.</u>,p.270.
6. <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,I,p.227: ... <u>puta Mitayaha jhita Anulabi</u>.

Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya there occurs a list of lineal kinship
terms for seven generations i.e., mīmutu (great-grandfa-
ther), mutu (grandfather), piya (father), Ego, put
(son), munuṁburu (grandson), mīmunuṁburu (great-grandson).[1]

For a comprehensive study of affinal kinship
terminology the available material is insufficient. We
find terms such as pati (or) himi for husband and aṁbu
(or) himiniya (or) jā (or) dārā (or) bhāryāva for wife.[2]
Mayil (or) suhuru for father-in-law and nändi (or) hus
for mother-in-law,[3] bäna and nīn for son-in-law and
daughter-in-law respectively[4] are also found. Most of
these terms signify collateral kin, too, as mentioned
above. This is probably because the wife called her
husband's relatives by the terms which her husband used
and vice versa.[5] In present Ceylon this type of usage
is, however, of emotional value, for both husband and
wife as well as close relatives of both parties can give
expression to their strong affection in this manner.

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1. Dh.A.G.,pp.121,166; Jātaka Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya,p.7.
2. Dh.A.G.,pp.57,66,194,219,258; Sīg. Graff.,vv.9,23,41.
3. Dh.A.G.,p.80; see also Amāvatura,p.154.
4. Dh.A.G.,pp.80,110,259.
5. See Lucy Mair, An Introduction to Social Anthropology,
   1972,pp.104ff.

Paternal and maternal kin

△ mīmutta (PMGGF)   ○ mīmutnu (PMGGM)

△ mutna (PMGF)   ○ mutnu (PMGM)

| ○ nāñdi (FZ) | △ siḷivi (FYB) | △ mähävi (FEB) | △ piya (F) | ○ mav (M) | △ mayil (MB) | ○ mähävi (MEZ) | ○ siḷivi (MYZ) |

○ nāna (CC) △ suhu-rubañḍu (CC) ○ soho-yurī (PC) △ soho-yur (PC) △ EGO △ suhu-rubañḍu (CC) ○ nāna (CC) △ soho-yur (PC) ○ soho-yurī (PC)

△ bāna (CCS) ○ nīn (CCD) △ put (PCS) ○ dū (PCD)   △ bāna (CCS) ○ nīn (CCD) △ put (PCS) ○ dū (PCD)

△ munuṁburu (PMGS)   ○ miniṁbirī (PMGD)

△ mīmunuṁburu (PMGGS)   ○ mīminiṁbirī (PMGGD)
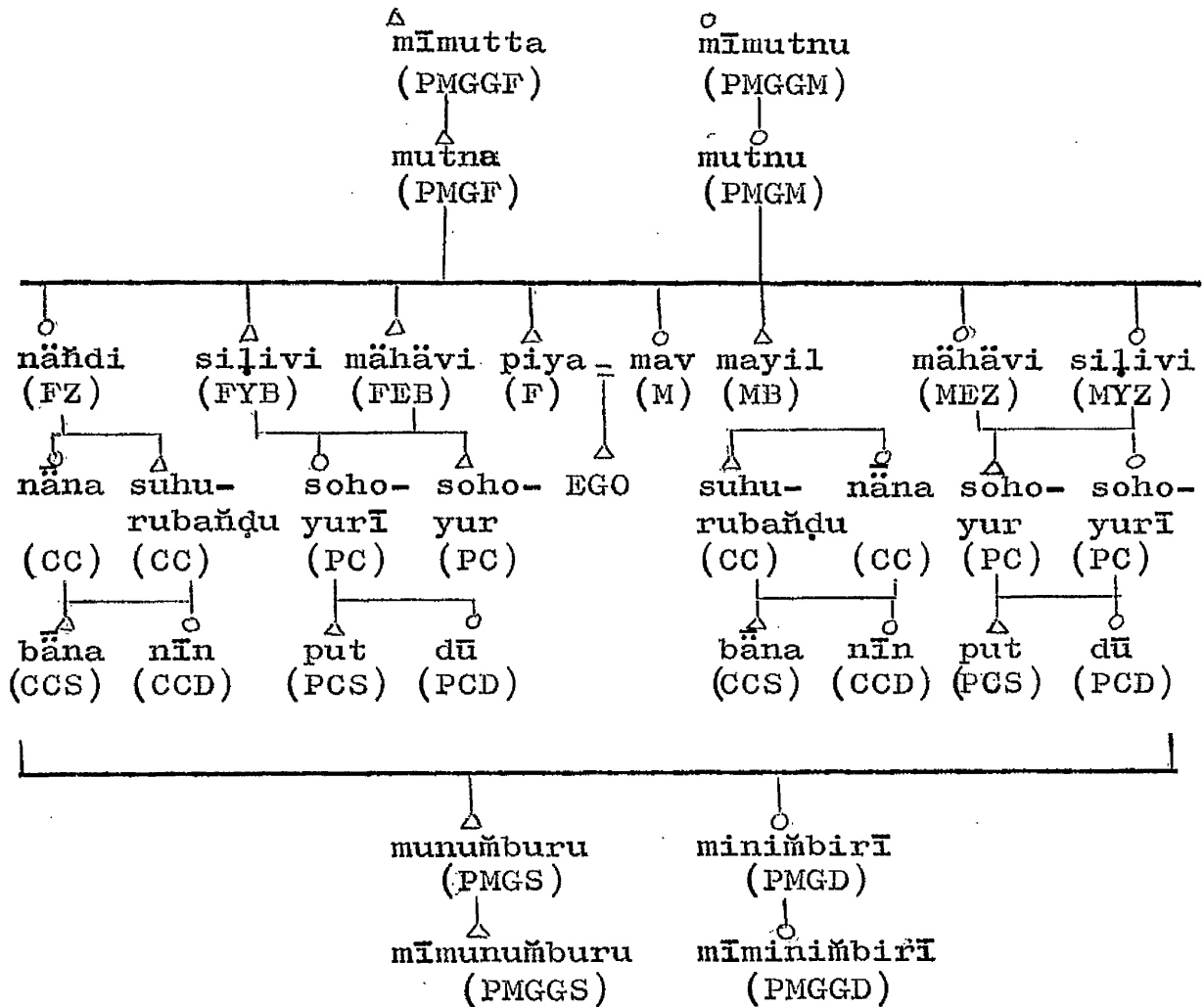
CC, cross cousin; CCD, cross cousin's daughter; CCS, cross cousin's son;
F, father; FEB, father's elder brother; FYB, father's younger brother; FZ, father's sister;
M, mother; MB, mother's brother; MEZ, mother's elder sister; MYZ, mother's younger sister;
PC, parallel cousin; PCD, parallel cousin's daughter; PCS, parallel cousin's son; PMGD, paternal and maternal granddaughter; PMGF, paternal and maternal grandfather; PMGGD, paternal and maternal great-granddaughter; PMGGF, paternal and maternal great-grandfather; PMGGM, paternal and maternal great-grandmother; PMGGS, paternal and maternal great-grandson; PMGS, paternal and maternal grandson.

It reveals from this chart that the main characteristic of the paternal and maternal kinship terminologies is the use of identical terms to signify the bifurcative relatives of four generations except only for the three middle generations. And it also seems that the same terms are used even in the latter case to denote some relationships. This terminological usage can be represented in the following diagram:-

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               PM
               |
               PM
    ┌──────────────────────┐
  P │                      │ M
    │                      │
  P │                      │ M
    │                      │
  P │                      │ M
    └──────────────────────┘
               PM
               |
               PM
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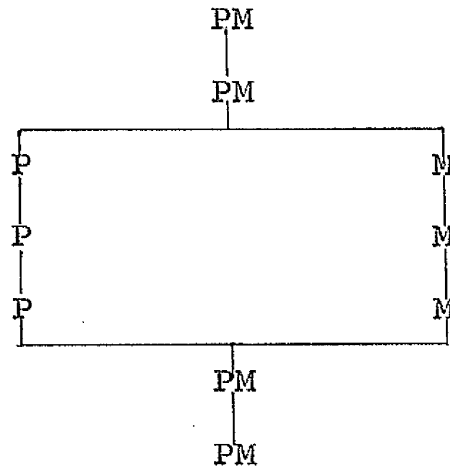
The kinship terminology which we have analyzed is characteristic of the 'forked merging' or Dakota principle. The main feature of this principle has been described by R.H. Lowie as follows:-

> 'In certain systems, blood-relatives are
> classed according to generations regardless

P, paternal; M, maternal; PM, paternal and maternal.

of nearness of kinship and of their maternal
and paternal affiliations; in others, there
is bifurcation, the maternal and paternal kin
of at least the generations nearest to the
speaker being distinguished. We may call
the former the 'unforked merging', or geographi-
cally the 'Hawaiian' mode of classification;
the latter may be correspondingly referred
to as 'forked merging', or 'Dakota'.[1]

In the light of what we have discussed above it
follows that the terminology makes a clear distinction
between relatives of different sex as well as age with
reference to the speaker; there are identical terms
to signify some collateral and affinal kin; and also
differentiation in stem terms for vocative and
non-vocative usage seem to have been established in
Ceylon during the period under survey. It may also
be pointed out that Sinhalese kinship terminology
during the period under discussion marks an important
stage in its development as far as the terms them-
selves and their use are concerned.

Rights and obligations of kinship

The analysis of the interrelationship between
kin has been utilised by social anthropologists as
a method to inquire into the problem of rights and

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1. Culture and Ethnology,1966,p.109.

obligations of kinship.[1] This term should be understood in a social, not in a biological, sense. It implies therefore, the culturally prescribed obligations and rights of kinship such as love and affection, care and assistance, respectful or differential behaviour, day-to-day co-operation, participation in ceremonies connected with such events as birth, initiations, marriage, death and the right of inheritance.[2]

We shall begin with the relationship between parents (mav-piya, Sinhalese; mātā-pitā, Pali) and children (dū-put, Sinhalese; putta-dhītā, Pali). Firstly, we intend to set out the norms of the relationship between parents and children and secondly we shall examine how far historical persons acted according to these norms.

The Manusmṛti orders that the primary aim of a husband and wife should be the procreation of children.[3] The Sigāla Suttanta[4] of the Dīgha Nikāya sets

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1. See Radcliffe-Brown, African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, Introd.,pp.10ff.
2. R.Piddington, An Introduction to Social Anthropology, 1950,I,p.131.
3. Manu,IX,138.
4. This Suttanta, called 'The Layman's Social Ethics' has been very popular among Sinhalese from very early days. The Suttasaṅgaha, attributed to the latter part of the Anurādhapura period contains this Suttanta, too.

out that parents should restrain their children from vice and exhort them to virtue, they should train their children to a profession, and should contract a suitable marriage for them and provide them with wealth.

On the side of the children many duties are expected. It is stated that a child should make the following resolution:- Once supported by them I will now be their support; I will perform duties incumbent on them; I will keep up the lineage and tradition of my family; I will make myself worthy of my heritage; I will offer almsgiving in honour of departed parents.[1] The Commentator of the above Suttanta explains these aspects in detail. He emphasizes that children are expected to take care of their parents when they are old providing all that is necessary. Further, children should protect their parents' property, continue religious activities that are usually performed by their parents, and pay obedience to them.[2]

It is taught that by right behaviour towards one's parents one accumulates great merit.[3] The Buddha

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1. D.N.,III,p.189; cf. T.W.Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha,III,p.180.
2. Sumv.,III,pp.952-953.
3. A.N.,I,p.62.

has praised the dutifulness of a son to his parents as follows:- 'Let the householder dutifully maintain his parents; ... he goes to gods by name Sayaṅpabhā'.[1] And he who does not fulfil his duty and ill-treats his parents was condemned by the Buddha with the words:- 'Whosoever strikes or annoys his mother or father by words ... let one know him as an outcaste (caṇḍāla)'.[2] These examples may suffice to show that the duties which childfen owe to their parents are more rigorous than those on the parents' side.

In the Aṅguttara Nikāya the Buddha explains why children should do so: '... Still the favour we have received from our parents will be far from being requited. ... Why so? Mother and father do much for their children, they bring them up, nourish and introduce them to the world (imassa lokassa dassetāro)'.[3] It is therefore evident that filial duty is based upon the gratitude of children to their parents for what the latter feel or do for them.

The description so far dealt with may suggest that the parent-child relationship is ideally characte-

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1. Sutta Nipāta,p.404.
2. Ibid.,p.124; see for further details, S.Tachibhana, The Ethics of Buddhism,1926,pp.220ff; H.Saddhatissa, Buddhist Ethics,1970,pp.131ff.
3. A.N.,I,pp.60-62.

rized by love and affection, care and assistance,
contracting a suitable marriage and extending equal
treatment to all the children on the side of parents;
reverence and respect, material care, continuation
of lineage and paying homage to departed parents on
part of children.

Now we may try to find out how far these prin-
ciples were adhered to in the period under survey.
According to the Sikhavalanda Vinisa, parents were
preoccupied with thoughts about their children's well-
being and took great care of the child from the time
of his conception in the womb.[1] The Cūlavaṃsa mentions
that yuvarāja Mahinda was craving for children mainly
because they were indispensable for the strengthening
of the foundations of the Sinhalese royal house.[2] The
joy of the parents at the birth of a son is indicated
by another passage in the same source: 'The King's
consort Saṅghā bore him a son, who embodied, as it
were, in himself the princely form of Panāda.[3] When
the king beheld the newly-born he was overjoyed, as
Suddhodana over Siddhattha born in the Lumbinī garden'.[4]

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1. Sikhav. V.,p.29.
2. Cv.,LIV,10-11.
3. Panāda is a prince who is referred to in the Suruci
Jātaka; see J.,IV,p.323.
4. Cv. Transal.,Geiger,pp.147-148.

At the birth of a child parents were anxious to know about his future. Therefore some of them, as to-day, consulted astrologers to ascertain the future of the child. For instance, king Aggabodhi VI (733-772 A.D.) consulted astrologers and, having heard that his son would prove worthy of the royal dignity, went into raptures and rewarded the astrologers with large amounts of money.[1]

As far as the personal attachment of parents to their children by different wives is concerned there is little evidence to prove that there existed any kind of discrimination. It is well known that Dhātusena had two sons named Moggallāna and Kassapa, the first by a queen of equal birth and the latter by one of unequal birth.[2] The senāpati of Dhātusena misled Kassapa and made him believe that his father discriminated against him; eventually, Kassapa cruelly tortured his father, but the latter explained: 'I have the same feelings for you as for Moggallāna'.[3]

Our sources give little evidence for the patterns of behaviour between parents and siblings of a poly-

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1. Cv.,XLVIII,77-78.
2. Ibid.,XXXVIII,80; Pjv.,p.144; Rjv.,p.61.
3. Cv.,XXXVIII,108: Moggallāne tvayi c'eva ekacitto ahaṃ.

gamous family. Even though the father behaved equally to all children of different wives mutual suspicion was not an uncommon feature. We saw earlier that a father might suspect a son and vice versa.[1] Above all, we find examples showing that a wife could kill her relatives with poison, make her son king in name though carrying on the government by herself.[2] Although it is not explicitly stated that her husband had more than one wife, it is reasonable to suppose that this would have been the case. Otherwise, it would be diffi- cult to understand such behaviour.

We have no evidence to suggest that the personal attachment of parents to daughters should have been less strong than to sons. There were some kings who erected vihāras which were named after a son or after a dughter. King Kassapa I (477-495 A.D.), for instance, who had two daughters: Bodhi and Uppalavaṇṇā, built a vihāra and named it, after their names and his own. This was the Kasubgiri-Bō-Upulvan Vihāra.[3] Once again another father erected a vihāra and named it after his daughter.[4] Likewise, we have an example of a father

1. Supra, pp.62ff.
2. Cv.,XLI,64.
3. Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.38; Cv.,XXXIX,12.
4. Cv.,XLI,21.

who did not forget to take his daughter whenever he went to listen to the Dhamma.[1] A mother made not only her son enter the Order but her daughter as well.[2] These examples may suggest that there was little discrimination against daughters.

It is evident that children are naturally inclined to look up to their parents with respect. The <u>Cūlavaṃsa</u> contains a fascinating description of how king Aggabodhi VIII (804-815 A.D.) used to attend upon his old mother. The passage worth quoting:-

> 'The King found pleasure in the serving of his mother day and night. He went to wait on her already early in the morning, rubbed her head with oil, perfumed the parts moist with sweat, cleaned her nails and bathed her carefully. He clad her himself in a new garment, pleasant to the touch, and cast-off raiment he took and cleaned it himself.[3] With the water therefrom he sprinkled his own head together with the diadem, and worshipped her perfectly with fragrant flowers as a cetiya. After making obeisance before her three times, and walking, with right side facing, round her and giving her attendants raiment and the like to their heart's content, he offered her delicious food with his own hand, partook himself of what she left and strewed thereof on his head.

1. <u>Sahas.</u>,p.126.
2. <u>Visuddhim.</u>,I,p.39.
3. Cf. <u>Sumv.</u>,III,p.952: <u>te mahallake pāda dhovana-nahāpana-yāgu-bhatta-dāna ādīhi bharissāmi</u>.

To her attendants he gave the best food such as
was meant for the king, and when he had put
in order her chamber, fragrant with sweet
odours, he carefully prepared there with his
own hand her couch, washed her feet, rubbed
her gently with fragrant oil, sat by her
rubbing her limbs and sought to make her
sleep. Then with right side facing, he walked
round her bed, did reverence three times in the
right way, ordered slaves or servants as
guard and without turning his back on her,
went out. At a spot where she could no longer
see him, he halted and three times again did
reverence. Then happy at his action, and ever
thinking of her, he went home. As long as she
lived he served her in this way'.[1]

This passage may well be compared with the

following account of the Sāma Jātaka.

'Sāma, the Bodhisatta, prepared their (i.e.
his parents') food and the water for washing
and brushes for their teeth, and gave them all
sorts of sweet fruits, and after they had washed
their mouths he ate his own meal. After eating
his meal he saluted his parents and surrounded
by a troop of deer went into the forest to gather
fruit. Having gathered fruit with a band of
Kinnaras in the mountain he returned at evening
time, and having taken water in a pot and heated
it, he let them bathe and wash their feet as
they chose, then he brought a potsherd full of
hot coals and steamed their limbs, and gave them
all sorts of fruits when they were seated, and
at the end ate his own meal and put by what
was left. In this way he took care of his
parents'.[2]

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1. Cv.,XLIX,51-61; (Geiger's trans'l.) pp.132-133.
2. J. (translated by E.B.Cowell and W.H.D.Rouse),VI
   (J.,No.540: Sāma Jātaka),p.43; cf. J.,III(Gijjhaka
   Jātaka & Nandiyamiga Jātaka); J.,IV (Sutanu Jātaka
   & Mātuposaka Jātaka); J.,V (Jayaddisa Jātaka).

This suggests that the description of Aggabodhi's tender cares towards his mother is greatly influenced by the Jātaka stories which ascribe similar behaviour to the Bodhisatta. It is not certain whether king Aggabodhi followed himself the Bodhisatta ideal.[1] There is no clear evidence on this point, except for some religious activities carried out by this king which are not so different from those of many others. We feel that Aggabodhi's great devotion to his old mother is an authentic feature which was, however, described by the chronicler in terms influenced by those of the Jātakas.[2]

The monastic organization in theory as well as in practice encouraged the children to remain attached to their parents. This was essential in a time when there were no public provisions for the old. According to the Sāma Jātaka, after a son had become a monk his old parents were helpless. Thereupon the former considered becoming a layman once again. In the

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1. Mahinda IV (956-972 A.D.) laid down that none but Bodhisatta should become kings of Śrī Laṅkā; see Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.240. See also Soc. Med. Ceyl.,pp.44ff; W.Rahula, History of Buddhism in Ceylon,p.62.
2. Cf. Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times,p.37.

meantime, the Buddha preached the __Mātuposaka Sutta__.[1]
On hearing this __Sutta__ the __bhikkhu__ was convinced: "If
I become a householder I can support my parents;[2] but
the Master also says: 'A son who has become an ascetic
can be helpful'; ... I will now support my parents
while still remaining an ascetic without becoming a
householder"'. Then he begged for food and gave it
to his parents.[3] According to the __Visudddhimagga__, a
__bhikkhunī__ in Ceylon looked after her old sick mother.[4]

As far as conventional behaviour is concerned
marriage of children seems to have played a vital role
of the parent-child relationship.[5]

The jural element——the rights and duties——is
and important factor of kinship relations.[6] 'Inheritance
and succession reveal very clearly the intrusion of
jural regulation into the domain of family and kinship
relations'.[7] It is therefore necessary to examine this

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1. __S.N.__,II,No.9.
2. Thus, the __bhikkhus__ are permitted to look after their
   parents. See __Sikhava V.__,pp.83,96.
3. __J.__ (translated by E.B.Cowell and W.H.D.Rouse),VI,
   p.39.
4. __Visuddhim.__,I,p.39.
5. __Infra__,pp.110-112.
6. See Radcliffe-Brown, __African Systems of Kinship and
   Marriage__, Introd.,p.56.
7. Meyer Fortes, __Kinship and the Social Order__,1970,p.137.

element of the relationship between parents and siblings.
Yet unfortunately, any serious study is extremely
difficult for lack of evidence.

The right of succession to the throne during
the period under survey may throw light on this aspect.
But as we have seen elsewhere there were apparently
no rigid rules of succession. Therefore we have examples
of sons who succeeded their fathers, brothers who
succeeded their brothers and of brother's sons
succeeding their father's brothers.[1]

There are, however, examples showing that
kings favoured their own sons as long as the latter
had proved themselves worthy of succession to the
throne. Thus, king Silākāla (522-535 A.D.) appointed
his eldest son Moggallāna, who later became king, to
the position of ādipāda.[2] King Udaya I (797-801 A.D.)
conferred the dignity of yuvarāja on the eldest son
who succeeded him to the throne while others were
made ādipādas.[3] King Sena II (853-887 A.D.), who had
no children at that time, made his younger brother

1. See supra, pp. 39 ff.
2. Cv., XLI, 34.
3. Ibid., XLIX, 3.

Mahinda _uparāja_, but he transferred his brother's position to his son as soon as he had one. Sena was also able to keep his brother satisfied by means of a marriage alliance.[1] Dappula II (815-831 A.D.) 'to safeguard the succession for his sons, had not made[2] his brother's son, Mahinda by name, _ādipāda_'.[3]

As the above data have already been discussed by many scholars,[4] we have no intention here to go into details of them. What is of particular interest to us is the kings' behaviour towards their sons as far as the succession to the throne is concerned.

References are not wanting to show that princes, on their part, carried out duties for their fathers. Thus, the son of Upatissa II (522 A.D.) made a great effort to protect his father's kingdom from an enemy.[5] The _Cūlavaṃsa_ writes: 'For seven days the King's people fought, then they weakened. Thereupon Kassapa[6] thought:-

1. _Cv._,LI,7,19; cf. _Ep. Zeyl._,I,p.42.
2. _Cv. Transal._, Geiger,p.136,note,1.
3. _Ibid._,pp.135-136.
4. Paranavitana, _Ep. Zeyl._,III,pp.83ff and _Sīg. Graff._,I, Introd.,p.CXXII; _Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times_,pp.120ff; M.Wimalakitti, Siṁhala Āṇḍuva,pp.11ff.
5. _Cv._,XLI,13-33.
6. The son of the king.

'"All living creatures here are perishing because of the siege of the town, the troops are enfeebled, the King is old and blind. I will take my father and mother (for safety) to Merukandara,[1] collect the troops and then punish the rebels". ... A terrible fight ensued. ... when his comrades had fallen and the royal elephant had succumbed, Kassapa handed him over to his driver, cut his throat, ...'[2] Similarly, a son of king Sangha-tissa (618 A.D.) fought on behalf of his father.[3]

In contrast to the above passages, there are some references to misbehaviour of kings towards their sons and vice versa. For instance, a ruler of Rohaṇa expelled his son from the palace, which led to a battle with his father.[4] Mahinda, the son of the ādipāda Dāṭhāsiva in Rohaṇa, expelled his father and seized the territory.[5] It is well known to students of the history of Ceylon how Kassapa I (477-495 A.D.) killed his father for the sake of the throne.[6]

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1. Cv. Transal., Geiger,p.53,note,1.
2. Ibid., Geiger,pp.52-53.
3. Cv.,XLIV,15-21.
4. Ibid.,XLIX,66-73.
5. Ibid.,XLIX,10-13.
6. Ibid.,XXXVIII,80-115.

According to the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, the elder brother should behave towards his younger brothers and sisters as father and mother when the latter are dead (pitari mate pitā viya, mātari mate mātā viya).[1] In this respect the elder brother is next to his parents.

There are examples showing that historical persons acted according to his norm. Thus, Moggallāna I (495-512 A.D.) arranged the marriage of his two sisters who survived their father and perhaps also their mother or mothers. A certain minister, Saṅgha by name, wanted to marry a girl, who was under the protection of her brothers, as her parents had died. It is said that the minister consulted her brothers and when only the latter were satisfied with him as their sister's life partner the marriage was concluded.[2] This example implies also that not only the elder brother but others, too, had responsibility for certain matters regarding their sisters. We come across another interesting example in the Visuddhimagga. A certain widow had a son (the elder of the two) and a daughter

1. Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā,(PTS),I,p.48.
2. Sahas.,p.176: amacco kumārikāya bhātūnaṃ pakkosāpetvā attanā dhanaṃ vatvā tesu saṃpaṭicchitesu kumārikāya āvāhamaṅgalaṃ akāsi.

who entered the Order. When the widow became sick her daughter visited her, the former spoke to her daughter: 'Go and see your brother and tell all about my illness'. Then she went to see her brother and they together cured their mother.[1] This may suggest that the elder brother had to look not only after the younger members of his family but after his mother as well. This was essential when he survived his father.

In many cases the succession to the throne passed from the elder brother to a younger brother who was a son of the principal queen.[2] For instance, Kassapa III (724-730 A.D.) succeeded his elder brother named Aggabodhi V (718-724 A.D.) and later the youngest of the brothers, Mahinda I (730-733 A.D.) ascended to the throne.[3] Similarly, three brothers named Mahinda III (801-804 A.D.) Aggabodhi VIII (804-815 A.D.) and Dappula II (815-831 A.D.) ascended the throne one after the other in order of seniority.[4] There are many examples showing that a king appointed his younger brothers to the positions of yuvarāja, the heir apparent,

1. Visuddhim.,I,p.39.
2. Cf. sons succeeded their fathers; see supra,p.40.
3. Cv.,XLVIII,1,20,26; Rjv.,p.64.
4. Cv.,XLIX,38,43 and XLIX,65 respectively; Rjv.,p.64.

and ādipāda, the heir presumtive, in order of seniority. Thus, Sena I (833-853 A.D.) appointed his younger brother to the position of yuvarāja.[1] Similarly, Sena V (972-982 A.D.) appointed his younger brother yuvarāja.[2]

The younger brother reciprocated to the elder brother by means of personal attachment, obedience, respect and the necessary co-operation. Thus, the Cūlavaṃsa describes Mahinda as an obedient (anuvattanto) younger brother of Sena I.[3] King Sena I (853-887 A.D.) constructed an āvāsa at Polonnaruva and named it after both his and his elder brother's names. This was the Senaggabodhi āvāsa.[4] Similarly, Mahinda, the second younger brother of Sena II, built a parivena and named it after Mahinda and Sena—both their names.[5] It would have been interesting to know whether these buildings were constructed on the joint property of these two brothers or on the private property of the younger brother. But no evidence is available on this matter.

Normally, people were known by their own as well as by their fathers' names. But there are some

1. Cv.,L,7-8.
2. Ibid.,LIV,58.
3. Ibid.,L,7.
4. Ibid.,L,73.
5. Ibid.,LI,60.

who preferred to refer to their brothers. Thus king

Kassapa IV (898-914 A.D.), for example, introduced

himself as the brother of king Udaya II (887-898 A.D.).

He also glorified his brother's victories.[1] This is

perhaps due to the fact that his father (i.e. Kassapa),

who did not become king,[2] was not as prominent as his

brother who secured relatively important place in the

history of Ceylon.[3]

Dhātusena received great assistance from his

younger brother named Silātissabodhi during his campaign

against the Tamils.[4] King Aggabodhi III (632 A.D.),

who was defeated by Jeṭṭhatissa II (331-340 A.D.),

fled to (South ?) India. Before he returned to the

Island Aggabodhi's brothers raised a rebellion. Most

probably they assisted him in restoring his power.

After he had re-established his power he made his youngest

brother Kassapa uparāja as the brother who followed

him in age, Māna, had died.[5] The death of Māna was an

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1. Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.200;II,p.12: Udā Abhā Salamevan Maharad-hu
   Kasub Siri Saṅg-bo.
2. Cv.,L,46.
3. The Cūlavaṃsa devotes 46 verses (i.e. verses 90-136
   in chapter LI to Udaya II).
4. Cv.,XXXVIII,35-38; cf.15.
5. Ibid.,XLIV,103,123-124.

advantage to the enemies of Aggabodhi: 'Now when Dāṭhā-

siva heard of the death of Māna he came in haste with

Damiḷa troops to the village called Tintini. At the

tidings of his advance Aggabodhi marched out with

his army, gave battle and was forced in the twelfth

year (of his reign) to flee to Jambudīpa'.[1] We are

told nothing about his youngest brother's role in that

battle.

Further, these instances indicate the solidarity

of the siblings in relation to others. This may be

further illustrated by the following examples. Kittagga-

bodhi, the ruler of Rohaṇa, had four sons and three

daughters. The eldest named Mahinda was murdered by

his father's sister who brought the country with the

royal treasure under her control.[2] The remaining brothers,

enraged at the murder of their eldest brother, accompanied

by their three sisters, betook themselves to king Sena

I (833-853 A.D.), their mother's brother. Kassapa, the

eldest of the survivors, later restored his power in

Rohaṇa with the help of Sena I. Kassapa also fetched

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1. Cv.,XLIV,125-127; (Geiger's transl.).
2. Probably after the death of Kittaggabodhi.

his two brothers Sena and Udaya from Anurādhapura to Rohaṇa and shared with them the territory. He appears to have left his sisters with their mother's brother who brought them up and arranged their marriage when they attained the marriageable age.[1]

This chain of events has also some further implications. Firstly, when the eldest brother was murdered the next in line took charge of his younger brothers and sisters. Secondly, the ruler shared the parental property with his brothers. But this was not always the case. For instance, Kittaggabodhi, who was restored to power in Rohaṇa as Kassapa, did not share the territory with his younger brother but remained in the king's service.[2] As to the problem why Kassapa did not take into account his sisters regarding this matter one may infer from the fact that Kassapa shared the Rohaṇa territory only with his brothers that daughters had no right to the parental property. On the other hand, as is evident from some other evidence, a daughter could inherit her father's property.[3] However,

1. Cv.,L,57-60.
2. Ibid.,XLIX,66-72.
3. Ep. Zeyl.,IV,p.227.

no more evidence is available on this aspect. Apparently,
Kassapa would have considered it in the interest of
his sisters to continue to reside in the palace under
the care of their mother's brother instead of going
off to Rohaṇa, which perhaps still felt the influence
of their father's sister's relatives. Finally, there
remains the relationship between the brother's children
and the father's sister, as well as between the sister's
children and the mother's brother, which we intend
to discuss in a separate section. There are some more
events in which brothers worked together. For example,
we read in an Sīgiri graffito that two brothers named
Nārāyana and Māra visited Sīgiriya and wrote a verse
together.[1]

There are some examples of brothers who acted
against the traditional rules. Consequently, conflict
broke out between them. Thus, Kassapa I, the son of
Dhātusena by a certain queen, seized the throne dis-
regarding his brother Moggallāna, the son of Dhātusena
by the mahesī, the legitimate heir to the throne. This
struggle ended only after Kassapa cut his own throat.[2]

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1. Sīg. Graff.,v.558.
2. Cv.,XXXIX,27.

On the death of Silākāla, the king's second son, named Dāṭhāpabhuti, seized the throne leaving behind his elder brother Moggallāna. He also killed his youngest brother Kassapa who is said to have objected against his enthronement as he regarded Dāṭhāpabhūti not the rightful heir to the throne. But Dāṭhāpabhūti did not succeed in enjoying the kingship for long because he was defeated by Moggallāna, who subsequently acceded to the throne.[1]

The reason why Saṅghā, the daughter of king Mahānāma by the _mahesī_, having killed her half-brother named Sotthisena who had succeeded their father on the throne, gave the kingdom to her husband[2] is rather complicated. Sotthisena would probably have regarded himself as the legitimate heir to the throne in succession to his father because the latter had no brothers. On the other hand, Saṅghā would also have made a claim to the throne as she was the only child of her father by the _mahesī_. In this connexion it would be interesting to determine which pretender had the strongest right to the throne according to the traditional rule. But unfortunately, no evidence is available in

1. _Cv._,XLI,42-54; _Rjv._,p.62.
2. _Cv._,XXXVIII,1-3; _Rjv._,p.60.

our sources on this matter. Another implication of
the above incident is that Saṁghā, on the one hand,
killed her half-brother, and enthroned her husband
on the other. This may mean that Saṁghā's attachment
to her husband was stronger than that to her half-brother.

Conjugal love and affection was a fundamental
feature of the relationship between husband and wife.
A merchant named Nandi lived at Mahātittha with his
beautiful wife. Once the merchant, who went abroad on
a trading venture, did not come home after a few years.
Meanwhile, the minister Sīva, the ruler of Mahātittha,
who was attracted by the beauty of Nandi's wife sent
a large amount of money to get her into the palace.
She refused the money with the following words:- "If
the minister wants money let him take it from here;
three years have already passed from our merchant's
departure for abroad. I do not know whether he is
alive or dead; when you know about his activities let
me know".[1]

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1. <u>Sahas</u>.,p.145: "sace amacco <u>dhanaṁ icchati, ito gaṇhātu;</u>
   <u>amhākaṁ vāṇijassa videsaṁ gatassa tīni saṁvaccarāni</u>
   <u>honti. Tassa jīvabhāvaṁ vā matabhāvaṁ vā na jānāmi;</u>
   <u>tassa pavattiṁ ñatvā mayḥaṁ kathethā" ti vatvā kahāpaṇaṁ</u>
   <u>na aggahesi.</u>

A wife in Anurādhapura, who had a quarrel with her husband left home early in the morning. This made her husband desperate and he ran after her; he even asked some monks who met him on the way about her.[1] This suggests that, though there could be misunderstanding from time to time, husbands were generally attached to their wives. King Jeṭṭhatissa III (632 A.D.), dying in the battle, remembered his <u>mahesī</u> and sent a massage telling her to become a nun and transfer the merit to him. The widow <u>mahesī</u> obeyed his instructions but not for long, because she died from heart break.[2] This example shows another implication: the widow was expected to pay homage to her deceased husband. This may be further gleaned from a Sīgiri graffito in which the Sīgiri ladies regarded as the widows of Kassapa and is stated that they had to remember him. Thus we read: '... Having associated with the king and lived in happiness, have hearts so hard as not to remember him when he is dead'.[3] These examples have also some other implications such as these concerning re-marriage and

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1. <u>Visuddhim</u>.,pp.20-21.
2. <u>Cv</u>.,XLIV,109-117.
3. <u>Sīg. Graff</u>.,<u>v</u>.81.

satī practice, which we intend to discuss in connexion with marriage.

The husband should provide his wife with all necessities and, in return, the wife should be skilled and diligent in household activities.[1] A certain man founded a _senāsana_ for the _bhikkhus_. Subsequently it was occupied by a _bhikkhu_, who observed the _vassa_ precept while staying there. The man, who went to the _senāsana_, invited the _bhikkhu_ at his house for alms and said to his wife that the _bhikkhu_ deserved to be treated with kindness. His wife prepared delicious food and offered this to the _bhikkhu_ during the whole rainy season.[2] Another wife wanted to make an offering to the _cetiya_ at Dakkhiṇa Vihāra and to the Mahāvāluka Cetiya. Her husband provided her with what she required and she made the offering.[3] In another instance we hear that when a certain Tissā wanted to make a _dāna_, Muṇḍagutta, her husband, was worried as he could not afford a gift:- "People in this village give _dāna_ with meat, fish, milk curd and so on, but how can we afford

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1. _D.N._,III,p.190.
2. _Visuddhim._,I,p.92.
3. _Sahas._,p.176.

to have these things?"— He asked his wife. Tissā did
not bother her husband: she managed to prepare at
least a poor meal for <u>dāna</u> from the money that she had
saved by becoming a <u>dāsī</u>.[1] This example suggests also
that there was a good understanding between Muṇḍagutta
and Tissā.

There are a number of examples illustrating
the relationship between the mother's brother (<u>mātula</u>,
Pali; <u>mayil</u>, Sinhalese) and the sister's son (<u>bhāgineyya</u>,
Pali; <u>bäna</u>, Sinhalese) during the period under survey.
The kings, whenever it was necessary, took care of
their sister's children and contracted marriages on
their behalf. The latter were also provided with other
requirements. They reciprocated this behaviour by means
of respect and dutifulness to the former. Thus, the
sons of Kittaggabodhi, the ruler of Rohaṇa, betook
themselves to their mother's brother, Sena (I) by name,
as their father's sister had seized the territory
on the death of their father, having assassinated their
elder brother. Sena brought them up (<u>vaḍḍhesi</u>), and in
due course sent Kassapa, the elder of them, to regain
Rohaṇa; and having the sister's daughters brought up

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1. <u>Sahas</u>.,p.50.

with great care (s̲ā̲d̲h̲u̲ v̲a̲ḍ̲ḍ̲h̲e̲t̲v̲ā̲) given in marriage

with great wealth (m̲a̲h̲ā̲b̲h̲o̲g̲a̲). The daughters were also

placed in the position of r̲ā̲j̲i̲n̲ī̲ (t̲h̲a̲p̲e̲t̲v̲ā̲ r̲ā̲j̲i̲n̲i̲t̲t̲h̲ā̲n̲e̲).[1]

In another instance, a m̲ā̲t̲u̲l̲a̲ supported his b̲h̲ā̲g̲i̲n̲e̲y̲y̲a̲,

who was also his son-in-law, to seize control of Rohaṇa.[2]

Dhātusena (459-477 A.D.) gave his daughter in marriage

to his b̲h̲ā̲g̲i̲n̲e̲y̲y̲a̲ who was assigned to the position of

s̲e̲n̲ā̲p̲a̲t̲i̲.[3] Similarly, Aggabodhi I (575-608 A.D.) appointed

his b̲h̲ā̲g̲i̲n̲e̲y̲y̲a̲ to the position of m̲a̲l̲a̲y̲a̲r̲ā̲j̲a̲[4] and gave

him his daughter, Dāṭhā, by name, in marriage.[5]

On the other hand, the b̲h̲ā̲g̲i̲n̲e̲y̲y̲a̲ assisted the

m̲ā̲t̲u̲l̲a̲: thus, it was his b̲h̲ā̲g̲i̲n̲e̲y̲y̲a̲ who supported

Mahānāga during his struggle for the throne. Having

succeeded, Mahānāga wanted the latter to be his u̲p̲a̲r̲ā̲j̲a̲,

who had, however already died in the meantime.[6] Another

prince, named Ratanadāṭha, similarly helped his m̲ā̲t̲u̲l̲a̲.[7]

Dappula sought support for his b̲h̲ā̲g̲i̲n̲e̲y̲y̲a̲ in his campaign

against Mahinda II (777-797 A.D.).[8] Kassapa II (650-659

A.D.), had several children but all were younger at

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1. C̲v̲.,L,51-62. See for the position of r̲ā̲j̲i̲n̲ī̲, *infra*, p. 196.
2. C̲v̲.,XLIX,66-73.
3. I̲b̲i̲d̲.,XXXVIII,81.
4. See for m̲a̲l̲a̲y̲a̲r̲ā̲j̲a̲, Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times,pp.122-123.
5. C̲v̲.,XLII,6,10. See for the implications of these marriages i̲n̲f̲r̲a̲,pp. 97 ff.
6. C̲v̲.,XLIV,87-93.
7. I̲b̲i̲d̲.,XLIV,136.
8. I̲b̲i̲d̲.,XLVIII,98.

the time of his death. Therefore he summoned his bhāgineyya Māna who lived in Rohaṇa and entrusted him with the care of children and the administration of the goverment. Māna fulfilled his duties to his mātula with reverence.[1] It is however unkown whether Kassapa had faithful relatives at that time other than his bhāgineyya.

Some kings and princes were named after their mātula. Thus, Dhātusena's daughter's son was named after his mātula, viz. Moggallāna. He was therefore called Cūla Moggallāna, (i.e. Moggallāna II), (mātulañca paṭicceva cūlanāmena voharuṃ). The son of the other daughter of Dhātusena bore the name of the latter's other son (i.e. Kassapa). The name of Khudda Aggabodhi (Kuḍā Akbō, Sinhalese) is also in the same order.[2] We find at least one example showing that a king took his mātula's name on his consecration: Hatthadāṭha, who seized the throne having defeated Māna, was consecrated as Dāṭhopatissa (659-667 A.D.).[3] This would have helped Hatthadāṭha by emphasizing his close relationship to the deceased king a fact which was apparently of

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1. Cv.,XLV,6-11.
2. Ibid.,XLI,54,8 and XLII,40 respectively.
3. Ibid.,XLV,21.

particular importance to him because the other claimant to the throne was also a relative of a king. On the other hand, Hatthadāṭha probably took this opportunity to show that his opponent had no more rights to the throne than he, as far as their relationship to a king was concerned because his opponent, too, was only a bhāgineyya of king (i.e. Kassapa II).

In contrast to the above instances, there are some examples in which the bhāgineyya behaves contrary to the norm. Thus, Siva put his mātula to death and seized the throne.[1] Likewise, Kittaggabodhi in Rohaṇa killed his mātula probably for political reasons.[2]

There were some bhikkhus who ordained their sister's son. Thus, a bhikkhu at Koraṇaka Vihāra made his bhāgineyya enter the Sāsana and taught him the Dhamma.[3] It is well known that prince Dhātusena, before becoming king, was ordained by his mother's brother Mahānāma, and it was the latter who assisted Dhātusena to protect himself against the Tamils who held sway

1. Cv.,XLI,5.
2. Ibid.,LI,110.
3. Visuddhim.,p.91.

over the kingdom.

From the above examples it follows that the relationship between the _mātula_ and _bhāgineyya_, at least in court circles, was an important aspect of the rights and obligations of kinship. This relationship does not appear to have been based merely on political considerations, but it was governed by personal attachment and conventional rules. In addition, although the _bhāgineyya_ had no right to his _mātula_'s property he, in fact, often benefited from it.

In the family organization the structure and function of the joint family——the unit of a certain number of nuclear families the members of which lived together or worked together or otherwise who were recognized as belonging to a particular kin group——was the most characteristic feature. As the kinship terminology attests, kin of seven generations were recognized in this context. Of these, as far as interpersonal behaviour is concerned, the most important members were those belonging to the three middle generations. There is no evidence for a comprehensive discussion of the rights and obligations of, at least, the kin of these

three generations. It is also to be noted that most
of the available evidence relates to court cercles
and from this it also follows that there was a marked
divergence between the expected patterns of behaviour
and the actual behaviour of kin. Nevertheless, examples
are by no means rare to show that there was a well
defined pattern of family organization in the context
of a patriarchal social system.

Marriage, which was closely connected with
kinship, will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Three

MARRIAGE

Traditional law recognizes marriage as a fundamental institution because it is on marriage that the continuance of the basis of society—the family system—rests.[1] Accordingly, the qualifications of the marriage partners, such as age, caste, the consent of the parents and the mutual love and understanding of the two partners etc. regulated the institution during the period under survey as in any other period. In general, the prestige and the status of the families of both parties were carefuly considered before the conclusion of a marriage.

Regarding the age of marriage for a boy or a girl in the early period, H.Ellawala has pointed out that the general rule adopted by the Hindu writers was that the bride should be three or more years younger than the bride-groom and this rule was generally followed by the people. Further, he adds that the maiden and the youth were normally at the

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1. E.Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, I, 1934, p.26.

age of around sixteen and twenty respectively, when they married.[1] We find that these rules were also observed in the Indian subcontinent and in Ceylon during the period under review. Thus, the Smṛtis composed during the Gupta period adopted as a general rule that the bride should be three or more years younger than the bride-groom in the Indian subcontinent.[2]

The Dhammapada commentary, attributabale to the fifth century A.D., states that people should be mature before starting married life and sixteen was considered the adult age for a girl to be given in marriage.[3] The Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya of the tenth century A.D. speaks of a girl who had come to the age of sixteen (soḷos häviridi viya ättī) when she was about to be given in marriage.[4]

Again, it mentions fifteen or sixteen as the ideal age for girls to be given in marriage.[5] The Saddharma Ratnāvaliya of the thirteenth century A.D. writes: 'having remained with her parents up to the

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1. Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl.,p.73.
2. Gaut. Dharam. S.,IV; Yājv. S.,I,52; Manu,V,12; Āpstamba Dharmasūtra,II,6.12.
3. Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, (PTS),II,p.217.
4. Dh.A.G.,p.167; cf. p.71.
5. Ibid.,pp.66,118.

age of sixteen, entered the bonds of matrimony, as this was already the marriageable age'.[1] And again, it describes how, when the girl attained the age of sixteen[2] (she was given in marriage).

From these examples it follows that the general custom regarding the marriageable age for girls is about the fourth century A.D., remained in use during and after the period under study.

The important problem in this connexion is to decide whether fifteen or sixteen was the norm for girls. Most probably it was an ideal age rather than a statement of practice. In present Ceylon twelve or thirteen is considered as the normal age of puberty for girls. According to Medhātithi, this was the puberty age of girls even in ancient India.[3] Also the Smṛtis, with reference to pre-puberty marriage in the Indian subcontinent, determined the twelfth year as the latest limit for a girl to remain a maiden.[4] This suggests that the Smṛti writers considered that twelve years

1. Saddharma Ratnāvaliya, p.315: soḷos hāviridi vanaturu demāpiyan aturehi rāṅdä evakaṭa saraṇa hiṅdinā vayasa heyin saraṇa gosin.

2. Ibid., p.290: soḷos hāviridi vayasṭa pämiṇi kalhī.

3. Manusmṛti-bhāṣya, IX, 92.

4. Parāśara Smṛti, XII, 5-6.

was the normal age of puberty for girls. Therefore if
fifteen or sixteen was considered the ideal age for
girls to marry in ancient times and it follows that
parents at that time also desired that their daughters
should remain unmarried at least three years after
attaining puberty. This desire certainly exists to-day
among the parents in Ceylon, but we know that this
is by no means a regular practice.

The available sources give no information as
to the practice of child marriage in Ceylon at any
time. On the contrary, as has already been pointed out,
there are a number of references suggesting the prevalence
of post-puberty marriage. We cannot conclude, however,
that pre-puberty marriage was unusual in the Island,
as we are not certain that our sources represent all
types of marriages, while none of these explicitly
states that such marriages did not take place in Ceylon.

With this reservation the apparent absence of
child marriage in Ceylon, though being in accordance
with the practice in most parts of the world, requires
some comment in the South Asian context. Pre-puberty
marriage is the rule laid down in ancient India. Many
Smrtis, such as the Samvarta, Parāśara, Vyāsa and

Saṁkha, considered pre-puberty marriage the ideal.[1]
According to Medhātithi the right time for a girl to
be given in marriage was her eighth year.[2] The twelfth
year was the latest time laid down for a girl to remain
as a maiden.[3] A brāhmaṇa found guilty of marrying a
girl after she had attained puberty in her father's
house, was not considered fit for conversation and
dining in the company of the other members of his caste.[4]
Alberuni records that the Hindus married at a very early
age and were not allowed to marry a woman above twelve
years of age.[5]

But this rule, even in India, was apparently
followed by very few people, especially by those
belonging to the orthodox families of brāhmaṇas and
those who followed their example. Instead, the majority
of the people considered the age of about fifteen as
the proper age of marriage for girls. A number of
Jātakas inform us that the age of sixteen (soḷasa vassakāle)
was considered the proper age of a girl to be married.[6]

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1. Samvarta Smṛti,66-67, (Smṛtināma Samuccaya,p.114);
   Parāśara Smṛti,117; Vyāsa Smṛti, (Smṛtināma Samuccaya
   p.356); Saṁkha Smṛti,XV,8,(Smṛtināma Samuccaya,p.388).
2. Manusmṛti-bhāṣya,IX,4.
3. Parāśara Smṛti,XII,5-6.
4. Ibid.,VII,7.
5. Alberuni's India,(translated by E.C.Sachau),II,p.131;
   cf. Yaśastilaka Campū,p.317.
6. J.,III,p.122; IV,p.237; V,pp.72,127,210,363.

There are instances in Indian sources of the fourth century A.D. which suggest that marriage generally took place when the partners were mature enough to start married life. B.S.Upadhyaya points out that this is a principle implied in the works of Kālidāsa.[1] According to the Harṣacarita of the seventh century A.D. the marriage of princess Rājyaśrī took place when she was fully/up.[2] Similarly, a princess like Kādambarī got married only when she was mature enough.[3] Although we have only few examples, it becomes clear that the brāhmaṇa rule of child marriage was not generally followed in India during our time. Hence, one can rightly argue that if the rule was not always followed even by the Hindus in India it is unlikely that it should apply to the Ceylonese whose main religion was not Hinduism but Buddhism. It should also be emphasized that the Buddhist texts mention only post-puberty marriages, as has already been seen. Further, it is worth mentioning that pre-puberty marriage was not prevalent among the Tamils.

From the foregoing discussion the following points emerge. Firstly, it is clear that the rule that

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1. B.S.Upadhyaya, India in Kālidāsa,1947,p.184.
2. Harṣacarita,p.42.
3. Kādambarī,p.77; cf.p.95.

the bride should be younger than the groom was considered essential during the period under survey, as was the case in the Indian subcontinent and also in other periods of the history of Ceylon. Secondly, it seems that only post-puberty marriage was practised during our period, as during other periods of the history of Ceylon. Thirdly, the ideal age of the bride was, normally, considered to be fifteen or sixteen. Finally, the apparent absence of child marriage may reflect a low degree of brahmanization of Ceylon.

The custom of marrying daughters in the order of their age seems to have been established in our period. This implies that the eldest should marry first, and the youngest last. For example, king Sena I (833-853 A.D.) first gave his sister's eldest daughter to his brother's eldest son and later the other two daughters to the younger, most probably to the second, son.[1]

Other important considerations in the case of marriage were the caste (sub-caste) and gotra affiliations of the partners. In this connexion, it is

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1. Cv.,L,58-59.

essential to examine the exogamic and endogamic rules.
As to the unions regarded as incestuous there are
great differences from society to society, but sexual
relations between father and daughter, mother and son
are universally taboo. Sexual relations between siblings
are also taboo. Yet there are exceptions to the last
rule. We find brother-sister marriages among some
nations.[1] These taboos are applicable to Ceylon as well.[2]
Unfortunately for us, our sources do not permit us to
know what other unions were regarded as incestuous
during our period.

The Smṛtis advocate certain exogamic and endogamic
rules. According to them, marriages between sa-gotra,
sa-piṇḍa and sa-pravara partners are prohibited.[3] The
last two terms are typical of Sanskrit literature. A
short explanation of these terms may be required: 'It
has been pointed out that the gotra probably meant

1. W.F.Ogburn & M.F.Nimkoff; A Handbook of Sociology,1947,
   p.462; The Dīgha Nikāya mentions a marriage between
   brother and sister (see I,p.92); cf. A.R.Radcliffe-Brown,
   African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, Introd.,p.71;
   Yama-Yamī marriage is well-known to the students of
   history of India.
2. Soc. Med. Ceyl.,p.299; F.A.Hayley, A Treatise on the
   Laws and Customs of the Sinhalese,1923,p.184.
3. Gaut. Dharam. S.,III,4,4-5; Yājv. S.,I,53; Baudhāyana
   Dharmasūtra,II,37-38.

"herd" and, later on it came to denote the "family" or
the "clan" i.e. all those tracing their family back
to one common mythical ancestar'.[1] Sa-pinda literally
means 'having the same pinda', and so connotes the
kinsmen connceted with the offering of the pinda to
certain ancestors at the śrāddha, i.e. the maternal and
paternal kinsmen of six generations in ascending and
deacending line.[2] 'Pravara can be traced back to the
cult of the fire-worship amongest Indo-Aryans. The
purohita (priest), officiating at a sacrifice to Agni,
used to recite the names of/his famous ṛṣi ancestors when
invoking Agni to carry libations to the Gods; therefore,
the pravara came to denote the series of such ancestors
of/the persons who had in former times invoked Agni. Now,
evidently the list of ancestors has had its social
bearings: for, by and by, pravara came to be associated
with the various saṁskāras of domestic and social nature,
the most important being the vivāha; and it is laid
down by some of the authorities that a man shall not

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1. P.H.Prabhu, Hindu Social Organization,1958,p.155;
   cf. J.Brough,The early Brahmanical System of Gotra
   and Pravara.A translation of the Gotra-Pravara-Mañjarī
   with an introduction,1953, Introd.,p.1.
2. Vedic Index,1,II,p.39.

marry a woman who can be traced from any of the ancestors as mentioned in his pravara'.[1]

The extent of the adoption of these rules in ancient Ceylon is not easy to determine. However, the absence of parallel cousin marriage and, on the other hand, the prevalence of cross-cousin marriage in the Island during our period (as in any other period) show that the sa-gotra rule was followed by the people. Dhātusena (459-477 A.D.) gave his daughter in marriage to his sister's son (bhāgineyya).[2] Also Aggabodhi I (575-608 A.D.) married his daughter Dāṭhā to his sister's son (bhāgineyya).[3] Dappula II (815-831 A.D.) gave his daughter Devā in marriage to his sister's son (bhāgineyya).[4] Sena I (833-853 A.D.) contracted marriage between his brother's son and his sister's daughters.[5]

We find an example of a sa-gotra marriage, viz., the marriage between Aggabodhi VII, the son of Mahinda I, and Saṁghā, the daughter of Mahinda's brother's (i.e. Kassapa III) son(i.e. Aggabodhi VI). The following

1. P.H.Prabhu, op. cit.,pp.155-56; cf. J.Brough, op. cit., Introd.,p.2.
2. Cv.,XXXVIII,82.
3. Ibid.,XLIX,71.
4. Ibid.,XLII,6,10.
5. Ibid.,L,50-60.

chart illustrates this point.

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      B                B
      |                |
      S           =====S
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      D
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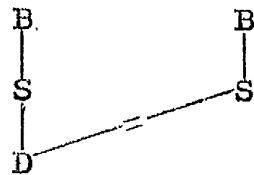
However, this was a marriage of political convenience.[1]

From the above examples it may also follow that cross-cousin marriage was preferred by people during our time as in the preceding and the following periods.[2] Further, we know that in present Ceylon this marriage is considered not only proper but normally obligatory among both the Sinhalese and the Tamils.[3]

H.W.Tambiah, referring to the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra opines that this practice was peculiar to the Hindus of South India and that this is the reason why the Sinhalese preferred it.[4] Yet, this practice was by no means confined to South India, because there are a plenty of examples showing that this practice was in existence in the North. Thus, king Ajātasattu

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1. Infra, p. 125.
2. Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl., p.73 and Soc. Med. Ceyl., p.290 respectively.
3. Ralph Peiris, Sinhalese Social Organization, p.198.
4. Tambiah, op. cit., p.57.

married Vajirā the daughter of his father's sister.[1]
The _Dhammapada_ Commentary refers to a householder of
Magadha named Māgha, who married his maternal uncle's
daughter named Sujātā.[2] Ānanda tried to marry his
father's sister's daughter named Uppalavaṇṇā.[3] A number
of Jātaka stories refer to this type of marriage.[4] Hence
Tambiah's opinion is not supported by evidence. Above
all, before him, B.N.Sharma has denied that the system
of cross-cousin marriage is confined to South India.
'It would be wrong', he writes, 'to suppose as some have
done on the basis of Medhātithi that such (cross-cousin)
marriage were confined to South India, for _Upamitibhava-_
prapañcakathā, which represents the conditions in western
India, mentions this marriage as of frequent occurrence'.
Further, he gives a number of examples in order to prove
that this was a very ancient tradition in the western
part of India.[5] Unfortunately, Tambiah has not taken
Sharma's argument into account.

For these reasons it is clear that cross-cousin
marriage is not confined to South India. It rather

1. _Mahāvagga_ (PTS.),VII,i,2,3.
2. _Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā_ (PTS.),II,p.265.
3. _Ibid._,II,p.49.
4. _J._,I,p.457; II,p.327; VI,p.468.
5. Sharma, _op. cit._,p.11.

follows that the practice of cross-cousin marriage
requires no further discussion as it is widely found
all over the Indian subcontinent. But unfortunately,
the Smṛtis do not reflect actual custom. It should be
added that cross-cousin marriage is common also in
some other parts of the world.[1]

Thus, it may be possible to suppose that cross-
cousin marriage, widely spread in Indian subcontinent,
would have influenced the marriage institution in Ceylon.
In particular, as Sharma has pointed out, this practice
represents a very old tradition of Western India; and
the earliest Āryan migrations to Ceylon probably took
place from this part of India.[2] Hence the system was
probably established together with these earliest
colonists. There is some corroboration of cross-cousin
marriages among the earliest colonists. For example,
Dīghagāmaṇī (c. sixth or fifth century B.C.), the son
of Dīghāyu,[3] married his father's sister's (i.e.
Bhaddakaccānā) daughter Cittā.[4]

Thirdly, the practice was common in Eastern India
as well.[5] and the other stream of migration to Ceylon

1. A.R.Radcliffe-Brown, African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, Introd., pp.60-61, 66-67.
2. Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times, p.49; A.L.Basham; CHJ, I, p; 169; Paranavitana, UCHC, pp.82-94.
3. He founded the village Dīghāyu; see Mv., IX, 10-11; Ep. Zeyl., V, p.134; JCBRAS (NS), VI, 1963, p.25.
4. Dv., X, 7; Mv., IX, 1, 6, 10, 11, 16-18; Pjv., p.115; Rjv., 26.
5. Supra, pp.98-99.

can be traced to that part.[1] So this may be another

probable reason accounting for the prevalence of this

system among the Ceylonese. Fourthly, there is evidence

for a third stream of migration to Ceylon, that is the

South Indian stream.[2] This would again have strengthened

the prevalence of cross-cousin marriage in Ceylon.

Finally, aboriginal clans, such as the Väddas follow

the practice of cross-cousin marriage. Yet it is

possible that this is because Vädda clans adopted

the later colonists' system.

The preferential matrilateral cross-cousin

marriage is often associated with linked lineage such

that one lineage customarily gives its daughters to

another. But as far as the available evidence goes there

is nothing to suggest that there was a particular

lineage that provided husbands for the kings' daughters

or one that provided wives for the kings' sons.

According to the rules laid down in the Dharmaśāstras

with reference to marriage in the Indian subcontinent

1. R.C.Majumdar, History of Bengal,I,1943,p.125; H.C.Ray JBBRAS (NS.),XVIII,1922,pp.435-437; R.Siddhartha, JCBRAS, XXXIII,1936,pp.123-150.
2. W.M.K.Wijetunga, The Rise and the Decline of the Cōla Power in Ceylon, Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis (University of London,1962) pp.13ff; K.Indrapala, op. cit.,pp.29ff.

it is emphasized that marriage should take place between persons of the same caste (varna).[1] Ellawala has argued that this varna system was followed by the Ceylonese during the period which he covered in his research.[2]

References in the sources regarding this aspect during the period under our present study are rather vague. The Rambāva Slab Inscription records that the parents of king Mahinda IV (956-972 A.D.) belonged to the samadā (in Pali: samajāti) and the same kula.[3] Udaya IV (946-954 A.D.) explained that his mother and father belonged to the same dā.[4] Dā and kula in these contexts may mean 'equal birth' and 'caste' respectively. Yet it is to be borne in mind that kula in some contexts also means a type of family.[5] However, these examples suggest that the kings always tried to explain that they consecrated queens from their own caste as mahesīs according to the traditional rule.

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1. Manu,III,4; Yājv. S.,I,52.
2. Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl.,pp.79ff.
3. Ep. Zeyl.,II,pp.67: (... Okāvas raj-paɣapu)ren bat Kä(t-usa)b Siri-Sang-bo (Abhā maharaj-haɟ ema-kulenɔ) samā-dā Dev-Gon biso-rājna kusä upädä ... Siri Sañ-bo Abhā maha-rad-hu ... .(Wickremasinghe's transl,p.68).
4. Ep. Zeyl.,V,pp.182-183; see for further evidence ibid.,p.276.
5. Supra, pp. 30ff.

This practice was considered essential for some reasons. First, khattiyas could fail to get consecrated as kings unless they took a queen from their own caste.[1] Second, princes, whose mothers had not been consecrated as mahesīs, were handicapped in the succession to the throne. For instance, Kassapa, the eldest son of king Dhātusena (459-477 A.D.), and Sotthisena, the son of king Mahānāma (410-432 A.D.), were not legitimate heirs to the throne because their mothers were not the principal queens.[2]

The Buddhist texts, too, explain that princes born by queens of unequal caste were not fit for the throne: The Dīgha Nikāya states that khattiyas would not consecrate a son who is born out of the union of khattiya youth and brāhmaṇa girl or a brāhmaṇa youth with a khattiya girl because he is not pure by birth for seven generations on the mother's side in the former instance and the father's side in the latter case.[3] Generally, so-called high-caste people were aware of varṇasaṃkara. We learn from the Dīgha Nikāya that the

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1. Mv.,VII,17,50,52; X,78; J.,no.407; Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl.,p.79.
2. Cv.,XXXVIII,80; Rjv.,p.144 and Cv.,XXXVIII,1; Pjv., p.144; Rjv.,p.60 respectively.
3. D.N.,I,p.97.

sons of the mythical king Okkāka married their own
sisters through fear of breaking the purity of the
line.[1]

The Sinhalese kings, especially those of the
eighth to the tenth century A.D., traced their descent
to the khattiya vaṇṇa[2] on both their mother's and father's
side. In other words they asserted the purity of their
khattiya descent, no doubt in order to strengthen any
claims to legitimacy.

In addition, it may be suggested that they also
intended to emphasize their opposition against varṇasaṁkara.
Thus, king Mahinda IV (956-972 A.D.), in the Vēvälkäṭiya
inscription claimed that both his father and mother
were khattiyas. Further, according to the Cūlavaṃsa he
fetched a princess from Kaliṅga[3] and made her first
mahesī. The chronicle also states that by procreating

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1. D.N.,I,p.92. As A.R.Radcliffe-Brown has pointed out
   there are societies in which kings or chiefs may
   marry, or even are expected to marry their own sisters;
   see African Systems of Kinship and marriage, introd,p.71.
2. See for the khattiyas in Ceylon, infra,pp. 36A ff.
3. It has recently been suggested that Kaliṅga mentioned
   in these sources was in South East Asia (Ceylon and
   Malaysia,pp.27ff). But in the absence of conclusive
   arguments the present author adheres to the older
   established view that the term refers to Kaliṅga in
   the east coast of India (approximately modern Orissa).

sons by her the king founded the royal house of the Sinhalese (iti Sīhala vaṃsañca paṭṭhapesi)[1] which however reigned only for one more generation. These passages explain that king Mahinda, as his father and fore-fathers did, married a prince from his own caste. Further, he appears to have encouraged others to follow this example of the royal family by stating in the same inscription that people should continue to adhere to the marriage customs of their families or caste (kula).[2] In short, Mahinda paid particular interest to follow the rule that marriage should take place between the persons of the same caste (varṇa).

It is not sure that the rules applying to kings were the same as those valid for others. However, there are some examples showing that dä was taken into con- sideration by parents when they arranged their children's marriages. For instance, according to the Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya of the tenth century A.D., parents of a girl looked for her husband to their own dä.[3] The Rasavāhinī of the fourteenth century A.D. speaks of certain parents who did not give their consent to their daughter

1. Cv.,LIV,9,11.The historicity of this marriage is supported by an inscription, Ep. Zeyl.,II,p.69.
2. Ep. Zeyl.,I,no.21, lines 32-34 cf. supra,p.114.
3. Dh.A.G.,p.71.

being married to her lover till they were satisfied about the <u>jāti</u> of the youth.[1] It is by no means clear in these contexts <u>dā</u> (in Pali: <u>jāti</u>) denotes either 'birth' or 'caste'.

Another important problem connected with the selection of marriage partners is the area where the partners lived. But our sources do not furnish us with enough material in this field. We only read in the <u>Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya</u> and <u>Saddharma Ratnāvaliya</u> that the perents made sure that they knew the region (<u>padesa</u>) from where their future son-in-law came.[2] Unfortunately, no more evidence occurs for this aspect in the available sources.

Further, we hear of some other qualifications of marriage partners which were taken into consideration before a marriage was contracted. Dappula II (815-831 A.D.) gave Kittaggabodhi his daughter, endowed with all kinds of beauties and qualities (<u>sabbarūpaguṇopetaṃ</u>), as a wife.[3] A person named Saṅgha wanted as his wife a girl merely because she was of noble character.[4] Sena I (833-853 A.D.) married his sister's daughter to Mahinda,

1. <u>Rsv.</u>,II,p.35.
2. <u>Dh.A.G.</u>,p.71; <u>Saddharma Ratnāvaliya</u>,p.199.
3. <u>Cv.</u>,XLIX,71-72.
4. <u>Sahas.</u>,p.175.

who was endowed with 'all qualities' (sabbaguṇopeto).[1]
Dappula of Rohaṇa was more devoted to his subjects than
any earlier kings of his line. Therefore he was highly
respected by his people: king Silāmeghavaṇṇa (623-632
A.D.), heard all about him and, delighted, gave him
his daughter in marriage.[2] According to the Sahassavatthu-
ppakaraṇa, brothers (their parents no longer lived)
gave their sister in marriage to a person called Saṅgha
only when they were satisfied with the wealth (dhanaṃ)
of the latter.[3]

In order to get an idea of these qualities it
may be useful to examine some references that can be
found in Indian sources and in Sinhalese works based on
Indian stories. According to the Pañcatantra, the bride-
groom should be endowed with qualities such as (good)
family (kula), character or virtue (śīla), learning
(vidyā), wealth (vitta) and the right age (vayas).[4]

The Vinaya Piṭaka states that the bhikkhu Udāyi
arranged a marriage in which the girl's qualities are
described to the boy's parents as beauty (abhirūpā),

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1. Cv.,L,50-59.
2. Ibid.,XLV,50-82.
3. Sahas.,p.176.
4. Pañcatantra ed. J.Hertel,1908,III,p.214.

charm (<u>dassanīyā</u>), loveliness (<u>pasādā</u>), learning (<u>paṇḍitā</u>), wise (<u>medhāvinī</u>), cleverness (<u>dakkhā</u>) and industriousness (<u>analasā</u>), and similar qualities are needed to the girl's parents.[1] The <u>Saddharma Ratnāvaliya</u> speaks of a youth who brought a beautiful girl (<u>rūpasampannā</u>) from a merchant family of equal status.[2]

Evidently, virtue, ability, scholarship, wealth and beauty of both partners were taken into account in the case of marriage. Yet there is little evidence enabling us to study these qualities in the order of their importance.

In order to understand the function of marriage it is also necessary to enquire how far the parents' consent and the children's wishes decided the result. In this respect it is interesting to examine the traditional forms of marriage as depicted in the Hindu texts, as well as those in the Buddhist texts. There are eight forms of marriage according to the Hindu writings, namely, <u>brāhma</u>, <u>daiva</u>, <u>ārṣa</u>, <u>prājāpatya</u>, <u>gāndharva</u>, <u>rākṣasa</u>, <u>āsura</u> and <u>paiśāca</u>. The <u>brāhma</u> form is that the damsel was offered as gift to a fit bridegroom, invited by the bride's father himself. As far as parents'

1. <u>Vinaya Piṭaka</u> (PTS.),III,p.135.
2. <u>Saddharma Ratnāvaliya</u>,p.653.

consent is concerned the <u>daiva</u>, the <u>prājāpatya</u>, the
<u>ārṣa</u> and <u>āsura</u> are quite similar to the <u>brāhma</u> form
except <u>prājāpatya</u> which demands the consent of the
bridegroom. The marriage between two lovers with their
mutual consent but without their parents' mediation is
called the <u>gāndharva</u> form. The <u>rākṣasa</u> and the <u>paiśāca</u>
forms represent two kinds of unions that took place
by force, as the maiden was abducted from her home and
seduced her against her wish. Neither the parents' nor
the girl's consent is implied in these cases.[1] These
last two forms seem, bowever, to have been exceptional.

On the whole it appears that the parents' consent
on their children's marriage was of greater importance
than that of the marriage partners themselves in the
Hindu forms of marriage.

All these forms of marriage are broadly included
in three forms in the Buddhist sources: marriage arranged
by guardians of both parties is the first and formost
one which includes apparently all forms of marriage
with parental consent. The second and the last were
<u>gāndharva</u> and <u>svayamvara</u> respectivly which were given

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1. <u>Manu</u>, III, 20-21, 27-34; <u>Yājv. S.</u>, I, 58-61; <u>Śaṁkha Smṛti</u>,
IV, 124-126.

less importance.[1] This suggests that the Buddhist
sources also give preference to a marriage arranged
by the parents or guardians of both parties.

According to most passages in the Cūlavaṃsa
marriages of members of the royal families were subject
to parental consent. Thus, king Dhātusena (459-477 A.D.)
bestowed the dignity of senāpati on his sister's son
(bhāgineyya) and gave him his daughter in marriage.[2]
Upatissa II (522 A.D.) gave his daughter in marriage
to Silākāla together with the necessary revenue (sahabhoga).[3]
King Aggabodhi I (575-608 A.D.) conferred the dignity
of malayarāja to his sister's son (bhāgineyya) and
gave him his daughter Dāṭhā in marriage.[4] King Silā-
meghavaṇṇa (623-632 A.D.) married his daughter to
Dappula of Rohaṇa and granted him the office of yuvarāja.[5]
Aggabodhi VI (772-777 A,D.) married his daughter to
his father's brother's son named Aggabodhi; but after
some time she fell out with her husband as went back
to her father and, weeping before him, bitterly said:
'without reason the husband thou gavest me kills me'

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1. J.,I,p.133; V,p.426; D.N.,pp.188-189.
2. Cv.,XXXIX,80-81.
3. Ibid.,XLI,7.
4. Ibid.,XLII,6,10.
5. Ibid.,XLV,51-52.

(akāraṇe maṃ māreti dinno vo sāmiko).[1] Udaya I (797-801
A.D.) married his daughter Devā to Mahinda of Rohaṇa.[2]
Dappula II (815-831 A.D.) gave his sister's son
(bhāgineyya) his daughter Devā in marriage.[3] Sena I
(833-853 A.D.) contracted marriage on behalf of his
sister's daughters.[4] Sena II (853-887 A.D.) arranged
for a marriage between his younger brother's daughter
Saṅghā by name and his own son Kassapa.[5] A passage in
the Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa explains that a certain
minister named Saṅgha did not get married to a girl till
he got the consent of the brothers (as her parents no
longer lived).[6]

These instances clearly show that at least in
royal circles the parents or guardians generally arranged
for their children's marriages. Most of the Indian
texts attributable to our period contain similar
information.[7] The case of Aggabodhi VI may suggest that
the father had not taken his daughter's wish into account.

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1. Cv.,XLVIII,53ff.
2. Ibid.,XLIX,12; see for other implications of this
   marriage, supra,p.97.
3. Ibid.,XLIX,71.
4. Ibid.,L,50-60.
5. Ibid.,LI,15-18.
6. Sahas.,p.176.
7. Harṣacarita,pp.140-142; Ratnāvalī,p.3; Bṛhatkathākoṣa,
   p.102.

Her words 'the husband thou gavest me' (<u>dinno vo sāmiko</u>) may indicate that her marriage was arranged only by her father's decision.

The last part of the passage explains that she had had a love affair with her maternal uncle's son (<u>mātulaputtako</u>) for a long time, perhaps before her marriage with her grandfather's son. As a result, she ran away with the former. This example may suggest that she felt disappointed by her father's selection of a husband because of her love affair with her cross-cousin whom she would normally have married. Further, the reasons that led to the conclusion of this marriage suffice to show that the king intended to confirm the friendship *with* Aggabodhi[1] through this matrimonial alliance, rather than follow the traditional prefernce or select a suitable other partner for his daughter. In the <u>Saddharma Ratnāvaliya</u> we find an example of a girl who accepted a marriage proposal only for the sake of her parents.[2]

Love affairs are not wanting at any time. A Sīgiri poet named Mahasttay speaks of separated lovers

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1. <u>Cv.</u>,XLVIII,45,54.
2. <u>Saddharma Ratnāvaliya</u>,p.354.

who have become united (<u>viyovun vuyū siyou</u>) and, united became very closely associated, when watching Sīgiri.[1] A number of graffiti writers stated that girls welcome the companionship of boys.[2] Some verses explain that the boys and girls exchanged love latters.[3] This is corroborated by the <u>Sikhavalaṅda Vinisa</u>.[4]

The <u>Cūlavaṃsa</u> contains some examples of love marriages. For instance, Ādipāda Udaya concluded a love marriage with his father's sister's daughter.[5] We have already mentioned the love affair between the daughter of king Aggabodhi VI and her matrilateral cross-cousin. Consequently, she got divorced from her husband, who had been selected by her father and was remarried with her lover.[6] The <u>Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa</u> speaks of a younger merchant at Mahātittha who had a love affair with a beautiful girl named Hemā in the western part of Anurādhapura. It is interesting that not only the merchant used to go to see Hemā at her place but also the latter herself went to see the merchant at Mahātittha, at a long distance.[7]

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1. <u>Sīg. Graff.</u>,<u>v</u>.154: (<u>siyovun vatan kum kiyanneyi, bälū säṅdä Sihigiri</u>).
2. <u>Ibid.</u>,<u>v</u>.294.
3. <u>Ibid.</u>,<u>vv</u>.134,269,484,595,640.
4. <u>Sikhav. V.</u>,p.28.
5. <u>Cv.</u>,L,9.
6. <u>Ibid.</u>,XLVIII,58-59.
7. <u>Sahas.</u>,p.127.

According to this survey, it follows that arranged
marriages were no doubt the ideal. But elopement and
love matches were probably common then as now.

Marriage of the ordinary people during our period
was normally monogamous just as in the earlier period,[1]
whereas the practice of polygamy was mainly confined
to royal personages. There is no need to devote much
time to tracing the numerous examples in our sources
of royal harems and kings' different queens.[2] It is
important to add that the available records contain
no evidence of polyandry, as is also the case with other
early sources before the Kandyan period.

As to the wedding ceremony our sources give
little information. A passage in the Vēvälkäṭiya ins-
cription of the tenth century A.D. suggests that mangala
and avamangala rites differed from family to family
or caste to caste (kula).[3] Though this passage does not
define what was meant by the terms mangala and avamangala,
generally, these terms indicate 'marriage' and 'death'
respectively.[4] Yet no evidence is availavle for these

1. Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl.,p.75.
2. See Cv.,XXXVIII,80,112; XXXIX,55; XLI,7; L,50,8,15-17;
   LII,64-67; Sig. Graff.,v.147; Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.49; II,
   p.141; III,p.223.
3. Ep. Zeyl.,I,No,21 lines 32-34: tama taman kulehi (vätena)
   mangula avamangula valndnä parahära no ikma väṭenu.
4. Cf. Dh.A.G.,pp.219,260.

rites indicated in this passage.

In addition, a Sīgiri graffito, attributable
to the latter half of the eighth century A.D., contains
a passage worth considering. Thus we read:- 'Speak
after having placed between (my) breasts a blue badge[1]
(especially) prepared'.[2] These words attributed to a
woman may indicate that she wanted the gallant to
address her only after having tied the **tälla** (marriage
badge). This may suggest that, as to-day, the tying
by the bridegroom of the **tälla** (Sinhalese),[3] **täli** (Tamil)
('badge'), around the bride's neck was in practice at
that time.

This ceremony is at present solemnly carried out
either on the day of betrothal or on that of the **poruva**
cermony.[4] It may become clear from the following
evidence that this ceremony is a tradition handed down

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1. The adjective blue (**nil**) may indicate that the badge
   was embossed with a blue diamond.
2. **Sig. Graff.**, **v**.219: **Tepalan piyovur mäjä kdla lamuka
   ära nil tällak**.
3. The low-country and up-country Sinhalese call it **tälla**
   and **mäla** respectively. In the urban areas both terms
   are found.
4. For some details of the **poruva** ceremony as practice in
   the Kandyan area and low-country see **Nīti-Nighaṇḍuva**,
   chap.3 section 1 and Bryce Ryan, **The Sinhalese Village**,
   pp.82ff respectively. See also, C.M.Austin de Silva,
   'Maṅgul Tahanciya-an Ancient Sinhalese Marriage Custom',
   Sir Paul Pieris Felicitation Volume,1956,p.33.

from ancient times. 'The essence of the contract of matrimony', Queyroz wrote in the seventeenth century A.D., 'consists in the handing of a jewel called _tale_, (_i.e._ _tālla_), which the bridegroom ties round the neck of the bride with a cotton thread timged with saffron ... A day being fixed for the marriage, they erect a high bower at the door of the bride, and the bridegroom comes accompanied by all his relatives to tie the _tale_ ...'[1] Similarly, Rahula in the fifteenth century A.D. mentioned that a necklace was tied around the bride's neck.[2]

Further, Edgar Thurston has pointed out that this is a ceremony which was followed by South Indian Tamils from very early times.[3] It is a well known fact that Sinhalese and Tamils were linked together by many ties during our period. There are a number of occasions when Sinhalese princes fled to South India and returned home with troops.[4] Similarly, South Indian kings also fled to Ceylon.[5] In addition, Tamils both in and outside Ceylon sometimes acted as king-makers in Ceylon. For

1. _Conquest_, Book,1 chap.12,pp.88.
2. _Kāvyaśekharaya_,VI,_v_.22.
3. Edgar Thurston, _Castes and Tribes of South India_, 1909,VII,pp.31.
4. _Cv._,XXXIX,20; XLI,94,106; XLV,13; _Pjv._,p.145.
5. _Cv._,LIII,55; _UCHC_, (vol.I,pt.)I,p.345; K.A.N.Sastri, _A History of South India_,1958,p.181.

instance, when Dāṭhopatissa fled to India, Tamils in Ceylon sent a message to him asking him to come back to the Island and take possession of the throne. Hence Māna, the opponent of Dāṭhopatissa, who was responsible for the security of Anurādhapura and Rohaṇa, asked for the help of the mercenaries in Ceylon to secure his position. However, the Tamils supported Dāṭhopatissa, who subsequently became king.[1]

The Sinhalese kings sometimes enthroned Indian princes in India: The Cūlavaṃsa relates how king Sena II (853-887 A.D.), invaded the Pāṇḍya country and succeeded there in placing his nominee on the Pāṇḍya throne.[2] This is corroborated by epigraphic evidence.[3] It is known that an indirect consequence of these contacts was the occupation by the Cōḷas of Rājaraṭṭha. Thus, the Tamils occupied a strong position and were associated with the Sinhalese royal family by means of marriages and other relations more than ever before. Towards the close of the tenth century A.D. there were permanent Tamil settlements in some parts of the country.[4]

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1. Cv.,XLV,11-12.
2. Ibid.,LI,27-47.
3. See Bilibāva, Aṭvīragollāva and Ellāvala inscriptions, Ep. Zeyl.,II,pp.39 and 44.
4. Cf. K.Indrapala, op. cit.,p.83.

Therefore the Tamil custom of the tying of the marriage badge would have applied to the Sinhalese wedding cermony in the latter part of the Anurādhapura period as indicated by the above Sīgiri graffito.

Although divorce and remarriage were not regarded with favour they did occur. Thus, Aggabodhi's daughter Saṅghā fell out with her husband and returned to her father. The king at once sent her to a home for bhikkhunīs. But she did not stay there long because she got involved in a run-away marriage with the son of her maternal uncle. The reaction of her father and the former husband against her behaviour is quite interesting. They ran after the new couple and Saṅghā, after being captured, was returned to her former husband.[1] The account of the chronicle does not set out the reasons that led to the king's disapproval of her re-marriage with her cross-cousin.[2] But her first marriage, which was arranged by

1. Cv.,XLVIII,55-56.
2. In present Ceylon the cross-cousin has the right to marry the bride even by force. Therefore, before contracting marriage with an outsider the cross-cousin must voluntarily resign his claim. This is done, according to custom, by means of receiving kaḍulu bulat ('betel of the gate', a bundle of forty leaves of betel) by the cross-cousin at the gate of the bride's residence, when the marriage procession approaches the gate.(See for further details Ralph Reiris, Sinhalese Social Organization,p.198). We have no evidence to state whether the cross-cousin had this right in our period as well. If it was the case Saṅghā's marriage without her father's consent would be in agreement with custom. Cf.Ādipāda Udaya's love marriage, below,p. 113.

her father, was motivated by political considerations as we shall see later. It is, therefore, possible that the king wanted to re-confirm her first marriage when she showed once again interest in married life, as he disapproved of her second marriage.

In the same period in India the kṣatriyas prohibited the re-marriage of widows, as has been pointed out by Sharma, who also observes that some widows entered a religious order as nuns.[1] Another passage in the Cūlavaṃsa suggests that a king in Ceylon encouraged his mahesī to become a bhikkhunī after his death: king Jeṭṭhatissa III (632 A.D.), when dying on the battle field, left a message to his mahesī:

> 'Enter O great queen, the order, recite the
> sacred texts, read the Abhidhamma and transfer
> the merit to the king.'[2]

We learn from the following verses that in pursuance of these words of the deceased king she became a bhikkhunī and undertook the reading of the Abhidhamma together with its Aṭṭhakathās and also recited the Dhamma during the rest of her life.

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1. B.N.Sharma, op. cit.,pp.18-19.
2. Cv.,XLIV,109: Pabbajitvā mahādevī sajjhāyityā ca āgamaṃ
      Abhidhammaṃ kathetvāna pattiṃ dehī ti
                                              rājino;
   cf. Geiger's transl.,p.84.

The ideas of the Sīgiri poets attributable to
the period from the eight to the tenth century A.D.
are interesting in this context. The following are
some examples:-

> 'These ladies did not speak as the king
> ... died and departed'; '... the damsel, who
> (wears) a golden chain on her breast ..., does
> not speak to anyone else whomsoever, as the
> king died at that time'; '... having heard that
> king is dead, appear to be as if they are hurling
> (themselves down) from the summit of rock, to-
> gether with the flowers taken (in their hands),
> saying 'We shall die.'[1]

Though these ideas are expressed in a poetic
manner they suggest that the widow was expected to lead
a secluded life. Although the satī practice was not
normally followed the quoted instances, together with
the passages already discussed from the Cūlavaṃsa
suggest that widows were expected to lead a life of
complete chastity. But, as described by Abu Zaīd, who
wrote in the mid-tenth century A.D., no widows in Ceylon
were supposed to become satīs although some of them
volunteered to do so.[2]

The absence of the satī practice in Ceylon seems
quite plausible. On the one hand, though this practice

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1. Sig. Graff.,vv.2,19 and 584 respectively; cf.vv.18,
   360 and 450; Paranavitana's transl.
2. K.A.N.Sastri, Foreign Notices in South India,p.125.

was advocated by the Hindu writers, it was not generally observed by the Hindus themselves, except among some circles in some areas, for instance in Rājputāna in the later period.[1] In this connexion what is of particular interest to us is the extent of its popularity in the Deccan and extreme south of India. Before (c.) 1000 A.D. this practice was very rare in the Deccan. We find no references to its popularity; on the contrary, according to the Arabian records there was no compulsion to practise the satī rite, instead it was entirely left to widows to choose.[2]

In so far as its popularity in the extreme south of India is concerned Altekar opines that 'among the members of the Pallava, the Chōla and the Pāṇḍya ruling families, so well known to us from numerous inscriptions, we do not come across any cases of satī down to c. 900 A.D. It is therefore clear that the custom was yet to obtain a footing in South India'.[3] On the other hand, Buddhism discouraged the people from any sort of inhuman

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1. A.S.Altekar, op. cit.,p.126.
2. History of India as told by its own Historians, ed, Elliot & Dowson,p.122.
3. A.S.Altekar, op. cit.,p.128; K.A.N.Sastri: The Cōlas, II, pt.1.pp.360-62.

deeds like killing, suicide etc., and also different kinds of rites.

Thus, there is nothing to suggest that the _satī_ rite was practised in Ceylon. But, as has already been pointed out, widows were expected to lead a life of chastity. However, examples of divorce and re-marriage are also not wanting. As to the _Cūlavaṃsa_ we have already seen how the queen of Aggabodhi VII left the king and re-married with someone else. This interesting story continues by recording that she spent the last part of her life with her first husband.[1] A story in the _Visuddhimagga_, assigned to the fifth century A.D., tells us of a woman in Anurādhapura who, after a violent quarrel with her husband, made her way towards Mihintalē. On the way she wanted to make love to a _bhikkhu_.[2] A widow queen became the wife of a _senāpati_, settled down happily and bore children.[3] The queen of Upatissa I (368-410 A.D.) put her husband to death and subsequently married his younger brother.[4]

Generally, marriage was patrilocal. Besides some vague allusions we find no examples of matrilocal

1. _Cv._,XLVIII,55-63.
2. _Visuddhim._,pp.20-21.
3. _Cv._,XLVIII,83-114.
4. _Ibid._,XXXVII,209-211.

marriages (modern Sinhalese <u>binna bähīma</u>). A Sīgiri

verse speaks of a person named Vajur Agboy, who resided

in the house of a lady called Sātā.[1] In another Sīgiri

graffito someone describes himself as the husband of

a lady called Boya (<u>Boyaᕽkalaᕽsämi</u>).[2] Paranavitana

concludes that these two passages are examples of

matrilocal marriages.[3]

Yet one may question his conclusion especially

because these examples are of a complicated nature. As

to the first passage, we are not certain whether Vajur

was the husband of Sātā or her relative. The second

passage does not also necessarily imply that Mahasattay

resided at his wife's house. Firstly, there is nothing

in the passage to decide that Maha-amuṇu-dora was his

wife's home. Secondly, the most important point is that

Mahasattay does not actually state that he resided in

his wife's house. Thirdly, Mahasattay,either alone or

with his wife, would have visited Sīgiriya and inscribed

his name together with that of his wife in most suitable

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1. <u>Sig. Graff.</u>,<u>v.</u>268: Sātāᕽkaluᕽge vasana Vajur Agboy
   <u>mi</u> (I am Vajur Agᕽboy residing at the house of lady
   Sātā).
2. <u>Ibid.</u>,<u>v.</u>154: Maha-amuṇu-dorä vasana Boyakalasämi
   <u>Mahasattay mi</u> (I am Mahasattay residing at Maha-amuṇu-
   dora, the husband of lady Boya).
3. <u>Ibid.</u>,Introd.,p.CCXIII.

way at his disposal. Finally, Boya was perhaps a well known figure at that time and therefore Mahasattay introduced himself as her husband.

Regarding the dowry system only the Cūlavaṃsa gives some materials. Thus, it records that king Upatissa II (522 A.D.), gave his daughter in marriage to Silākāla together with revenue (saha bhogena).[1] Sena I (833-853 A.D.) married Saṅghā, the elder daughter of Kittagabodhi of Rohaṇa,[2] to uparāja Sena with important revenue (mahābhogaṃ datvā).[3] Tissā and Kitti, the sisters of Saṅghā, were also given with revenue (bhoga) to uparāja Mahinda.[4]

These passages suggest that a dowry was given to the bridegroom by the bride's party at least in the marriages of royal persons. Yet there is no indication as to whether the other party paid a bride price to the bride. Also nothing is known to the conditions under which these grants were made, nor is it clear whether a dowry was involved in marriages of ordinary people.

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1. Cv.,XLI,8.
2. King Sena's sister was given in marriage to Kittagga-bodhi, Cv.,XLIX,71.
3. Cv.,L,57‐58.
4. Ibid.,L,59-60.

A notable feature of the marriage institution during the period under survey is the fact that its political influence seems to have increased. In the first place, we find examples of the existence of matrimonial bonds between members of the same royal family which may have promoted good relations, or if necessary, contributed to reconciliation among members of the family.

According to the <u>Cūlavaṃsa</u> king Aggabodhi VI (772-777 A.D.), had a father's brother's son (parallel cousin) by the same name, who was heir to the throne. In course of time a quarrel broke out between them. Though it did not last long, the prince moved out of the capital and fled to the Malaya mountains. The king pursued him, brought him back to the capital and in the end, offered him the hand of his daughter Saṃghā.[1] There is no doubt that this marriage was motivated by political considerations. The <u>Cūlavaṃsa</u> also states that the king, arranging this marriage, was convinced that the prince would be more trustworthy after the marriage (<u>hoti</u>

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1. <u>Cv</u>.,XLVIII,39-54.

<u>nissaṃsayaṃ dhīro</u>).[1]

King Sena II (853-887 A.D.), following this example, conferred the rank of <u>uparāja</u>[2] on his younger brother Mahinda with Dakkhiṇadesa as his principality. As he had committed an offence in the king's harem (<u>antopureɪparajjhitvā</u>) he fled to Malaya out of fear for the king. In the meantime, the king had got a son (Kassapa) and, on the very day of his name-giving (<u>nāmadānadine yeva</u>) consecrated him <u>uparāja</u>[3] or, according to the version of an inscription, he was consecrated <u>yuvarāja</u> at the same time of his birth (<u>dunū sänähime yuva-raj bisev-siri pämäṇä</u>).[4]

At this juncture, through the mediation of the <u>bhikkhus</u>, the king and his brother seem to have come to an amicable settlement. However, the king was not satisfied and the <u>Cūlavaṃsa</u> continues with these words: 'the king thought these circumstances my younger brother

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1. <u>Cv.</u>,XLVIII,54; cf. Geiger reads the first two <u>pādas</u> of verse 54 as <u>hoti nissaṃsayaṃ dhīro iti tuṭṭho atī va so</u> and renderes as 'he is no doubt firm, he, being highly plaased'; see <u>Cv. Transl.</u>,p.115,note.2.
2. In the same source Mahinda is called by the title of <u>yuvarāja</u>, <u>Cv.</u>,LI,13,15. See for these titles <u>Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times</u>,pp.120-122; <u>Soc. Med. Ceyl.</u>,pp.95-97; <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,III,p.83.
3. <u>Cv.</u>,LI,12.
4. <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,I,p.42.

will be reliable for me and took careful counsel with his ministers (evaṃ sati kaṇiṭṭhako nissaṃko mayi hotī'ti sammā mantīhi mantiya) and, diplomatically (budho) married the beautiful daughter of the yuvarāja, Saṅghā by name, to his own son Kassapa'.[1] It is obvious that this marriage was of great political importance, as the king had to consult his ministers in this matter.

Secondly, we have examples of matrimonial alliances between the Moriya and Lambakaṇṇa clans. Thus, Silākāla, the son of Dāṭhāpabhuti of the Lamba-kaṇṇa clan, who had been in the service of Kassapa I, brought the Hair Relics (kesadhātu) from the Bodhi-maṇḍapa Vihāra in Jambudīpa in the reign of Moggallāna I (495-512 A.D.). The king rewarded him by appointing him sword-bearer (asiggāhaka) and offering him his sister in marriage.[2] This marriage was apparently only aimed at gaining political advantages but it also carried particular social implications, for we learn from the chronicle that Silākāla was a person of reli-gious importance as he was the first historical person who brought the Hair Relics to Ceylon.[3]

1. Cv.,LI,17-19.
2. Ibid.,XXXIX,44-55.
3. Ibid.,XLI,8-26; cf.

During the time of Kumāradhātusena (512-520 A.D.), Siva (521 A.D.) and Upatissa II (522 A.D.) the position of Silākāla seems to have been well established. So Upatissa wanted him as his son-in-law. In spite of this relationship Silākāla fought against his father-in-law and eventually became king.[1]

On the other hand, Upatissa II (Lamäṇi Upatis, Sinhalese)[2] had a matrimonial alliance with Moggallāna as well. The Cūlavaṃsa refers to Upatissa as <u>Moggallā-nassa bhaginisāmi</u> (Moggallāna's sister's husband).[3] This suggests that Upatissa got married to a sister of Moggallāna. Thus, Moggallāna, Silākāla and Upatissa became relatives by means of marriages. The following chart may illustrate this relationship and also the line of Silākāla:-

Silākāla = princess   Moggallāna   princess = Upatissa
(a Lambakaṇṇa)   (a Moriya)   (a Lambakaṇṇa)

Moggallāna Dāṭhāpabhuti Upatissa   princess

Kittisirimegha

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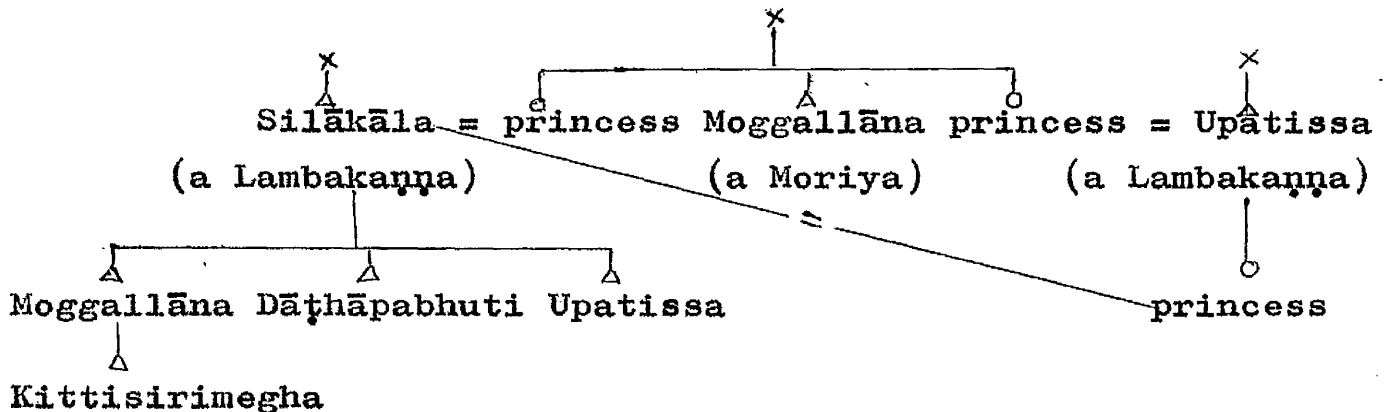
1. <u>Cv</u>.,XLI,8-26.
2. <u>Pjv</u>.,p.145; <u>Rjv</u>.,p.55; <u>NkS</u>.,p.222.
3. <u>Cv</u>.,XLI,6.

The history of the Island between about the
seventh and the ninth century A.D. especially during
the period from 623 to 659 A.D. when we witness a
continues struggle for the Anurādhapura kingdom between
two parties in the kingdom, was a period of dynastic
instability.[1] In these circumstances Rohaṇa made itself
independent. Until the Cōḷas occupied Rājaraṭṭha,
perhaps even during the Cōḷa period, some of the Rohaṇa
territory remained independent. During such a long
period the main relationship between the two kingdoms
appears to have been that based on marriage alliances.
It is therefore, necessary to examine, in brief, these
alliances. According to the Cūlavaṃsa, Aggabodhi, the
first independent ruler of Rohaṇa in our period,
established his own dynasty. The eldest of his younger
brothers, Dappula by name, brought glory to his line
through political and religious achievements. The
chronicle explains how the king of Anurādhapura
(Silāmeghavaṇṇa), having heard of his achievements,
gave him his daughter in marriage.[2]

When Udaya I (797-801 A.D.) was on the throne
of Anurādhapura, a nobleman called Ādipāda Dāṭhāsiva

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1. UCHC, (vol.I,pt.)I,p.300.
2. Cv.,XLV,50.

was in Rohana with the title of <u>Rohana (desaṁhi)</u>
<u>bhogādhipati</u>.[1] In his Rāssahela inscription he is
referred to as Aypayi Daḷasiva.[2] Geiger has considered
this title as that of the administrative officer
responsible for the revenue of Rohana.[3] His son Mahinda
was no longer on good terms with his father and found
his way to the king of Anurādhapura. King Udaya placed
under him an army division enabling him to bring the
principality under his control. In order to strengthen
the friendship (<u>tena mettiṁ thiraṁ kātuṁ</u>) with Mahinda
the king gave also him his daughter Devā in marriage.[4]
Thus, the ties between Anurādhapura and the new line
of Rohana became closer. This was the first of a number
of similar alliances between the two royal houses. As
a consequence, the kings of Anurādhapura got involved
in the family troubles of the rulers of Rohana.

Though the <u>Cūlavaṁsa</u> does not explicitly mention
this there was most probably a matrimonial alliance
between the two royal houses during the time of Aggabodhi
VI (733-772 A.D.). During the struggle between Dappula,

1. <u>Cv.</u>,XLIX,10.
2. <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,IV,no.20,pp.169-176.
3. <u>Cv. Transl.</u>,p.128.
4. <u>Cv.</u>,XLIX,10-12.

the sister's son of king Aggabodhi VI,[1] and Mahinda II
(777-797 A.D.) for the throne, the Cūlavaṃsa mentions
that the two sons of his sister were summoned from
Rohaṇa by Dappula.[2] This passage may suggest that
Dappula's sister had been given in marriage to the
ruler of Rohaṇa and as usual, Dappula sought his nephews'
support in his warfare. Unfortunately no further details
about this relationship are known.

Mahinda of Rohaṇa, imitating, as it were, his
father's ill treatment towards him, expelled his sons
from the place. They naturally turned to their maternal
uncle, king Dappula II (815-831 A.D.). They were welcomed
by the king, who subsequently gave his daughter Devā
in marriage to Kittaggabodhi, the eldest of them, and
supported him to seize the throne of Rohaṇa.[3] Once
again family dissension arose within the royal house
of Rohaṇa: Kittaggabodhi had four sons and three daughters,
most probably by queen Devā. The eldest of them was
murdered by his father's sister who seized the throne
on the death of Kittaggabodhi. All the others were
taken to king Sena I (833-853 A.D.), their maternal

1. Cv.,XLVIII,90.
2. Ibid.,XLVIII,98.
3. Ibid.,XLIX,71-72.

uncle, who brought them up. When Kassapa, the eldest,
was old enough to lead an expedition to expel the usurper
from their principality, Sena I supplied him with forces
and directed him to take possession of his province.
Further, when his sister's daughters reached marriageable
age (<u>vayappattāsu rājakaññāsu</u>) he married Sanghā, on
whom he had conferred the title of <u>rājinī</u>,[1] to his nephew,
the <u>uparāja</u> Sena, he offered the other two princesses
Tissā and Kitti, to Mahinda, the younger brother of
the <u>uparāja</u>.[2]

Once again, we come across a political marriage
between the rulers of the two regions. Mahinda, the son
of Kassapa V (914-923 A.D.), who became the ruler of
Rohaṇa, had a claim to the territory from his father and
mother (<u>lābhī Rohaṇadesassa mātito pitito pi ca</u>).[3] The
ambitious Mahinda wanted to expand his territory so that
it would include the Anurādhapura kingdom. King Kassapa
IV (898-914 A.D.), who was on the throne of Anurādhapura
at that time tried to oppose him, but in vain. Then the
king, more diplomatically, sent Mahinda's father, the
<u>yuvarāja</u> Kassapa, to persuade him to return to Rohaṇa.

This mission proved succesful. Mahinda returned to

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1. She is referred to in inscriptions as <u>debisev</u> and
   <u>bisev</u>, see <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,III,p.95.
2. <u>Cv.</u>,L,50-60.
3. <u>Ibid.</u>,LI,100.

Rohaṇa but found his subjects in rebellion. Consequently, he had to flee to the north. In the end, some bhikkhus led him to the king. It seems that this long-lasting political conflict ended in the marriage of Mahinda with one of the daughters of the king. After the marriage the king sent him back to Rohaṇa.[1]

Although it is uncertain why the king ultimately contacted Mahinda in this particular manner, it may be suggested that he wanted to maintain peaceful co-existence with Rohaṇa, rather than subjugate it. This may well be due to the influence of the bhikkhus who brought Mahinda to the king.

The following table shows the matrimonial relations between the rulers of Anurādhapura and those of Rohaṇa of the line of Dāṭhāsiva:-

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              Anurādhapura line                    Rohaṇa line

                     X                                   X
                     A                                   A
                  Udaya I                             Dāṭhāsiva
                     |
          A                      O                        |
      Dappula II               Devā        =          Mahinda *
                     |
      A                          Devā  =  Kittaggabodhi *
   Kassapa
  A        A         A        O        O        O
Sena II  Kassapa IV  Mahinda  Sanghā  Tissā  Kitti
   |         |          =
   |                                 O
Kassapa V  _____  = _____  Sanghā (by Tissā)
              O                  A
          princess  =  Mahinda *(Rohaṇa)
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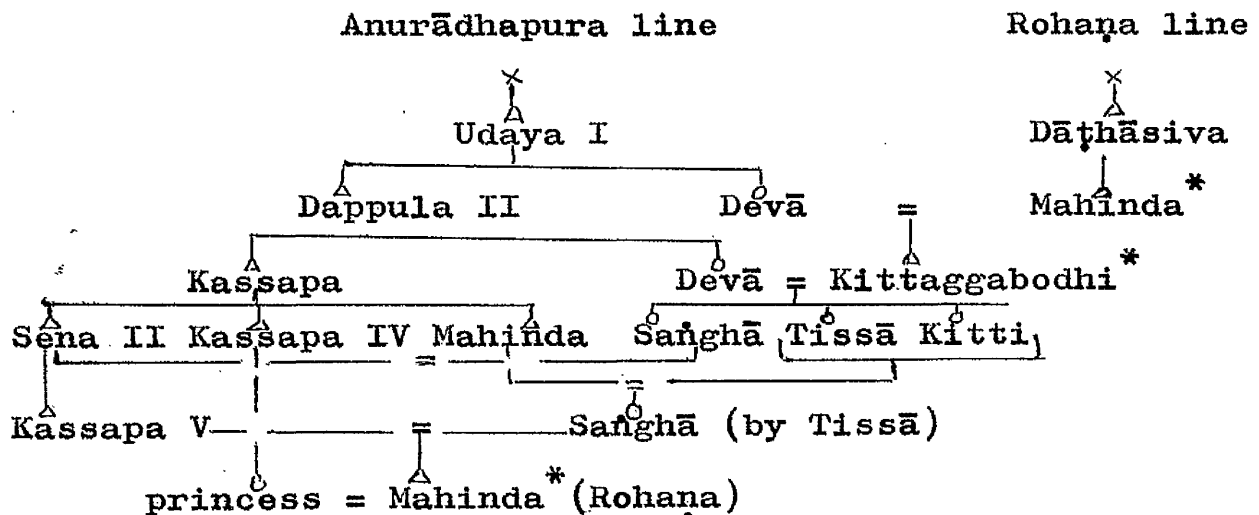
1. Cv.,LI,100.
* Kings of Rohaṇa.

When Anurādhapura rulers wanted to bring
Rohaṇa under their control it seems that they also
took advantage of the issue of previous matrimonial
alliances even if these had contracted a generation
earlier. For instance, prince Kittaggabodhi, the son
of the ādipāda Mahinda, the elder brother of the king
Udaya of Anurādhapura (887-898 A.D.), rebelled against
the king. His main attack came from Rohaṇa, because
he had been able to bring the people of Rohaṇa under
his control after his maternal uncle's assassination.[1]
King Udaya did not fight directly against him. Instead,
he looked for an officer who could assert a claim to
the Rohaṇa principality to lead the expedition against
the rebel. His choice fell on Mahinda, the son of
yuvarāja Kassapa (i.e. Kassapa V). This Mahinda had
some right to the territory because both his grandmothers
were daughters of the earlier Kittaggabodhi[2] of Rohaṇa.
Mahinda was welcomed by the people of Rohaṇa and
succeeded in re-establishing the earlier relationship.[3]

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1. The name of the ruler still remains unknown, although
   Geiger presumes it was Kassapa, the second son of
   Kittaggabodhi, see, Cv. Transl.,p.50,note,2.
2. See the table on page 133.
3. Cv.,LI,97-119.

In the light of the foregoing examples it becomes
clear that marriage was the main mean by which the two
royal houses were brought into closer relationship,
as they, thus, became more directly involved in each
other's family disputes.

It is worth noting that matrimonial alliances
were often considered important for political aims
in many parts of the world. It may be interesting to
examine a few examples of such alliances concluded
between royal families in South India during our
period. The marriage between Rudraśena II of the
Vākāṭaka dynasty and Prabhāvatī Guptā, the daughter
of Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty, was a very
effective marriage alliance.[1] Another example is that
of the marriage between Narendrasena of the Vākāṭaka
dynasty and the daughter of Kakutsthavarman of the
Kadamba dynasty.[2]

During the struggle of three empires (the Cālukyas
of Vātāpi, the Pallavas of Kāñcī and the Pāṇḍyas of
Madurai) in South India we find that a number of marriages
were concluded to establish friendly relations between

1. K.A.N.Sastri, _History of South India_,p.104.
2. _Ibid._,p.104.

the ruling dynasties. For example, the struggle between Māṛavarman Rājasiṁha I (730-765 A.D.), the Pāṇḍya ruler, and the Cālukya Kīrtivarman (744/5-755 A.D.), was for a time interrupted owing to a marriage.[1] Dantidurga (c. 752-756 A.D.), of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas made use of the same alliance in order to establish his power over the Cālukya territories.[2] Dhruva (780-792 A.D.), another Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, succeeded in concluding a treaty with Viṣṇuvardhana (772-808 A.D.), the ruler of the Eastern Cālukyas, by taking a daughter of the Eastern Cālukya king as queen.[3] The Cōḷa king Āditya (871-907 A.D.), established a friendly relationship with Sthāṇuravi, the Cera king, by means of a marriage.[4] In the relations between the Eastern Cālukyas and the Cōḷas marriage played a vital part.[5]

Finally, matrimonial alliances were important factors in the foreign policy of the Sinhalese rulers. The Cūlavaṃsa mentions that Mahinda IV (956-972 A.D.), married a princess from Kaliṅga.[6] The Rambāva inscription

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1. K.A.N.Sastri, History of South India.,p.105.
2. Ibid.,p.150.
3. Ibid.,p.152.
4. Ibid.,p.168.
5. Ibid.,p.180; The Cōḷas,pp.268-269.
6. Ep. Zeyl.,II,p.69: see for Kaliṅga supra,p. 104,note 3.

contains information about this queen.[1] In later times

also we find examples of rulers who followed this

principle. For instance, one of the means used by

king Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110 A.D.) to strengthen his

position vis-á-vis the Cōḷas was to establish matrimonial

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1. Ep. Zeyl.,II,p.68: Paranavitana, according to his
own decipherment of interlinear writings on the Abhaya-
giri Slab Inscription, reconstructed quite a dramatic
account of this marriage. It is worth a brief note:-

A Pāṇḍya king named Varaguṇa, the son of Śrīmāra,
was enthroned by a Sinhalese king. The son of Varaguṇa
named Śrīmāra arrived in Java from the Pāṇḍya country,
and got married to Guṇavatī, the daughter of Guṇār-
ṇava. Not much later, Guṇārṇava arrived in Ceylon
after being defeated by the Cambodian ruler during
the reign of Sena. Guṇārṇava requested the yuvarāja
Mahendra to lead an expedition to Java in order of
reinstate him in his kingdom. The yuvarāja proved
successful and returned home after having married
Sundarī, the daughter of Śrīmāra by Guṇavatī.

The personages mentioned above are identified
by Paranavitana as follows:- The king with whose
aid Varaguṇa secured the thrône of Madurai was
Sena II (853-887 A.D.). This is supported by the
Cūlavaṃsa and the inscriptions. (See Cv.,LI,27ff;
Ep. Zeyl.,II,pp.38ff; V,p.105). The yuvarāja Mahendra,
according to Paranavitana, is the king to whom
reference is made in the Cūlavaṃsa. He was married
to a Kaliṅga princess. Sena, who was on the throne
when Guṇārṇava arrived in Ceylon, was the fourth
of that name.

Finally, Paranavitana draws the conclusion that
Kaliṅga with which the mahesī of Mahinda IV was
connected is not the well known region of that name,
but Malaysia or part thereof. (See Ceylon and Malaysia,
pp.30-36). Though the story seems interesting, the
document itself is quite controversial. (Cf. L.Guna-
wardhana, UCR, XXV,1967,pp.22ff).

alliances with the Kaliṅga kings and the Pāṇḍyas, who were equally hostile to the Cōḷas.[1]

In the light of the foregoing discussion of political marriages with took place between (a) members of the Anurādhapura royal family itself, including the Moriya and Lambakaṇṇa clans (b) the Anurādhapura and Rohaṇa royal families and (c) Ceylon and Kaliṅga it follows that the marriage institution played and important role in politics by its effects on the rights of succession to the throne, by ending disputes between the royal families, as well as by keeping the regional rulers under control. Further, it played at least some important part in foreign relations. Some marriages had far-reaching consequences.

To sum up, an attempt has been made to study the structure and function of marriage during our period. We have tried to compare our data as far as possible with those in both preceding and subsequent periods. In addition, some features of marriage in Ceylon were compared with the Indian subcontinent whenever this seemed desirable.

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1. Cv.,LIX,28-30; 41-42: for further details of these matrimonial alliances see W.M.K.Wije⁀tunga, The Rise and Decling of the Cōḷa Power in Ceylon Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis,(University of London,1962),pp.112ff.

Firstly, we intended to set out the prevailing norms of the marriage institution, and subsequently tried to find out the extent to which historical persons adhered to these norms. Thus, we dicussed different aspects of this institution such as marriageable age, the absence of child marriage, exogamic and endogamic rules, preferential matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, the qualifications of marriage partners, the influence of parental consent on the selection of marriage partners, monogamy and polygamy, the absence of polyandry and its existence in the Kandyan period, divorce and remarriage, the absence of the _satī_ rite, the existence of patrilocal marriages and the absence of matrilocal marriages, the existence of the dowry system and the absence of evidence for the paying of a bride price and, finally, the influence of the marriage institution on politics.

It is evident that there was considerable divergence between the expected and the actual behaviour of the people, as far as marriage is concerned. Regarding the marriageable age of a girl fifteen or sixteen was considered ideal. Yet there is no evidence that this ideal was always followed in practice, just as to-day.

Most marriages were concluded with parental consent, but there were love matches and elopements as now. Neither divorce nor re-marriage was favoured but both occurred.

During the period under survey there is no evidence for marked changes. Most aspects of marriage remained unchanged during our period. But certainly there are developments, especially as far as its influence on politics is concerned.

However, some features of marriage which did not exit during our period emerged later. One of these is polyandry, which was widely practised during the Kandyan period.[1] During our period some widows entered into Order as nuns. Yet there are no examples showing that this happened in any other period. Though in present Ceylon there are matrilocal marriages we find no evidence for their occurence during our period. Similarly, there is no evidence to the existence of a bride price although the dowry system existed. These aspects play a vital role to-day especially in arranged marriages. No cases of levirate and sororate are recorded in any period of Ceylonese history.

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1. See for a detailed study of polyandry in Ceylon, S.J.Tambiah, 'Polyandry in Ceylon', Fürer Haimendorf (ed.), <u>Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon</u>, 1966,pp.264-359; cf. Introd.,p.8.

Chapter Four

POSITION OF WOMEN

In order to determine the place of women in society, it is necessary to study the attitudes of men towards women and, particularly, the services rendered by women in their various roles as mothers, wives, sisters etc. with special reference to their involvements in political, social and religious affairs. Any serious attempt to study these aspects is beset with certain difficulties, which must be borne in mind from the beginning. On the one hand, the chronicles provide comparatively little information on those activities of women to which the student of social history should attach importance. On the other hand, even the information that we find is limited to women belonging to court circles or to the nobility. The role of ordinary women in society would certainly deserve great attention, but our sources are almost completely silent in this respect. In addition, there are a number of epigraphic records but these contain only limited data.

However, as to the prevailing attitudes towards
women, the Sīgiri graffiti give us interesting materials.
Firstly, their authors belong to our period. Secondly,
as their literary activities demonstrate they all
belonged to the educated élite of society. Further
they supply important data, for most of them left
with their writings such details as their personal names,
together with surnames, occupation, residence and titles
indicating official and social ranks like mapuruma,
mahalē, himi and bata.[1] On the other hand some of the
graffiti writers were bhikkhus, others were ladies.[2]
Thus, the Sīgiri graffiti give us some idea of different
strata of society. Thirdly, these writers had no intention
to lay down rules, nor were they philosophers like the
Buddha, who reflecting upon the dangers for men if
they were seduced by women. The Sīgiri poets simply
put their feelings, aroused by the beautiful paintings
and the impressive surroundings of Sīgiri, into one
single couplet or quatrain.

It is true that most of these writings are lyrical
in character, and some are inspired by traditional ideas

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1. Sīg. Graff., vv.143,621,543 and 357 respectively, see
   also Introd.,pp.CCX-CCXIV.
2. See for the bhikkhu writers, Sīg. Graff., vv.88,136,
   224 and 461, and for poetesses 286,504 and 681.

rather than by the practice of the time; also there are some writings composed apparently by misogynists, but on the whole their historical importance cannot be underestimated.

Despite these limitations, a careful examination of the details of the literary and epigraphic sources may enable us to get some idea of the position of women in our period, even though the result may not prove entirely satisfactory.

A.S.Altekar, dealing with the general attitude of people towards women in India, points out: 'In the same century and in the same province we sometimes come across diametrically opposite views about the worth, nature and importance of women. One school declaring that the highest gift of God to man, while the other is seen asserting that the best way to reach God is to avoid woman'.[1] As far as the attitudes towards women are concerned this view applies also to Ceylon.

If one considers the passages dealing with attitudes towards women it becomes clear that there was no uniformity. A bhikkhu named Kasub expressed as

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1. A.S.Altekar, The Position of Women in Ancient India, 1956,p.305.

his view, in a verse written on the Sīgiri gallery
wall, that the artist was quite skilled to express the
feelings of women through the medium of paintings.[1]
But this idea does not agree with what most of other
graffiti writers feel. According to them the feminine
mind is enigmatic mainly because women behave contrary
to their appearence. Thus, Bohodevi (in Pali: Bodhideva ?),
the private secretary (payamulleydaru) of prince Mihidel,
addressing one of the painted women, stated that the
latter entices people but does not speak.[2] Other writers
complained that the ladies behave as though they are
pleased but do not really accept the supplicant.[3] 'You,
Dalami of Atalagama writes, 'have the appearence of
smiling, but your heart is hard'.[4] To Sivat of the
house of Sivatnā Māḍabi, the ladies are pitiless but
they show a gentle smile.[5]

A poetess, named Batī,[6] in collaboration with
the other writers mentioned above, made a verse about
members of her own sex, stating that the ladies are

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1. Sig. Graff., v.541.
2. Ibid., v.119.
3. Ibid., v.225.
4. Ibid., v.415.
5. Ibid., v.225.
6. Batī herself introduces that she is a woman.

attractive but without a loving heart.[1] Another tells

us that women conceal their affections by an appearence

of being hard.[2] It is worth noting, however, that not

only women conceal their feelings as this is the common

feature of all human beings as the Buddha said.[3]

On the other hand, there are some Sīgiri visitors

who regarded the women as goddesses. Thus, an anonymous

writer declared. '... I know that you are celestial

beings' (danim topa sura bava).[4] Some of them even

regarded Sīgiri as heaven because it was the only place

where there were such very beautiful ladies.[5]

This exaggerated emphasis on the celestial nature

of women is, however, not limited to Ceylonese writers.

Varāhamihira, for instance, described women as goddesses

of fortune (Lakṣmī).[6] Manu unequivocally assigns to

women the status of presiding deities in the home.[7] At

the same time, the opposite idea was also very common,

Kit Saṅg Boy, a Sīgiri writer, states that damsels

retarded (the progress of) him who is going to heaven.

1. Sīg. Graff., v,87; cf. v.122.
2. Ibid., v.603.
3. Dhammapada,II,p.56.
4. Sīg. Graff., v.50.
5. Ibid., v.456.
6. Bṛhat Saṃhitā, Strīprasaṃsādhyāya, chap.74,vv. 4-6 & 15.
7. Manu,IX,20.

(... _añganan saga yannā keḷe pasu_).[1] Similarly, Bhartṛhari
condemned women as obstacles in the way of those anxious
to reach the door of heaven.[2] Guruḷugōmi in the Polonnaru
period cited many passages in support of this idea.[3]

We come across some versifiers among the Sīgiri
writers, who condemned all womankind. Thus, Menen wrote
as follows: 'To have one's mind ensnared, being attached
to her, by a damsel who is winsome on account of her
radiant smile and who is pleasing is (like unto) taking
the jewelled hook of an elephant-driver and placing
it on one's own head'.[4] The writer of verse 582 describes
a boy, who fell in love with a girl, as a bee imprisoned
in a lotus flower. This view is very popular among the
Sīgiri writers. Some of them confessed that the girls
enslaved them with the fluttering of their eyelids,
their gentle smile and talk.[5]

Not only Sīgiri poets but also various other
men treated women in this manner. The Buddha explained

1. <u>Sīg. Graff.</u>, <u>v</u>.44.
2. <u>Śṛṅgāraśataka</u>, <u>v</u>.45.
3. <u>Dharmapradīpikā</u>,pp.141-159.
4. <u>Sīg. Graff.</u>, <u>v</u>.306: <u>Lädī mana bandnā</u>
   <u>Pähäbar-sinā-rusnā</u>
   <u>Katakhi tosnā</u>
   <u>Miṇi-akusu hishi lay gannā.</u>
5. <u>Ibid.</u>, <u>vv</u>.25-27,44,449,487,495,638.

in the Aṅguttara Nikāya: 'More than anything else, the form (rūpa), sound (sabda), scent (gandha), savour (rasa) and touch (poṭṭhabba) of the women enslave the man.[1] 'Women', Somadeva Sūri claims, 'when heard of, deprive one of the faculty of hearing; looked at, they deprive one of the power of seeing; remembered, they captivate the mind; and embraced, they disable the mind; when in love, they take away one's life; when separated they take away one's joy'.[2] A similar idea occurs in a different form in one of the Sīgiri graffiti: 'The king is said to have been ruined on account of these women, and the same fate will overtake those who go after them now'.[3]

There are some of the Sīgiri writers, who hated the permanent association of man with woman. One wrote that woman is like taking the fire on to one's head after having warmed oneself at it.[4] Another explicitly expressed his idea thus:- 'As one is captivated at once internally as well as externally, the supporting of women by men is like leaping from a peak'.[5] The

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1. A.N.,I,p.1; cf. F.L.Woodward, The Book of the Gradual Sayings,1951,I,p.1.
2. Yaśastilaka Campu,I,73.
3. Sig. Graff., v.494.
4. Ibid., v.672.
5. Ibid., v.23.

writer of verse 456 degraded women as discarded scum

(säp-muñdu) and advised his friend not to make friendship

with them. Some of the writers beat all others by

referring to women by the abusive epithets of the

'faithless one' (asad)[1] and 'shameless one' (vili nättan).[2]

There is no doubt that some of these expressions represent

the views of misogynists rather than the general

attitudes of the time.

Some of the verses composed by poetesses throw

light on an interesting feature of their own character.

Thus, the song of Sevu, the wife of Nidalu Mihid,

indicates that women are jealous of each other.[3] The

wife of Mahamata, named Devā explicitly stated that

she could not put up with well dressed beautiful ladies;

they aroused her anger, because they looked like her

rivals.[4] We learn from another verse that a wife kept

a watchful eye on attractive ladies, because they

might succeed in captivating her husband's mind.[5]

In the light of such findings as those from

the Sīgiri graffiti and other sources it would appear

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1. SIg. Graff., vv.158,172,323.
2. Ibid., v.664.
3. Ibid., v.41.
4. Ibid., v.152.
5. Ibid., v.618.

that it is quite difficult to arrive at a general

conclusion about the attitude of the Sinhalese males

towards women during the period under survey, just

as in any other period in Ceylon or in the Indian

subcontinent.[1] There are, however, strong arguments

to contest the view of M.B.Ariyapala, that most of

the writers treated the women with contempt.[2] Firstly,

most of the unfavourable comments on women are inspired

by the desire of the bhikkhus and other religious

groups to divert man's mind from all worldly attachments.

A clear example is that of a Sīgiri verse composed

by a young bhikkhu, named Riyansen: in keeping with

his vocation, he beseeches the ladies not to speak, for

he is already suffering from indifference to religious

discipline; and, if he heard them speak the result

would be disastrous.[3]

Secondly, as has been noted, there were writers,

who treated women both with sympathy and contempt. This

1. For a more comprehensive discussion of the general
   attitude of men towards women in India, see, C.Bader,
   Women in Ancient India,1925,chap.1; A.M.Indra, The
   Status of Women in Ancient India,1955, chap.1; P.H.Prabhu
   Hindu Social Organization,1958, chap.VII; M.K.Kapadia,
   Marriage and Family life in India,1966, chap.11 etc.
2. Soc. Med. Ceyl.,p.301.
3. Sīg. Graff., v.128.

is one of the characteristics of all complex societies.
On the whole such differences of view are quite common
in any society, especially about subjects like human
nature.

On the other hand, Ariyapala's views are based
on insufficient evidence, as this scholar has not utilised
the Sīgiri graffiti at all in his study. On the contrary,
in support of his argument he has quoted only from
Sinhalese Buddhist literature which was written by
bhikkhus mainly on the basis of stories which reflected
one-sided ideas about women. In this connexion, it may
further be added that no scholar so far has made an
attempt to consider the Sīgiri graffiti from a socio-
logical point of view.

As has been indicated at the beginning, it is
now appropriate to examine the services rendered by
women in the different walks of life. First of all, it
would be interesting to find out what the attitude of
parents was towards their daughters. There is no evidence
to show that the birth of a girl was not longed for in
the period under survey, and in this respect there is
no clear difference, with the early period.[1] In addition,

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1. Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl.,p.84.

there is nothing to suggest that the emotional attachment
of parents to their daughters was less strong than that
to their sons.

Parents not only brought up their daughters well
but they also extended their love and affection towards
them in various ways. For instance, we find that some
royal persons, after having erected religious buildings
named them after their daughters. Thus, king Kassapa I
(477-495 A.D.), restored the famous vihāra called
Issarasamaṇārāma, which had been built by king Devānaṁ-
piyatissa (c. 250 B.C.),[1] and named it after his two
daughters Bodhi and Uppalavaṇṇā and his own name.[2] It
thus came to be known as Kassapagiri-Bodhi-Uppalavaṇṇa
Vihāra according to literary and archaeological evidence.[3]

Likewise, Aggabodhi I (575-608 A.D.) having
constructed a pāsāda in the Hatthikucchi Vihāra,[4] named

1. Mv.,XX,14-15; Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.38; M.Wimalkitti, Śilālekhana
   Saṃgrahaya,II,p.36.
2. Cv.,XXXIX,10-11.
3. This vihāra is referred to in the inscriptions as
   Isurumeṇu-Bŏ-Upulvan-Kasubgiri, Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.38; IV
   p.128. This is the so-called Vessagiri Vihāra in Anurādha-
   pura. For its identification with the ancient Issara-
   samaṇārāma, see CJSG, II,1928-33,p.182; IV,p.128;
   Mv. Ṭīkā,I,p.407.
4. As has been pointed out by E.W.Adikaram this was a well
   known monastery in old days, Early History of Buddhism
   in Ceylon, 1949,pp.103,122; see for further references to
   the vihāra, Cv.,XLVIII,65; XLIX,33,76; Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.56;
   JCBRAS (NS.),VI,1963,p.93.

it after his daughter.[1] The significance of these two
instances would have become clear if the chronicles
had recorded the attitude of these two monarchs towards
their sons as well. But unfortunately for us, the evidence
at our disposal does not even establish whether these
two kings had any sons at all.

Parents generally kept a watchful eye on their
daughters even after they were given in marriage.
According to the Visuddhimagga, there were a mother and
father at Vattakāla in the vicinity of the Girikaṇḍa
Mahāvihāra, who looked after their pregnant daughter.[2]

In this connexion, though, it would have been
interesting to know whether an uxorilocal (binna) marriage
had been contracted for their daughter, but we are told
nothing about this in the story. It seems, however,
more likely that the daughter had remained in her parents'
house in a joint family, which was the main social unit

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1. Cv.,XLII,21. Her name was most probably Dāṭhā referred
   to in verse XLII,10.
2. Visuddhim.,I,p.143-144; cf. Atthasālini,p.116. C.W.
   Nicholas proposes that the said Girikaṇḍa Mahāvihāra
   is the place which is referred to in the Tiriyāya
   Sanskrit inscription of the seventh century A.D. and is
   situated about thirty miles north of Trincomalee,
   JCBRAS (NS.),VI,1963,pp.45-46. The reference could also
   apply to a vihāra of the same name at Ambalantoṭa in
   Southern Province; A.R. Arch Surv. Ceyl.,1951,p.G.29;
   M.Wimalakitti, Siṃhala Aṇḍuva,p.8.

in Ceylon during the period under review.[1]

Some examples in the Cūlavaṃsa suggest that royal
persons also looked after their daughters even after
they were given in marriage. For example, king Aggabodhi
VI (733-772 A.D.) made his daughter enter into the
bhikkhunī order when she had left her husband.[2] It is
explained in another passage that king Dhātusena (459-
477 A.D.) put his own sister to death for the sake of
his very beloved (pāṇasamā) daughter, who had been
given in marriage to his sister's son.[3]

This may also suggest that men behaved more
affectionately towards their daughters than towards
their sisters. In support of this idea one may point
to the above mentioned two passages which have been
cited with reference to the attitude of Kassapa and
Aggabodhi towards their daughters: They seem to have
been preferred to name their foundations after their
daughters'names, although they also had sisters.[4]

As has already been seen marriage during the
period under consideration was normally monogamous. In

1. Supra,pp.30-32.
2. Cv.,XLVIII,57.
3. Ibid.,XXXVIII,81-83.
4. Ibid.,XXXIX,55; XLI,6,42.6,38 respectively.

such a type of marriage it is generally accepted that
both husband and wife take more or less equal responsi-
bilities in their family duties, though the former is
considered the head of the family. While it was the
husband's duty to provide livelihood according to his
means, the wife had to be a good and diligent housewife.
Yet this by no means suggests that the wife's life was
limited only to domestic duties.

In spite of the lack of evidence as to the extent
to which mothers would have exercised their authority
in important events in their children's life like
marriages, it is likely that they had enough opportunities
to take part, in common with their husbands, in many
decisions regarding their children.

According to the Visuddhimagga, there were parents
who had their child admitted to the Sāsana. Since the
boy had been sent to another vihāra, different from
that to which he had been handed over by his parents
in order to improve his knowledge of the Dhamma, his
mother was unable to see him for some time; she became
worried, went frequently to the vihāra to which the
child had been handed over by them, and pleaded with

the mahāthera, who was responsible for their child, to bring him back so that she might see him. Consequently, the mahāthera went himself to bring him back.[1] This passage suggests that mothers not only brought up their babies but also they took care of them even after they had grown up. This idea is supported by another example from the same source: there were three people, who had been sentenced to death for committing a criminal offence. The day on which the punishment was carried out, neither their father nor any other male relative went to the place of execution, but their mother did.[2]

These examples show another aspect of the position of women: both these examples make it clear that there was no objection against women going about their business freely without being accompanied by any male member of their family. This is corraborated by some more examples: the daughter of king Aggabodhi VI (733-772 A.D.), Saṅghā by name, returned alone to her father after leaving her husband.[3] Another wife walked unaccompained from Anurādhapura to Mihintalē, a distance of more than eight miles.[4] A pregnant wife attended a public function held

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1. Visuddhim.,p.91.
2. Ibid.,II,p.556.
3. Cv.,XLVIII,56.
4. Visuddhim.,p.20.

at Girikaṇḍa Vihāra in the late evening.[1] There were
a number of women who visited Sīgiri with or without
their husbands and contributed poems in common with
others.[2]

Thus, the women enjoyed a certain amount of
freedom as mothers and wives. Further, we come across
some references suggesting that wives sometimes used
their influence on their husbands by inducing them
to live righteously as far as the distribution of their
wealth was concerned.

The mahesī of king Mahānāma (410-432 A.D.), for
instance, persuaded the latter to offer a vihāra, which
had been built by him, to the Theravāda school (i.e.
the Mahāvihāra), because he had already offered three
vihāras to the Abhayuttara Vihāra[3] This is probably
because the mahesī was aware that it was important to
win the goodwill of the bhikkhus of both fraternities,
although Rahula has suggested that she was a devotee
of the Mahāvihāra.[4] The real reason was that Mahānāma
had become king in an improper manner.[5]

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1. Visuddhim.,I,p.143.
2. Sig. Graff.,vv.41.152,266,277,543,681.
3. Cv.,XXXVII,213: mahesiyā nayenādā bhikkhunaṃ theravādinaṃ.
4. W.Rahula, History of Buddhism in Ceylon,p.98.
5. Cv.,XXXVII,209-211.

However, the donation to the Mahāvihāra was undoubtedly a factor that not only the goodwill of the bhikkhus but also the mahesī's confidence. In this connexion, it would be interesting to note that the winning of one's wife's heart was sometimes considered of utmost importance are by the ancient Indians as a means to achieve perfect conjugal harmony and understanding.[1]

Besides, we find some wives who expressed the view that they had certain rights over their husbands even to the extent of controlling them. For example, a Sīgiri poetess wrote that her husband seemed amused when watching the beautiful ladies at Sīgiri, but she did not mind it, as she was conscious of her own power to control him whenever she felt that he had gone too far.[2] Further, we saw that women had in certain cases the right to choose their life partners and to get a separation. In addition, they were, by no means, expected to become satīs. On the contrary, they were permitted to conclude a second marriage or to become bhikkhunīs as they desired.[3]

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1. Mālatī-Mādhava, VII, p.145.
2. Sīg. Graff., v.681.
3. Supra, pp.118-122.

Women rendered valuable services to religion. Firstly, they contributed to the Sāsana as lay devotees. Secondly, they fully entered the Sāsana by becoming bhikkhunīs. As a lay person, a woman could serve the Sāsana in a number of ways such as by providing the Saṅgha with food, clothing etc., offering contributions towards the maintenance of the vihāras and constructing new pāsādas. It may be interesting to examine a few examples.

As far as the contribution made by women towards the maintenance of the bhikkhus is concerned, it appears that women acted mainly during the rainy (vassāna) season.[1] We learn from a story in the Visuddhimagga of an ordinary woman who maintained a bhikkhu during the whole season.

A husband and wife built a shelter in order to house a bhikkhu during the rainy season. On the day of observing the vassa precept (sikkhāpada), a bhikkhu came to the newly built house and observed the sikkhāpada

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1. The vassa (Sinhalese, vas) season, roughly from July to October, when the bhikkhus observed the vassa sikkhāpada retreat remaining in one place, was a period during which the whole country become religiously conscious. Particular arrangements were made for the maintenance of the bhikkhus during this period. Dv., XXI, 25; Ep. Zeyl., I, pp. 58-62. For the details of the vassa sikkhāpada, see Mahāvagga, pp. 163ff.

in it. The husband learnt about that and informed his wife that their _vihāra_ had been occupied by a _bhikkhu_, who should be looked after. S(e)(h), being very pleased, supplied refreshments and every other requirements of the _bhikkhu_ during the whole season. In addition, at the end of the period of the _vassāna_, when she was informed by the _bhikkhu_ that the time of his departure had come she said, 'Venerable Sir, it would be a great pleasure for us if you could kindly stay with us till to-morrow as well'. As he accepted her invitation she was able to entertain him for one more day. At the end, as usual, she presented him with cloth and some other necessities.[1]

Though this kind of story is found in some other sources as well,[2] there is no doubt that they contain sufficient data for historical use: at least they represent the ideal, if not the actual patterns of behaviour, of the people. If one wants to use such a passage in an historical study, first of all one has to examine the reason why the author included it in his work. It seems clear that the purpose of Buddhaghosa

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1. _Visuddhim._,pp.91-92.
2. See E.W.Adikaram, _Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon_, pp.52,73,98,102.

including this story in the _Visuddhimagga_ was to show
that associaton with people did not necessarily constitute
an impediment (_palibodha_) to meditation. Buddhaghosa
by no means intended to analyse the woman's attitude
towards the _bhikkhu_ by this example. For us, however,
it may illustrate the woman's independent attitude
towards the _bhikkhus_.

There are numerous references showing that there
were women who served the _Sāsana_ by constructing _pāsādas_,
granting villages and so on. Thus, Jeṭṭhā, the _mahesī_
of king Aggabodhi IV (667-683 A.D.), built an _ārāma_,
named after her, for the _bhikkhunīs_ and endowed it with
two villages as well as a hundred monastery assistants
(_ārāmikas_).[1] The _mahesī_ of king Udaya I (797-801 A.D.),
built several _vihāras_ on the Cetiya Pabbata (Mihintalē)
and in some other places, which she granted to both
bhikkhus and _bhikkhunīs_.[2] Likewise, villages which
belonged to the _vihāra_ she redeemed by paying money to

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1. _Cv._,XLV,27-28.
2. _Ibid._,XLIX,23-25: the authors of some religious works
   as well as works themselves mentioned in the _Cūlavaṃsa_
   with reference to this reign remain uncertain, but there
   is no space to discuss them here. See _Cv. Transl._,
   Geiger,p.129,notes 4-6,p.130, notes, 1-6. However,
   verses 23-26 make the author and contents fairly
   obvious.

the vihāra and re-granted them to the same vihāra.[1]

Sanghā, the queen (devī) of Sena I (833-853 A.D.), built an āvāsa,[2] for the nuns, named Mahindasena in the Uttara Vihāra.[3] Another Sanghā, the mahesī of king Udaya II (887-898 A.D.), built the Sanghasena Pabbata[4] in the Abhayuttara Vihāra (and endowed it) with all the necessary revenue. Also she placed a blue jewel diadam (nīlacūlāmaṇi) on the stone image of the Buddha and instituted a festival for the Buddha.[5] A consort of king Kassapa V (914-923 A.D.), called Rājinī, honoured the Hemamālika Cetiya (present Ruvanväli Mahasāya) by the dedication of a covering cloth (paṭṭakañcuka).[6] One of the ladies of the harem of king Udaya IV (946-954 A.D.), named Vidurā, honoured the stone image made by the king with a network

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1. Cv.,XLIX,26: Gāmā ye' suṃ purā kītā vihārā tattha sā
                                              dhanaṃ
           datvā te mocayitvāna vihārasseva dāpayi
   cf. R.A.L.H.Gunawardhana, The History of the Buddhist
   Sangha in Ceylon from the reign of Sena I to the
   Invasion of Māgha, Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis (University
   of London,1965),p.107. Geiger's translation of the
   verse does not seem to carry the meaning which the
   verse demands, Cv. Transl.,p.129.
2. According to Buddhaghosa, āvāsa means either a single
   room or a pariveṇa (cell or whole monastery.). Visuddhim.,
   p.90 for further details see W.Rahula, History of
   Buddhism in Ceylon,p.132,notes,4-5.
3. Cv.,L,79.
4. The Cūlavaṃsa does not mention definitely what kind
   of building it was.
5. Cv.,LI,87.
6. Ibid.,LII,67.

of rays (_pādajāla_),[1] which glittered with jewels.[2]

Not only _mahesīs_ and other queens but also some other women made similar endowments. Thus, Vajirā, the wife of the Sakkasenāpati[3] handed over to the _theriya bhikkhus_ (_i.e._ Mahāvihāra Bhikkhus) a _pariveṇa_[4] bearing her name, which had been built by her, together with a village.[5] Further, she built a home (_upassaya_) for the nuns of the _theravaṃsa_. Similarly, the mother of the _senāpati_, Devā by name built an _āvāsa_ named after her and presented it to the _Āraññaka Bhikkhus_.[6] The Timbirivāva inscription of the reign of Sirimeghavaṇṇa Abhaya (303-331 A.D.), or Goṭhābhaya (253-266 A.D.), states that a lady named Anulabi, the daughter of Mitaya, presented a monastery with the income from _materamaji bāka_ share of the tank which was the property of her family (_kulasataka_, in Pali: _kulasantaka_).[7]

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1. See for _pādajāla_, _Cv. Transl._, Geiger,p.35,note,7.
2. _Cv._,LIII,50.
3. See for the discussion of the _Sakkasenāpati_, _Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times_,p.150; _Ep. Zeyl._,I,pp.182ff.
4. See for the discussion of the _pariveṇa_, _Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times_,pp.29,185.
5. _Cv._,LII,62-63.
6. _Ibid._,52.64. For a discussion of the _Āraññaka Bhikkhus_ see R.A.L.H.Gunawardhana, _op. cit._,pp.53ff.
7. _Supra_,p.32,note,2.

Thus, it becomes clear from the cited examples that women belonging to different social strata (though normally to the highest strata) rendered an invaluable service to the Sāsana in various ways, such as by providing bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs of the three fraternities (nikāyas) with requisites, endowing dāgäbas (stūpas) and images (paṭimās) with villages and other property so that they would be kept in good condition.[1]

Besides, we hear of a woman, who took drastic action for the sake of the Sāsana: according to the Cūlavaṃsa and the Nikāya Saṅgrahaya, one of king Mahāsena's favourite queens, the daughter of a scribe[2] killed the monk Saṅghamitta, who had come to destroy the Thūpārāma.[3] Though killing is prohibited under any circumstances the above mentioned queen did not hesitate to kill even a bhikkhu. It is true that her intention was to protect the Mahāvihāra fraternity, but the way in which she acted cannot be justified.

1. The reason why women could afford to undertake these tasks will be discussed in connexion with the property rights of women.
2. Pali lekhakadhītā, in Sinhalese: lämäṇi duvak. But the Nikāya Saṅgrahaya, p.13, mentions that she was the mahesī and the daughter of a Lambakaṇṇa. For further details see UCHC, (vol.I, pt.)I, p.175; Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl., p.35.
3. Cv., XXXVII, 26; NkS., p.13.

The point which interests us here, however, is that this example shows the enthusiasm of women for the religious life of the country. Further, we know that a woman named Hemamālā, brought with her husband the Tooth Relic to the Island,[1] just as Saṅghamittā and her train had brought the Bô Tree.[2] Although Hemamālā's role receives little emphasis in the Chronicle there can be no doubt that it was an honourable one and may reflect the important part that some women could play in the religious life of the country.

In the next section it may be interesting to discuss the extent to which women were able to serve the Sāsana as bhikkhuṇīs. At the very outset it is necessary to give a brief outline history of the bhikkhuṇīs during the period under consideration. Unlike what we see in the preceding period, neither men nor women would appear to have entered the order in large numbers at a time. But there are references to individuals who became monks and nuns. Thus, a king of Kaliṅga, on account of some political trouble, arrived in Ceylon and became a monk during the time of king Aggabodhi II (608-618

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1. Cv.,XXXVII,92-93; Pjv.,p.143; Rjv.,59; Daḷadā Sirita p.13.
2. Mv.,XVIII,15; Mahābodhivaṃsa,p.67.

A.D.);[1] his queen and his minister followed him to Ceylon.
In the end they, too, entered order.[2] On the death of
king Jeṭṭhatissa III (632 A.D.), his <u>mahesī</u> became a
nun.[3] King Aggabodhi VI (733-772 A.D.) got his daughter
entered the order as she had been divorced from her hus-
band.[4]

The <u>bhikkhunīs</u> appear to have occupied an
important place in society. The <u>Sikkvalaṅda Vinisa</u> of
the tenth century contains rules concerning <u>bhikkhunīs</u>
in common with those applying to <u>bhikkhus</u>. It also
explains certain reciprocal attitudes of both the <u>bhikkhus</u>
and <u>bhikkhunīs</u>.[5] In addition, king Kassapa V (914-932
A.D.), in his Anurādhapura Slab Inscription, laid down
rules for the administration of a nunnery.[6]

Furthermore, we find a number of references
to nunneries both in the chronicles and in inscriptions,
as people made endowments to them. Thus, king Mahāsena
(276-303 A.D.) built two shelters (<u>bhikkhunūpassaya</u>)
called Uttara and Abhaya which he donated to the

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1. H.W.Codrington suggests that it took place in 609 A.D.
   when Pulakeśin II invaded Kaliṅga. See <u>A Short History
   of Ceylon</u>,1939,pp.35,51; L.S.Perera agrees with
   Codrington, <u>UCHC</u>, (vol.I,pt.)I,p.306.
2. <u>Cv.</u>,XLII,46-47.
3. <u>Ibid.</u>,XLIV,114.
4. <u>Ibid.</u>,XLVIII,57.
5. <u>Sikhav. V.</u>,pp.29,35,37,49,50,56,60,61,70,89.
6. <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,I,p.47, lines,16-19.

bhikkhunīs.[1] Moggallāna I (495-512 A.D.), having built an abode called Rājinī, handed it over to the Sāgaliya nuns.[2] The mahesī of king Aggabodhi II (608-618 A.D.) built a dwelling called Ratana, and presented it to the Kaliṅga bhikkhunī, the former mahesī of the Kaliṅga king.[3] King Mahinda I (730-733 A.D.) built a convent named after himself and endowed it with the (village) Nagaragalla.[4] King Mahinda II (777-797 A.D.) made a Bodhisatta statue and placed it in the home for bhikkhunīs.[5] The mahesī of king Udaya I (797-801 A.D.) made several contributions towards the maintenance of the nuns.[6]

According to the Mahakalattāva inscription, presumably datable to the reign of Kassapa IV (898-914 A.D.), Sena, the chief scribe, built the Nālārāma named after his mother, and granted it together with the village Gitalagama to the nuns.[7] The senāpati of Kassapa IV (898-914 A.D.), named Sena Ilaṅga, built a nunnery named Tissārāma.[8] This record of the Cūlavaṃsa is

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1. Cv.,XXXVII,43.
2. Ibid.,XXXIX,49.
3. Ibid.,XLII,47.
4. Ibid.,XLVIII,36.
5. Ibid.,XLVIII,139.
6. Ibid., XLIX, 23ff.
7. Anc. Inscr. Ceyl.,no.11.
8. Cv.,LII,24.

corroborated by epigraphic evidence.[1] In the reign of
Kassapa V (914-923 A.D.), Vajirā, the wife of the
Sakkasenāpati, built a home for bhikkhunīs.[2] For the
last time we hear of the nuns in the reign of Mahinda
IV(956-972 A.D.), who, according to the Cūlavaṃsa,
built the Mahāmallaka nunnery;[3] also, according to an
inscription, he constructed a residence, kitchens and
a medical hall for nuns, and repaired the nunneries.[4]

In the light of the above findings from the
chronicles and inscriptions it is clear that there were
a reasonable number of nunneries in our period. And
also there were a fairly large number of bhikkhunīs.
In one particular case a single nunnery in Anurādhapura
seems to have been occupied by a considerable number
of them, for we hear of the mahesī of king Aggabodhi
IV (667-683 A.D.), who endowed the Jeṭṭhārāma, which
had been built by her, with two villages and had a
hundred ārāmikās[5] attached to it. Although the round
figure in the chronicle does not inspire confidence,
it must have been a large upassaya.

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1. Ep. Zeyl.,II,p.36,lines,B1-7: Sen senevi radānan Magul
   Mahaveyä kärä vū Tisaram mehenivarä; cf.II,p.23.
2. See supra,p.162.
3. Cv.,LIV,47.
4. Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.222,lines,32-33.
5. Cv.,XLVI,28.

The bhikkhunīs engaged in some particular activities,
in addition to their ordinary religious duties. Thus,
according to the Mahakalattava inscription, the bhikkhunīs
of Nālārāma were entrusted with the task of watering
and maintaining the Bô-Tree at the Mahāvihāra.[1] We hear
of nuns at the Tissārāma, who had the similar task of
attending to the Bô-Tree at the Maricavaṭṭi monastery.[2]
Apparently nuns showed much interest in attending to
the Bô-Tree mainly because it was a bhikkhunī i.e.
Saṅghamittā who brought the Bô-Tree to the Island. And
of course, duties involving care of plants and trees
are often associated with women, as in India.

Besides, it is recorded that Sinhalese nuns were
engaged in missionary activities in China. According
to the Pi-chiu-nī-chuang ('Biography of the Bhikkhunīs')
compiled by Pao Chang in 526 A.D.[3] And Biographies of
Guṇavarman and Saṅghavarman,[4] the Sinhalese nuns gave
the second upasampādā ('the Higher Ordination') to the
Chinese nuns. The first known Chinese bhikkhunī was

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1. Anc. Inscr. Ceyl., no.110.
2. Cv.,LII,24.
3. Quoted in the Taisho Tripiṭaka,50,1927,pp.934-948.
4. Kao-seng-chuang quoted in the Taisho Tripiṭaka,50,
   1927,pp.340-342.

Ching-chien who received the dasa-sīla ('Ten Precepts')
from an Upādhyāna, and in the year of 357 A.D. she
received the upasampadā from a foreign monk based on
a small Vinaya text which a monk had obtained in Central
Asia.[1] According to a Chinese record in 426 A.D., eight
Sinhalese (Shih-tzŭ-kuo) nuns (pi-chiu-nī) arrived at
Nanking, the capital of early Sung dynasty (420-477 A.D.),
on board a foreign merchant ship owned by certain Nandi.[2]
By this time there were many Chinese bhikkhunīs in the
Chian-nan area (i.e. south of the Yangtze River).[3]

The Sinhalese missionary nuns appear to have
discovered that the upasampadā of the Chinese nuns
received only from bhikkhus was   not valid because it
had been established that a nun should receive her
ordination first in a bhikkhunī saṅgha in the presence

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1. Taisho Tripiṭaka, 50,1927,p.341.
2. Ibid.,p.939; see also Seng-che-lio, Kao-seng-tchouang
   and Fo-tsou-t'ong-ki, quoted by M.Paul Pelliot in
   Bulletin de l' École Française d' Extrême-Orient,
   IV,1904,p.356; W.Pachow surmises that Nandi might be
   a Ceylonese; (see UCR, XII,1954,p.184). We read in
   the Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa that there was a Sinhalese
   Buddhist merchant named Nandi who, lived at Mahātittha,
   and had been away from home for about three years,
   having gone by his own ship in a trading venture.
   (pp.145-146; cf. Rsv.,II,p.139). There is, however, no
   positive evidence to identify this Nandi with the one
   who took the bhikkhunīs to China.
3. Taisho Tripiṭaka,50,1927,p.341.

of, at least, ten bhikkhunīs before proceeding to a bhikkhu
saṅgha to undergo the ceremony of catutthakamma-upasampadā
for the second time. Hence, the whole procedure of
ordination of a nun is called aṭṭhavācaka-upasampadā.[1]
It is also recorded that, at first, a nun was ordained
at a bhikkhu saṅgha, but after the organization of
bhikkhunī saṅgha, the ordination took place in the
presence of more than ten nuns.[2]

These missionaries were, no doubt, aware of the
manner in which Mahinda made the first nun in Ceylon
enter into the bhikkhunī order and gave the upasampadā:
the Samantapāsādikā explains that when queen Anulā and
her companions showed interest in becoming bhikkhunīs
bhikkhu Mahinda explained that, according to the Vinaya,
a woman should be ordained only a bhikkhunī.[3] Therefore,
king Devānampiyatissa despatched to the court of king
Aśoka an embassy to bring the bhikkhunī Saṅghamittā to
Ceylon. Anulā and her group awaited Saṅghamittā's arrival
observing only dasa-sīla ('Ten Precepts') in a nunnery
known as the Upāsikā Vihāra which had been built for

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1. Smp.,I,p.241.
2. Vinaya Piṭaka,II,p.255; Taisho Tripiṭaka,22,pp.185,471.
3. Smp.,I,p.90.

them on one side of the city.[1] Saṅghamittā arrived in
the Island with her train and made a group of Sinhalese
women headed by Anulā enter the order of bhikkhuṇīs.[2]

There can be no doubt that the nuns who went
to China explained these injunctions to the Chinese
nuns. As a result, two Chinese nuns told an Indian monk,
Guṇavarman, who went to China in 427 A.D. via Ceylon
and Chö-po (Java), that the Chinese nuns who had met
the Sinhalese nuns had some doubt about the authenticity
of the ordination they had received from monks. They
also asked him if they could receive the ordination
again in the presence of qualified nuns. Guṇavarman
replied that they could and that it would increase
merit of precept and added that there ought to be more
than ten nuns. So it was decided that more nuns should
be invited from Ceylon.[3] Consequently, three more nuns
headed by Tie-so-ra (Tissarā ?)[4] arrived at Nanking.[5]
Thus, in the year of 434 A.D. more than 300 nuns received
for the second time their upasampadā (Chü-(tsu)-chich)
in the presence of over ten Sinhalese nuns headed by

1. Cv.,XVIII,9-11.
2. Ibid.,XIX,65.
3. Taisho Tripiṭaka,50,1927,p.341.
4. Cf. The Tissārāma nunnery in Anurādhapura which was
   constructed in the tenth century A.D. (See supra, p.166).
   Was this a building constructed in memory of Tissā ?
5. Taisho Tripiṭaka,50,1927,pp.939,944.

Tie-so-ra at the Nanlin Temple.[1] As Guṇavarman had
already died, his disciple Saṅghavarman took the lead
of this upasampadā ceremony.[2]

The first group of Sinhalese nuns arrived in
Nanking in 425 A.D. They must, therefore, have left
Ceylon, at least, a year before 425. Fā-hien arrived in
the Island in 412 A.D. and he left the Island after
two years.[3] Then the first expedition of nuns took
place about ten years after Fa-hien's departure from
Ceylon. Thus, both these events happaned in the reign
of king Mahānāma (410-431 A.D.).

As has already been mentioned, nuns went to
China during the reiṅg of Mahānāma, in which also
Fa-hien's visit to the Island took place. It is also
recorded that Mahānāma (Mp-ho-non) sent a letter to

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1. This event has been described as 'their (i.e. Sinhalese
   bhikkhuṇīs) presence inspires Chinese women, for the
   first time, to seek to enter "Holy Orders"; ... With
   the help of a chapter of ten Sinhalese nuns headed
   by a President (the nun T'ie-so-lo), an "Ordination
   of Women" takes place for the first time in China',
   (JCBRAS, XXIV, 1916, pp. 107, 108 see also, UCHC, (vol.
   I, pt.) I, p. 21 and R.A.L.H. Gunawardhana, op. cit., p. 58.
   which may give a wrong impression.
2. Taisho Tripiṭaka, 50, 1927, p. 939.
3. A Record of the Buddhist Countries, p. 82; cf. JCBRAS,
   XXIV, 1916, p. 107.

Chinese emperor together with a 'model of the shrine of the Tooth' in 428 A.D.[1] But no connexion of the king with the expeditions of bhikkhunīs to China is recorded in any sources. It seems, however, unlikely that this important mission took place without the knowledge of the king who not only undertook many religious works in the Island but also spent his early days as a bhikkhu. Above all, he had religious intercourse with the same country as mentioned above.

As Fa-hsien showed a great interest in Vinaya, he collected Vinaya texts from India and from Ceylon.[2] W.Pachow maintains that 'As he (i.e. Fa-hsien) took residence in Nanking and devoted himself to the translation of Sanskrit manuscripts into Chinese, especially Vinaya literature, we think he had a large share in bringing about this mission of Sinhalese nuns'.[3] This may be quite possible, though it is not supported by direct evidence.

It is certain that the above-mantioned embassy of Mahānāma to China in 428 A.D., with a 'model of the

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1. 'History of Sung', Journal Asiatique,XV,1900,pp.412ff.
2. A Record of the Buddhist Countries,pp.76,87.
3. UCR,XII,1954,p.184.

shrine of the Tooth' had some connexion with the Abhaya-
giri Vihāra because the shrine of the Tooth Relic was
at that time under the care of the bhikkhus of this
vihāra.[1] The vihāra in which Mahānāma had become a
bhikkhu is unknown. However, after becoming king, Mahānāma
constructed vihāras and granted them to the Abhayagiri
Vihāra. It is only after the mahesī had insisted, that
he granted a vihāra to the Mahāvihāra bhikkhus.[2] According
to Fa-hien, the king failed to recognize a certain
bhikkhu at the Mahāvihāra who was considered an Arhat.
The king then assembled bhikkhus (probably including
those at the Abhayagiri) in order to ascertain if the
bhikkhu had attained Arhatship. Only after the assembly
had confirmed this, the king recognized the bhikkhu as
an Arhat.[3] Therefore, one can rightly argue that if the
king was an ex-Mahāvihāra bhikkhu he would not
hesitate to recognize the bhikkhu at once. Thus, the
Abhayagiri appears to have been the favourite vihāra of
king Mahānāma.

The relations between the Abhayagiri Vihāra and
China may follow from a passage in the Fa-hien's Record,
in which we read that a Chinese merchant made an offering

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1. A Record of the Buddhist Countries, p.80, cf. Ryusho
   Higata, Buddhism in India, 1967, p.232.
2. Cv., XXXVII, 211.
3. A Record of the Buddhist Countries, p.83.

to the Abhayagiri Vihāra.[1] This may suggest that merchants
who came from China visited the Abhayagiri Vihāra. It
is also to be noted that the Sinhalese nuns left the
Island on a merchant's ship as has already been seen.
Fa-hien, too, perhaps more closely associated with this
vihāra. He mentions that he collected several Sanskrit
Buddhist texts from Ceylon.[2] These were most probaly
from the Abhayagiri Vihāra because this was the main
vihāra in the Island in which the Sanskrit Buddhist texts
appeared.[3]

It is also to be noted that there were religious
contacts between Ceylon and Java through the Abhayagiri
Vihāra, at least, towards the end of the eighth century
A.D. as attested by a fragmentary inscription from the
Ratubaka Plateau in central Java. This inscription
states that 'This Abhayagiri Vihāra here of the Sinhalese
ascetics (?) trained in the sayings of discipline of the
Jinas was established'. Commenting on this record,
J.G.de Casparis observes:-

> 'The most important detail is the name of the
> foundation, viz. the Abhayagiri Vihāra. The name
> at once suggests that of the famous monastery at

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1. A Record of the Buddhist Countries, p.79.
2. Ibid.,p.87.
3. Rausho Higata, Buddhism in India,1967,p.232.

Anurādhapura, and the addition 'of the Sinhalese'
proves that this is not just a coincidence. In
fact the foundation is a second Abhayagiri Vihāra:
either a more or less exact replica of the Ceylonese
monastery or, more probably, a building which
had enough in common with it—in form or spirit
or both—to deserve the same name. Further
excavations on the Ratubaka plateau may yield
materials capable of giving an impression of
this interesting building. In the present stage
of research there is, however, one important
conclusion that may be safely drawn from the
inscription: the existence of cultural relations
between Java and Ceylon in the Śailendra period.'[1]

From the foregoing examples it may be suggested

that the religious intercourse between Ceylon and China

during the reign of Mahānāma may also have been taken

place through the Abhayagiri Vihāra and the bhikkhuṇīs

who went to China to hold the second upasampadā ('higher

ordination') of the Chinese nuns must, therefore, have

belonged to the same vihāra.

With reference to the Kukurumahandamana Pillar

Inscription showing that there was a hospital (vad-hal)

in front of the nunnery known as Mahindārāma on the

High Street (maha-veya) of the inner city (of Anurādhapura),

D.M.de 2.Wickremasinghe argues that the location of

this hospital in close proximity to the Mihind-aram

(Pali, Mahindārāma) nunnery suggests that it was either

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1. J.G.de Casparis, 'New Evidence on the Cultural
   Relations between Java and Ceylon in Ancient Times',
   Artibus Asiae,XXIV,1962,p.245.

meant for the exclusive use of the nuns or that these
devotees, like the nursing sisters of the present day,
attended on the patients, succouring the sick, being
a veyyāvaccaṃ (Sinhalese, vatāvat), one of the ten
meritorious acts which Buddhism imposed upon its votaries.[1]
Rahula referring to the same inscription observed: 'One
is tempted to ask whether the bhikkhuṇīs could have
served as nurses in these hopsitals'.[2]

In this connexion, there is also a passage, though
badly weathered, that deserves attention in the Abhayagiri
Slab Inscription of Mahinda V (982-1029 A.D.). The
legible part of the passage is as follows:- meheṇi
mahapel karā nimav gilan putakhu duṭa .. ..
.. .. mā multän vedhal karā.[3]

This may be translated as ('the king) built a
large residence[4] for nuns; whenever a motherless sick

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1. Ep. Zeyl.,II,p.21. For the ten meritorious acts, see
   Childers' Pali English Dictonary, s.v. puñño. The Kāvya-
   śekharaya enumerates twelve. IX,vv.40-41.
2. History of Buddhism in Ceylon,p.197.
3. Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.222. lines 32-33.
4. Mahapel, in Pali: Mahāpāli; Wickremasinghe translates this
   term as 'great alms hall'; (see Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.228). The
   Sikhavalaṅda Vinisa (p.54) shows that the term pāl is
   used in this period in the sense of a building; cf. diya
   pāl ('water-hut'; a hut meant for storing water pots etc.
   Even to-day this type of huts are by no means rare in
   rural Ceylon); gini pāl ('fire hut' i.e. kitchen or fire
   place); dahäṭi pāl ('tooth stick hut', the word dāhäṭi is
   derived from danta kaṭṭha which means wooden tooth brush.
   'Tooth stick hut' may mean a small hut meant for
   bath etc.).

child is seen ... built a kitchen, (and) a hospital'.[1]

Thus, 'a large building for nuns', 'a kitchen' and 'a

hospital' appear to have been constructed in the same

nunnery. What is of particular importance to us is

the existence of a hospital in this nunnery as in some

other monasteries.[2]

It is important to decide whether the hospitals

belonging to the temples were meant for the public, too,

or whether they were for the exclusive use of the bhikkhus

and bhikkhunīs. It is also important to determine how

far the bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs took part in the

administration and maintenance of these institutions.

As to these problems, unfortunately, we find little

evidence in our sources. According to the bhesajjakkhandhaka,

'the chapter on medicine', of the Mahāvagga, bhikkhus

and bhikkhunīs are encouraged to acquire a knowledge

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1. Wickremasinghe translates as kitchens and hospitals.
   (see Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.228). But it is a common feature in
   the language of the tenth century A.D. that the neuter
   gender words in the second case singular end without a
   vowel unlike to-day; cf.sankaṃ: ganan, ālāhanaṃ: sohon
   and gocaraṃ gāmaṃ: godurusaraṇagam. (Dh.A.G.,pp.47,223
   and 257 respectively); the well known royal hospital
   in ancient Ceylon situated in the High Street of the
   city of Anurādhapura is referred to in the inscription
   of Kassapa V (914-923 A.D.) found near the Abhayagiri
   monastery as raj-ved-hal, (Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.6.).
2. See for the hospitals which were belonging to the
   monasteries Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.159; II,p.31; cf. A.R. Arch.
   Surv. Ceyl.,1954,p.22,1910-11,pp.19-20.

of medicine and to cultivate experience in this field.
But nevertheless, no monks were allowed to prescribe
medicine nor were they allowed to give treatments to
others except the members of their community, parents,
parents'servants and their own servants.[1]

The Visuddhimagga states that a bhikkhu or a
bhikkhunī, first of all, should nurse his or her teachers,
parents, brothers and sisters, brother's wife and sister's
husband, and also sons and daughters of brothers and
sisters,[2] providing them with medicine and attending
to them, because their ailments may constitute impediment
to his or her meditation.[3] Thus, it becomes clear that
bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs played an important role in
this field. It is appropriate to surmise that, at least,
the said categories of people were treated in the
hospitals belonging to monasteries and nunneries.

According to the Vinaya rule, neither bhikkhus
nor bhikkhunīs were allowed to leave their residence
during the rainy season. There are exceptions to this
rule: the Sikhavalañda Vinisa, explaining these exceptions,

1. Sikhav. V.,p.68.
2. If their brother's wife and sister's husband are
   collateral kin bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs are allowed to
   treat them directly. If they are only affinal kin they
   can be given medicine but only through brother and
   sister. Visuddhim.,p.94.
3. Visuddhim.,pp.94-95.

includes stipulation that monks and nuns are allowed
to leave their residence with the determination of
returning within seven days, for the purpose of begging
food etc., to maintain patients who were in their _vihāras_
depending upon them.[1] It is therefore clear that there
were lay patients who were given treatment in the _vihāras_
by monks or nuns.

We learn from the _Visuddhimagga_ that a _bhikkhu_
and a _bhikkhunī_ cured their mother who was suffering
from a poisonous abscess (_visaganda_).[2] Thera Mahārohaṇa-
gutta was also attended by _bhikkhus_ when he was ill.[3]
Thus, the possibility suggested by Wickremasinghe and
Rahula that nuns could have served as nurses in the
hospitals in ancient Ceylon may be supported by this
passage.

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1. _Sikhav. V._,p.76: _biksaṅgun vahal koṭä veherä gilanvä_
   vasannā haṭadu batādi ilvanu nisā ... sati karuṇen
   yet vaṭī.
2. _Visuddhim._,p.91.
3. _Ibid._,p.155. As the last part of the phrase _nimav gilan_
   putakhu duṭa .. ..
   is illegible, its meaning remains uncertain. Does it
   relate to the nuns of the above nunnery and, could it
   mean that the nuns are advised that if they happened
   to see a motherless sick child he should be admitted
   to the hospital referred to in the same passage? As
   has already been seen, _bhikkhus_ and _bhikkhunīs_ were
   allowed to attend sick orphans. The word motherless
   (_nimav_) may mean abandoned children by their mothers
   or whose mothers no longer lived. Yet it is still a
   problem why their father was not taken into account
   in this matter.

At this stage it is necessary to examine the
proprietary rights of women during the period under
review. In order to present an accurate description
of this topic, first of all, it is necessary to set
out the rules which governed the property rights of
women in the Island. Secondly, the extent to which
such rules were applied in practice should be examined.
Any serious study of these aspects is beset with certain
difficulties. Above all, there are no writings which
define the rules concerning proprietary rights of women
(or even of men) before the Kandyan period. Our study
is therefore restricted to the analysis of the available
data on the properties owned by women during our period,
subsequently we intend to investigate whether any Hindu
or other rules would have been applied to them. Such
an approach may enable us to add at least a few facts
to our knowledge of the proprietary rights of women
during our period.

There are some ancient Hindu writings which
considered women as mere chattels.[1] But many of the
later Hindu writings[2] and particularly Buddhism

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1. A.M.Indra, op. cit.,pp.158ff; A.S.Altekar, op. cit.,
   pp.212ff.
2. Manu,IX,194; Visnu,XVIII,18:

considerably favoured women.[1] It is true that there
are some instances of girls and wives who were mortgaged
by their parents and husbands respectively before the
period under discussion,[2] but, as far as the evidence
goes, they had never been degraded to chattels. On the
other hand, it is important to note that there appear
to have been no injunctions preventing women from owning
land and other property and freely disposing of such
assets.

It has already been seen that there were a number
of women belonging to different strata of society, who
endowed monasteries with land and other properties.[3]
This suggests that women owned movable and immovable
properties not just in name, but in actual fact. The
Sīgiri graffiti, dated between the eighth and the tenth
century A.D., furnish us with more material in support
of this. Thus, according to the graffito of Agboy, lady
(kalu) Sātā had a house (gē) in her possession.[4] Another
verse, too, speaks of a woman called Daḷameysura, who
owned a house (gē) at Mahaval.[5]

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1. Cf. W.Rahula, History of Buddhism in Ceylon,p.57.
2. Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl.,p.61.
3. See below,pp,16off.
4. Sīg. Graff.,v.286.
5. Ibid.,v.620.

An important problem closely connected with the property rights of women is that of deciding how far female members of the family participated in the joint ownership rights of the joint family, _viz_. as wives, mothers, widows and married daughters etc., as compared with the male members of the family.

In the discussion of the position of women in the family,[1] it was concluded that women, especially as mothers, held a strong position in family affairs. Further, we found some evidence of the practice of dowries given by parents when their daughters got married.[2] It is true that the evidence found so far does not specify the conditions on which such endowments were made, but it is likely that the parents, as at present, made sure that their daughters would have control over such assets in common with their husbands.

There are examples showing that land grants were made by kings to men in order that their wives and children might also have control over them. For instance, the Rambāva inscription deals with a land grant by king Mahinda IV (956-972 A.D.). Although the grant is issued to a man, a certain Kaliṅgurad, it is specified that

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1. _Supra_, pp. 63, 79 ff.
2. _Ibid._, pp. 124-125.

land should be enjoyed by his wife as well.[1] Similarly,

king Meghavaṇṇa (303-331 A.D.) granted land to both

Dantakumāra and his wife Hemamālā, who brought the

Tooth Relic to the Island.[2] Unfortunately, these

examples do not show whether the rights of wives on

these properties were real or nominal.

Our sources contain some interesting passages

regarding rights enjoyed by women in the care of

joint property. The Timbirivāva inscription of the

tenth century A.D., for instance, states that a woman

called Anulabi granted to a _vihāra_ a _materamajibaka_[3]

share, belonging to her family (_kulasataka_; in Pali:

kulasantaka).[4] This indicates that she was the member

in charge of the common property of the family.

We come across examples of both husband and

wife making joint offerings. Thus, king Sena I

(833-853 A.D.), together with his queen Sanghā (_saddhiṃ_

so Sangha-nāmāya), had two _vihāras_ built and offered

these to the Buddhist Sangha.[5] It is, however, not

recorded whether the property concerned was joint or

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1. _Ep. Zeyl._,II,p.66.
2. Dāṭhāvaṃsa,_v._377; _Rjv._,p.59.
3. See for the interpretation of this term, _JCBRAS_ (NS), V, 1957-1958,pp.130ff.
4. _Ep. Zeyl._,IV,p.227.
5. _Cv._,L,69-70.

individual property. According to another passage,
a husband (i.e. king Mahānāma 410-432 A.D.) built
a vihāra on behalf of his wife (i.e. the mahesī),
and presented it to the bhikkhus as desired.[1] However,
as in the second example, it is not clear whether this
foundation was made from her own property or from that
owned in common with the king or that owned by the king
alone.

Also we come across a passage in the Visuddhimagga
in which we are told that a husband and wife housed a
bhikkhu for the rainy season (vassāna) in their newly
built cell (senāsana). During the whole season the
bhikkhu was attended to by the housewife herself.
Finally, at the end of the rainy season, she also could
afford to provide some necessities for the bhikkhu to
take with him.[2] In this case, too, it is not certain
whether she used her individual or joint family pro-
perty for the maintenance of the bhikkhu.

In spite of these examples, no clear picture
of the rights of ownership of women in respect of
family property emerges from the available sources.
We have no information on such questions as the joint

1. Cv.,XXXVII,213.
2. Visuddhim.,p.92.

ownership rights of half-sisters vis-á-vis half-brothers,
married famale vis-á-vis unmarried male and married male
vis-á-vis unmarried female etc.

Another important problme connected with the
property of women is that concerning the nature and func-
tion of strīdhana. Manu is the first law-giver to
present a detailed interpretation of strīdhana; he not
only defined the items which formed strīdhana, but also
pointed out that women should have absolute rights
over it. Thus, strīdhana should consist of six types
of gifts received by a woman, viz. the gifts received
from her father; those from her mother; those from
her brothers; those by her husband subsequent to her
marriage; gifts made by anybody at the time of marriage;
and finally those all other occasions where customarily
gifts were made.[1] Visṇu added three more items: viz.
the gifts received from a woman's son; those from
other relatives; and thirdly the compensation given to
the wife in the case of her husband's second marriage.[2]

It is true that the term strīdhana does not
occur in Ceylonese sources, but the above mentioned
items which formed the strīdhana can be found in them.

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1. Manu,IX,194.
2. Visṇu,XVII,18.

Thus, minister Siva at Mahātittha offered 3,000 (kahā-
paṇas) to a beautiful lady for the sake of winning her
heart.[1] Hemā, a young lady, received an invaluable
diamond from a person as an award for her profound
knowledge of the Dhammacakkappavattana Suttanta;[2] she
was also awarded 2,000 (kahāpaṇas) by the king[3] on the
same account.[4] Though the round figures do not inspire
confidence she would have received some wealth. A Sīgiri
graffito suggests that gifts were given to the bride by
the bridegroom.[5] It is not clear whether this was an
exchange of gifts of a symbolic nature.

Further, we learn from the chronicle that princes
were granted revenues when they were appointed to the
rank of uparāja.[6] It seems likely that a similar
procedure was followed when queens were appointed
mahesī and rājinī.[7] There is no doubt that at least the

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1. Sahas.,p.145.
2. This Suttanta enjoys a great reverence among Buddhists
   (see Mv.,XV,199; Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā,II,p.600) as it is
   considered to be the first sermon of the Buddha which
   deals with the fundamental teachings of his doctrine;
   (see Mahāvagga,pp.9ff; SN.,pp.420).
3. The name of the king is unknown.
4. Sahas.,p.127.
5. Sīg. Graff.,v.219.
6. Cv.,XLIII,32.
7. The Cūlavaṃsa states that Saṅghā, the queen of Sena II
   (853-887 A.D.) was,according to custom, given parihāra
   when she was consecrated mahesī (LI,6.). Geiger renders
   parihāra as 'dowry'(Cv. Transl.,p.147). But parihāra is
   a well known term for immunities, such as freedom from
   tax etc. (Cf. D.C.Sircar,Indian Epigraphical Glossary,
   s.v. parihāra; Ep. Zeyl.,III,p.286,note,1).

<u>mahesis</u> and other queens were sufficiently wealthy to make donations to the Sāsana as we saw earlier.[1]

Women during the period under discussion worked as employees in monasteries. The Mihintalē Slab Inscription of Mahinda IV (956-972 A.D.) is quite informative in this connexion. It records not only the presence of women employees but also mentions the salaries drawn by them: a <u>jeṭmava</u> was paid one <u>paya</u>[2] of land (as <u>divel</u>?)[3] with one <u>aḍamanā</u> and two <u>pata</u> of raw rice (daily ?). We are not told what kinds of duties were to be performed by the <u>jeṭmava</u>. D.M.de Z. Wickremasinghe suggested that <u>jeṭmava</u> would mean 'old mother' (in Pali: <u>jeṭṭhamātā</u>), probably a polite way of referring to an old woman charged with cleaning of the monastery.[4] A <u>batgelādiya</u>, most probably the officer-in-charge of the kitchen or dinning room, was paid one <u>paya</u> of land (as <u>divel</u> ?) and also a <u>pata</u> and <u>aḍamanā</u> of rice (daily ?). A <u>miḍivā-jārama</u>, officer-in-charge of female slaves was paid two <u>paya</u> of rice (daily ?); there were twenty-four workers under her supervision. Each of these servants was paid one <u>paya</u> of rice (daily ?); they were also

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1. Cf. <u>supra</u>, pp. 158ff.
2. For these measures see tables VIII, IX and XI in the appendix.
3. See for <u>divel</u>, <u>infra</u>, p. 396.
4. <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>, I, p.88, note, 8.

paid one <u>kalaṅda</u> of gold per each yearly for their clothing.

A <u>pärähändi</u>, who supplied strainers to the monastery,

was given one <u>kari</u> of land (as <u>divel</u> ?) and two <u>paya</u>

of rice (daily ?). The same wages were drawn by a

<u>maḍavuva</u> (who supplied shallow containers ? <u>maḍakku</u>

in modern Sinhalese, 'saucepan made of clay').[1] These

examples show that there was no obstacle against women

to engage even in paid employement.

Further, we learn from the <u>Visuddhimagga</u> that

women continued to follow their professions such as

dress-cleaning, weaving and spinning.[2] A Sīgiri graffito

speaks of a lady who was self-employed as dress-cleaner.[3]

Additionally, we find an interesting passage

in the <u>Cūlavaṃsa</u> which may throw some light on the

economic and social conditions of women: Mahānāga, who

was wandering in the forest before seizing the throne,

is said to have sent an iguana[4] to his maternal aunt

(<u>mātulānī</u>), who then sent him a basket of corn in return.

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1. <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,I,pp.88-89, lines,18-21,29-31.
2. <u>Visuddhim.</u>,p.23; cf. <u>Mv.</u>,VII,11; see also <u>Cult. Ceyl.</u>
   <u>Med. Times</u>,p.104; <u>Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl.</u>,pp.149-150.
3. <u>Sīg. Graff.</u>,<u>v</u>.410.
4. The flesh of the land iguana (in modern Sinhalese: <u>tala-</u>
   <u>goyā</u> 'varanus dracaena') is eaten. Vāgbhaṭa mentions that
   this was one of the delicious and nutricious foods
   during his time; see <u>Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya</u>,VI,66.

It is also said that his sister sent him _bīja_ ('seed corn') and a _bījagāha_ at his request.[1] Both these cases reveal firstly, that those women had control over the said items. Secondly, that there could be a sort of exchange of gifts between men and women. This is specially seen in relation to the first case.

Prostitution is everywhere a very ancient profession, but because of the lack of evidence we do not know how common it was in ancient Ceylon. Unlike what we read of the Indian subcontinent[2] there is no evidence to show that women in the Island were encouraged towards this profession. There is, however, no doubt that prostitutes were not unknown there. The author of the _Siyabaslakara_ of the tenth century A.D. records that an _abisaru_ (in Sanskrit and Pali: _abhisārikā_) _liyan_ walked along the roads in moon light.[3] The _Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya_ of the same century refers to the term _gaṇikā_, which still the best known Sinhalese

1. _Cv._,XLI,73-74; the meaning of the _bījagāha_ remains uncertain. Geiger takes as 'bringer of the seed corn', L.C.Wijesinṃha translates as a 'slave (who might take him his food when it was necessary'); see _Cv. Transl._, Geiger,p.59,note,3 and _Mv. Transl._, Wijesinṃha,pt.II,p. 12 respectively.
2. P.V.Kane, _History of Dharmaśāstra_,II,pp.27,637-639; III,p.148; H.C.Chakladar, _Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra_,p.198.
3. _Siyabaslakara_, II,_v_.227.

term for the prostitute with some variations, such as giṇiya, gihiṇiya and giṇī.[1] Vēsi, another synonym for the prostitute, occurs also, at least once, in this source.[2]

Some Sanskrit law-givers define that these three terms (i.e. abhisārikā, gaṇikā and vēśyā) indicate different kinds of prostitutes. According to the Amarakoṣa, 'abhi-sārikā means the woman who goes to a rendez-vous to meet her paramour'.[3] As Vātsyāyana pointed out, an abhisārikā becomes a gaṇikā only when she is versed in both sets of sixty-four kalās enumerated by him and is endowed with an amicable disposition, personal charm and other qualities.[4] P.V.Kane has argued that every vēśyā was not considered a gaṇikā as the former was more or less a slave.[5]

However, most Indian[6] and Sinhalese sources use these terms without any distinction to indicate all kinds of prostitutes: while poets generally used abisaru, others used gaṇikā to indicate all prostitutes. Even in poems written after the Siyabaslakara, abisaru is the term used for all prostitutes. For example, the Kavsilu-

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1. Dh.A.G.,pp.131,187 and 222 respectively.
2. Ibid.,p.222.
3. Amarakoṣa: kāntārthinī tu yā yāti saṃketaṃ sā'bhisārikā; cf. J.,III,no.139.
4. H.C.Chakladar, Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra,p.198.
5. P.V.Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra,III,p.148.
6. Cf. B.N.Sharma, op. cit.,pp.27-31.

miṇa of the thirteenth century, and the Tisarasandēśaya

of the fourteenth century refer to courtesans by the

term abisaru.[1]

It is interesting to note how the Dhampiyā Aṭuvā

Gäṭapadaya employed the term gihiṇiya or gaṇikā: 'nagara-

sobhanā vaṇṇadāsī means vaṇḍäs, who brought pleasure

to the city, that is to say, gihiṇiya, the courtesan'.[2]

(Vēsī nam giṇī) 'vēsī means giṇī'.[3] These examples expli-

citly indicate that the definitions of these terms,

as given in the Indian lawbooks, were not foll̮ed by

our authors. Further, the Saddharma Ratnāvaliya and

Pūjāvaliya used the term gihiṇiya or gaṇikā without

any distinction for all courtesans.[4] The way in which

these terms in use in modern Ceylon by no means differs

from that in ancient time.

The use of these terms in our sources raises

problems. On the one hand, it is still an unsettled

question how far the data in the Aṭṭhakathās reflect

society of Ceylon.[5] Therefore, one can argue that the

above mentioned terms appearing in the Dhampiyā Aṭuvā

Gäṭapadaya are nothing but literal translations of the

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1. Kavsiḷumiṇa, v.324; Tisarasandēśaya, v.45.
2. Dh.A.G., p.271: nagarasobhanā vaṇṇadāsī: nuvara hobavana vaṇḍäs; gihiṇiya yū sēyī.
3. Ibid., p.222.
4. Saddharma Ratnāvaliya, p.746; Pjv., p.552.
5. Cf. supra, pp.12 ff.

Pali words of the Indian stories appearing in the Dhamma-padaṭṭhakathā. Also we know that the Siyabaslakara is a translation of the Kāvyādarśa with few additions. So the term occuring in the Siyabaslakara is evidently the Sinhalese equivalent of the Sanskrit term abhisārikā which appears in the corresponding verse in the Kāvyā-darśa.[1]

Yet it is obvious that the Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭa-padaya gives not merely the translations of the Pali words, but adds at least a few more details. It is useful to examine some examples: the Pali phrase:nagara-sobhanā vaṇṇadāsī is rendered as nuvarahobavana vaṇdäs; gihiṇiya yū sēyī.[2] Again, he commented the phrase: nagara-sobhinīṃ gaṇikāṃ as nuvarasobavana gihiṇiyak; nagara-sobhinīṃ yannen äya rū guṇa kiyūhu ('a courtesan, who brings pleasure to the city; by means of the qualification of nagarasobhinīṃ the quality of her beauty is indi-cated').[3]

In view of these examples it is clear that the Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya is not merely a Sinhalese translation, but is also a glossary of the Pali terms.

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1. Kāvyādarśa,II,v,215:
   Mallikāmāl[bhāriṇyaḥ sarvāngenārdracandanāḥ
   Kṣaumavatyo na lakṣyante jyotsnāyām abhisārikāḥ.
2. Dh.A.G.,p.271; see for the translation of this quotation supra, p.192
3. Dh.A.G.,p.64.

From the foregoing discussion it follows that courtesans were not unknown in our period. In the preceding period, however, there were no references to courtesans, but this does not necessarily imply that they were unknown to that period. Unfortunately, our sources do not permit us to determine the exact social status of the ganikās. Also the Sīgiri graffiti provide us with no material about this interesting topic.

Regarding wonen's rights of inheritance, there are some examples. Thus, the Tiṁbirivāva inscription refers to a woman called Anulabi, who had in her possession a share of the family property (kulasataka, in Pali: kulasantaka) which she subsequently granted to a temple.[1] Yet the record does not inform us about the manner in which she inherited this property. Most probably, her father was no longer alive when she was making this donation; otherwise it is unlikely that she should have been able to dispose of the family property in her own name. It is interesting to note that, although the record mentions her father and grandfather, it does not refer to her husband. This would imply either that she

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1. Ep. Zeyl.,IV,p.227. Geiger considers it a synonym of paveṇigāma; see Cult. Ceyl. Med. times,p.144.

had remained unmarried or had no reason to mention her husband. Further, no mention is made of either her brothers or her mother. It is therefore difficult to understand how she inherited this property. According to Hindu writings, if a girl remained unmarried and survived her parents, having no brothers, she would be the heir to the patrimony.[1]

It is questionable whether the right of inheritance of the people was based on similar principles as that of royal succession.[2] This may be true as far as the right of inheritance of the male members of the family is concerned. But it is uncertain to what extent this applied to the female members. We know that a king was not normally succeeded by a daughter or sister, but this does not necessarily imply that the female members were totally debarred from the right of inheritance.

The chronicle and some inscriptions seem to give equal importance to the king and the _mahesī_, at least, in some fields. This appears frequently in the _Cūlavaṃsa_ accounts of religious activities of both the king and

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1. _Yājv. S._, II,135-136; _Manu_, IX,130: A.M. Indra and Kapadia have discussed in detail these principles. See _op. cit._, pp.163,261 respectively.
2. Cf. _Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl._, pp.91ff.

the queen.[1] The author of the Cūlavaṃsa was sometimes so impressed by the mahesīs that he stated that they were equal in fame with the kings. One such mahesī was the queen of Mahinda IV (956-972 A.D.).[2] According to several inscriptions, most of the kings did not forget to trace their descent to mother's line as well.[3]

Also we gather from the records that some princesses, if not all, were appointed rājinī just as the princes were appointed uparāja or ādipāda. Thus, Udaya I (797-801 A.D.), for the first time in Ceylon, conferred the title of rājinī on his daughters. King Sena I (833-853 A.D.), assigned the rank of rājinī to Saṅghā, a daughter of his sister, acknowledging her, thereby, as a royal princess. Mahinda IV (956-972 A.D.) made his son ādipāda and his daughter rājinī.[4] It is possible that this practice was first established in the eighth century A.D., for the chronicle gives no earlier examples.

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1. Compare the religious activities of king Aggabodhi II with those of his mahesī and also those of Udaya I with those of his mahesī as recorded in the Cūlavaṃsa.
2. Cv.,LIV,50: rañño kittisamā devī.
3. Ep. Zeyl.,II,pp.9-28,40,60,66; III,pp.74-81,127-128 etc.
4. Cv.,XLIX,3;L,58 and LIV,11 respectively.

From this discussion it follows that though the rules connected with the proprietary rights of women still remain in obscurity, there were women during our period who not only owned land and other property but also exercised unlimited rights over them.

In this connexion, it may be appropriate to examine the political achievements of women during the period under survey. Such a study is, however, seriously affceted by the paucity of materials.

No women reigned as sovereign queens during our period. Even in the earlier or later period up to the present time we find only few queens who ruled the Island. Of these only Līlāvatī and Kalyāṇavatī, each of whom succeeded their husbands in the later Polonnaruva period, had some importance.[1] In earlier times, there were two periods in which queens ruled the country. Thus, in the first century B.C., Anulā seized the throne. She kept the country under her own control for five years; but she ruled directly for only a few months.[2]

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1. Cv.,LXXX,30,50 and LXXX,34 respectively. Queen Līlāvatī is dethroned twice. In fact, she ruled during three periods, viz.,1197-1200,1209-1210,1211-1212 A.D. Kalyāṇavatī ruled from 1202 to 1208 A.D.
2. Mv.,XXXIV,27; Pjv.,p.138.

During the remaining period she enthroned a number of men but got rid of them by poisoning one after the other. The second sovereign queen during that period was Sīvalī, whose reign was limited to only a few months, as she was dethroned by prince Ilanāga.[1] The elevation of queen Sīvalī to the throne was probably due to the absence of a male heir.

During the period under review there is little evidence for women who attempted to seize political power. During the reign of king Sena I (833-853 A.D.), Rohaṇa was under the authority of Kittaggabodhi, a prince of the royal family of Rohaṇa. At the death of the latter, his sister seized the territory, together with the royal treasures, and had Mahinda, the eldest son of the deceased ruler, killed. But her reign did not last long, for the first younger brother of the late Mahinda, Kassapa by name, put her to death and recovered the territory with the assistance of king Sena I, his mother's brother.[2]

The assistance given by the king by no means suggests that her position was so strong that she could

1. Mv.,XXXV,15; Pjv.,p.138.
2. Cv.,L,50-55.

not be defeated by Kassapa alone. The reasons are, first, that Kassapa was too young to lead an expedition against her.[1] Second, that the rulers of Anurādhapura at this time generally intervened in political disputes in Rohaṇa and this happened frequently whenever the sister's sons of Anurādhapura rulers got involved in the political troubles of Rohaṇa. Neither her political achievement as a ruler of the territory nor the duration of her rule is known to us.

We are told in one instance that a _mahesī_ in the latter part of the sixth century A.D. had other claimants to the throne killed with poison and made her son Kittisirimegha king in name, but carried on the government herself.[2] The _Cūlavaṃsa_ goes on to say: 'But in all enterprises the _mahesī_ took the lead, thus everything in the kingdom was turned upside down. The royal officials and the high dignitaries thought only of bribery, and the powerful in the land terrorized the weak'.[3] This political instability appears to have been one of the immediate causes for the decline of the so-called Silākāla dynasty.

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1. _Cv._,L,53.
2. _Ibid._,XLI,64.
3. _Ibid._,XLI,67-68, (Geiger's transl.).

In addition, there are other queens who took part in political affairs. One such queen is the _mahesī_ of king Upatissa I (368-410 A.D.), who murdered her husband and thus enabled his younger brother Mahānāma, with whom she had an affair, although he was a monk, to become king.[1] We have already seen how Saṅghā, the daughter of Mahānāma, put her half-brother to death, and gave her husband who had been the king's umbrella bearer, the kingdom. Her act certainly created political problems. First, it was an immediate cause for the decline of the Lambakaṇṇa dynasty founded by Vasabha. Second, the conditions became rather confused to such an extent that the Damila Paṇḍu captured the capital which he held till Dhātusena regained it.

Another passage in the _Cūlavaṃsa_ deserves the attention of all those interested in the political activities of women: when there arose a political conflict within the royal family of Anurādhapura, king Sena V (972-982 A.D.) betook himself to Rohaṇa and the queen mother being annoyed with the king, supported the _senāpati_ to enable him to collect Damilas and to hand over the country to them.[2] The chronicle also would have us

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1. _Cv._,XXXVII,209-213.
2. _Ibid._,LIV,63-64.

believe that the reason why she took such drastic action against her own son was that she had an affair with the senāpati, leading to a quarrel between the king and the senāpati.[1] Whatever the reasons, this unpleasant Damiḷa episode had disastrous effects on the ordinary people: 'The Damiḷas now plundered the whole country like devils and, pillaging, seized the property of its inhabitants'.[2]

Thus women rarely seem to have succeeded in maintaining a position of power in the political field for any length of time.

There is little imformation available about the education of women. There is no doubt that there were, at least, some well educated women during our period. If we accept that the Sīgiri graffiti which are referred to as having been written by women are indeed the compositions by those women themselves, it would follow that there were women of considerable literary accomplishments. It is of interest to examine some of them. Thus, Sevu, the wife of Nidalu Mihiňd, expressed her feelings in a verse in the Duvaṅga gī metre as follows:- 'This

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1. Cv.,LIV,59-60.
2. Ibid.,LIV,66: Damiḷā te janapadaṃ pīḷetvā rakkhasā viya
   vilumpitvāna gaṇhanti narānaṃ santakaṃ tadā.

look of yours from a corner of your eyes has verily

been recognized by us as that of rivals of you whose

hair laden with blue water-lilies, being combed in style,

droops down on your neck'.[1] The first two pādās of her

song is full of alliterations. We read thus: 'mahanela

bara varala gela huṇa pihirāla rasan'. A similar idea

is expressed in a different way in a different metre,

(i.e. Kav gī) by another woman called Devu.[2]

Thus, while some women described features of the

heavenly damsels, others turned to explain some aspects

of men's behaviour. The conduct of men who visited

Sīgiriya displeased Matvana Samanā. Therefore, she wrote:

'We are not women Yāgī and Sāhāli were composed by you

having looked at these (women) who, by reason of separation

from their lovers, go away without having (their) minds

attracted (by you)'.[3]

Some women showed remarkeble poetic gifts. For

instance, the writer of graffito No. 580 explained that

'Lake Lady', when the clear water, the swans, and the

flowers came into being, enticed away the minds of

everybody who visited Sīgiriya, causing the ladies in

the paintings to be neglected. On the other hand, some

1. Sīg. Graff., v.41.
2. Ibid., v.152.
3. Ibid., v.504, (Paranavitana's transl.).

people composed stanzas, explaining that their life
would no longer be of any value if they did not win
the favour of these damsels. Nāl, the wife of Mahamet,
made a sarcastic remark on this inconsistency of men at
the expense of women in an interesting way: 'whatever
thing', she writes, 'came (into being) of lake lady we do
not know (why) this (stanza) was written down here and
there by these persons, after having themselves proclaimed
that their life would pass away'.[1]

Both husband and wife at Mahapiṭivä paid a visit to
Sīgiriya, having been attracted by the surroundings;
the husband inscribed a song on the gallery wall. It is
as follows:- 'The king, knowing, by means of a flower,
what has been felt in the minds of those (women), left
them (here) until my arrival, and passed away. I have,
therefore, not been enamoured by the state of the king of
gods'.[2] A reply for this loose conduct of her husband
was immediately made through a song written by the wife
below that of her husband: 'Do you think so much (of
yourself)? The yoke having been dropped, the bull who
ran away and stood on the road, feels 'I shall dance'.
(But) is there no noosing of bulls by people ?[3] —She

1. Sīg. Graff., v.543,(Paranavitana's transl.).
2. Ibid., v.681,II(1),(Paranavitana's transl.).
3. Ibid., v.681,III(1-2),(Paranavitana's transl.).

questioned. In what a beautiful manner this lady explained such a complex idea that her husband had been amused by Sīgiri ladies, and if he had gone too far she would have known how to control him! These examples show that there were women of considerable literary accomplishments.[1]

Further, we learn from the <u>Cūlavaṃsa</u> that king Jeṭṭhatissa III (632 A.D.), dying on the battle field, requested his <u>mahesī</u> to recite the Dhamma and to learn the Abhidhamma. Consequently, she learnt the Abhidhamma together with its <u>Aṭṭhakathās</u>.[2] If women were learned enough to undertake a study of such a profound and complex group of texts like the Abhidhamma, it would suggest that they had had good preliminary education.

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1. The <u>Cūlavaṃsa</u> mentions that during the reign of king Aggabodhi I (575-608 A.D.), there were many poets (<u>Cv.</u>, XLII,13). The Sinhalese chronicles enumerate twelve of them. Of these, there is one called Daḷabisō or Bisōdaḷa (<u>NkS.</u>,p.15; <u>Pjv.</u>,p.145 respectively). The well known meaning of <u>bisō</u> is 'queen'. <u>Daḷa</u> is the Sinhalese equivalent of (Pali) Dāṭhā. Thus, can Daḷabisō or Bisōdaḷa be identified with Dāṭhā, the daughter of the above king, who was married to a Malayarāja? Cf. Other names of her contemporary poets such as Daḷasalakumaru ('Prince Daḷasala'), Puravaḍukumaru ('Prince Puravaḍu') and Kasupkoṭaäpā ('Ādipāda Kasupkoṭa').
2. <u>Cv.</u>,XLIV,109,114.

Hemā, a young girl, living in the region west of
Anurādhapura proved herself worthy of gifts for her
profound knowledge of the <u>Dhammacakkappavattana Suttanta</u>.[1]
Her boy friend was a young merchant at Mahātittha. In
a night, she was desperate to see him and started to
cross the sea as the journey by sea was shorter than
by land.[2] This example may suggest that she was trained
in sailing, too.

Probably the <u>bhikkhunīs</u> were well educated
not only in Buddhism but had sometimes learnt some
foreign languages also. Otherwise, it would not have
been easy for them to undertake missionary activities
in foreign countries like China as we saw earlier.[3]
Perhaps, the <u>bhikkhunīs</u> may have had influence on the
education of the ordinary women. The <u>Dīpavaṃsa</u> records
a number of <u>bhikkhunīs</u> who taught <u>Vinaya</u> in the Island
during the period between the third century B.C. to the

1. <u>Sahas</u>.,p.127; <u>Rsv</u>.,II,pp.136-137. See for the
   <u>Dammacakkappavattana Suttanta</u>, <u>supra</u>,p.187.
2. <u>Sahas</u>.,pp.126-127: <u>mātugāmo rattiyaṃ vāṇijaṃ saritvā</u>
   <u>thalamaggena gaccante dūranti cintetvā samuddaṃ tarituṃ</u>
   <u>ārabhi</u>. No evidence is available for the existence of
   other highways from Anurādhapura to Mahātittha in the
   Anurādhapura period except the one that ran from the
   city; (see <u>JCBRAS</u> (NS,),VI,1963,pp.17-19). Hemā lived in
   the region west of Anurādhapura, probably near the
   coast. It is therefore quite possible that the distance
   to Mahātittha was longer by land than that by sea.
3. <u>Supra</u>,pp. 168ff.

third century A.D.[1] Nothing more, however, is known about this topic.

It is true that our sources are generally, silent about education in the early period of the history of the Island, but the above cited examples may suffice to indicate that women's education was also included to certain degree.

In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made at studying the position of women in the Island during the period from the fourth to the tenth century A.D., with which we are concerned. We have tried to pursue this topic by examining the important problems connected with women's social standing, viz. the attitudes of men towards them, their religious and social activities, proprietary rights and rights of inheritance, political activities and, finally, their education and literary activities. We have tried to determine the individual functions and interactions of these elements as far as possible. It has also been necessary in some cases to describe the social background and the general conditions of Ceylon, and their apparent influence on the evolution of the history of women. As far as possible the data of

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1. Dv.,XVIII,27-35.

our period have been compared with those of the preceding
and subsequent periods.

As indicated at the very beginning, this study is
necessarily limited because of the nature of the available
evidence. It may, however, be seen that the comparative
study of the available data in the Sīgiri graffiti,
chronicles, inscriptions and other sources throw, at
least, some light on the social life of women. In this
connexion, it is worth mentioning that no earlier attempt
has been made to assess the great importance of the
Sīgiri graffiti in any attempt to re-construct the
history of social conditions of women. In the light of
this survey, one may conclude that, as far as the history
of the women in the Island up to the present time is
concerned, our period marks a very important phase.
Women certainly occupied a favourable position in the
religious history of the Island. As bhikkhuṇīs, they
played a major role in the religious field and also in
social and other organizations. They were courageous
enough even to propagate the Dhamma in far eastern
countries like China.

The religious activities of other women seem to
have been of different kinds. In the early period most

of the offerings of women to the Sāsana were confined
to alms and other such smaller items. But we saw that
land and other valuable property was also at frequent
intervals donated by women, who thus contributed towards
the maintenance of the Sāsana during the period under
survey. Even in the troubled days which followed the
decline of the Anurādhapura kingdom,we hear, though very
rarely, of big endowments made by women.

Undoubtedly, there were women who possessed landed
properties and other resources during our period, rather
more than in any other ancient or medieval period. A
striking feature of the economic life of the country
during our period is the engagement of women in paid
employment. Also there were women who possessed con-
siderable gifts in literary activites again more
than in any other ancient or medieval period.

As in the other periods, women did not prove
very successful in government. However, it is important
to bear in mind that there were at least a few women
who were courageous enough to take an actual part
in politics directly or indirectly, irrespective of
what success they achieved. The custom of the appointment

of princesses to the rank of _rājinī_ appears to have
started during our period.

As in other periods, women could exert influence
on family affairs and they enjoyed freedom to take
part in social functions even without being accompanied
by male members. Their freedom was never restricted
by imposing _satī_ rites and child marriages etc. On
the whole, they occupied, undoubtedly, a favourable
position in society during the period under consideration.

Chapter Five

VILLAGE

As the village is normally the main centre of social life, it is proper to examine the village as a social unit. For that purpose it is necessary, firstly, to determine the areas where village settlements existed in the Island during the period under survey and, secondly, to describe the patterns of settlements.

Any serious study of the emergence of new settlements is beset with certain difficulties. It is true that there are numerous texts, both literary and epigraphic, showing the existence of a large number of village settlements which are not mentioned before c. 320 A.D., but for only very few the dates and circumstances under which these settlements were established are known.

Many parts of the present Anurādhapura District (a part of ancient Rājaraṭṭha) were populated well before our period. Yet we find in our sources a number of settlements for which there is no evidence in the earlier period.

It is, of course, possible that some of such settlements did exist in that earlier period. Inscriptions belonging to the period under review refer to the following villages in the Nuvaragam Palāta of the Anurādhapura District: Nikaviṭigama (modern Nikaviṭiya) is mentioned in the fourth-century inscription at Nabaḍagala, 1 mile north of the 36th mile stone on the Puttalam-Anurādhapura road.[1] The Bilibāva inscription of Kassapa V (914-923 A.D.), near the 26th mile post on the so-called Western Minor Road, states that the village Mahagāpiyova (modern Bilibāva) was granted to the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura.[2] Two inscriptions, attributable to the tenth century A.D., found at Eppāvala, near the 15th mile post on the Kākirāva-Talāva road, mention the Pamagalu Vihāra and the village of Sāgama.[3] About 2 miles north of the 12th mile post on the same road, 2 villages are referred to by the names of Govīn-nāmāpiṭiya and Alut-vāva in an inscription of Kassapa IV (898-914 A.D.).[4] The inscription of Kumāradāsa (512-520 A.D.) at Nāgiri-

1. Anc. Inscr. Ceyl.,no.62.
2. Ep. Zeyl.,II,p.41.
3. Ibid.,III,pp.190,193.
4. Ibid.,II,p.233.

kanda, 5 miles north-east of Mādavacciya, mentions the Bamaṇagariya Vihāra and the tanks Mahagariya, Cugariya, Kabuba, Kaṭacankapula, Tava, Nilasa, Gaja and Paḍa.[1] The Ällēväva inscription of Dappula IV (924-935 A.D.), near the 63rd mile post on the Anurādhapura-Trincomalee road, mentions the village Kulaviṭiya (present Ällēväva).[2] Velangama is mentioned in the Äṭavīragollāva inscription of Dappula III (923-924 A.D.).[3]

The well known village Kalāväva (Pali, Kāla-vāpi) in the Kalāgam Palāta of the Anurādhapura District occurs for the first time in the chronicle during the reign of king Jeṭṭhatissa III (632 A.D.).[4] But it is in the reign of king Dhātusena (459-477 A.D.) that the Kalāväva (Pali, Kālavāpi) tank and the vihāra of the same name were built.[5] The identification of this great reservoir and the vihāra with the present Kalāväva tank situated 25 miles south-east of Anurādhapura and the present vihāra at the northern end of the bound of this tank respectively[6] is beyond doubt. Evidently,

1. Ep. Zeyl.,IV,p.123.
2. Arch. Surv. Ceyl. Seventh Progress Report,p.46.
3. Ep. Zeyl.,II,p.48.
4. Cv.,XLIV,104-105.
5. Ibid.,XXXVIII,23-25.
6. W.Geiger, Cv. Transl.,p.38; JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,p.116.

the area around the Kalāväva tank derives its name
from the tank. There is, however, a village tank called
Kaḷubaha as attested by the inscription of the first
century A.D. at the Avukana Vihāra, situated two miles
away from the Kālavāpi tank.[1] The first part of the
name of this tank (i.e. Kaḷu, Pali, Kāla) may suggest
that this tank was derived its name from the Kāla Nadī.
These tanks would have been constructed close by the
Kāla Nadī and probably in the vicinity of the Kāla-
vāpi tank. This may suggest that this area was inhabited
by the Sinhalese well before the construction of the
Kālavāpi tank.

In the centuries following the construction
of the Kalāväva tank we find a number of examples
attesting further expansion of the _vihāra_ founded by
Dhātusena. Thus, Aggabodhi I (575-608 A.D.) founded
an Uposatha hall there.[2] Likewise, Jeṭṭhatissa III
(632 A.D.) assigned the village Laḍa to this _vihāra_.[3]
From these examples it follows that the _vihāra_ in
Kalāväva increased its importance in the following
centuries. Normally this would also imply some growth

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1. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,p.167.
2. Cv., XLIV,101.
3. Ibid.,XLII,28.

of the village of Kalāvāva and the neighbouring villages.
Therefore, there can be no doubt that as a result of
the completion of Kalāvāva, not only the area around
the tank but also some other parts of Rājaraṭṭha at
a somewhat greater distance were brought into culti-
vation. The inscriptions of the later centuries speak
of Sinhalese settlements in the area of Kalāvāva. For
instance, the inscriptions at Nāgama, ten/miles [10] south-
west of Kalāvāva, and Tammanagala, attributable to the
eighth century A.D., refer to the villages of Kolayuṇu
and Piḷiyāna respectively.[1]

No conclusive evidence is found for Sinhalese
settlements in the Māṭoṁbu Kōraḷē and Tulāna Kōraḷē
till about the close of the period under consideration.
The *Pūjāvaliya* records the construction of Mahaṭoṁbu
tank by king Jeṭṭhatissa I (266-267 A.D.).[2] Again the
same text mentions a tank called Māṭoṁbu made by king
Aggabodhi II (608-618 A.D.).[3] An attempt has been
made to show that these two passages refer to the
same tank so that Aggabodhi's work would amount to
a reconstruction of the former.[4] Yet there is no

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1. *Ep. Zey⁴.*, II, pp.16-17 and IV, p.148 respectively.
2. *Pjv.*, p.141.
3. *Ibid.*, p.145.
4. *JCBRAS* (NS.), VII, 1960, pp.55-56.

certainty because there is no other evidence for

identification, except for the similarity between

the two names. The Cūlavaṃsa mentions the construction

of a practising house (padhānaghara, Pali) called

Mātambiya by king Aggabodhi IV (667-683 A.D.).[1] Nicholas

attempted to identify these works with Mahaṭombuva,

Māṭombu and Māṭambiya in the present Māṭombu Kōraḷē

and Tulāna Kōraḷē.[2] His argument is, unfortunately,

only based on the similarity of the names and seems

to us unconvincing. His inference would carry greater

weight if there were at least a tank and a 'practising-

house' by the name of Māṭombu in the present Māṭombu

Kōraḷē or Tulāna Kōraḷē. Similarly, this scholar's

identification of the Veluvana Vihāra with an imaginary

site in the same Kōraḷē is not supported by evidence.

'King Saṃghatissa', he writes, 'defeated in battle

east of Anurādhapura, went to Veluvana Vihāra where

he assumed a monk's robes: he was proceeding thence

to cross the Mahavāli Gaṅga and escape into Rohana

when he was detected and seized at Miṇṇēriya. It is

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1. Cv.,XLVI,19.
2. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,p.173.

clear, therefore, that Veluvaṇa Vihāra was westward of Minnēriya and probably in Māṭombuva Kōralē'.[1] It becomes clear from the Cūlavaṃsa that the Veluvaṇa Vihāra was situated between Anurādhapura and Minnēriya. But how could this be in Mātombuva? We are uncertain as to whether this vihāra was near Anurādhapura or near Minnēriya. If it was near the latter it is obvious that it does not belong to the Māṭombu Kōralē.

However, in other parts of the Hurulu Palāta in the Anurādhapura District, there is evidence for settlements belonging to the period under discussion. Thus, the Aminicciya inscription of the fourth century A.D., about 1 mile north-east of the 28th mile stone on the so-called Eastern Minor Road, refers to the following villages and tanks:- Abagama, Davacaka-Patagama and Abamava-Patagama (villages), Vajiviya tank, Kada-aviya tank, Navada-aviya tank, Mahavāva tank and Vajagamaka tank.[2] Unfortunately, none of these can be identified. The Devāgiriya Vihāra and the village Niṭalaviṭiya are mentioned for the first time in two inscriptions of the fifth century A.D.

1. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,p.173.
2. Arch. Surv. Ceyl. Seventh Progress Report,p.54.

at Labuāṭabāṅdigala, seven miles north of Horovupo-
tāna on the road leading to Kapugallāva.[1] Gäliṅdaru
Gomaṅḍla (present Raṁbāva) is mentioned in the ins-
cription in situ of Udaya I (797-801 A.D.), near the
north-west corner of the Wāhalkaḍa tank.[2] Another
village in this area is Sulinnarugama (present Iri-
piniyāva) referred to in the Iripiniyāva inscription
of the above mentioned king.[3] These widely scattered
inscriptions in the Nuvaragam Palāta, Kalāgam Palāta
and Hurulu Palāta of the Anurādhapura District suggest
that Sinhalese settlements had expanded into most
parts of this district by about the tenth century A.D.
Yet there is neither literary nor archaeological
evidence to show the existence of Sinhalese settle-
ments in some other parts of this district till about
the end of the period under review.

Some parts of Rohaṇa, in particular the Ham-
bantoṭa District, appear to have been settled by Sin-
halese several centuries before the beginning of the
fourth century A.D. According to a legend, Rohaṇa

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1. Ep.Zey.,III,pp.250-252.
2. Ibid.,I,p.172.
3. Ibid.,I,p.169.

would have been built by a prince called Rohaṇa in the reign of Paṇḍu Vāsudeva.[1] By the second century B.C. this village grew in importance and developed into the centre of a kingdom in the Island. It reached the peak of its glory by about the latter part of the first century B.C. As these points have already been elaborated by a number of scholars,[2] there is no need to go into details.

There is no evidence of Sinhalese settlements in the Moravak Kōraḷē till about the latter part of the Anurādhapura period. Devanagara (Pali), Devundara (ancient and modern Sinh.), Dondra (English) in the coastal area of this Kōraḷē appears to have emerged during the period under consideration. Yet its founder remains uncertain because of the differences between the sources: both the Pūjāvaliya and the Rājāvaliya once mention that Devundara was founded by king Aggabodhi IV (667-683 A.D.).[3] Yet in another instance they ascribe its foundation to king Mānavamma (684-718 A.D.).[4] The first reference to Devanagara in the

1. Mv., IX,10.
2. S.Paranavitana, 'Triump of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī', UCHC, (vol.I, pt.)I,pp.144-161; S.Ranavella, A Political History of Rohaṇa from c. 991-1255 A.D.,Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis, (University of London,1966), chapters II & III.
3. Pjv.,p.146; Rjv.,p.63.
4. Ibid.,p.147; Ibid.,p.64.

Cūlavaṃsa is in the tenth century A.D. when we read
a certain Vikkamabāhu, who ruled in Rohaṇa, died at
Devanagara during a battle with the Cōḷas.[1]

The Kihirāli (Khadirāli, Pali) Vihāra at Dēvun-
dara is mentioned in an inscription of the eighth or
ninth century A.D. in situ.[2] The Cūlavaṃsa mentions that
Dappula (c. 659 A.D.), an independent ruler of Rohaṇa,
built the Khadirāli Vihāra in honour of (the local ?)
god.[3] But unfortunately it does not give the location.
It is believed that the name of the god of Devanagara
is also Khadirāli. In addition, the Pārakumbā-Sirita
of the fifteenth century A.D. as well as local tradi-
tion attribute to Dāpulusen the installation at Devun-
dara of a red sandal-wood image of Upulvan, which had
been brought ashore by the waves.[4] It seems likely
that Dappula's pious works were confined to Rohaṇa.
It is also to be noted that no other vihāra of that
name occurs in the Island except that at Devanagara.
From these examples it may seem likely that the vihāra

1. Cv.,LVI,6.
2. Quoted by S.Paranavitana in the Memoirs of the Archaeo-
   logical Survey of Ceylon,VI,pp.60ff.
3. Cv.,XLV,55: Khadirāli-vihāraṃ ca katvā devaṃ apūjayi.
4. Pārakumbā-Sirita,v.24.

built by Dappula sould be identified with the present Kihirāli Vihāra.

The present Galle District, situated in the wet-zone, was part of ancient Rohaṇa. Yet there is no evidence for the existence of Sinhalese settlements in this district during the early part of the Anurādhapura period. The earliest known inscription in this area can be dated back to the tenth century A.D.[1] In so far as irrigation works are concerned we are in a similar position. It was Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.D.) who first started irrigation works in this area, as far as the evidence goes.[2] We find little archaeological remains in this area: the famous (Bhaiṣajyaguru ?) statue at Kuṣṭarajāgala near Veligama can be attributed to the ninth century A.D. These data may suggest that this district was sparsely populated during the Anurādhapura period, particularly in its early part. This may, however, seem surprising as Galle District is situated between Māgama and Kālaṇiya-two ancient centres- and, in addition, comprises the coastal areas where there are also some important sea ports.[3]

1. CJSG, II, p.198, no.588.
2. Cv., CXVIII, 51.
3. See infra, p.314.

What we can gather from our sources is that many parts of this district had remained unsettled till about the Daṁbadeṇiya period. It is interesting to see that the minister of Parākramabāhu II (1236-1270 A.D.) cleared the Mahālabujagaccha or Mahadelgas forest and founded there a village which was named after the forest. He completed the foundation of the village by erecting an image house, _cetiya_, enclosing walls and by making plantations there.[1] He also opened the area between Kalutoṭa (modern, Kalutara) and Bemtoṭa for plantations.[2]

There is no evidence for early settlements in the Kalutara district till about the fourth century A.D. The date of the first known inscription in this district found at Pokuṇuviṭa Vihāra at about 10 miles on the Pānadura-Horaṇa road.[3] In an inscription of the fifth century A.D. at Diyagama, ~~three~~ 3 miles up river from Kalutara, a _vihāra_ named Kalaka Maha Vihāra is mentioned; but there now remains only ruins. The inscription also mentions a _niyamatana_.[4] Therefore, it is clear that there was a permanent settlement in the area to the north of Kalu Gaṅga by about the fifth

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1. _Cv._, LXXXVI, 49-51; _Pjv._, p.49.
2. _Ibid._, LXXXVI, 44-45; _Ibid._, p.49.
3. _CJSG_, II, p.207, no.633.
4. _Anc. Inscr. Ceyl._, no.85; see for _niyamatana_, _infra_, pp.282ff.

century A.D. A tenth-century inscription speaks of
another Sinhalese settlement named Pahanbunu at Väl-
milla near Pokuṇuviṭa; it is identified with the present
Pānadura Toṭamuṇa, an important area of Rayigam Kōraḷē.
It mentions also Aruṅgam-peḷavaga which may be identi-
fied with modern Arugoḍa, 4 miles from Välmilla.[1]

However, no archaeological remains have so far been
found to the south of the Kalu Gaṅga prior to the reign
of Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.D.). On the other
hand, we are told in the <u>Cūlavaṃsa</u> that the area known
as Pañcayojana Raṭṭha (Sinhalese, Pasdunvaga), the
present Pasdun Kōraḷē was a vast swampy, wilderness
in Parākramabāhu's time. It was this king who drained
the large swamp by leading the waters into the rivers,
so made the land cultivable.[2] East of the river there
are neither monuments nor inscriptions belonging
to the period before the tenth century A.D. On the
other hand, Vajrabodhi, an Indian monk who visited
Ceylon on his way to China and went on pilgrimage to
Adam's Peak (Pali, Samantakūṭa; Sinhalese, Samanoḷa) in
719 A.D., records that the area around the mountain was

1. <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,III,p.297; cf. <u>JCBRAS</u>.(NS),VI,1963,p.119.
2. <u>Cv.</u>,LVII,71,LXI,35, LXVIII,51-52.

a wild region.[1] By means of 'wild' Vajrabodhi in fact indicated that the area was covered with jungle. But in the dry-zone section of Ratnapura District to the north of the Vāna Nadī (present Valavē Gaṅga) some pre-Christian cave inscriptions have been found.[2] However, no other inscriptions have been found in this area until the last century of the period under consideration. This inscription is that of Galpāya, attributable to about the tenth century A.D., at a site six 6 miles north-east of the 88th mile on the Pälmaṅdulla-Ambalantoṭa road. This inscription mentions Girimaṅdulu Vihāra.[3]

Though some epigraphic evidence and monuments of a very early period (before the fourth century A.D.) can be found in the Mātalē District it is with the emergence of Sīgiri in the latter part of the fifth century that many areas were inhabited and cultivated in this part of the land.

The events which led to the founding of Sīgiriya, as narrated in chapters 38 and 39 of the Cūlavaṃsa,

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1. Soung-kao-seng-tchoan, chapter, p.71, column, 17.
2. JCBRAS (NS), VI, 1963, pp.125-126.
3. JCBRAS, XXXII, 1932, p.178.

are well known, and need not to be recapitulated here.

However, the following description merits consideration

as it indicates the origin of the name Sīgiriya and

proves that the area around this fortress remained

uninhabited until its construction. The passage runs

as follows:-

> 'He(Kassapa) cleared (the land) round
> about, surrounded it with a wall and built a
> staircase in the form of a lion. Thence it came
> to be known as by that name (Sīhāgiri)'.[1]

At present, however, not only the rock but

also the village at the foot of the rock are named

by Sīgiriya. Unfortunately, there is no evidence to

define the precise year when the village came into

existence; but we find the term Sihigiribim to indi-

cate a sub-district in the Viyaulpota inscription of

the latter part of the tenth century A.D., 6 miles

north-west of Sīgiriya.[2] The Sīgiri graffiti and ins-

criptions mention a number of villages in the vicinity

of Sīgiriya. Thus, we find a village named Kivisi.[3]

This should perhaps be identified with the present

Kibissa near Sīgiriya. Another graffito records the

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1. Cv.,XXXIX,2-3; cf. Geiger, Cv. Transl.,p.42.
2. Ep. Zeyl.,IV,p.178.
3. Sīg. Graff.,vv.574,562.

name of the village of Budgamiya.[1] The Māṇikdena ins-
cription of the tenth century A.D., at 2 miles west
of the 40th mile post on the Mātalē-Dambulla road,
mentions also a _vihāra_ of the name Budugama.[2] We are
not certain whether these two records refer to the
same village. Māgalamb is another name mentioned in
the Sīgiri graffiti.[3] In the _Cūlavaṃsa_ there is a refe-
rence to a village of Maṅgalabegāma,[4] a battle field
situated in the territory of Gajabāhu II (1132-1153
A.D.). The village Maṅgalabegāma has been identified
with the present Makul-ebē situated between Puvakgaha-
Ulpota and Kōṅduruva.[5] However, we have no conclusive
evidence to show that Māgalamb and Maṅgalabegāma denote
the same village. A tenth-century inscription records
the name of the village Panāväli, present Mäda-Ulpota,
6 miles south-east of Älahära.[6] There are a number
of inscriptions from the fourth to the seventh century
A.D. at the Kukurumahandamana ruins, 9 miles north-
east of the 20th mile post on the Älahära-Pallēgama

1. Sīg. Graff., v.49; cf. v.551.
2. A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1908,p.15.
3. Sīg. Graff., v.532.
4. Cv.,LXVII,52; LXX,178,283,297; LXXII,161,207.
5. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,p.112.
6. Ep. Zeyl.,IV,p.57.

road. One of these speaks of the village of Tabaraya
as the seat of the district chieftain.[1] From these
examples it follows that most parts of the area around
Sīgiriya are mentioned in our records with reference
to the period after the construction of the city of
Sīgiriya. It is also revealed that a considerable
part of this area was populated and under cultivation
towards the beginning of the tenth century A.D. Yet
it is important to note that there was, in the latter
part of the Anurādhapura period, jungle which served as
refuge for rebellious princes.[2] Even at present, some
parts of this area remain uninhabited and uncultivated.

In the Kandy District the area around Kandy,
Gampola and Teldeṇiya appears to have been populated
in pre-Christian time as the inscriptions of that period
at Dūlvala near Perādeṇiya, Gōṇawatta near the 5th
mile post on the road leading from Kandy to Haṅguran-
keta, Vēgiriya devāla near Gampola and Baṁbaragala
Vihāra near Teldeṇiya attest.[3] About 13 miles from
Kandy, in the Hiṅdagala Vihāra, there are fragmentary

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1. JCBRAS.(NS),VI,1963,p.113.
2. Cv.,XXXIX,45;XLI,19;XLIV,28.
3. Inscr. Ceyl.,p.62,nos.807-811,813;p.63,nos.814-817.

remains of paintings attributable to the 6th century A.D.[1] An inscription of the seventh century A.D. at this _vihāra_ records a joint grant made by a minister and a resident of Kanamuḍu for the purpose of building a Bodhi Tree shrine.[2]

In some parts of the mountainous region such as the Nuvara Eliya and Badulla Districts there is no evidence to show a permanent population prior to the tenth century A.D. The earliest inscription has so far been found in this region is the Harasbädda inscription of the tenth century A.D. near Valapanē.[3] This inscription provides us with the names of three villages, _i.e._ Kohombagama, Aṁbunōra and Talagama. Even in the thirteenth century some parts of the upper mountainous region remained uncultivated and unpopulated, as now, for we are told that when Māgha invaded Polonnaruva the Sinhalese leaders betook themselves to Kotmalē which was covered with jungle.[4]

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1. Benjamin Rowland (Jr.), _The Wall-Paintings of India, Central Asia and Ceylon_, 1938, p.85; UNESCO World Art Series, _Ceylon, Paintings from Temple, Shrine and Rock_, p.24.
2. _JCBRAS_ (NS), VII, 1961, p.227; _UCR_, XVI, 1958, p.3.
3. _JCBRAS_, XXVI, 1917, p.64.
4. _Cv._, LXXXI, 17-29; _Pjv._, p.153; _Rjv._, p.70.

Many parts of the north and the north-eastern
provinces appear to have been populated during the
early part of the Anurādhapura period. Thus, we hear
of Sinhalese settlements in Nāgadīpa (the Jaffna penin-
sula),[1] Jambukola, identifiable with modern Sambalturai
and its suburbs,[2] Baḍakara (presumably modern Valli-
puram near Point Pedro),[3] Piyangudīpa (modern Puṅgutīv)[4]
and Sūkaratittha or Ūrātoṭa (modern Kayts).[5] It is to
be mentioned that though at present the majority of
the people settled in the above provinces are Tamils,K.
Indrapala has rightly pointed out that Sinhalese consti-
tuted the main population there till about the thirteenth
century. The first Tamil settlements in this part of
the Island appear, however, in the tenth century A.D.[6]

The inscriptions and the villages mentioned in
the literary sources prove that several parts of Vavuniyā
District were inhabited by Sinhalese even before the
period under consideration. Nearly a hundred Brāhmī
inscriptions scattered in the area of Mahākaccaṭkōḍi,

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1. Mv.,I,47;XX,25;XXXVI,9,36; Sāmv.,p.475; Rjv.,p.49.
2. Mv.,XI,23;XIX,24,59;XX,25; Samv.,p.446.
3. Ep. Zeyl.,III,p.237.
4. Mv.,XXIV,25;XXV,104;XXXII,52; Sahas.,pp.40,56,165,185.
5. Rjv.,p.22.
6. K.Indrapala, op. cit.,p.79.

Erupotāna and Periyapuliyankulam[1] suggest that the area was inhabited by Sinhalese since very ancient times. Vedikinnari-malai, in Mēlpattu East of North Vavuniyā in the Vavuniyā District; 2 miles north-east of Ariyamadu, is another site with pre-Christian cave inscriptions.[2] The famous Kurundi Vihāra in Karikattu-malai of the south division of the Vavuniyā District is mentioned in the <u>Atthakathās</u> and chronicles.[3]

A number of village names and tanks occuring in our sources with reference to the period under discussion suggest that there were more village settlements and further expansion of Sinhalese activities in this district. A Sīgiri graffito mentions a village called Kokalā identifiable with modern Kokkilāy.[4] The Māmadu inscription of the ninth century A.D., 8 miles north-east of Vavuniyā refers to the tank and the village by the name of Mahidavāva.[5] The tank may well be identified with the Mahindataṭāka Tank restored by Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.D.).[6] Unfortunately,

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1. <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,V,pp.243-252; see also <u>Inscr. Ceyl.</u>,pp.26-27, nos.322-25;326-37 and p.93,nos.1166-69 respectively.
2. <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,V,p.244,nos.21-23; <u>Inscr. Ceyl.</u>,p.29,nos. 373-75.
3. <u>Manorathapūranī</u>,I,p.59; <u>Mv.</u>,XXXIII,32; <u>Pjv.</u>,pp.28,42.
4. <u>Sīg. Graff.</u>,v.230
5. <u>CJSG</u>, II,p.117.
6. <u>Cv.</u>,LXXIX,28.

the date of its foundation is unknown. A place named
Nāgirigala is mentioned in the Buddhannehäla inscrip-
tion of the tenth century A.D. about 7 miles north
of modern Padaviya.[1]

As attested by archaeological ruins, tanks and
inscriptions, a considerable part of the Trincomalee
District appears to have been settled by Sinhalese
from pre-Christian times. We intend to discuss the
emergence of Gokaṇṇagāma (modern Trincomalee) in con-
nexion with the paṭṭanagāmas. Among other villages,
Abagamiya is mentioned in a pre-Christian cave ins-
cription at Nācceri-malai, near Kuccavēli.[2] There are
inscriptions of the first century A.D. at Nīlapānikkan-
kulam-malai about 5 miles north-west of Kuccavēli. One
of these inscriptions refers to the Kakelakuvahanaka
Vihāra and registers a grant of the Hayigaraya Tank
to this vihāra.[3] Near the 50th mile post on the road
running from Batticaloa to Trincomalee there are a
number of pre-Christian inscriptional sites.[4] In an
inscription of Bhātika Tissa (19 B.C.-9 A.D.) on the

1. Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.197.
2. A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1933,p.18.
3. JCBRAS (NS.),VI,1963,p.45.
4. Inscr. Ceyl.,p.30,nos.382-387.

hill near Periyakulam refers to the Abagara Vihāra at Velagama.[1] It is believed that the ruins at Nāta-nār Kōvil, near Periyakulam, are those of the Abagara Vihāra.[2] There is evidence to show that this vihāra was in existence during the Cōḷa occupation in Rāja-raṭṭha. The Cōḷas made donations to the shrine of the Buddha in this monastery, renovated its other buildings, and re-named the vihāra Rājarāja Perumpaḷḷi after the name of king Rājarāja I.[3] The Cūlavaṃsa mentions that Niśśaṅkamalla (1187-1196 A.D.) restored the Velagāma Vihāra,[4] probably the Rājarāja Perumpaḷḷi. There is another ancient ruined building at Kalkulam, about 4 miles to the south-west of Kiliveṭṭi. An inscrip-tion, attributable to the fourth century A.D., found at this site, reveals that the site was known as Garimahalaka Mahavahara and ascribes its foundation to Duṭaka Gamaṇi Aba Raja (Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya ?).[5]

Nācciyar-malai in Kaṭṭukulam Pattu East in the Trincomalee District , a mile and half south-west

1. CJSG, II, 1928-33, p.199.
2. A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1953,p.9;1954,p.14.
3. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,p.45.
4. Cv.,LX,62.
5. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,p.45.

of the 19th mile post on the road running from Trin-
comalee to Pulmoṭṭai, is also a pre-Christian Sinha-
lese settlement.[1] Tiriyāy in the same _pattu_ , a mile
south-west of the 30th mile post on the same road,
appears to have been an ancient coastal village. A
cave inscription in early Brāhmī script found at this
site states that a daughter of a certain Parumaka[2]
granted a cave to the Buddhist Saṅgha.[3] According to
a legend, two merchants named Tapassu and Bhalluka
enshrined the Hair Relics of Gautama Buddha, which
they had received from the Buddha himself,[4] in a _cetiya_
at Girikaṇḍa in Ceylon.[5] An inscription attributable
to the seventh century A.D. at Tiriyāy states that
Trapuśyaka (Pali, Tapassu+ka)[6] and Vallika (Pali, Bhalluka)
founded the Girikaṇḍa Cetiya.[7] At present there are

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1. Inscr. Ceyl.,p.30,nos.378-80.
2. See for _parumaka_, H.Ellawala, Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl.,pp.37-
   40; Inscr. Ceyl.,Introd., pp.XXII-XXXVI.
3. Insc. Ceyl.,p.29,no.377.
4. Mahāvagga,(PTS.),vol.I,pp.343-44; J.I,pp.80-81; Lalita
   vistara,(Sefman's edition),vol.I,pp.381-82.
5. Pjv.,(B.Sraddhā Tiśya edition),p.198. The Burmese
   Buddhists firmly believe that these merchants enshrined
   the Hair Relics in Shwe Dagon at Rangoon.
6. See for a discussion of additional _ka_ which has been
   combined with the name Tapassu, W.Rahula, History
   of Buddhism in Ceylon,p.241,note,5.
7. Ep. Zeyl.,IV,pp.158ff.

ruins of a vaṭadāgē 'circular relic shrine', attri-
butable to the seventh or to the eighth century A.D.
at this inscriptional site.[1] The Visuddhimagga speaks
of a village called Vattakāla in the vicinity of Giri-
kaṇḍa Mahāvihāra.[2] Pulmoṭṭai, in the same pattu, a
mile south-west from the 35th mile post on the same
road another Sinhalese settlement existing from pre-
Christian times as attested by an inscription in situ.[3]
We come across another Sinhalese settlement existing
from pre-Christian times in Kallakulam Pattu of the
Trincomalee District about 18 miles south-west of
Trincomalee. There was a village called Saṅgilla where
prince Mahānāga lived before his becoming king.[4]

A large reservoir called Gaṅgātaṭa or Gantaḷā
(present Kantalāy), situated about 15 miles south-west
of Trincomalee, constructed by Aggabodhi II (608-618
A.D.),[5] is interesting as evidence for the existence of
Sinhalese settlements in that area during the time of
Aggabodhi II or perhaps even earlier. As attested by

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1. See for a detailed account of this vaṭadāgē, A.R. Arch.
   Surv. Ceyl.,1951,pp.26ff.
2. Visuddhim.,p.143.
3. Inscr. Ceyl.,p.29,n.376.
4. Cv.,XLI,69ff; cf. infra,380.
5. Mv.,XLII,67; Pjv.,p.28; Rjv.,p.56.

an inscription this area was in flourishing condition during the twelfth century A.D.[1]

The greater part of the Pānama Pattu, the southernmost division of Batticaloa and Ampārai Districts, is still covered with forest, but this area was settled by Sinhalese in pre-Christian times and also during the period under review as inscriptions and archaeological remains attest. In this area more than thirty pre-Christian inscriptional sites have already been found. Nāmaluva is one such site, situated near the boundary between Pānama Pattu and Badulla Districts and close to the north bank of the Häḍa Oya, where there are several inscriptions dating from the first century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. Two of these inscriptions can be attributed to Sirimekavaṇa Abha Maharaja (Sirimeghavaṇṇa 303-331 A.D.).[2] Akurukeṭūgala, about 20 miles north of Kūmuna is a ruined site, which has not yet been excavated. It contains a number of inscriptions of the fourth century A.D. which provides us with the name of Karapavata Mahavihara, and of the villages Garadara and Mayulavila,

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1. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,p.23.
2. Ibid,,loco cit.

which cannot be identified at present.[1] The village
Mayulavila again occurs together with another village
named Citagala in an inscription of the fifth century
A.D. situated 20 miles south of the above mentioned
inscriptional site.[2] Kiripkuṇu-hela, about 2 miles
south of Baṁbaragas-talāva, is another inscriptional
site where there are five inscriptions attributable
to pre-Christian times and one to the fifth century
A.D. The latter mentions the village Kunarivata.[3]
Pānamavāva Vihāra, close by the Pānama tank and about
2 miles from the village Pānama appears to have been
a pre-Christian village as there are early Brāhmī
cave inscriptions in situ.[4] There are references to
this village in the inscriptions of the fifth and
seventh century A.D., too.[5] Bōvattēgala, 3 miles
north-west of Kumuna, is another inscriptional site
where there are pre-Christian inscriptions as well
as inscriptions of the seventh century A.D.[6]

1. Sir Paul Pieris Felicitation Volume, p.63.
2. Ibid., loc. cit.
3. Ibid., p.62; Inscr. Ceyl., p.40, nos.523-528.
4. Inscr. Ceyl., p.38, no.495.
5. CJSG, II, p.118, no.457; JCBRAS (NS), VI, 1963, p.22.
6. Inscr. Ceyl., pp.42-43, nos.549-555; Sir Paul Pieris
   Felicitation Volume, pp.65ff.

Many parts of the Gal Oya valley appear to have
been settled by Sinhalese in pre-Christian times. One
of such parts was the village Dīghavāpi and its outs-
kirts.[1] Rājagala or Rāssahela, on the eastern side of
the Divulāna Tank, was another such village.[2] In this
village there are three inscriptions of the reign of
Mahinda II (777-797 A.D.).[3] Similarly, Ampārai and
its vicinity appear to have been settled by Sinhalese
in pre-Christian times as attested by inscriptions.[4]
Verapaḍāva, near Toṭṭama was a Sinhalese settlement
at least from the second century A.D. to the seventh
century, as we find inscriptions _in situ_ attributable
to these two centuries.[5] There are also inscriptions
attributable to the third and to the fourth century
A.D. at Pokuṇudeka, 6 miles from Uhana. Close by this
site, there are a pre-Christian cave inscription
and a pillar inscription at Koṇḍavaṭṭavan.[6]

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1. Mv.,IX,10; Sahas.,pp.86,103; Mv. Ṭīkā,pp.461,463,
   469,470,609; Papañcasūdanī,(PTS),p.1024; A.R. Arch.
   Surv. Ceyl.,1953,p.22.
2. Inscr. Ceyl.,p.33,nos.422-468a.
3. Ep. Zeyl.,IV,pp.169-176.
4. A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1953,p.28,no.29; 1954,p.36,no.5.
5. JCBRAS (NS)VI,1963,p.28.
6. Ibid., loc. cit.

Near Batticaloa, there were Sinhalese settle-
ments in pre-Christian times and onwards. Kusalānakanda,
2 miles north of the 3rd mile post on the read running
from Badulla to Batticaloa, is one such settlement.[1]
There was another village at Kalūḍupotāna-malai, about
4 miles west of the above mentioned mile post on the
same road.[2] Henannegala was another one situated about
6 miles north-west of the 67th mile post on the above
mentioned road. Cave inscriptions found at this site
are attributable to the third or to the second century
B.C.; these inscriptions contain the following villages:-
Kaśabanagara, Giritiśagama, Karajhini-Tiśagama, Vilagama
Mulugama and Nokapika.[3] Nuvaragala, about 6 miles
south-east of the 63rd mile post on the above mentioned
road contains inscriptions of Saddhātissa (137-119 B.C.).[4]
About 2 miles north of the above mentioned mile post
on the same road another Sinhalese settlement appears
to have been in existence from pre-Christian times.
Now this village is known as Veheragala. Ōmuṇagala,
about 7 miles north of the latter,[5] and Niyaṅdavarā-

1. _Inscr. Ceyl._,pp.30-31, nos.389-395.
2. _Ibid._,p.31, nos.396-398.
3. _Ibid._,p.32,no.406.
4. _Ibid._,p.31,no.404.
5. _Ibid._,p.31,no.403.

gala, 4 miles north-west of the 77th mile post on the above mentioned road are some other pre-Christian inscriptional sites.[1] An inscription of Vasabha (65-109 A.D.) has been found at Kūmacōlai, about 1 mile south-west of the 92nd mile post on the above-mentioned road.[2] At Vehera Uḍa-malai, about 3 miles north-west of the 89th mile post on the above mentioned road we find also an ancient inscription which registers a grant of an irrigation canal to the Dakapahanaka Vihāra.[3] In addition, Katiṟaveli at the 44th mile post on the road from Batticaloa to Trincomalee contains pre-Christian ruins.[4]

Many parts of the Mannar District, particularly, the area of both sides of the Malvatu Oya appear to have been populated towards the beginning of the fifth century A.D. The ancient route from Anurādhapura to Mahātittha was built along the south bank of the Malvatu Oya.[5] It has convincingly argued that the earliest Sinhalese colonies such as Tambapaṇṇi and Upatissagāma were situated in the Mannār Dis-

1. Inscr. Ceyl.,p.31,no.399-402.
2. JCBRAS (NS.),VI,1963,p.32.
3. Ibid., loc. cit.
4. Ibid.,p.33.
5. UCHC,(vol.I,pt.)I,p.15; JCBRAS (NS.),VI,1963,pp.74-75.

trict in the vicinity of the extreme northern part of the Malvatu Oya.[1] Mahātittha (present Māntai), the main port of ancient and medieval Ceylon, by about the sixth century A.D. became the centre of Sinhalese sea-borne trade in the Indian ocean.[2] Apart from the above-mentioned coastal towns and villages there were some other settlements in the interior of the district. Thus, two mutilated inscriptions attributable to the second century A.D. at Tonikallu, 6 miles from Periyakañcikulam, off the Akattimurippu road, refer to the grant of fields and money to a monastery.[3] There are a few references in inscriptions of the first century A.D. to the third century to a place called Magana Nakara situated to the south of Mahātittha.[4]

It becomes clear from our sources that there were many more villages and tanks in this district in existence during the period from the fourth to the tenth century A.D. Among these are the Mānamatta Tank, probably identical with the Giant's Tank, 6

1. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,pp.74-75.
2. See infra,pp.301ff.
3. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,p.76.
4. Ibid.,pp.81-82.

miles south-east of Mahātittha, constructed by king Dhātusena (459-477 A.D.)[1] and the Pahangama Tank, present Pānakkāmam Kulam in the division of Māntai, constructed by the same king.[2] It is probable that with the construction of these irrigation works many more areas were opened for cultivation and habitation. There are two inscriptions of Kassapa V (914-923 A.D.) at Māntai, which refer to seven villages in Uturukuru (northern province).[3]

In the north-western province, comprising the Puttalam and Kuruṇāgala Districts, we find only few examples of villages, monasteries and tanks other than those known already from the early part of the Anurādhapura period. A short examination of these references would reveal that most parts of this province were under the occupation of Sinhalese before the period under review. At Piccaṇḍiyāva, 9 miles south-east of the 9th mile on the Puttalam-Anurādhapura road there are a number of Brāhmī inscriptions.[4] In the vicinity of this site there are also monuments at

1. <u>Pjv.</u>,p.27; <u>NkŚ.</u>,p.23.
2. <u>Pjv.</u>,p.27; <u>NkŚ.</u>,p.23; <u>JCBRAS</u> (NS),VII,1961,p.53.
3. <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,III,p.103; IV,p.249.
4. <u>Inscr. Ceyl.</u>,pp.82-83,nos.1059-66; p.100,no.1233.

Mullegamakanda.[1] There are a number of Brāhmī inscriptions on the rock of Tōṇigala near the 39th mile post on the Kuruṇāgala-Puttalam road.[2] At Viraṅda-Ogda there is another cave inscription attributable to the second or to the first century B.C.[3] We find an inscription attributable to the second half of the eighth century or the first half of the ninth century A.D. at this site.[4] The third-century inscription of Malasnegala, about 5 miles from the 17th mile post on the same road, refers to the Tisaviya Tank and the Kaladigevi Town (nakariya) as well as to a vihāra.[5] There are more pre-Christian inscriptions at Vēragala, 7 miles east of the 10th mile post on the road to Puttalam from Kuruṇāgala.[6] Kōnvāvakanda and Kīnagaha-vāvakanda are other pre-Christian sites situated about 6 miles to the east of the 13th mile post on the above road.[7] There are more inscriptional sites near the 15th mile post on the same road.[8]

1. Inscr. Ceyl.,p.84,nos.1069-1074; p.100,no.1234.
2. Ibid.,p.82,nos.1051-1052.
3. Ibid.,p.85,nos.1088-1098.
4. Ep. Zeyl.,V,p.123.
5. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,p.90.
6. Inscr. Ceyl.,p.84,nos.1075-1080.
7. Ibid.,p.85,nos.1081-1082.
8. Ibid.,p.100.

Uruvela, one of the earliest Sinhalese settlements in Ceylon, has recently been identified by an inscription with a site near the mouth of the Kalā Oya.[1] The Galgē Vihāra Cave Inscription of the first century A.D. records the Vāhalkaḍa Tank, This may be the breached tank near the ruins at Galgē Vihāra, about 8 miles south-east of Pomparippuva.[2] The Paṭṭieliya Inscription of the tenth century, a few miles north of the Galgē Vihāra suggests further expansion of Sinhalese settlements in this area.[3]

Similarly, according to epigraphic and archaeological evidence, most parts of the Kuruṇāgala district appear to have been settled by Sinhalese before the beginning of the period under consideration. The Vanni Hatpattu in the dry-zone, situated between the Kāla Nadī or Goṇa Nadī (present Kalā Oya) and the Jajjara Nadī (present Däduru Oya), was well irrigated in ancient times by larger tanks, river diversions, dams and canals.[4] Also there are a number of pre-Christian inscriptional sites in this Hatpattu: at the Veragala

1. Dv.,XXI,47; Mv.,VII,45;IX,9; JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,p.89.
2. A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1896,p.6.
3. Ibid.,1954,p.38,no.44.
4. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1960,pp.52-53.

Vihāra in the modern village of Giribāva of the Mī-Oyen

Egoḍa Kōraḷē, there is a Brāhmī inscription.[1] There

are fourteen cave inscriptions at Gallena Vihāra,

2 miles west of the 47th mile post on the Kuruṇāgala-Anu-

rādhapura road.[2] The Kāḍigala Inscription records

another pre-Christian site at about 3 miles north-west

of the 49th mile post on the above mentioned road.[3]

One more pre-Christian inscription is found at Paḍi-

pancāva, 2 miles east of mile stone 44 on the same

road.[4] Also 2 miles east of the 48th mile stone on

the same road there are archaeological remains with

an inscription of king Mahāsena (276-303 A.D.).[5]

Along the Galgamuva-Minnēriya road, too, there

are inscriptions and archaeological remains attri-

butable to an earlier period. For instance, there

are ruins with inscriptions of the first century B.C.

at Tōṇigala and Paḍigala, 1 mile south and 3 miles

south-west respectively of the 6th mile post on the

1. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,p.92.
2. Ep. Zeyl.,V,pp.256-259.
3. A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1895,p.8.
4. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,p.94.
5. Ibid., Loc. cit.

above-mentioned road.[1] Also there are inscriptions
of the second century B.C. and of the second century
A.D. at the Tōravāva-Mayilāva Vihāra, 2 miles south
of the 7th mile post on the same road.[2] Another ins-
cription of the second century A.D., at Saṅghapāla-
kanda, 3 miles north of the 6th mile post on this
road records the donation of shares of the Narivi-
gamaka Tank to Girimalaka Vihāra.[3] King Sūratissa
of the second century B.C. is said to have built the
Nagaragana Vihāra in the southern division of the
Anurādhapura kingdom.[4] An inscription of the second
century A.D. at the Äsvädduma ruins, 2 miles east of
Aṁbanpola refers to the Nakaragana nunnery,[5] identi-
fied by C.W.Nicholas with the vihāra.[6]

There is evidence to show that there were Sin-
halese settlements at and around Nikaväraṭiya also
by about the first century A.D.[7] However, it was in
the time of Mahāsena (276-303 A.D.) that some large

1. Inscr. Ceyl.,p.82,nos.1051-1052.
2. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,p.93.
3. Ibid.,p.94.
4. Mv.,XXI,4.
5. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,p.95.
6. Ibid., loc. cit.
7. CJSG, II,p.126.

reservoirs were made in this area. The Suḷugaḷu tank built during his reign[1] can be identified with the present Hulugalla tank, ~~five~~/miles north-east of Nikavāraṭiya. A tenth-century inscription informs us that this tank was then called Suḷugaḷu.[2]

Along the Māhō-Nikavāva road there were also some Sinhalese settlements dating back to the pre-Christian centuries. Diyabäṭṭa is one such site situated about 2 miles to the south of the 18th mile post on the above mentioned road.[3] Dikgala, near Tiṁbiriyāva, 2 miles north of the 6th mile stone on the same road, is a first-century inscriptional site.[4] Hinukväva, 3 miles south of the 14th mile stone, is a second-century A.D. inscriptional site.[5] In this area the only inscription belonging to the period under discussion is the Nillakgama inscription of the eighth-or ninth-century.[6]

However, on the Hiripiṭiya-Polpitigama road

1. Pjv.,p.24; Rjv.,p.52.
2. Ep. Zeyl.,III,p.299.
3. Inscr. Ceyl.,p.81,nos.143-147.
4. CJSG, II,p.126.
5. JCBRAS (NS.),VI,1963,p.96.
6. A.R.Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1954,pp.25-26.

we find inscriptions belonging to only later times:
the earliest inscription, i.e. the Karaṁbäva inscrip-
tion, about 4 miles west of mile stone 22 on this
road, belonging to the sixth century A.D., it mentions
the donation to a <u>vihāra</u> of the village Kadaragamaya
and Cahanagamaya.[1]

Most parts of Hiriyāla Hatpattu appear to have
also been occupied by Sinhalese well before our period.
Sässēruva, on the boundary of the present Anurādhapura
and Kuruṇägala Districts, 8 miles north-east of the
8th mile post on the Galgamuva-Nikaväva road,[2] Kaduru-
väva, about 3 miles north-east of the 8th mile on the
same road,[3] Gaṇekanda Vihāra, 3 miles north-east of
Polpitigama,[4] Akuruketūgala, about 2 miles west of
the 29th mile stone on the Ibbāgamuva-Polpitigama
road,[5] Kottala-Kīṁbiyāva, 6 miles north of Hiripiṭiya,[6]
Eruväva, near Aṁbanpola,[7] Dāgama, near the 15th mile
post on the Ibbāgamuva-Polpitigama road,[8] Tittavela,

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1. <u>JCBRAS</u> (NS),VI,1963,p.96.
2. <u>Inscr. Ceyl</u>.,pp.78-79,nos.994-1017; p.98,nos.1208-
   1212
3. <u>A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl</u>.,1895,p.13.
4. <u>Anc. Ins. Ceyl</u>.,no.39.
5. <u>CJSG</u>, II,126.
6. <u>A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl</u>.,1932,p.9.
7. <u>Anc. Ins. Ceyl</u>.,no.42 (a).
8. <u>CJSG</u>, II,p.124.

near the 7th mile post on the same road,[1] Rangirimaḍa, 1 mile west of the 6th mile post on the same road[2] Mädiriya and Arangama, near the 2nd and 3rd mile post respectively on the same road,[3] Periyakaḍu Vihāra at Nälava, 3 miles north of the 7th mile stone on the Kuruṇägala-Daṁbulla road,[4] Mahamūkalan-yāya, near Dolukanda,[5] Uturupav Vihāra, 1 mile north of the 12th mile on the above mentioned road,[6] Sangama Vihāra, 2 miles east of the 14th mile stone on the same road, Raṇagiri, near Devagiri, 4 miles north-west of the same road[7] are all sites in the Hiriyāla Hatpattu where Sinhalese had settled down before the period under review.

Pūjāgala, 2 miles west of the 8th mile post on the Ibbāgamuva-Polpitigama road is mentioned for the first time in the inscriptions of the fourth century A.D.[8] Another village by the name of Kihapuya

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1. _A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl._,1933,pp.14,17.
2. _CJSG_, II,1928-1933,p.191.
3. _Ibid._,p.226.
4. _Anc. Inscr. Ceyl._,no.8; _CJSG_, II,1928-1933,pp.223-224.
5. _A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl_,1954,p.39.
6. _CJSG_, II,1928-1933,p.194.
7. _Ibid._,pp.223-224; _Ep. Zeyl._,IV,p.225.
8. _Anc. Inscr. Ceyl._,no.49; _CJSG_, II,1928-1933,p.191.

is mentioned in a sixth-century inscription at Gal-
kätiyägama, 4 miles south-west of Polpitigama.[1] Pālu
Hangamuva, about 2 miles east of the 11th mile post
on the Ibbāgamuva-Polpitigama road is one more Sin-
halese settlement referred to for the first time in
an inscription attributable to the sixth century
A.D.[2]

There is also evidence for major irrigation
works which were undertaken in this area during the
period under consideration. The Mahaeli Tank of Dhātu-
sena (459-477 A.D.), has been identified with the
present Mäeliyaväva near the 12th mile post on the
Ibbāgamuva-Polpitigama road.[3] This may be a correct
identification because as the inscription of king Sena
II (853-887 A.D.) by the side of this tank mentions
the site as Māeli Arama.[4] This also suggests that
there were a tank and also a vihāra by the name of
Māeli just as in the case of Kalāväva. It also seems
quite possible that the Kumbālaka Tank of Mahāsena
(276-303 A.D.) can be identified with the large

1. CJSG, II, p.102. (1928-1933)
2. A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1931-32,p.11.
3. JCBRAS (NS),VII,1960,p.51.
4. CJSG, II, p.124. (1928-1933)

breached reservoir on the Kimbulvāna Oya.[1] The identi-
fication of the Sirivaddhamānaka Tank of Aggabodhi I
(575-608 A.D.) with the present Siridunna Tank, 3
miles north-east of Vällava seems also justifiable,[2]
because in addition to some similarity between the
two names of the tanks, the Cūlavaṃsa indicates that
this tank was built in Dakkhiṇadesa.[3]

The sites of earlier inscriptions, widely
scattered in the Dēvamädi Hatpattu suggest that
village settlements had already emerged there before
the fourth century A.D. As these examples have already
been discussed by others,[4] no recapitulation is needed
here. The only inscriptional site belonging to the
period of the present study where there is no ins-
cription of the preceding period is Gonnäva, 2 miles
north of the 8th mile post on the Kuruṇägala-Nārammala
road.[5] It is, however, worth noting that Gonnäva is
situated only about 3 miles distance from Amaragalaka
which is a first-century (B.C.) inscriptional site.[6]

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1. JCBRAS (NS),VII,1960,p.51.
2. Ibid., loc. cit.
3. Cv.,XLII,8.
4. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,pp.102-104; Inscr. Ceyl.,pp.71-72,
   nos.910-931a;p.96,no.1193.
5. Ep. Zeyl.,IV,p.190; this record is attributable to
   the tenth century A.D.
6. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,p.102.

Similarly, in the Vāuḍavilli Hatpattu, most inscriptional sites belong to an earlier period. The sites of pre-Christian inscriptions are at Vilbā Vihāra close to Kuruṇāgala,[1] Kuṁburulena, near the 9th mile on the Ramboḍagalla road,[2] Rāgala Vihāra, near the 12th mile post from the Ridī Vihāra, on the Ramboḍagalla road, Delvita, near the 14th mile on the same road, Bāoruva Vihāra and Kandēgedara Vihāra near Delviṭa.[3] The Yaṭivila inscription of the second century A.D. near Vāuḍa refers to a tank by the name of Cakora.[4] But only two new inscriptional sites are found during the period under consideration from this Hatpattu, viz. Alavva, 6 miles east of Kuruṇāgala and Diya Vehara at Pallegama near Vāuḍa.[5]

There are neither archaeological remains nor inscriptions at Kaṭugampola Hatpattu that are attributable to the Anurādhapura period. Nor is there any evidence in literary sources to determine whether there was any Sinhalese settlement there in that

1. CJSG, II, 1928-1933, p.212.
2. Ibid.,p.194.
3. Ibid, II, 1928-1933, pp.216-218.
4. Ibid.,p.220.
5. Ibid.,pp.213 and 219 respectively.

period. There is only a legend that it was at Panduvas

Nuvara (in the Giritalan Kōraḷē, 3 miles from Heṭṭipola

towards Kuruṇāgala) that Cittā, the mother of Panḍu-

kābhaya, was arrested.

Despite the lack of more direct evidence there

can be no doubt that part of this area was populated

in at least the latter part of the Anurādhapura period.

We are told in the Cūlavaṃsa that king Vijayabāhu I

(1055-1110 A.D.) restored a tank by the name of Panḍa-

vāpi.[1] The same text also describes how Parākramabāhu

I (1153-1186 A.D.) enlarged the Panḍavāpi,[2] which was

thenceforward known as the first Parakkamasamudda or

Bāna Samudda at Parakkamapura (i.e.Panḍuvas Nuvara).[3]

It therefore follows that the Panḍavāpi at Panḍuvas

Nuvara was already in existence as it was restored

by Vijayabāhu I. The original tank must therefore

belong to the Anurādhapura period. Unfortunately,

none of our sources mentions the founder of this tank.

1. Cv.,LX,48.
2. Ibid.,LXVIII,39-42.
3. See for his second vāpi by the same name which was
   constructed at Polonnaruva: Cv.,LXXIX,24-26; see
   also for a detailed study of his irrigation works,
   CHJ, IV,1955-1956/pp.52-68.

Similarly, we are told nothing about the foundation
of the Seṭṭhivāpi, to be identified with the present
Heṭṭipola Vāva, which was restored by Parākrambāhu
I (1153-1186 A.D.).[1]

Some pre-Christian inscriptional sites situated
at Nārammala, Giriulla and Alavva of the Daṁbadeṇi
Hatpattu[2] suggest that these places have been occupied
by Sinhalese from the pre-Christian centuries. Also
a first-century (A.D.) inscription at Mäṭiyangana
Vihāra near the 16th mile stone on the Kuruṇägala-Giri-
ulla road refers to the grant of the Kandaka Tank to
the Mati Vihāra.[3] This Hatpattu became politically of
importance after Daṁbadeṇiya became the royal residence
of king Vijayabāhu III (1232-1236 A.D.).[4]

In so far as epigraphic evidence is concerned
the first Sinhalese settlements at Polonnaruva do
not go back to earlier than the first century A.D.[5]
Yet, according to the chronicles Vijitagāma was one

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1. <u>Cv.</u>,LXVIII,43; <u>JCBRAS</u> (NS),VI,1963,p.105.
2. <u>CJSG</u>, II,/pp.191,209,210 respectively.
3. <u>Ibid.</u>,p.210.
4. <u>Cv.</u>,LXXXI,15.
5. <u>A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.</u>,1911-12,p.99.

of the earliest settlements,[1] which has been identi-
fied with a settlement at or very near Polonnaruva
by H.Parker, S.Paranavitana and C.W.Nicholas.[2] Maṇḍala-
giri Vihāra (modern Mädirigiriya, Mädiligiri in ins-
criptions),[3] ten miles north-east of Minnēriya, is
another ancient site where king Kaṇiṭṭhatissa (164-
192 A.D.) built an Uposatha house.[4] A Malayarāja, son
of Aggabodhi IV (667-683 A.D.), built the dhātugeha
(most probably vaṭadāgē) for the cetiya at Maṇḍalagiri
Vihāra.[5]

Thus, it becomes clear that there are stray
references to the Sinhalese settlements in and around
Polonnaruva before the period with which we are con-
cerned. But it appears to have taken some time before
large irrigation works were completed in this area,
enabling the people to clear the jungle for culti-
vation and habitation in some parts of this area. We
read in the Pūjāvaliya and Rājāvaliya that king Upatissa
I (368-410 A.D.) built a tank by the name of Topāväva.[6]

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1. Dv.,IX,10;X,1-6; Mv.,VII,45.
2. Ancient Ceylon,pp.237ff; A Concise History of Ceylon,
   p.20 respectively; see also UCHC,(vol.I,pt.)I,p.158.
3. Ep. Zeyl.,II,p.28.
4. Mv.,XXXVI,17; see for some details of Mädirigiya,
   A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1897,p.7.
5. Cv.,XLVI,29.
6. Pjv.,p.26; Rjv.,p.54.

An attempt has been made by C.W.Nicholas to identify
this work with the present tank of this name at Polon-
naruva. He writes as follows:-

> 'The Sinhalese Chronicles, Pūjāvaliya
> and Rājāvaliya, state that this king[1]
> built Tōpāväva, the original reservoir at
> Polonnaruva: this tank is called Thusavāpi
> or Toyavāpi in the Cūlavaṁsa'.[2]

From the way in which Nicholas argued one would
get the impression that the Pūjāvaliya and the Rājā-
valiya indicate not only the construction of the Tōpā-
väva Tank but also its precise location. Yet, as men-
tioned above, this is by no means the case. Nicholas
called attention to the Cūlavaṃsa 50,73 and 79,40-53
in support of his argument that the three tanks (i.e.
Tōpāväva, Thusavāpi and Toyavāpi) refer to one and the
same work.[3] Yet, there seems to be no evidence in these
verses in support of his argument. In 50,73 we read
only that '(Sena I) built the tank Thusavāpi at Pula-
tthinagara' (Pulatthinagare'kāsi vāpi Thusavāpiyaṃ).
Although he has referred to several verses of chapter
79 as mentioned above, it is only one (i.e. verse 49)
which is relevant to the matter. But regrettably, this

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1. I.e. Upatissa.
2. JCBRAS (NS.),VII,1960.p.52.
3. Ibid.,p.52,fn.35.

also contains no basis for a conclusion such as that

arrived at by Nicholas. This stanza just records that

Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.D.) made a canal from

the Toyavāpi. Thus, the way in which our scholar

argued to identify the Tōpāväva of the Sihnalese

chronicles, unfortunately, does not prove satisfactory.

It is, however, not possible but probable that the

said Tōpāväva is situated at Polonnaruva. There is

no conclusive evidence to identify the present Tōpā-

väva with the tank built by king Upatissa. Similarly,

it is doubtful whether one and the same work is meant

by Tōpāväva, Thusavāpi and Toyavāpi. Moreover, it is

doubtful whether we have a reference to a tank by the

name of Tōpāväva made by order of Upatissa. Because

firstly, as has already been seen, this reference is

confined to the later sources. Secondly, though the

author of the Cūlavaṃsa provides us with a list of

irrigation works by this king, the tank Tōpāväva does

not appear in it.[1] The first reference to a tank at

Polonnaruva in the Cūlavaṃsa falls to the reign of Sena I

(833-853 A.D.).[2] Before then, it appears to have been

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1. For his tanks see Cv.,XXXVII,185-186.
2. Cv.,L,73.

emerged two large reservoirs i.e., the Maṇihīra by king Mahāsena (276-303 A.D.) and Giritaṭa by king Aggabodhi II (608-618 A.D.), but about 15 miles distance from Polonnaruva.[1]

It is to be noted that Polonnaruva became important in the political field from about the latter part of the seventh century. By the close of the period under review it had developed into one of the main administrative centres of the Island. It may seem curious that Polonnaruva was the place where some kings of the latter part of the Anurādhapura period spent the last years of their life. Aggabodhi IV (667-683 A.D.) was the first king who thus died at Polonnaruva.[2] No particular reason is given in the chronicles to explain for this change of the seat of government from Anurādhapura to Polonnaruva on the eve of his reign. Moreover, there is no trace of any serious political disturbance during this reign. Aggabodhi VII (772-777 A.D.), Sena I (833-853 A.D.) and Sena V (972-982 A.D.) were others who followed this example.[3]

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1. Mv.,XXXVI,12 and 42,67 respectively.
2. Ibid.,XLVI,34.
3. Ibid.,XLVIII,74;L,73-85 and LIV,68-72 respectively.

Some scholars are of the opinion that from the reign
of Sena I, Anurādhapura ceased to be the capital of
Ceylon and Polonnaruva became the capital, except
for a brief interval during the reign of Mahinda V
(982-1029 A.D.).[1] But this is no longer a valid argu-
ment.[2]

It is true that Sena I had to face a Pāṇḍya
invasion and Sena V had to overcome some internal
difficulties but there appears no connexion between
these events and the change of residence to Polonnaruva
by these kings. The Cūlavaṃsa would have us believe
that they moved to Polonnaruva only when they had
overcome the troubles that they had to face. In addi-
tion, there is nothing to suggest that they concen-
trated on any security measures while they were in
their new residence. Instead, they appear to have
retired in the last part of their life concentrating
on various meritorious works.[3] Whatever may have been
the reasons for these kings to choose Polonnaruva as

1. L.C.Wijesinha, Mv. transl.,Introd.,p.XX; H.W.
   Codrington, History of Ceylon,p.37; D.M.de Z.
   Wickramasinghe, 'Ceylon Chronology'. Ep. Zeyl.,III,
   pt.1.
2. See S.Paranavitana, 'The Capital of Ceylon during
   the Ninth and Tenth Centuries', CJSG, II, 1928-1933, pp.141-147.
3. Some of them seem to have enjoyed peace drinking
   surā see Cv.,LIV,70-72.

the last residence of their life, it is clear that their action greatly contributed to the development of Pulatthinagara (Pali) into an important town. It is also likely that these new developments influenced the whole area. We learn from the chronicles that a hospital (vejjasāla),[1] alms halls, vihāras[2] and parivenas[3] emerged in and around Polonnaruva during this time.

In the previous pages an attempt has been made to examine the extent to which Sinhalese had expanded their settlements in the country by about the close of the tenth century A.D. It is evident that there are many examples in our sources demonstrating the existence of numerous village settlements widely scattered over the Island which were not recorded in an earlier period. It is possible that only some of these indicate the emergence of new settlements, but even so they deserve consideration because they constitute the first available evidence for the existence of these villages.

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1. Mv.,L,75;LII,25.
2. Ibid.,L,73-74;76-81;83-84.
3. Ibid.,L,83.

In the light of these findings it follows that
a considerable part of the Island had become open for
Sinhalese habitation by about the close of the Anurādha-
pura period. In fact, most parts of the Anurādhapura,
Hambantoṭa, Jaffna, Trincomalee, Puttalam, Kuruṇāgala
and Mātalē districts were settled by Sinhalese during
about two centuries after the fourth century A.D. The
many parts of Polonnaruva, Kalutara, Nuvara Eliya and
Badulla districts seem to have been populated only
towards the close of our period. It was revealed that
there are some parts of the Island, particularly the
upper mountainous-zone over 3,500 feet, that were still
left uncultivated and unpopulated even after the period
under review, although some of these were populated
in the following centuries, It also seems that the
area north of Vavuniyā, Mannār and the eastern coast
from Polonnaruva to Rohaṇa, and especially South-
western Ceylon shows only few remains.

It is possible that some village settlements,
which had been ruined in the course of time by in-
vasions floods or famine had to be re-established.

There are, however, several village settlements mentioned in the chronicles which still remain unidentified because of lack of evidence.

The available inscriptions, literary works and archaeological discoveries in our study have proved inadequate in the reconstruction of a comprehensive history of the emergence of new settlements. Moreover, a study like this presents a number of problems that cannot be solved purely with the help of the above mentioned materials. Other branches of studies such as study of place names and Historical Geography have an important role to play in the solution of these problems.

Chapter Six

PATTERNS OF VILLAGE SETTLEMENT

In the light of the foregoing survey of the Sinhalese settlements existing in the Island by about the close of the tenth century A.D. it follows that the settled area was considerable in extent and complex. Village or town life differed not only from settlement to settlement but also within the individual settlements. On the other hand, a network of relationships, constituted mainly on the basis of caste affiliations or occupation, connected one village with some of the others. It is for these reasons, that a study of the patterns of settlements is of great value for the understanding of social conditions.

Local groupings of one sort or another such as (Pali) gāma, nigama, nagara;[1] (Sinhalese) gam, niyam-gam, paṭun-gam, nuvaras,[2] the differences between which are not always clear,

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1. M.N., III, p.5; A.N., IV, p.163.
2. Ep. Zeyl., I, p.129; II, pp.140, 143, 146.

require elucidation. According to the Vinaya, gāma
means a place which may have consisted of even one
single kuṭi or two, three or four kuṭis.[1] The Samanta-
pāsādikā, the commentary to the above text, makes
it clear that kuṭi in this context means a house
(geha). It also explains that there were hamlets of
a single geha in the Malaya Janapada ('Central Hill
country').[2] It is certain that the foundation of
villages in Malaya was seriously handicapped by its
rocky mountains (giridugga) and forest strongholds
(vanadugga).[3] As has already been seen,[4] most parts
of this region had remained unpopulated and unculti-
vated till about sixteen centuries after the first
arrival of Sinhalese in the Island. Hence, the paucity
of homesteads and therefore of village settlements
in this region in the time of Buddhaghosa causes
no surprise.

N.Wagle pointed out that in the Vinaya the

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1. Vinaya Piṭaka(PTS),III,p.46: gāmo nāma: eka-kuṭiko
   pi gāmo dvi-kuṭiko pi gāmo te-kuṭiko pi gāmo catu-kuṭiko
   pi gāmo.
2. Smp.,II,p.298: yasmiṃ gāme ekā eve kuṭi ekaṃ gehaṃ
   seyyathā pi Malayajanapade.
3. Hatthavanagalla Vihāravaṃsa,p.30.
4. Supra,p.227.

expression 'a gāma of one kuṭi' indicates dispersed settlements in the Gangetic valley in India.[1] In addition, we are told in its Aṭṭhakathā that there were such hamlets in Ceylon, too, as mentioned above. Wagle also pointed out that this type of gāma would probably refer to a hamlet of one house, perhaps surrounded by a smaller buildings in which the dependants and servants of the family dwelt.[2] In Ceylon too, some hamlets, the earliest Sinhalese settlements in particular, were most probably confined to a few houses or perhaps to a single one. According to the chronicles, the ministers of Vijaya established their own settlements and dwelt there.[3] Similarly, the brothers of Bhaddakaccānā dwelt in their own residences (nivāsa) and these residences were thereafter called gāmas.[4] In addition, as we shall see,[5] there were gāmas, particularly, those received as pamuṇu 'heritable property', which were occupied sometimes only by members

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1. Wagle, op. cit., p.13.
2. Ibid., loc. cit.
3. Mv., VII, 43-45.
4. Ibid., IX, 9-10.
5. Infra, p. 394.

of a single joint family. Thus 'a one-kuṭi gāma' may also mean a hamlet confined to a single household. It is also worth noting that dispersed settlements confined to a limited number of houses, perhaps even to a single homestead, are by no means rare, not only in the 'Central Hill country' but also in some other areas in present Ceylon.

It is, however, considered that the ideal village should consist of several homesteads. Thus, the Jātakas maintain that the average gāma should consist of houses numbering from thirty to one thousand.[1] According to the Arthaśāstra, a village was not to consist of fewer than one hundred or more than five hundred families.[2] The Visuddhimagga considered the village a unit of at least thirty families.[3] As we shall see, generally, the families of people belonging to a single kin-group who carried out a similar occupation lived in a seperate village.[4]

Yet again the Vinaya defined: samanusso pi

1. J.,I,p.199;IV,p.78.
2. Kauṭilya's Athaśāstra, (edited by Kangle),II,chap. 1,p.32.
3. Visuddhim.,p.368.
4. See infra, pp. 388ff.

gāmo, amanusso pi gāmo.[1] There can be no doubt that by _samanusso gāmo_ 'a village with human beings', i.e. an inhabited place, is meant. The phrase _amanusso gāmo_ has been interpreted by Buddhaghosa as follows:-

> '_Amanusso gāmo_ means a village haunted by _yakkhas_ as it is by no means occupied by human beings or is deserted (by them) with the intention of coming back'.[2]

This interpretation would apparently have been influenced by the myth that the deserted villages were often the haunts of non-human beings such as _yakkhas_ and _petas_. We know that in English 'ghost village', 'ghost town' indicate empty villages or towns, possibly because these were regarded as inhabited by ghosts.[3] If one leaves out the mythical part from the above information it may suggest that Buddhaghosa speaks of nothing but a deserted village in the above passage. We should not forget ourselves that the _Atthakathās_ in common with many other ancient literary

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1. _Vinaya Piṭaka_(PTS),III,p.46.
2. _Smp._,II,p.298: _yo sabbaso manussānaṃ abhāvena yakkha-pariggahabhūto yato vā kena ci kāraṇena puna pi āgantukāmā eva apekkhantā_.
3. There are many ghost towns in the USA.

sources are by no means free from legends, myths and also misinterpretaions.[1] Moreover, grammatically the phrase amanusso gāmo can only mean 'a village without people'.

In addition, a careful examination of the context in which the phrase amanusso gāmo is used may indicate that the term amanussa in this case carries the meaning of 'without people' ('devoid of people') rather than 'with non-human beings'. Firstly, the word amanussa is used here in contrast to the word samanussa 'with people' as in the case parikkhitta-gāma 'surrounded village' and aparikkhitta-gāma 'unsurrounded village'.[2] When we see that an inhabited village is expressed by the phrase samanusso gāmo it would seem likely that amanusso gāmo denotes the opposite. Secondly, one would expect that if it had been the intention of the Vinaya to describe a village with non-human beings he would have used the compound sāmanussa (saha-amanussa 'with non-human beings') instead of the term amanussa alone, because he did

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1. E.W.Adikaram has discussed this point in detail, see, The Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, 1949, pp.23ff.
2. Vinaya Pitaka, III, p.46.

not use only the simple term <u>manussa</u> to mean 'with people'. For the above reasons, as has been proposed by N.Wagle,[1] the phrase <u>amanusso gāmo</u> means 'a deserted village'.

It is also neccessary to examine as to whether places once occupied by people and deserted afterwards were still called by the term <u>gāma</u>. The <u>Vinaya</u> explains that a place where caravan traders lived for at least four months before they abandoned it was called a <u>gāma</u>.[2] Similarly, <u>gāmas</u> destroyed by fire or floods were still called by the same term.[3] The <u>Saṁyutta Nikāya</u> speaks of a <u>gāma</u> which was deserted because of fear for robbers.[4] This type of village as also known as <u>suñña-gāmas</u> ('empty villages').[5] In Ceylon it is recorded that certain villages were destroyed by famine or abandoned on account of Tamil invasions. Thus, the <u>Aṭṭhakathās</u> and other sources inform us that both <u>bhikkhus</u> and laymen fled here and there (<u>diso disaṁ palāyiṁsu</u>) as their villages

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1. N.Wagle,<u>op. cit.</u>,p.14.
2. <u>Vinaya Piṭaka</u>,III,p.46: <u>yo pi sattho atireka⌐catumāsa nivittho so vuccati gāmo</u>.
3. <u>Ibid.</u>,I,p.149.
4. <u>S.N.</u>,V,p.173.
5. <u>Visuddhim.</u>,pp.484 and 647.

were attacked by the Brāhmana-Tīya famine.[1] Some bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs are recorded to have betaken themselves to India.[2] Thousands, both bhikkhus and laymen, died; some bhikkhus went begging around but found only deserted gāmas.[3] During the Tamil occupation of Rājaraṭṭha in the period between (c.) 433 and 459 A.D., Sinhalese nobles who had lived in that part of the Island left their homes and took refuge in Rohaṇa.[4]

Thus, the local grouping gāma means not only an inhabited village but can denote a deserted village, too. Pran Nath preferred to use the term 'land' for deserted gāmas,[5] but this term does not clearly carry the connotation of a deserted gāma. Therefore, we prefer to use 'deserted village' for this type of gāma.

It is also worth noting that some scholars believe that the gama sometimes means 'estate' or

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1. Three other famines are recorded during the reigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (c.161-137 B.C.), Kuñcanāga (c.194-195 A.D.) and Saṅghabodhi (c.251-263 A.D.), Mv.,XXXII, 29; XXXVI,20 and 74-90 respectively.
2. Manorathapūraṇī,I,p.92; Samv.,pp.446-47.
3. Samv.,p.448.
4. Cv.,XXXVIII,12: cf. Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times,p.51; A.Liyanagamage, The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Daṁbadeṇiya,1958,p.76.
5. Pran Nath, A Study in the Economic Conditions of Ancient India,1929,pp.32-33.

'land'. For instance, S.Paranavitana pointed out that the gāmas mentioned in the edicts of Ceylon of the ninth and tenth centuries as the property of institutions or of nobles indicating 'estates' or 'land'.[1]

In support of his argument Paranavitana quoted Pran Nath, who argued that grāma in some Indian contexts does not indicate a village but 'an estate or survey village which can pay government taxes'.[2] But P.V.Kane has rightly argued that the grāma in the passages, which were quoted by Pran Nath in support of his argument, can only mean 'village'.[3] A.K.Choudhary agrees with Kane.[4]

Paranavitana also refers to a particular gama named Gaṅgamaṇi appearing in the so-called Colombo Museum Inscription of the ninth or tenth century. This gama consisted of two portions called pamuṇu käbälla and Demel käbälla, Paranavitana takes Gaṅgamaṇi gama as 'an estate' and considers the above two allotments as two shares of this 'estate'.

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1. Ep. Zeyl.,III,p.276,note,1.
2. Pran Nath, op. cit.,p.26.
3. History of Dharmaśāstra, III,1946,p.140,note,182.
4. A.K.Choudhary, Early Medieval Village in North-Eastern India,1971,p.32.

But unfortunately, he failed to substantiate his

argument with evidence. Nor is there anything in the

inscriptions to suggest that Gaṅgamaṇi has to be

interpreted as an estate. These two kāballas may well

be two parts of the village of Gaṅgamaṇi. As K.Indra-

pala has pointed out, Demel kāballa may be the part

in which Tamils settled down and the pamuṇu kāballa

may well have been the part which belonged to Sinhalese.[1]

The Polonnaruva Raja-māligāva Pillar Inscription also

mentions two such parts of a village named Kiṇigama,

viz. Demel Kiṇigama and Kiṇigama without further

qualification. D.M.de Z.Wickremasinghe has rendered

the Demel Kiṇigama as 'the village Demel Kiṇigama'.[2]

Kiṇigama was probably the original name of this

village and was settled by Sinhalese and it was

occupied later on by Tamils, too. For that reason,

the village would have split into two, while the

part inhabited by Tamils would have been called the

village (or hamlet) Demel Kiṇigama.[3] It appears,

1. Indrapala,op. cit.,p.74.
2. Ep. Zeyl.,II,p.56; cf.IV,p.39.
3. Indrapala,op. cit.,p.74.

however, from some later edicts that there were a
few hamlets in some villages. Thus, we learn from
the Gaḍalādeṇi inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu IV (1341-
1351 A.D.) that the village Gaḍalādeṇi consisted of
two hamlets (gamdebhāgaya), known as Gaḍalādeṇi and
Handessa.[1] Significantly, this village still consists
of these two hamlets. According to the Vēragama
Sannasa of the fifteenth century A.D., a half (bhāgayak)
of the village Vēragama was accorded to a scholar
called Dhammālaṅkāra.[2] The presence of several hamlets
in some villages is a notable feature of present Ceylon.[3]

Since Paranavitana also observed that 'in many
of the edicts of the ninth and tenth centuries, the
word gama has to be similarly understood' (i.e. in
the meaning of 'land'), it is necessary to examine
a few edicts attributable to those centuries. In the
Nāgama Pillar Inscription of the tenth century, it
is stated that immunities were granted to the
Kolayunugäma.[4] Similarly, the Kukurumahandamana

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1. Ep. Zeyl.,IV,p.101.
2. Ibid.,V,p.451.
3. Cf. G.Obeyesekere, Land Tenure in Village Ceylon,
   1967,p.13; N.Yalman, Under the Bo Tree,1967,p.27.
4. Ep. Zeyl.,II,p.16.

Pillar Inscription of the same century states that the officers were authorized to grant immunities to Keralāgāma.[1] This is the stereotyped expression which, in detailed form, occurs again as follows:- 'These immunities and right of asylum are granted to the area included within the four boundaries of the gama named Mahagāpiyova'.[2] The meaning of gama as found in other edicts quoted by Paranavitana is almost the same as in the above records. Hence, one finds nothing in these to suggest that gama merely implies 'estate'. Gama in the above context, too, would, therefore, mean nothing but settlement and also the fields etc. belonging to it.

Geiger and Jayatilaka have also translated the gama in the context of gamvara as 'land'.[3] Julius de Lanerolle supports this interpretation.[4] But none of the Dictionaries, Pali or Sanskrit, explains these extensions of the term. Geiger and Jayatilaka referred to the Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya in support of their

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1. Ep. Zeyl., II, p. 22.
2. Ibid., p. 42.
3. Siṁhala Śabdakoṣaya, s.v. aṭa.
4. JCBRAS, XXXIV, 1938, pp. 112-113.

translation. This text used the phrase aṭagamvara
corresponding to the aṭṭhagāmvare in the Dhammapadaṭṭha-
kathā.[1] Unfortunately nothing more is mentioned that
enables us to elucidate the meaning of gama in this
context. This is the case in the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā
as well. On the other hand, the Pali-English Dictionary
interpreted the aṭṭhagāmavare as 'eight excellent
villages'.[2]

If there was a chance of ambiguity terms were
generally explained in the Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya.
For instance, having translated Pali jātassara as
jasarā ('lakes'), Kassapa (V), the author of the
above text, defined it by using a well known term
i.e. vanavil. In making this further elucidation
he again wrote: 'Jātassara means lakes which are made
without digging (känä no kala vil jātassara nam).[3]
Similarly, he defined the term panhal ('halls made
by leaves', i.e. dwellings of ascetics) as follows:-
'Dwellings of ascetics the roofs of which are covered
either with tiles or with grass (but) made in the form

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1. Dh.A.G.,p.132; Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā,II,p.46.
2. Pali-Engl. Dict.(PTS),s.v. gāma.
3. Dh.A.G.,p.35.

of panhal are called by the name of panhal' (uḷusiyan
taṇasiyan hotuj panhal āren kaḷa senasun panhal nam
vē).[1] Therefore, one would have expected that Kassapa
would have explained the term gama in the above context
if it had been ambiguous. But no explanation is, in
fact, given. On the contrary, he used the term just
as in other contexts where it carries the meaning
of village.[2] It would therefore seem likely that the
term was used in the meaning of village, rather than
of land, in the above context.

W.Sorata interpreted also gamvara as 'a land
granted as vassalage by the king etc.'.[3] In support
of his explanation he referred to the Butsaraṇa and
the Pūjāvaliya. The passages in question suggest that
the term there corresponds to the Pali term gāmavara.[4]
No further details are given apart from the statement

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1. Dh.A.G.,p.13: see for similar passages,pp.88,132-
   208,209,215 and 249 etc.
2. Cf. Kasī raṭa gamak (Pali, Kāsī gāmake),'village in
   Kāsī', gamaṭ veherekhi (Pali, gāmake vihāre) 'in a
   village temple', and mahajanāvas äti gamak (Pali,
   mahājanāvāsaṃ gāmaṃ) 'a village with a large population')
   pp.98,101 and 219,see for more examples,pp.28,94,96,
   257 and 265.
3. Srī Sumaṅgala Śabdakoṣaya, s.v. gama.
4. Butsaraṇa, (ed.W.Sorata),p.172; cf. J.,I,p.97, Pjv.,
   p.90; cf.J.,IV,p.360.

that king Brahmadatta granted <u>gamvaras</u> to the Bodhi
satta. Therefore, in the absence of conclusive evidence,
the present author adheres to the older established
translation/<u>gamvara</u> as 'excellent villages'.
_{of}

In addition, we are told in our sources that
kings granted inhabited villages to persons and
institutions. Thus, the village Mahāgāma in Rohaṇa
was once granted to the minister Mahāsaṅgha as his
<u>bhuttagāma</u>,[1] and subsequently, to Tissa, an another
minister, when the former could no longer enjoy this
village as he had abandoned it on account of a rebellion
of the villagers.[2] In yet another instance we learn
that the village Muggāyatana in Malaya was granted
to a noble. In this village there was a <u>vihāra</u>, too.[3]
The Mannār Kaccēri Pillar Inscription of the ninth
century A.D., records that there were inhabitants
in the three villages named Pepodatuḍa, Kumbalhala
and Tumpokuṇ belonging to the meditation hall (<u>piyangala</u>)
named Bahadurusen of the Mahāvihāra.[4] Fa-hsien mentioned

1. Cf. <u>infra</u>,p.394.
2. <u>Sahas.</u>,pp.66 and 188.
3. <u>Ibid.</u>,p.124.
4. <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,III,p.114.

that the king (Mahānāma ?) ceded a piece of land to the bhikkhus (of Abhayagiri ?) with all inhabitants, fields and houses on it.[1]

In this connexion, it is also important to examine the implications of bim (Sanskrit and Pali, bhūmi) and watta (Sanskrit, vāstu; Pali, vatthu). As these terms used in connexion with land grants have already been discussed by many scholars,[2] it is not necessary to go into details. It is, however, worth emphasizing that these grants were different from those of gāmas. Thus, the Mihintalē Slab Inscription of Mahinda IV (956-972 A.D.) indicates villages and land belonging to the Cetiyagiri Vihāra at Mihintalē by means of gam and bim respectively. It also mentions some of those gam and bim by name.[3] Similarly, an Abhayagiri Slab Inscription of the

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1. A Record of the Buddhist Countries (translated by Li Yung-hsi), 1957, p.84.
2. See, W.M.A.Warnasuriya, 'Inscriptional Evidence Bearing on the Nature of Religious Endowments in Ancient Ceylon', UCR, I,1943-44,pp.69-74; 74-82; II,pp.92-96; W.Rahula, History of Buddhism in Ceylon, chaps.VI & VII; R.A.L.H.Gunawardhana,op. cit.,chap.II.
3. Ep. Zeyl.,I,pp.84ff; me veherä āvū tuvāk avasä bad gam-bim, me veherä bad tuvāk gam-bim etc.; cf.p.35. note,10; p.47; p.53,note,14; pp.185,235 and 236; Dh.A.G.,p.9.

ninth century A.D. refers to gam and bim belonging
to the Abhayagiri and Cetiyagiri Vihāras.[1] The slab
inscription of Mahinda IV (956-972 A.D.) records some
gam and bim belonging to Tamils.[2]

In the Buddhannehäla Pillar Inscription
attributable to the ninth or to the tenth century
A.D., it is recorded that there were wattas and gamas
belonging to the Cetiyagiri and Nāgiri Vihāras.[3] The
Kiribat-Vehera Pillar Inscription of the tenth century
A.D. states that a watta was granted to construct
a medical house (behed-gē).[4] The Oruvala Sannasa of
Parākramabāhu VI (1412-1467 A.D.), leaves no doubt
that gama means 'village' and watta 'homestead' or
'estate'. It states, in fact, that this watta of
Prince Kapurā was situated in the middle of the
village Aturugiri (Aturugirigama mäda Kapurā kumārayāge
watta), it was subsequently granted to a brāhmana
called Avujjhala.[5]

There are, however, references to show that
gama could mean 'land', 'landed property' or 'estate'

1. Śilālekhana Saṁgrahaya, (ed.) M.Wimalakitti,II,p.12.
2. Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.117.
3. Ibid.,I,pp.194ff.
4. Ibid.,I,p.158.
5. Ibid.,III,p.65.

in the later periods. For example$, D'Oyily reports

that 'the Singalese word _gama_ properly signifies

"village": but in the Kandyan country is also fre-

quently applied to single estate or a single field'.[1]

This statement is in agreement with the Nīti-Nighanduva,

which uses the term very frequently in the meaning

of 'landed property' or 'estate'.[2] In colloquial

usage this meaning is still attached to the word at

present.[3]

In the light of the above discussion it follows

first, that an average _gama_ (village) was considered

to consist of a certain number of homesteads, and

all kinds of land attached to it, but the term also

indicates dispersed settlements which may have consisted

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1. D'Oyily,1853, A Sketch of the Constitution of the
   Kandyan Kingdom (and Relevant Papers) (edited by
   L.J.B.Turner),1929,p.53.
2. The term _gama_ in this text has been translated as
   'Estate' and 'Landed property' or 'land': J.A.Armour,
   Nīti-Nighanduva or Grammar of Kandyan Law,1860;
   T.B.Pandbokke and C.J.R.Ie Mesurier, Nīti-
   Nighanduva or the Vocabulary of the Law as it Existed
   in the Days of Kandyan Kingdom,1880.
3. Cf. mata gamen aten panguvak ayiti, 'I owned one-
   eighth share of the land', gamkāraya, 'a land owner'
   (N.Yalman inaccurately writes as gamkariya, see
    Under the Bo Tree,p.29), gam nadu 'land/cases', gam-patra
   'Land Registers', see also Srī Sumangala Sabdakosaya,
   s.v. gama; Ralph Pieris,op. cit.,pp.39ff; G.Obeyesekere,
   op. cit.,pp.12ff.

of even one single house with land. Second, it was

established that a village could sometimes be abandoned

or left unoccupied for another reason. (We use in our

discussion the term village to indicate an inhabited

gama; in its other implications it will be defined).

Third, though the term carries the connotation of

'landed property' or 'estate' in the later periods,

as in colloquial usage to-day, no conclusive evidence

is available for this interpretation of the term

during the period under discussion.

The Sinhalese term niyam-gama is equivalent

to Sanskrit nigama-grāma or Pali nigama-gāma.[1] In

the Sinhalese sources, it is the term niyam-gama which

always occurs for the Pali term nigama or nigama-gāma.

This is gleaned from the following cases of the Dhampiyā

Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya. Nigamo, niyam-gama ('nigamo means

niyam-gama').[2] Nigame, niyam-gamekhi ('nigame means

in a niyam-gama').[3] Nigama-gāme, niyam-gamekhi ('nigama-

gāme means in a niyam-gama').[4] Sakkara nāma nigamo,

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1. Cf. (Pali), jagata=(Sinh.), diyal('world'); see Parevi
   Sandēśaya,v.191; Guttila Kāvyaya,v.181; (Pali), nāga=
   (Sinh.), nayi; see Dh.A.G.,p.249.
2. Dh.A.G.,p.51.
3. Ibid.,p.70.
4. Ibid.,p.94.

<u>Sakkara nam niyam-gama</u> ('the <u>nigama-gāma</u> named Sakkara').[1]

In the Indian sources, both literary and epigraphic, the term <u>nigama</u> is found in different contexts. Therefore, no uniform rendering of the term is possible. Thus, the term appearing in one of the Bharhut inscriptions attributable to the third or second century B.C., written in Prakrit, has been rendered by Lüders as 'town'.[2] But this meaning is by no means necessary in the context. The passage runs as follows:- <u>Karaha-kata nigamasa dānam</u>. There is nothing exact to suggest that Karahakata was a town.[3] Another pre-Christian inscription at the Bhattiprolu Stūpa in Andhra Pradesh mentions a grant made by a <u>nigama-puta</u> (Sanskrit, <u>nigama-putra</u>). G.Bühler translated <u>nigama</u> in this context as

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1. <u>Dh.A.G.</u>,p.113; cf. the <u>Cūlavaṃsa</u> states that king Vijayabāhu IV (1270-1272 A.D.) restored the Nigamaggāma-pāsāda-vihāra and the <u>Pūjāvaliya</u>,recording the same, used the term Niyam-gam-pāya-vihāra; see <u>Cv.</u>,LXXXVIII, 49 and <u>Pjv.</u>,p.172 respectively.
2. H.Lüders, <u>Appendix to Epigraphia Indica and Record the Archaeological Survey of India. A list of Brāhmī Inscriptions</u>,X,1912,p.67,no.705.
3. Cf. A.Cunningham translated as "gift of <u>nigama</u> of Karahakata"; see The <u>Stūpa of Bharhut</u>,1879,p.131, no.16.

guild or town.[1] But Lüders maintained that the term here stands for a hamlet.[2] D.C.Sircar rather carefully treats the term nigama-putra in this context as 'inhabitant of a nigama (township); a merchant'.[3] Another inscription from the same place records several names of negama of Sagati. Bühler takes negama in this inscription as 'members of a guild'.[4] R.K.Mookerji suggests another possible implication of the term in this context, viz. town.[5] In a number of inscriptions at Kanhēri the term negama appears, which has been translated by Lüders as 'merchant'.[6] In one of the Nāsik inscriptions there occurs the expression of nigama-sabhā[7] which, according to Mookerji, indicates 'the town-hall'.[8] Sircar pointed out another possible meaning of the term, viz. 'a public hall or the assembly of the town Pañcāyat, the city council'.[9]

The local grouping nigama as mentioned in the

1. Ep. Ind.,II,328;cf.naigama is interpreted as guild, p.V.Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, 1946,III,p.487.
2. Lüders,op. cit.,p.159 inscr.No.1335.
3. D.C.Sircar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary.p.216.
4. Ep. Ind.,II,p.329.
5. Local Government in Ancient India,p.93.
6. Lüders,op. cit.,pp.102-105.108,134,inscr.Nos.987.995, 998,1000,1001.1024,1172;cf.nēkama p.128,inscr.No.1139.
7. Ep. Ind.,I.7.8.
8. Mookerji,op. cit.,p.197.
9. Sircar,op. cit.,p.216.

Buddhist texts has also been understood in different.
ways. Thus, nigama mentioned in different contexts
in the Majjhima Nikāya and Vinaya Piṭaka, has been
taken by I.B.Horner as market town.[1] E.M.Hare in the
translation of the Aṅguttara Nikāya considered it as
town.[2] Rhys Davids on the other hand took it to mean
township.[3] F.L.Woodward, in his translation of the
Aṅguttara Nikāya rendered the term nigama as district.[4]
N.Wagle, having examined a reasonable number of contexts
in which the terms nigama and gāma are used, observed:-

> 'We feel that if we take gāmas as settlements
> of kin-groups or occupational and professional
> groups the nigama should be taken as a gāma
> composed of members of various groups, more or
> less integrated. The nigama, therefore, should
> be considered as a large and complex gāma, a
> bigger economic unit'.[5]

In the sources of Ceylon the term nigama (Sinha-
lese, niyam-gama) occurs but rarely. It is mentioned
that nigama is a village not surrounded by an enclosing

1. I.B.Horner,Middle Length Sayings,II,p.30; III,p.39;
   Book of Discipline, II,p.63,n.2.She derived nigama
   from nadi-gāma which in any case seems etymologically
   very irregular; cf.Wagle,op. cit.,p.165,note,89.
2. E.M.Hare, Gradual Sayings,III,p.186.
3. (Mrs.) Rhys Davids, Kindred Sayings,I,p.233.
4. F.L.Woodward, Gradual Sayings,I,pp.171,216.
5. N.Wagle,op. cit.,p.21.

wall but provided with a market or with shops (<u>pākāra-parikkheparahito āpaṇasahito gāmo</u>).[1] Therefore, <u>nigama</u> is a market village.[2] It is interesting that a <u>gāma</u> (village) was described as either surrounded by a parapet wall or not,[3] whereas <u>nigama</u> was necessarily an unfortified place. In fact, a market town is described as an open place where traders and customers from different parts of the Island could meet for their transactions. It is, however, uncertain whether the <u>nigama</u> referred to in the above passage was one of the kind existing in the Indian subcontinent or in Ceylon, if there were differences. It is also not clear whether this passage relates to an actual <u>nigama</u> or to the expected pattern of a <u>nigama</u>.

On the other hand, Kassapa (V) defined the term <u>nigama</u> as follows:- '<u>Niyam-gam</u> mean villages larger than other (ordinary) villages' (<u>sesu gamaṭa vädi gam niyam-gam</u>).[4] In addition, the text explains: '<u>Niyam-gam</u>

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1. <u>Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī</u> (edited by K.Prajnasekhara),1936,p.38.
2. <u>Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times</u>,p.51; <u>Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl.</u>, p.107.
3. <u>Supra</u>,p.266.
4. <u>Dh.A.G.</u>,p.51.

mean villages in which many people live (<u>bahujanavāsa</u>
<u>gam niyam-gam</u>).[1] Kassapa therefore explained the term
not as a market town, but as a large village with
many inhabitants. The implication may well have been
that <u>nigama</u> is a <u>gama</u> composed of various groups which
occupied a relatively large and complex territorial
unit, as pointed out by Wagle on the basis of the
Indian sources.[2]

However, in the sphere of common activities,
the terms <u>gam</u>, <u>niyam-gam</u>, <u>nagara</u>s (sometimes <u>gam</u>, <u>niyam-</u>
<u>gam</u>, <u>paṭun-gam</u>, <u>rājadhānī</u>) are often mentioned together.
That which is applicable to other local groupings, is
also generally applicable to <u>nigama</u>. Thus, the <u>Visuddhi-</u>
<u>magga</u> speaks of <u>gāma</u>, <u>nigama</u> and <u>nagara</u> as places where
<u>kahāpaṇas</u> were issued.[3] The <u>Nikāyaṣaṅgrahaya</u> and
<u>Saddharmaratnākaraya</u> state that Vijayabāhu I (1055-
1110 A.D.) defeated the great multitude of Tamils all

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1. <u>Dh.A.G.</u>,p.94; see also p.101: <u>mahāvāsaṃ gāmaṃ</u>; <u>maha-</u>
   <u>janāvas āti gamak</u> ('<u>mahāvāsaṃ gāmaṃ</u> means a village
   which consists of a large population'); cf. <u>mahāgrāma</u>
   in the <u>Sūtra</u> literature, ^Ram Gopal, <u>India of Vedic</u>
   <u>Kalpasūtras</u>,1959,p.150ff.
2. <u>Supra</u>,p.282.
3. <u>Visuddhim.</u>,p.437; cf. D.R.Bhandarkar, <u>Lectures on</u>
   <u>the Ancient History of India</u>,1919,p.176.

spread over the gamas, niyam-gamas and rājadhāni.[1]
Niśśankamalla (1187-1196 A.D.) mentions in his ins-
criptions that he visited gam, niyam-gam, paṭun-gam
and rājadhāni.[2] Though it is generally believed that
niyam-gam in these contexts indicate towns[3] or market
places[4] there is no strong evidence to support this
view. If we assume that these local groupings are
enumerated in an ascending order[5] niyam-gama must
indicate a unit between gama and paṭun-gama, or
between gama and rājadhāni or between gama and nagara,
either in size or importance or both. It is, however,
needless to emphasize that 'there was, of course,
no hard and fast line between the grāma and nigama'[6]
in Ceylon, as in the Indian subcontinent.

Thus, there are different explanations of nigama,
which can, however, easily be reconciled: a market
village is almost always much larger than an ordinary

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1. NkS.,p.20; Saddharma Ratnākaraya,p.255; cf. K.Indrapala,
   op. cit.,p.91.
2. See the Rankot-Dāgäba, Stone-bath, Śiva Devālaye
   and Prīti-dānaka maṇḍapa inscriptions, Ep. Zeyl.,II,
   pp.138,143,145 and 177 respectively.
3. D.M.de Z.Wickremasinghe, Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.133; II,pp.141,
   145,148,177.
4. The Path of Purity,III,p.506; cf. Cult. Ceyl. Med.
   Times,p.50.
5. R.K.Mookerji, Hindu Civilization,1950,p.300.
6. Ibid.,p.299.

village and naturally comprises people of the trading
classes and craftsmen etc. It is very important in
this connexion that we should try to identify some
villages that are actually called nigama. Yet there
is little information available. In the Pūjāvaliya
it is stated that a vihāra by the name of Niyam-gamu
was built by king Kāvantissa of Rohana.[1] Nothing more
precise is known about this vihāra. In any case the
same source as well as the Cūlavamsa state that the
Niyam-gam-pāya Vihāra (Pali, Nigamaggāmapāsāda Vihāra)
was restored by king Vijayabāhu IV (1270-1272 A.D.).[2]
The Cūlavamsa also explains that this is an ancient
(purātana) vihāra. The identification of this vihāra
with the present Niyam-gam-pāya Vihāra, situated about
1 mile north of Gampola and north of the lower valley
of the Mahavāli Gañga,[3] admits of no doubt. This vihāra
'of which considerable remains are yet preserved, was
in the ancient Anurādhapura type of architecture'.[4]
Therefore, it was in the Anurādhapura period that this

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1. Pjv.,p.133.
2. Ibid.,p.172; Cv.,LXXXVIII,49.
3. JCBRAS (NS.),VI,1963,p.116; A.Liyanagamage,op. cit.,p.154.
4. UCHC,(vol.I,pt.)II,p.787.

monastery was originally constructed.[1] No such a _vihāra_ in this period is, however, mentioned except that referred to in the reign of Kāvantissa mentioned above. Unfortunately, the location of Kāvantissa's _vihāra_ remains as yet uncertain as has already been shown. There can, however, be no doubt that Kāvantissa and his father built _vihāras_ on the banks of the Mahavāli Gaṅga. The _Dhātuvaṃsa_ states that Goṭhābhaya, the father of Kāvantissa, erected a number of _vihāras_ 'on thither and hither side of the Mahavāli Gaṅga'.[2] Kāvantissa undertook also religious and political activities on both the banks of the Gaṅga.[3] Yet there is no precise information that enables us to identify the _vihāra_ made by Kāvantissa with that restored by Vijaya-bāhu. Probably, in these two instances Niyam-gama may also mean a village in which a _vihāra_ was built. Yet there is nothing enabling us to determine the pattern of this village. The present Niyamgampāya is only a hamlet of Gampola.

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1. The Vēgiriya inscription attests that this area was inhabited by Sinhalese in pre-Christian times, see _supra_, p.226.
2. Dhātuvaṃsa, p.24.
3. UCHC, (vol.I, pt.)I, pp.149ff.

In some inscriptions we find the term <u>niyamatana</u> which has been rendered as 'market town' or 'assembly of merchants'. In the Tōṇigala inscription dated the third year of king Sirimeghavaṇṇa (303-331 A.D.), for instance, we find a <u>niyamatana</u> called Kalahumana situated in the northern district of the city (of Anurādhapura). A certain Deva deposited two cart loads and ten <u>amuṇas</u> of paddy, six <u>amuṇas</u> of <u>uṅdu</u> (a species of fleminga) and ten <u>amuṇas</u> of beans in this <u>niyamatana</u>. It is also laid down that the capital could not be spent or decreased, but the interest thereon should be used to cover the expenses of the Ariyavaṃsa-festival[1] held annually at a new monastery called Yahisapavata.[2] Similarly, the Labuäṭabäñdigala inscription attributable to either the fourth or to the fifth century A.D. states that a person called Sirinaka, the son of Minister Sagaya, deposited one hundred <u>kahāpaṇas</u> with the <u>niyamatana</u> named Mahatabaka. It is further stipulated that the interest thereon should be expended for the purpose of conducting the Ariyavaṃsa-festival at the Devagiriya Vihāra.[3] C.W.Nicholas

1. See for a discussion of the Ariyavaṃsa-festival, W.Rahula, 'The Significance of "Ariyavaṃsa"', <u>UCR</u>, I,1943,pp.59ff.
2. <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,III,p.177.
3. <u>Ibid.</u>,III,p.250.

opines that <u>niyamatana</u> is a market town.[1] S.Paranavitana
translates Kalahumana Niyamatana as 'the assembly of
the merchants' guild at Kalahumana and Mahatabaka
Niyamatana as the 'guild of Mahatabaka'.[2] It is quite
possible that the term <u>niyama</u> in the above contexs
is derived from (Pali or Sanskrit) <u>nigama</u>, but it's
meaning in these contexts by no means clear. The
derivation and the meaning of the <u>tana</u> in these contexts
remain equally uncertain. It becomes, however, clear
from these contexts that these <u>niyamatanas</u> were kind
of local banks in which people could deposit their
properties in the expectation of certain profits.

Some scholars are of the opinion that in the
north Indian seals and coins the term <u>nigama</u> appears
to have been used to mean 'guild'. Thus T.Bloch,
J.H.Marshall and D.B.Spooner described the term <u>nigama</u>
appearing in the seal inscriptions found at Basaṛh
(identified with Vaiśālī) and Bhīta, near Allahabad

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1. <u>JCBRAS</u> (NS.),VI,1963,p.155.
2. <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,III,pp.178 and 250 respectively; cf. the
   note on <u>niyama tana</u>,p.181; Rahula prefers Kalahumana
   as the name of a person after whom the guild was
   designated, <u>History of Buddhism in Ceylon</u>,p.241,
   note,5.

as guild.[1] Similarly, G.Bühler, A.Cunningham and
E.J.Rapson explained the same term written on coins
discovered at Taxila as guild.[2] D.R.Bhandarkar dis-
agreed and maintained that the term in the above
contexts and generally everywhere could hardly be
explained as 'guild' but should be interpreted as
'town'.[3] R.K.Mookerji did not criticize the view of
Bhandarkar and adhered to the view put forward by
Bloch and others.[4]

It is, however, certain that there were guilds
in the Indian subcontinent with which people deposited
properties so that the interest thereon could be
expended for charitable purposes. Thus, according
to a Nāsik Cave Inscription attributable to the latter
half of the first century A.D., Usavadāta, the son-in-law
of king Nahapāna, invested 2,000 kahāpaṇas in one guild
(śreṇi) and 1,000 in another. These kahāpaṇas were

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1. A.R. Arch. Surv. India, 1903-4,p.104; 1911-12,p.47 and
   1913-14,p.122 respectively.
2. G.Bühler, Indian Studies,1892,III,p.49,note,1;
   A.Cunningham, Coins of India,1799,p.63 and E.J.Rapson,
   JRAS, 1900,p.99.
3. D.R.Bhandarkar, Lectures on the Ancient History of
   India,1918,pp.170-179.
4. R.K.Mookerji, Local Government in Ancient India,
   1920,pp.111-123.

not to be repaid, but the interest arising from this
sum had to be spent towards the maintenance of the
Buddhist monks residing in the above cave.[1] The Indor
Copper Plate Inscription of Skandagupta of 466 A.D.,
too, provides us with similar information in respect
of a temple for the sun.[2] The Tamil inscription at
Tirunāmanallūr in the South Arcot District, dated
the third year of Kṛṣṇa III (939-966 A.D.) of the
Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, registers that a chief of Milāḍu
deposited ten kalañju of gold with a guild and entered
into an agreement that the guild should supply every
year 100 nāli of ghee for the perpetual lamp of the
above mentioned temple.[3]

In the light of above examples it may be
suggested that the term niyama in the Tōṇigala and
Labuätabäñdigala inscriptions indicates a guild.
S.Paranavitana maintains that the word tana suffixed
to niyama in the above documents may mean either
'assembly' or 'headquarters'.[4] We feel that Kalahumana

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1. D.C.Sircar, Select Inscriptions,I,pp.164ff,nò.12.
2. Ibid.,pp.31ff.
3. Ep. Ind.,VII,p.138; see for further information,
   Bühler-Burgess, Archaeological Survey of West India,
   IV,no.24.
4. Ep. Zeyl.,III, p.181 and V,p.117,note,2 respectively.

and Mahatabaka mentioned above were probably trading

quarters. It may be interesting to add that Kalahumana

and Mahatubaka were situated in the north (uturu pasa)

and west (pajina pasa) of the city (of Anurādhapura)

respectively. We read in the Ummagga Jātaka that in

the four gates of the capital Mithilā there were four

nigamas.[1]

Known market towns in the Island do not, however,

appear to have been designated by nigama or niyam-gama.

A typical example for a market town during the period

under review is Hōpiṭigamu, near present Badulla in

the valley of the Mahavāli Gaṅga. The pillar inscription

of king Udaya IV (946-954 A.D.), found at the above

site and now standing at the junction of Kandy and

Baṇḍāravela roads in Badulla, contains the rules for

the management of this market town.[2] It may be useful

to discuss in brief this inscription that may give

an idea of the formation of a market town. This market

town is designated in the edict as Hōpiṭigamu-padī.

This is the only document so far known to us in which

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1. J.,VI,p.158: Mithilāya pana catusu dvāresu Pācīna-
   yavamajjhako Pacchimayavamajjhako Dakkhiṇayavamajjhako
   Uttarayavamajjhako'ti cattāro nigamā.
2. Ep. Zeyl.,V,pp.182-184.

the term padī is found. Although it's etymology
remains as yet uncertain, the context leaves no doubt
that it indicates a trading centre. Paranavitana con-
cluded that the term should be connected with Sanskrit
patha.[1] In this connexion it should be borne in mind
that the term/*gama*/replaces padī in many passages of the
edict, a detail which has so far been overlooked. It
is interesting to note that while padī is used only
five times,[2] gama appears no less than seventeen times.[3]
Thus, padī in this edict has, apparently, been used
as a synonym of gama. In the Indian inscriptions the
word padā or pādā often suffixed to the names of villa-
ges inhabited by particular groups of people. Thus, the
Bhatera Plate of Govindakeśvadeva (c.1049 A.D.) refers

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1. Ep. Zeyl.,V,p.189,note,4.
2. Lines A17,21,40,B49 and C44.
3. Lines A28,41,B2,6,9,11,19,37,39,43,45-46,C10-11,36,43,
   D13 and 35; compare also the passage Padī vadanā badu
   pere-magaṭa gos no gannā (i)sā (lines B49-C2) 'Goods
   being brought to the market shall not be taken by
   having gone to the road ahead' (Paranavitana's transl.)
   with Gam van baḍu gämä vikka misä genä yat sut vat
   no gannā(lines C10-13) 'Only if goods brought to
   the village are sold in the village (shall toll dues
   be levied; if they are being transpobted through the
   village, no toll dues shall be levied' (Paranavitana's
   transl.).

to a village called Bhāṭapaḍā, which was inhabited by brāh-
maṇas.[1] Paḍā and pāḍā are explained as corrupt forms of
Sanskrit pāṭaka.[2] This may be supported by the fact that
the name Bhaṭṭapāṭaka has sometimes been used instead of
Bhāṭapaḍā in the Bhatera Plate itself.[3] Pāṭaka is defined
by Hemacandra as 'a half of grāma'.[4] A.K.Choudhary has
pointed out that the pāṭaka 'became a prominent type of
village settlement in the early medieval period'.[5] The
Tamil word pāṭi (Teliṅgu pāṭu, Kanarese and Malayālam pāḍi)
means 'town', 'city', 'hamlet' and 'pastoral village' etc.[6]
Paḍī in our record may be derived either from Sanskrit
pāṭaka or Tamil pāṭi.[7]

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1. Ep. Ind.,XIX,no.49; see for more details, A.K.Choudhary,
   op. cit.,pp.48-49.
2. D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary,p.233; A.K.
   Choudhary,op. cit.,p.49.
3. Ep. Ind.,XIX,no.49.
4. Abhidhānacintāmaṇī edited by Muni Jina Vijaya,
   1920,IV,384.
5. A.K.Choudhary,op. cit.,pp.46; cf. Skt.-Eng. Dict.,
   s.v. pāṭaka, 'the half of village', 'part of a village',
   'a kind of village'.
6. Madras Tamil Lexicon,V, s.v. pāṭi.
7. Hōpiṭigamupadda may be compared with the present
   villages ending with badda such as Udubaddāva in
   North-Western Ceylon, Maggonabadda and Lūlbadda in
   Southern Ceylon. Cf. pa in some Sanskrit and Pali
   words changes into ba in Sinhalese; (e.g. kapāla,
   (Sanskrit & Pali)=kabala (Sinhalese), 'shell'). In
   some Sinhalese words themselves this change occurs;
   (e.g. muṇupuru=muṇuburu 'grandson').

As to the formation of a market town we get some imformation in the inscription with which we are now concerned: the state levied excise duty on goods brought for sale in this market. In case of goods for sale that were not shown (to the authorities) double toll dues were charged.[1] Probably, as a measure to prevent the state being defrauded of its dues, commodities should be sold only at places which were designed for that purpose.[2] Commodities which were seen being sold at unauthorized places were to be removed by the royal officers.[3] No excise duty was levied on transit goods.[4] Illicit trade (sora velandām) was prohibited.[5] Only authorized weights and measures were to be used.[6] Royal officers were not permitted to accept gifts such as liquor (raha), meat (mas), curd (dihi) and oil (tel) (from merchants).[7]

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1. Ep. Zeyl., V, p.183, lines, C13-15.
2. Ibid., C21-22, 27-29.
3. Ibid., C29-32.
4. Ibid., C10-13.
5. Ibid., B25-26.
6. Ibid., C8-9, 17-18.
7. Ibid., B20-21: the contents of this inscription, which relevant to other aspects of our study are respectively discussed.

Paṭun-gama (Sinhalese), paṭṭana-gāma (Pali), paṭṭana-grāma (Sanskrit), appears in this order of local groupings after niyam-gama (Sinhalese), nigama-gāma (Pali), nigama-grāma (Sanskrit).[1] This indicates a sea port.[2] A brief look at a relief map of the Island may show that there are many bays which can be used as harbours; it is important to examine which of these bays were indeed used as harbours in the past, and what features they possessed. Marcian of Heraclea records that there were four notable ports and two great bays in the Island of Taprobana (i.e. Ceylon).[3] Unfortunately, these are not defined by him. Among the ports known to us, Mahātittha (Pali), Mātoṭa (Sinhalese), (present Māntai or Tirukētīśvaram) continued to flourish as the largest sea port in the Island before Polonnaruva became the capital of Ceylon.[4] Archaeological excavations

1. See below,p.
2. Nānā-paṇya-dhanākīrṇaṃ sāgarānūpa-saṃśritaṃ
   Saṃyānika-vaṇij-juṣṭaṃ paṭṭanaṃ paricakṣate
   'It is said that the paṭṭana is a place, situated by the sea shore, full of various merchandise and wealth, and frequented by travelling merchants' P.K.Acarya, Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, s.v. dvīpāntara quoted from the Śilpaśātra.
3. K.A.N.Sastri, Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthenes to Ma Huan,1963,p.64.
4. See for the importance of Mahātittha as a sea port in the early period of Ceylon (c.600 B.C. to 300 A.D.), Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl.,pp.115ff.

have so far been made up to about twenty feet depth
at this site, reveal that this was a fairly large
town covering about 300 acres. This was a walled city
like Anurādhapura. Its main road constructed from
the eastern gate to the western gate was almost 40
feet wide. There were vestiges of buildings on each
side of the road. The plan of the town appears to have
comprised a burial ground as well.[1]

A.M.Hocart argued that the brick-work so far
excavated in this site cannot be earlier than the
thirteenth nor later than the fifteenth century A.D.
He prefers the earlier to the later date.[2] It should
be borne in mind that archaeological excavations at
this site have not yet revealed its stratification.

If we can rely on the Dāthāvamsa, written in
the early part of the thirteenth century A.D.,[3] on
the basis of an ancient Sinhalese Daladāvamsa[4] of the
fourth century A.D., but now lost, it would appear

1. A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1907,p.29; CJSG, I,1928,I,p.146;
   A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1950,p.G15.
2. CJSG, I,1928,p.146; cf. A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1950,
   p.G15.
3. Dāthāvamsa, vv.4-7; cf.UCHC, (vol.I,pt.)I,p.55.
4. Dāthāvamsa, v.10.

that there existed some buildings at this port, for we are told in this source that, when the Kaliṅga prince Dantakumāra and his wife Hemamālā landed at this sea port,[1] they took shelter for that night at a Brahmin Temple there.[2]

We do not know whether there were then any Buddhist Temples at this port although we find allusions to Buddhists such as the merchant Nandi who lived in this <u>nagara</u> with their families.[3] However, the decision of the above mentioned couple to spend that night in a Brahmin Temple seems quite understandable because it was in the guise of Brahmins that they made their journey till they were led before the Sinhalese monarch.[4] Unfortunately, nothing more is known about this temple.

In addition, the present Tirukētīśvaram Śiva Temple at this port appears to have existed in the latter half of the seventh century A.D.: the <u>Tēvāram</u>

1. <u>Dāṭhāvaṃsa</u>, <u>v</u>.339; cf. <u>Daḷadāsirita</u>,p.35; see also <u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,III,p.135.
2. <u>Dāṭhāvaṃsa</u>, <u>v</u>.340; <u>Daḷadāsirita</u>,p.35.
3. <u>Sahas.</u>,pp.145ff; <u>Rsv.</u>,II,p.139.
4. <u>Dāṭhāvaṃsa.</u>, <u>v</u>.298; <u>Pjv.</u>,p.142.

explains that a Hindu Brahmin of the Kauṇḍiṇya gotra named Sambandar composed two hymns on the god of Tirukētiśvaram when he visited Rāmēśvaram in South India.[1]

Sambandar, according to the Periyapurāṇam was a junior contemporary of Appar Nayanar,[2] who was a contemporary of the Pallava king Mahendravarman I (600-630 A.D.).[3] Sambandar, in the course of his itinerary, met Siruttontar at Tiruccenkattankūṭi and referred to his devotion in a hymn.[4] Sekkilar mentions that Siruttontar was the commander-in-chief of a Pallava king and raided the city of Vātāpi, from where he carried away treasures.[5] An invasion of Vātāpi is mentioned in the Kunram Plates of Parameśvaravarman (670-680 A.D.) which gives a detailed account of the battle in which Parameśvaravarman defeated the Cālukya king.[6] This fact may also be substantiated by the inscription of Rājasiṃha at Kāñcīpura.[7] This invasion,

1. Periyapurāṇam, (edited by C.R.Subramanya,1927), hymn nos.243 and 38, v.890.
2. Ibid., v.890.
3. K.A.N.Sastri, History of South India,p.406.
4. Periyapurāṇam, vv.2366-69.
5. Ibid., v.3665.
6. SII, I,p.154.
7. Ibid.,I,pp.13-23.

according to many scholars, must have taken place
between 647-680 A.D.[1]

The _Periyapurāṇam_ makes it clear that Siruttontar
after his Vātāpi invasion voluntarily retired from
the post of commander-in-chief and spent his time
in worshipping Śiva and entertaining the devotees
of Śiva at his native place i.e. Tiruccenkattankūṭi.[2]
This must have taken place after 680 A.D. and during
this time he must have had the opportunity of entertaining
Sambandar when the latter visited him. On the other
hand, Sambandar, according to the _Periyapurāṇam_,
converted the Pāṇḍya king Nīnrasīr Netmāran (i.e.
Arikēśarī Māravarman 670-700 A.D.) from Jainism to
Śaivism.[3] From these examples it follows that Sambandar
lived in the latter half of the seventh century, so
that the Tirukētīśvaram Hindu Temple must have been
in existence at that time.

In addition, according to the _Sahassavatthuppa-_
karaṇa, written in the period between the fifth to

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1. N.Venkatarāmayya, 'Did Parameśvaravarman invade
   Vātāpi'? _Madras Christian College Magazine_,1927,
   pp.236-242.
2. Periyapurāṇam, _vv_.3665-70.
3. _Ibid_., _v_.2205.

ninth century A.D., and the Rasavāhinī, written in the fourteenth century A.D., Mahātittha was a nagara consisting of large buildings. Thus, the Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa mentions that there was a minster in this nagara, who had the nagara decorated on a festival day (chaṇadivase), when he himself made a state drive in the streets.[1] The Rasavāhinī, based on the above work, gives more detailed account on this event: 'At that time the king[2] appointed of his minister, named Siva, as the governor of Mahātittha. The minister, having got all the streets properly cleaned and decorated beautifully and having caused flags and banners to fly on the buildings, mounted on a beautifully decorated chariot accompanied by a powerful army of soldiers and made a state visit along the streets encircling the entire Mahāpaṭṭana'.[3] From these two sources it is also revealed that the city consisted of storeyed residences owned by wealthy merchants.[4]

In fact, the presence in this port of governors, as mentioned above, is supported by the Mannār Kaccēri

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1. Sahas.,p.145.
2. The name of the king is unknown.
3. Rsv.,II,p.139.
4. Sahas.,pp.126ff and 145; Rsv.,II,p.139.

Pillar Inscription of the ninth century A.D. This Pillar

has been found at Māntai. It mentions the officers in

charge of Mahātittha as mahaputuladdan.[1] Mahaputu is the

Sinhalese equivalent of Mahāpaṭṭana. The literary meaning

of laddan is 'receivers'. Thus, "Mahaputu-receivers" may

mean the officers in charge of Mahāpaṭṭana. We find in

the Cūlavaṃsa that king Mahinda II (777-797 A.D.), before

becoming king, performed an official function at Mahātittha.[2]

He may also have been an officer like Mahaputuladdan.

Cosmas,[3] who wrote in the early part of the sixth

century A.D., explained that 'the Island being, as it

is, in a central position, is much frequented by ships

from all parts of India and from Persia and Ethiopia,

and it likewise sends out many of its own. And from the

remotest countries, I mean Tzinista and other trading

places, it receives silk, aloes, cloves, sandalwood and

other products, and these again are passed on to marts

on this side, such as Male,[4] where pepper grows, and

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1. Ep. Zeyl.,III,p.104, lines c14-15.
2. Cv.,XLVIII,81.
3. Cf. supra,p.16.
4. The Malabar littoral; see McCrindle, Christian Topography,
   p.366,note,4; cf. K.A.N.Sastri, Foreign Notices of
   South India,p.89,note,13.

to Calliana[1] which exports copper and sesame-logs, and

cloth for making dresses, for it also is a great place

of business. And to Sindu[2] also where musk and castor

is procured and androstachys,[3] and to Persia and the

Homerite country, and to Adulē.[4] and the Island receives

imports from all these marts which we have mentioned

and passes them on to the remoter ports, while, at

the same time, exporting its own produce in both directions'.[5]

This account of Cosmas is corroborated by ample

evidence and it is established that Ceylon developed

as an important entrepot in the extensive sea-borne

trade which linked Europe in the west with the Chinese

empire in the east in the sixth century A.D. if not

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1. Now Kalyāna, near Bombay, see McCrindle, _Christian Topography_,p.366,note,5; cf. K.A.N.Sastri,_op. cit._, p.89.note,13.
2. Ancient Sindu _desa_ in the Indus valley,see McCrindle, _Christian Topography_,p.336,note,6.
3. McCrindle regards this word as an error in transcription, see _Christian Topography_,p.336,note,7. Sastri takes this as a proper name, and has doubts about the meaning, _Foreign Notices_,p.89.
4. Modern Thulla of Zula on the East African Coast, Sastri, _Foreign Notices_,p.89,note,15.
5. McCrindle, _Christian Topography_,pp.365-366.

earlier.[1] The commercial importance of Ceylon was certainly
an important factor in the development of the sea ports
in the Island.

It also follows from the account of Cosmas that
there was a great port in the Island in which custom
officers received foreign merchants.[2] These officers
may well be compared with those mentioned in the ins-
cription of Mahātittha, but the port to which Cosmas
referred cannot be identified with certainty, Many
scholars believe Mahātittha is meant.[3] There can, however,
be no doubt that Cosmas refers to the principal sea port
of the Island at that time. As far as the evidence goes
this is Mahātittha. In principal, the geographical
location of this harbour was the most favourable one on
account of its proximity to the capital, Anurādhapura.
In addition, this is the only port which had a direct link
with the capital along a river i.e. the Kadamba Nadī.

1. E.H.Warmington, Commerce between the Roman Empire and
   India, 1938, pp.119ff; B.J.Perera, 'Ancient Ceylon and
   its Trade with India', CHJ, I, 1952, pp.192ff; UCHC,
   (vol.I, pt.)I, pp.362ff; Wang Gungwu, 'The Nanhai
   Trade', JMBRAS, XXXII, pt.2, pp.120ff.
2. Christian Topography, p.386.
3. H.W.Codrington, Short History of Ceylon, 1939, p.32;
   G.C.Mendis, Early History of Ceylon, 1940, p.47;
   B.J.Perera, CHJ, I, 1951, p.112; W.A.Jayawardhana,
   Purātana Laṅkāva, 1964, pp.91-92; J.Emerson Tennent
   takes it as Galle, Ceylon, 1850, I, p.568.

Finally, it seems that this was the port which was used most frequently by people for their voyages. Thus, Dantakumāra and Hemamālā after arriving from Kaliṅga would have disembarked at this port.[1] A group of sixty __bhikkhus__ left the island from this port on a pilgrimage to India.[2] A rebellious Pāṇḍya prince, viz. Varaguṇa-Varman II, the son of Śrīmāra Śrī Vallabha (815-862 A.D.),[3] betook himself to Ceylon to obtain military aid from king Sena II (853-883 A.D.), in order to seize the throne from his father.[4] As in many other cases,[5] There is no mention

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1. __Supra__, p. 184.
2. __Sahas.__, p.36.
3. __UCHC__, (vol.I,pt.)I, pp.328-330,344; K.A.N.Sastri, The __Pāṇḍyan Kingdom__, 1929, pp.68-78.
4. __Cv.__, LI, 27.
5. Cf. the arrival of Buddhaghosa from South India (__Cv.__XXXVII, 215-227; __Rjv.__, p.60; __Pjv.__, p.143; __Saddharamaratnākaraya__, p.251), arrival of Fā-hṣien from China and departure (__A Record of the Buddhist Countries__, pp.78 and 87 respectively), departure of Sinhalese nuns to China (supra) departure of Moggallāna to South (?) India and his return (__Cv.__, XXXVIII,86 and XXXIX,20 respectively), arrival of Paṇḍu and others from South India (__Cv.__, XXXVIII,11), departure of Silākāla to North India and return (__Cv.__, XXXIX,46 and 49 respectively), departure of Jeṭṭhatissa III to South (?) India and return (__Cv.__, XLIV,70 and 71 respectively), departure of Aggabodhi III to South (?) India and return (__Cv.__, XLIV,105), departure of Dāṭhāsiva to South (?) India and return (__Cv.__, XLIV,106), the second departure of Aggabodhi III to South (?) India and return (__Cv.__, XLIV, 126), departure of Dāṭhopatissa I to South (?) India and return (__Cv.__, XLIV,145 respectively), departure of Hatthadāṭha to South (?) India and return (__Cv.__, XLIV,154 and XLV,18 respectively), departure of Mānavamma to the Pallava country and return (__Cv.__, XLVII,4 and 35 respectively), his second departure and return (__Cv.__, XLVII,41 and 53 respectively), invasion of Pāṇḍya king Śrīmāra Śrī Vallabha and departure (__Cv.__, L,24 and 42 respectively), arrival of the troops of Kassapa V from the Pāṇḍya country (__Cv.__, LII,78), invasion of Parāntaka Cōḷa and departure (__Cv.__, LIII,42 and 45 respectively), departure of the Pāṇḍya king Rājasiṃha from the Island to Keraḷa (__Cv.__, LIII,9), invasion of Rājarāja Cōḷa (__Cv.__, LV,14).

of the port of the Island where Varaguṇa landed, but
it is Mahātittha from where he left the Island in
order to return to his country and wage war against
his father with the troops provided by the Sinhalese king.[1]

The victorious Sinhalese <u>senāpati</u> named Kuṭṭhaka,[2]
having placed Varaguṇa on the throne returned to Ceylon
with his troops at the same port, where they were
accorded a warm welcome by the king.[3] In addition,
when the Pāṇḍya ruler Māṟavarman Rājasiṃha II sent
gifts to the king of the Island in the hope of obtaining
military aid the <u>Cūlavaṃsa</u> writes:- 'The king, the Ruler
of Laṅkā, took counsel with his officials, equipped
military forces, appointed his Sakkasenāpati as leader
of the troops and betook himself to Mahātittha. Standing
at the edge of the coast he spoke of the triumph of
former kings and having thus aroused their enthusiasm,
he made his troops embark. With his army the Sakkasenāpati
thereupon safely crossed the sea and reached the Paṇḍu

1. <u>Cv</u>.,LI,28.
2. <u>Ibid</u>.,LI,88. He is referred to in the inscriptions as
   Kuṭṭhā, see the Iripiniyāva and Raṁbāva Pillar Ins-
   criptions, <u>Ep. Zeyl</u>.,I,pp.164 and 175 respectively.
3. <u>Cv</u>.,LI,27-47; cf. the Bilibāva Pillar Inscription of
   the same king and Mādirigiri Pillar Inscription of
   Kassapa V (914-923 A.D.), <u>Ep. Zeyl</u>.,II,pp.25-33
   and 38-43 respectively.

country'.[1]

In yet another instance we learn that the Pāṇḍya king Rājasiṃha II, defeated by the Cōḷas, sailed to Mahātittha in the reign of Dappula IV (924-935 A.D.). Though Dappula was ready to give military support as requested by Rājasiṃha, the latter did not remain in the Island but betook himself to the Kerala court, his mother's home, leaving his crown and other regalia behind.[2]

Therefore, Mahātittha appears to have been used very frequently as a port. This is further supported by Sundara Mūrti Nayanār, the third hymnist of the Tevāram of the ninth century A.D., who describes Māntoṭṭam (i.e. Mahātittha) as a port where many ships arrived. His description may be quite acceptable because he had first-hand knowledge of this port as a priest who composed hymns on the god of Tirukētīśvaram.[3]

As a result of these foreign contacts, the population of Mahātittha porbably comprised many foreign

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1. Cv.,LII,70-73 (Geiger's transl.)
2. Cv.,LIII,5-9; cf.44,see also W.Geiger, Cv. Transl., p.172,note,3.
3. See supra,pp. 299 ff.

residents. The coins and pottery found there suggest close connexions between this port and foreign countries. Thus, at one site from the surface to about twenty feet depth a vast number of pot sherds of Rome, Persian Gulf and China have already been found, which, however still require systematic dating and identification.

Some coins found at this site have now been satisfactorily identified. For example, a Chinese coin found there has been identified as one of king Jen Tsun of the Sung dynasty, who reigned between 1023-1036 A.D.[1] Similarly, some coins of the Siṁhaviṣṇu line of the Pallava dynasty have been found at or near the Tirukē tīśvaram Śiva Temple. These coins show a bull on the obverse and a pūrṇaghaṭa on the reverse.[2] In some coins the figure on the obverse is withered. (Codrington *H.W.*

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1. CJSG, I,1928,p.147. See for a detailed account of relations between Ceylon and China, Sylvain Lévy, 'Chino-Sinhalese Relations', JCBRAS, XXIV,1915-16, pp.75-105; John M.Seneviratna, 'Some notes on the Chinese references', JCBRAS, XXIV,1915-16,pp.106-111; W.Pachow,'Ancient Cultural relations between Ceylon and China', UCR,-XII,1954,pp.182-191.
2. A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1907,p.30; H.W.Codrington, Ceylon Coins and Currency,1924,p.83; D.P.E.Hettiaratchi, 'A note on an Unpublished Pallava Coin', JCBRAS (NS), IV,1955,pp.72-77 (with plates).

tentatively suggests that this figure represents a

tiger; in that case they are probably early Cōḷa coins.[1]

Direct contacts between the Siṃhaviṣṇu line and

Ceylon are attested during the reign of Narasiṃhavarman

(630-668 A.D.), when a Ceylonese prince named Mānavamma

resided in the Pallava court. Having fled to South

India he was put in charge of Pallava troops and joined

the campaign led by Narasiṃhavarman against the Cālukyas.

Out of gratitude Narasiṃhavarman gave military assistance

to Mānavamma, providing him with an army which he

subsequently used to capture the throne of Ceylon.[2]

Thus, Mānavamma, having become king of the Island,

reigned for a long period between 684-718 A.D. His

dynasty, the so-called second Lambakaṇṇa dynasty, lasted

for many centuries, viz. till the end of the Anurādha-

pura period. In order to consolidate his victory and

to achieve the foundation of a dynasty it seems quite

possible that Mānavamma kept many of his Pallava

mercenaries, whom he would have stationed in key points,

especially coastal areas, but the chronicles are silent

1. Ceylon Coins and Currency, p.83.
2. Cv., XLVII, 4-62.

on this point.[1]

In addition, a large number of coins of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., have been found at this port. Most of these are made by special kind of metal known as 'Third Brass'.[2] In this connexion, it is interesting that Cosmas records how a merchant from his own country named Sopater, together with an anonymous Persian merchant, brought the current coins of respective countries with them when they arrived in Ceylon for trade transactions.[3] It is not certain that there were Roman or Persian settlements in Mahātittha as there were in Pondichery in South India.[4] Cosmas, however, writes: 'The Island has a church of persian christians who have settled there'.[5] There is, however, no confirmation as to the location of this church and the settlement.

1. Thus, Moggallāna and Silākāla appear to have been constituted a guard for the sea coast in order to protect their power from threatening invasions (Cv., XXXIX,57 and XLI,35 respectively), see also C.W. Nicholas, 'Sinhalese Naval Power', UCR, XVI,1958,pp.78-92; Paranavitana, Ceylon and Malaysia,pp.16-17.
2. H.W.Codrington, Ceylon Coins and Currency,p.32.
3. McCrindle, Christian Topography,p.369.
4. Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India,III, pp.178ff.
5. McCrindle, Christian Topography,p.365,see also J.Emerson Tennent, History of Christianity in Ceylon,chap.1.

Judging from the above examples it may be concluded that Mahātittha was a very complex settlement with officials, both Ceylonese and South Indian, as well as Persian, Roman and Chinese merchants.

Gokaṇṇa, modern Trincomalee, is less frequently mentioned in ancient times. During the reign of Mahāsena (276-303 A.D.), there was a Hindu Temple at this port which was destroyed by the king, who built a Buddhist vihāra at this site.[1] As has seen above there was a Hindu Temple at Mahātittha, too, at least during the reign of the immediate successor of this king.[2]

Despite the destruction of the shrine, the present Kōneśvaram Śiva Temple at Trincomalee is mentioned as early as the latter half of the seventh century A.D., for according to the Periyapurāṇam, Sambandar Nayanār who lived in this period,[3] composed hymns in praise of the god of this temple as well as of the god of the

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1. Mv.,XXXVII,40-41: Mv. Ṭīkā: Gokaṇṇasamīpe Gokaṇṇaka vihāraṃ.
2. Supra,pp. 299ff.
3. See for his date supra,pp. 299ff.

Tirukētīśvaram at Māntai.[1] This may be a consequence of relations between the Indian subcontinent and the Island. But no such relations appear to have been recorded in the available sources for the latter part of the Anurādhapura period. It is only in the second half of the thirteenth century A.D. that we hear of such contacts. Thus, a passage of an inscription of Jaṭāvarman Vīrapāṇḍya (accession 1253 A.D.), states that this king planted there the Pāṇḍya flag with the double fish emblem of Koṇamalai, i.e., Gokaṇṇa.[2] This is no doubt a reference to his invasion during the reign of Parākramabāhu II (1236-1270 A.D.).[3]

A Buddhist vihāra also existed during the second and third decades of the eighth century A.D. at this port, as we are told that king Aggabodhi V (718-724 A.D.) erected a practising-house (padhānaghara) in the Gokaṇṇa Vihāra.[4] This vihāra may be identified, as suggested by Geiger,[5] with that built by Mahāsena referred to

1. Periyapurāṇam, Cēramaṉ Perumāḷ Nāyaṉār Purāṇam hymn no.80, v.109.
2. Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1912, p.39.
3. See for a comprehensive study of this invasion, A Liyanagamage, op. cit., pp.140-159.
4. Cv., XLVIII, 5.
5. Cv. Transl., p.110, note, 3; cf. JCBRAS (NS), VI, 1963, p.44.

above. It therefore appears that both the Hindu _devāla_ and Buddhist _vihāra_ were in existence at least from the second half of the seventh century A.D. Thus, Gokaṇṇa appears to have been a place inhabited by both Hindus and Buddhists, as was the case at Mahātittha.

If we believe the _Pūjāvaliya_ and _Rājāvaliya_, Hūrātoṭa or Urātoṭa[1] (Pali Sūkaratittha, modern Kayts) was another port which appears to have had foreign contacts in the latter part of the Anurādhapura period. We read in these sources that king Kuḍā Mihidel,[2] identifiable with Mahinda IV (956-972 A.D.), defeated a Tamil ruler who had landed at Hūrātoṭa coming from the Cōḷa country.[3] This invasion is corroborated by the inscriptions of Parāntaka II ∠ Rājarāja Cōḷa.[4] and
It can therefore be established that the invasion took place probably in the reign of Parāntaka II.[5] Nothing more is known about this sea port during our period of study.

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1. The _Rājāvaliya_ gives but a mythical origin of this sea port, see p.25.
2. Midel Salā in the _Rājāvaliya_, see p.65.
3. _Pjv._,p.48; _Rjv._,p.65.
4. _SII_,,XIII, no.197; V, no.980.
5. S.Paranavitana, 'Three Cōḷa invasions not recorded in the _Mahāvaṃsa_', _JCBRAS_, XXXI,1929,pp.384ff;
    ———— _Ep. Zeyl._,V,p.108; K.A.N.Sastri, _The Cōḷas_,I,p.189.

Godavāya is ano~~ther~~ [illegible] ~~port~~

at the mouth of the Va~~lave~~ 4. Ibid.,VI,1963,p.67.

the first time in an inscription of Gajabāhu I (114-

136 A.D.) in situ. This inscription states that the

custom duties (sukiya, Pali, suṅkha)[1] collected from

this port (Go(sukiya:a paṭanahi) were granted to the

Godapavata Vihāra, probably the monastery situated

near the port.[2] The inscription would therefore suggest

that this port was under the charge of custom officers,

as Mahātittha. In a later sixth-century inscription

the place was named as Godavä Vahera[3] which suggests

the continued existence of the above vihāra. As

C.W.Nicholas pointed out, 'the appearence of the little

bay at Godavāya to-day does not suggest that it could

have been more than a hazardous anchorage for an

occasional sailing ship in times past, and the revenue

lost by the religious benefaction was probably trifling'.[4]

As has already been mentioned, there were many

rebellious princes who fled to South (?) India and

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1. Cf. Cv.,LIV,46.
2. CJSG, II,1928-33,pp.178,197.
3. JCBRAS, (NS.),V,1957,p.78; VI,1963,p.67.
4. Ibid.,VI,1963,p.67.

returned with mercenaries particularly in the fifth
and seventh centuries A.D. But the ports in the Island
that they used for their actions are unknown. Of these
Moggallāna, the son of Dhātusena (459-477 A.D.), is
said to have returned from Jambudīpa with mercenaries
and encamped at the Kuthāri Vihāra in the Ambattha-
koḷa desa.[1] Although the Kuthāri Vihāra cannot be
identified it is certain that the Ambatthakoḷa desa
was the area around modern Ridī Vihāra (ancient Rajatalena)
near Mātalē.[2] If Moggallāna had landed at one of the
ports in the northern or eastern part of the Island
it seems rather unlikely that he should have advanced
such a long distance passing through the rivers and
jungle. If he had landed at Trincomalee he should have
by-passed the Sīgiri fort or crossed the upper mountainous
region covered with thick jungle, and where there are
rivers, too.

Ambatthakoḷa desa is situated very far from
the ports of Southern coast of the Island, too. In
addition, it does not seem that the Anurādhapura area
was unfavourable for him because he was a favourite

1. Cv.,XXXIX,21.
2. JCBRAS (NS),VI,1963,p.107.

of all bhikkhus, irrespective of sect not excluding
the Nigganthas.[1] These data may suggest that Moggallāna
landed at some other port on the western or north-western
coast.

The ports along this part of the coast situated
in approximity to the Ambaṭṭhakoḷa-desa are Kälaṇiya
and Chilaw (ancient Salāvata). It is to be noted that
Chilaw is situated at the mouth of the Jajjara Nadī
and the Ambaṭṭhakoḷa-desa itself is situated on the
banks of this river. Therefore, Moggallāna perhaps
landed at Chilaw and proceded to the interior along the
river. But the chronicles are silent on this point.

According to the paraphrase of the Sasadāvata,
written soon after the composition of the poem,[2] the
Cōḷas who invaded the Island during the first reign of
queen Līlāvatī (1197-1200 A.D.), would have landed at
this sea port,[3] but nothing is mentioned about this
invasion in the chronicles. As it is beyond our scope,

1. Cv.,XXXIX,20-21,33,41,43.
2. C.E.Godakumbura, Sinhalese Literature,1955,p.143;
   P.B.Sannasgala, Siṅhala Sāhityavaṃśaya,1961,p.112.
3. Sasadāvat Sannaya, (edited by Aturuvälle Dhammapala)
   1934,pp.4-5.

we do not intend to go into details of this invasion.
On the other hand, it has already been discussed in
great detail by others.[1]

The Cūlavaṃsa explains that Kassapa I (477-495
A.D.), out of fear for Moggallāna, set guards in
different places in the Island.[2] It seems likely that
Kassapa should have taken some counter-measures,
particularly at major sea ports, to thwart his opponent's
plans. The latter perhaps came to know about the situation
in the Island from niggaṇṭhas who served as spies for
him and informed him of the right time for him to return
to the Island.[3] There can, however, be no doubt that
at least major points on the sea coast were guarded in
ancient times. We learn from the Cūlavaṃsa that king
Silākāla (522-535 A.D.) entrusted his second son
Dāṭhāpabhuti with the task of protecting the sea (coast).[4]
Moggallāna I is also said to have instituted a guard for

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1. A.Liyanagamage, The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the
   Rise of Dambadeṇiya, pp.57-59.
2. Cv.,XXXIX,5: rakkhaṃ datvā tahiṃ tahiṃ; cf.XXXIX,19.
3. Ibid.,XXXIX,20. The employment of spies in the guise of
   religious mendicants and ascetics was by no means rare
   in ancient days, see Arthaśāstra, IV,4; Manu,p.256.
4. Cv.,XLI,35: rakkhaṇatthaṃ samuddassa majjhimaṃ tu
   niyojayi; cf. Paranavitana, Ceylon and Malaysia,
   pp.16-17.

the sea (coast).[1] This may indicate a similar function as that discussed above.

In addition, Cosmas informs us that when a certain Sopater and a Persian merchant landed at a port[2] which is not specified, they were taken to the king by the officers there.[3] His account also describes that when the king questioned both, they explained that they were merchants from Rome and Persia.[4] This suggests that the officers in the ports kept a watchful eye on those arriving at the ports. It is also to be noted that there is no evidence for any invasion at the major sea ports such as Mahātittha or Trincomalee during our period. But Sinhalese kings used Mahātittha for their expeditions to South India, and also South Indian refugees, who came to Ceylon seeking military aid, landed at this port.[5] Perhaps this port, i.e. Mahātittha was not chosen by foreign invaders, as it was guarded by the local army.

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1. Cv.,XXXIX,57: bandhitvā sāgarārakkham.
2. See for the identity of this sea port, supra,p.304.
3. Christian Topography,p.368.
4. Ibid.,pp.368-369.
5. Supra,pp. 305 ff.

We come across at least one occasion on which a pattana was used for pleasure in the period under consideration. Thus, the Cūlavaṃsa mentions that king Sena I (833-853 A.D.) went for pleasure to a port on the sea.[1] In addition, the Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa speaks of a minister named Siva who had Mahatittha decorated for a festival (chaṇa).[2] Unfortunately, nothing more is known about this festival.

It may be interesting to note that there were some sea ports which were associated with superstitious beliefs. Thus, during a famine in Ceylon a certain man skilled in magic spells (mantadharo naro) went around begging for alms in the guise of a bhikkhu. Prince Mahānāga, who was a wanderer at that time, happened to see him, and offered alms. 'He (the magician) thought: "I will make him (Mahānāga) worthy of the kingdom on the Island"'. He took the prince with him and arrived a moment later at Gokaṇṇa.[3] Sitting there and murmuring an incantation formula in the usual way, he conjured

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1. Cv.,L,8: kīḷanatthaṃ samuddassa gate rājini paṭṭanaṃ
2. Sahas.,p.145.
3. Gokaṇṇa was the ancient name of Trincomalee, see supra,p.3ıı Therefore Gokaṇṇa sea may mean the bay of Trincomalee, see Cv. Transl.,p.59,note,4.

up the Nāga king[1] in the night of the full moon of the

month Phussa.[2] "Touch the Great Nāga", he commanded

Mahānāga. In the first watch of the night, through

fear, he did not touch the Nāga who had appeared. It

was even so in the middle watch of the night. But in

the last watch he caught him by the tail, but (immediately)

let him go. (Only) with three fingers had he touched

him, when the magician made the prophesy: 'My effort

succeeds: after thou hast had war with three kings[3]

and slain the fourth,[4] thou shalt be king in thy old

age and live yet three years'.[5]

In yet another instance, we hear that a prince

named Mānavamma sat down on the banks of the river

in the neighbourhood of Gokaṇṇa, and 'had made full

preparations according to custom for an incantation.

He began after taking the roasary (akkhamālā) in his

hand to murmur the magic verse. To him there appeared

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1. See for a discussion of Nāgas, V.Vitharana, 'The Nāgas
   of Ceylon: An attempt at identificathion', Vidyodaya
   Journal of Arts Science and Letters, I, 1968, pp.167-172.
2. December to January.
3. Probably, Silākāla, Dāṭhāpabhuti and Moggallāna II, see
   Cv., XLI, 69-71, 89-90.
4. I.e. Kittisirimegha, see Cv., XLI, 91.
5. Cv., XLI, 75-84 (Geiger's transl.).

Kumāra on his riding bird.[1] ... he (Kumāra) granted the Prince his prayed-for wish'.[2]

According to the <u>Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa</u>, a magician (<u>bhūtavejjako</u>) at Mahātittha uttered an incantation and sent a spirit to kill a merchant named Nandi who was abroad at that time.[3] Saṅghamitta who lived at Kāvērīpaṭṭana in South India is described as one who was well versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of spirits, and so forth (<u>bhūtavijjā-dikovido</u>).[4]

In addition, Hiuan-Tsang describes that there was a bay in the Island rich in gems and precious stones. The king and the ordinary people made annual offerings at this harbour for the spirits there in order to get such assets from them.[5]

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1. Kumāra is god Skanda, who is worshiped in Kataragama, riding on the pea-cock which is sacred to him. See Geiger, <u>Cv. Transl.</u>,p.193, note,3.
2. Mānavamma perhaps asked a boon of making him king in the Island, but he did not become king as one of his eyes was destroyed by the pea-cock of Kumāra! see, <u>Cv.</u>,LVII,7-9,11-13.
3. <u>Sahas.</u>,p.145.
4. <u>Mv.</u>,XXXVI,113.
5. <u>Buddhist Records of the Western World</u>, (translated by Samuel Beal) II,p.251.

From these examples it follows that there were a certain number of pattanas which maintained foreign contacts during the period under consideration. Although we do not hear very much of other ports Mahātittha was a cosmopolitan centre with foreign and Ceylonese merchants and government officers. On the whole, a pattana was a very complex local grouping.

The terms nagara and pura are used in the chronicles as synonyms in the sense of either town or citadel. Thus, we find that Anurādhapura[1] and Pulatthinagara[2] (i.e. Polonnaruva) are mentioned as either pura or nagara. The term nagara appears, however, to have been the more general term for town or city.[3]

It seems that nagara also denoted a townlet or a temporary royal residence. This may be gleaned from the following cases. According to the Cūlavaṃsa king Mahinda V (982-1029 A.D.), who was forced by the Keraḷa mercenaries to flee from Anurādhapura, founded

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1. See Cv.,XXXIX,28; XLI,12,17,21 etc. and XLIV,7,23; XLVII,37; XLVIII,125.
2. See Cv.,L,73; LII,25; LV,22,29.
3. See Cv.,XXXVII,71,74; XLIV,122; XLVI,34; LVIII,34; XLIX,18; Ep. Zeyl.,II,p.22; III,pp.177,250 etc.

a _nagara_ in the village Kappagallaka in Rohaṇa, from where he carried out the government only in that part of the Island.[1] Nothing more is known about this _nagara_. Nor is there any indication enabling us to locate it. It probably was only a small fort used by Mahinda as a hiding place before he was captured by the Cōḷas.[2] The account of the chronicle would also have us believe that Mahinda was unable to reside in a big town for the peasants stopped paying their taxes when they discovered that the king no longer did his duty.[3] Another obscure _nagara_ called Giri was built by king Mānavamma (684-718 A.D.); it was apparently no more than a small town of which nothing more is known.[4]

In studying the _nagara_ in ancient Ceylon Anurādhapura is the best example. It is, however, not necessary to go into great detail as this great city has already been discussed by many scholars.[5] In the present context

1. _Cv._,LV,11-12.
2. _Ibid._,LV,13-18.
3. _Ibid._,LV,3-4.
4. _Ibid._,XLIII,3.
5. A.M.Hocart, _Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon_, 1924, I; S.Paranavitana, _Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon_, 1936, III,A.R.Arch. Surv. Ceyl., 1940-45, p.22; 1946,p.I 8; 1947, pp.I 15ff; 1949,pp.G10ff; 1950,pp.G18ff; 1952,p.G24; See also _Soc. Hist. of Early Ceyl._,pp.121ff; _Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times_,pp.53ff.

it is of great interest to examine its new development during the period under review.

There is no doubt that there were many religious buildings belonging to the <u>vihāras</u> such as the Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri and Jetavana. The important buildings of these monasteries and the royal palace were constructed well before the period of our study. But the Dāṭhādhātu-ghara, the temple of the Tooth Relic, was founded after the arrival of the Tooth Relic in the Island during the reign of king Sirimeghavaṇṇa (303-331 A.D.). In fact, this was not a new building, as it is said in the <u>Cūlavaṃsa</u> that this was originally built by Devānaṁpiya Tissa and was called Dhammacakkageha.[1] However, ever since the Tooth Relic was kept in this building it was known as Dāṭhādhātughara and from time to time it was repaired. Thus, Dhātusena (459-477 A.D.) is said to have repaired the Dāṭhādhātughara and Aggabodhi I (575-608 A.D.) decorated it with brightly gleaning precious stones.[2]

In the first part of the seventh century A.D. Hiuan-Tsang gave an interesting description of this

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1. <u>Cv.</u>,XXXVII,92.
2. <u>Ibid.</u>,XXXVIII,70 and XLII,33 respectively.

temple. We read:- 'By the side of the king's palace is the _vihāra_ of the Buddhist Tooth, several hundred feet high,[1] brilliant with jewels and ornamented with rare gems. Above the _vihāra_ is placed an upright pole on which is fixed a great _padmarāga_ (ruby) jewel ...'.[2] The Temple of the Tooth, along with the Mahāpāli, was burnt by the Cōḷas who invaded Ceylon during the reign of Udaya IV (946-954 A.D.) but was reconstructed by Mahinda IV (956-972 A.D.).[3] The remains near the inscribed slab in the citadel have been identified with those of this temple and a number of strata of this site have already been unearthed.[4]

The annual Tooth Relic festival, which attracted great crowds of people, was a relatively late feature of the city of Anurādhapura. Both laymen and _bhikkhus_ gathered there; the streets were decorated and many other preparations for the festival were made well

1. This figure is no doubt an exaggeration.
2. _Buddhist Records of the Western World_ (translated by Samuel Beal), II,p.248; cf. _Cv._,XXXVIII,42; XLII,33; LIV,45; _A Record of the Buddhist Countries_ (translated by Li Yung-hsi),p.80.
3. _Cv._,LIV,45; see also LIII,41.
4. _Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon_, 1936,III,pp.2,19ff.

in advance.[1] Many people took part in celebrations

for ninety days of every year.[2] This passage gives

also imformation about the streets in the city. This

is elaborated by another passage, when Fa-Hsien wrote:-

'... The roads level and trim, preaching-halls have

been built at the cross-roads'.[3] He also referred to

the main road and explained that it was along this

road that the annual Tooth Relic procession moved.[4]

The chronicle mentions a Mahāvīthi along which

bhikkhus walked chanting the Ratanasutta during the

reign of king Upatissa I (368-410 A.D.).[5] Two ins-

criptions of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D.

respectively mention the Mangul-maha-veya (Pali, Mangala

Mahāvīthi) along which there stood some religious

buildings, hospitals etc.[6] This may have been the same

street as that indicated as Mahāvīthi in the chronicle.

Perhaps the name of the Mahāvīthi (i.e. Mangul) was

1. A Record of the Buddhist Countries (translated by Li Yung-hsi), p.82.
2. See for a detailed account of the Tooth Relic festival, Rahula, History of Buddhism in Ceylon, pp.280ff.
3. A Record of the Buddhist Countries (translated by Li Yung-hsi), p.81.
4. Ibid.,p.82.
5. Cv.,XXXVII,195; cf.149.
6. Ep. Zeyl., I,p.43; II,p.23. See for other hospitals constructed in the city during the period under review, Cv.,L,75; LII,25,57; LIV,53 etc.

given to it only after the reign of Upatissa. Some

other roads such as Vāluka, Candamukha and Siṅguruväli

are also mentioned in the sources.[1] The location of

these streets is unknown. We hear only that the

Mahāvīthi was situated in the inner city.[2] It is equally

uncertain where precisely ran the boundaries between

the inner and outer city.[3]

For a description of the city of Anurādhapura

Fa-hien provides us with more materials. He writes

that there were wealthy merchant house-holders and

other citizens belonging to the different strata of

society. Thousands of bhikkhus lived in the vihāras

there. People of many quarters met together in the

preaching halls of these vihāras to listen to the

sermons.[4]

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1. Sahas.,p.70; Saddharmālaṅkāraya,p.390.
2. Cv.,XXXVII,195; Ep. Zeyl.,II,23.
3. JCBRAS (NS.),1963,VI,p.138; Geiger identifies the Mahāvīthi with the present 'Sacred street' (Suddha Māvata, modern Sinh.), see Cv. Transl.,p.19,note,4.
4. A Record of the Buddhist Countries (translated by Li Yung-hsi),p.81; Sahas.,p.127.

Generally speaking, being the capital of the country for over a thousand years[1] Anurādhapura was bound to be a city inhabited by members of the royal family and administrative officers, nobles, merchants and many other people belonging to different strata of society. This was the main centre of the Theravāda Buddhism in the Island. Therefore a large number of bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs must have concentrated there, some of whom originated from foreign lands.[2]

Similarly, as has been pointed out by K.Indrapala, there were a considerable number of Tamils in the city by about the close of the tenth century A.D.[3] It is also to be noted that among the buildings which were constructed by Paṇḍukābhaya in the city there was a separate house for the brāhmaṇas.[4] In addition,

1. From (c.) the sixth century B.C. to the beginning of the tenth century A.D. only eighteen years (i.e.477-495 A.D.) in which Sīgiriya was the capital. Although some kings in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. and the following three centuries lived for some years at Polonnaruva they continued to regard Anurādhapura as their capital. See, supra, p.257.
2. Cv.,XXXVII,213-246; XLII,35-37; XLIV,44-47; A Record of the Buddhist Countries (translated by Li Yung-hsi), p.85.
3. Indrapala, op. cit., p.79.
4. Mv.,X,102: brāhamaṇavatthuṃ; cf. Mv. Ṭīkā, p.296: brāhamaṇavatthuṃ (eva cā ti brāhmaṇanaṃ nivestṭhānānañ ca).

the _sivikāsālā_ and _sotthisālā_, which were built by the

same king in the city, were probably two Hindu shrines.[1]

The location of neither of these buildings is known.

However, as has been seen, in the northern quarter of

the city there were _brāhmaṇa_ residences and also Śiva

Temples in which _liṅgas_ have been discovered.[2] No attempt

has so far been made to reveal the stratification of

the sites of these monuments. Only the ruins on their

surface can be dated to either the ninth or the tenth

century A.D. The Pallava monuments found in the city

have already been discussed in great detail.[3]

Foreign merchants such as Chinese,[4] Roman and

Persian[5] appeared in the city from time to time. As

inscriptions attest there were at least two market

places in northern and western parts of the city con-

taining guilds which acted as local banks.[6] As we have

indicated above,[7] the plan of this great city has already

been discussed by many scholars; it is therefore not

necessary to repeat it here. But it is necessary to

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1. Mv. Ṭīkā, p.296.
2. Cf. _infra_, p.348.
3. A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1936,pp.J16ff.
4. A Record of the Buddhist Countries (translated by
   Li Yung-hsi),p.79.
5. Christian Topography (translated by McCrindle),p.368.
6. See _supra_,pp. 288-89.
7. See _supra_,p.323,note,5.

examine, in brief, the plan of the City of Sīgiriya.

In the survey of the village settlements in the Kalāgam Palāta during the period under review the construction of the palace and fortress at Sīgiriya was mentioned. Therefore, we confine ourselves here to examine the archaeological remains there in order to get an idea of this city.

Sīgiriya is a rock rising abruptly to the height of about 600 feet from the ground. To the north of the foot of the rock there is a small tank. East and the west a rectangular area had been enclosed by ramparts and moats. The base of the rock itself was used as the defence on one side. The ramparts on the western side, still standing to an average height of 30 feet, extended on three sides to a distance of over one and half miles. The masonry wall, for which the ramparts of earthwork served as the base, crumbled down centuries ago and the broad moat which broaded it on the out side has been largely silted in. The depth of the moat is about 14 feet; it is 72 feet broad at the bottom and 82 feet at the top.

Two gateways, one on the northern and other
on the southern side, pierced the walls. There was
another entrance through a drawbridge in the middle
of the western rampart. Thus, around the rock an area
covering over 100 acres in extent was well fortified.
In this area there are remains of five pavillions, each
of which surrounded by moats. There are also a number
of ponds within the ramparts.

In order to climb the rock two flights of stone
steps were built. One runs for some 160 yards on the
face of the rock at an avarage height of 50 feet above
the ground, and along this has been constructed a
gallery with a parapet wall, popularly known as 'mirror-
wall' because of its glass-like plaster, which is still
preserved. This was an attractive feature of Sīgiriya
as it was one of the subjects of Sīgiri poets.[1] and it
is this wall on which the Sīgiri poets wrote their
verses, now popularly known as Sīgiri graffiti.

Another striking feature of the archaeological
remains is the figure of the lion whose body was the

1. Nos.398,425,608 etc.

path-way leading to the summit of the rock. 'The problem of overcoming', Paranavitana explains, 'the sheer verticality of the rock at this point had been solved by the old engineers, by building the fore-part of an immense figure of the lion'.[1] It is also to be pointed out that the lion is an ubiquitous motif in the Indian subcontinent and particularly in Ceylon. This figure would have been a symbol imparting dignity and majesty to the royal palace. After all, the figure of the lion is the Sinhalese crest. The lion figure at Sīgiriya remained intact during the ninth century A.D. as it is mentioned in a number of graffiti.[2]

The summit of the rock, nearly three acres in extent, contains the remains of the royal palace. The Sīgiri graffiti do not provide us with material capable of giving an impression of the palace. But it follows from a graffito attributable to the ninth century A.D. that the palace was in decay at that time. This verse mentions a ruined wall on the summit (girihisa naṭbita).[3]

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1. JCBRAS (NS),I,1950,p.130.
2. Nos.45,174,205,476 etc.
3. No.71.

The area enclosed by remparts on the eastern

side does not appear to have been contained any solidly

built edifices. It is believed that this section was

occupied by ordinary people, while the pavillions and

probably a garden attached to the palace on the summit.[1]

The most interesting archaeological remains

at Sīgiriya are the paintings, commonly called the

frescoes, appearing in one rock-pocket on the western

side of the rock.[2] There are only 21 paintings (in-

cluding that which was recently damaged by a vandal)

that have survived to this day.[3] Sīgiri graffiti,

1. JCBRAS (NS.),I,1950,p.131.
2. See Benjamin Rowland,(Jr.) The Wall-Paintings of
   India, Central Asia and Ceylon,1938,p.85; UNESCO
   World Art Series, Ceylon Paintings from Temple,
   Shrine and Rock, Introd.,pp.17ff.
3. These paintings are figures of ladies. H.C.P.Bell
   is of the opinion that these ladies represent the
   queens of Kassapa. (See A.R. Arch Surv. Ceyl.,1905,
   pp.16-17. P.E.P.Deraniyagala agrees with Bell.
   (See JCBRAS, XXXVIII,1961,p.88). AnandaK.Coomaraswamy
   believes that they are goddesses. (See Medieval
   Sinhalese Art,p.178). S.Paranavitana made an attempt
   to identify them with 'Lightning princesses'
   (vijjullatākumārī) and 'Cloud damsels' (meghalatā
   kumārī). (See India Antiqua. A Volume of Oriental
   Studies presented to Jean Philippe Vogel,1947,pp.264-
   269; 'The Significance of the Paintings of Sīgiri',
   Artibus Asiae,XXIV,1961,pp.382ff.

attribuatble to the ninth century, speak of hundreds of them.[1] Graffito no. 71 of the same century mentions that there were paintings on a ruined wall of the palace on the summit which suggests that the palace was also decorated with paintings. There are also some badly withered frescoes on the cave known as Nayi-peṇa-guhā ('Cobra-head Cave').[2]

It is interesting to point out that there were some cities in later times built after the model of Sīgiriya with a fortified rock as nucleus.[3] Of these, Subhagiri, now Yāpahuva in the Kuruṇāgala District, comes first as far as the chronology and also its architecture are concerned. This was constructed by a **senāpati** named Subha in the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. during the rule of Māgha in Rājaraṭṭha, and later became the royal residence of Bhuvanekabāhu I (1272-1284 A.D.).[4] Jambudoṇi, now Daṁbadeṇiya, was a similar town which was built by king Vijayabāhu III (1232-1236 A.D.).[5] Hatthiselapura, now Kuruṇāgala, is

1. Nos.44,249.
2. P.E.P.Deraniyagala, 'Some Unrecorded Frescoes from Sīgiriya'.JCBRAS, XXXVIII,1949,pp.84-89.
3. See A.M.Hocart, CJSG, I,1924,p.152.
4. Cv.,LXXXI,3,XC,35.
5. Ibid.,LXXXI,15-16; cf. A.Liyanagamage,op. cit.,pp.76ff.

another one.[1] None of these can, however, be compared
with Sīgiriya as far as engineering accomplishement
and artistic value are concerned. Probably 'the palace
on the summit of the rock (of Sīgiriya) was actually
intended to be a miniature Ālakamandā' as has been
argued by S.Paranavitana.[2]

It is to be pointed out that Kauṭilya and Manu
speak in the highest term of a rock-fortress and Manu
makes a particular reference to the numerous advantages
of a rock forṭtress which surpassed every other kind
of fortress.[3] In Ceylon, the rocks appear to have been
used as fortresses well before Kassapa I. For instance,
the Dhūmarakkhapabbata (present Dimbulāgala in Egoḍa
Pattu of Tamankaḍuva in the Polonnaruva District; 6
miles to the south of Manampiṭiya on the Polonnaruva-
Batticaloa Road) and the Ariṭṭhapabbata (present
Riṭigala in Ulgalla and Māṭombuva Kōraḷēs of Hurulu
Palāta in the Anurādhapura District; close to the 10th
mile post on the road to Rambodagalla from Kuruṇāgala)

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1. Cv.,XC,59.
2. JCBRAS (NS),I,1950,p.136; see also UCR, XIX,1961,
   pp.95-104;see for some comments on Paranavitana's
   argument, JCBRAS (NS),I,1961,pp.382ff.
3. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, chapter 3 of the second book
   and Manu, VII,71 etc., respectively.

are said to have been used as fortresses by Abhaya,
a semi mythical king.[1] Similarly, Doḷapabbata, also
called Doḷaṅgapabbata, (present Doḷagala, a large
hill about 10 miles eastward of Hämbarava on the Maha-
vāli ·Gaṅga) was used by Paṇḍukābhaya as his fortress.[2]
These probably were only natural rock-fortresses.

As it is revealed from the above discussion
there were different kinds of towns in ancient Ceylon.
Of these, the royal residences were the most splendid.
In fact, Anurādhapura, the capital of the Island
(except during the reign of Kassapa I) till (c.) 993
A.D., was the greatest city in ancient Ceylon. In
addition, two principal royal residences emerged during
the period under review, i.e. Sīgiriya and Polonnaruva.
The former was the royal seat of Kassapa I who reigned
between (c.) 477 to 459 A.D. and the latter was a
temporary residence of a number of kings who ruled in
the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. as mentioned above.

Most of the towns in ancient Ceylon including
of course Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva, were of religious
interest. They were often visited by pilgrims. Thus,

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1. Mv.,X,46,65.
2. Ibid.,X,44; Mv. Ṭīkā,p.287.

Mahiyaṅgana (near Badulla) was visited by Udaya IV
(946-954 A.D.) who worshipped the stūpa there as stated
in the Badulla Pillar Inscription.[1] Similarly, Nāgadīpa
(in the Jaffna Peninsula) was frequently visited by
both bhikkhus and laymen.[2] Old centres of religious
interest such as Mahāgāma (Tissamahārāma),[3] Dīghavāpi,[4]
Cittalapabbata[5] (Situlpavuva) and Mihintalē continued
to exist during the latter part of the Anurādhapura
period. Devundara is an important town of similar
interest which emerged during the period under our
present study.[6]

It is interesting to note that Sīgiriya was one
of the most attractive places used for pleasure towns
in Ancient Ceylon as it is to-day. As it is revealed
from their own writings — the so-called Sīgiri graffiti —
many 'tourists' from different parts of the Island
visited this site to admire the paintings, the 'mirror
wall', 'the great statue of lion' and to climb the

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1. Ep. Zeyl., V, p.182.
2. Sahas., pp.32, 164; Papañcasūdanī, II, p.398; Sumv.,
   II, p.534.
3. Sahas., p.158; Papañcasūdanī, I, pp.184-185.
4. Manorathapūraṇī, II, p.249.
5. Visuddhim., I, p.120.
6. Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, VI, pp.1ff.

rock. The Sīgiri graffiti belong to the period from the latter half of the fifth century A.D. to the thirteenth century.[1] This suggests that people started to visit Sīgiriya soon after it ceased to be a royal residence and continued until it was covered with jungle and consequently abandoned.

Evidently, the ports were mainly settled by people with commercial interests. Particularly, Mahātittha, as it was the principal sea port in ancient Ceylon, was mainly inhabited by merchants.[2] There can be no doubt that the same was the case with Gokaṇṇa (Trincomalee) and Goḍavāya. However, we receive hardly any information about internal trading centres, except that of Hōpiṭigama (near Badulla).

In this chapter an attempt has been made to examine the patterns of village settlements. There was no definite limit of the number of families which could live in a gama. In many cases land is denoted as gama, at least if it was inhabited by members of a

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1. See supra, p. 26.
2. See supra, p. 310.

single extended family. On the other hand, a _gama_

which was deserted by its inhabitants for some unknown

reason was still called by the term _gama_. However,

gama was not merely an estate, nor a piece of land,

nor an inhabited area, but combined all these aspects.

Basically, the _gama_ was a unit of a kin-group or of an

occupational group. But there were, of course, mixed

gāmas.

The _nigama_, a local unit bigger than the _gama_

and smaller than the _paṭun-gama_ or _nagara_, was a centre

of internal trade where traders and customers from

the neighbouring villages came together. However,

every market centre was not necessarily indicated by

this term. The _paṭun-gama_ was quite clearly an urban

settlement situated by the sea shore and comprising

a harbour, which was visited by merchants both local

and foreign. _Paṭun-gama_ generally were small towns. But

certain _paṭun-gama_ like Mahātittha had developed into

fairly big settlements. The _nagara_ was the largest

settlement in the order of _gam, niyam-gam, paṭun-gam,_

nagara, it was inhabited by ordinary citizens, merchants,

religious groups and so on.

It is true that there was no hard and fast line between these local groupings but there were some different features of them which may distinguish one from another. This is illustrated in the following chart:-

gama	nigama	paṭun-gama	nagara or pura
kin-group or occupational group.	mixed villagers and local traders.	mixed villagers foreign and local merchants.	mixed citizens, foreign and local merchants, administrative officers and other groups.
homesteads, gam väva, attached land and perhaps a vihāra.	homesteads, väva and attached land and a market.	townlet with a harbour and attached land.	town or city with an enclosure.

Chapter Seven

SOCIAL GROUPS AND RANKING

Kula is used in a number of different connotations.[1]
Thus, in some passages where the brahmanic theory of caste
system is discussed it means varṇa. For instance, in a
passage of the Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya, it signifies
the khattiya, brhāmaṇa, vessa and sudda.[2] In the ins-
criptions the term is often used in the same connotation.
In many cases, however, the term stands for the Sākyas,
the khattiya clan of the solar line, in which the Buddha
was born.[3] In addition, whenever the kings claimed that
their father belonged to the khattiya-vaṇṇa (Pali) we
find that kät kula is used as a Sinhalese equivalent.
Similarly, we find that eme kula used to indicate that
their mother belonged to the same class or caste.[4]

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1. Cf. supra, pp. 31ff; infra, p. 378.
2. Dh.A.G.,pp.216-217: Kät mahasal kula hayi bamuṇu mahasal
   kulan ... Vessa kula sūduru kula ...
3. Ep. Zeyl.,IV,p.62: ... Muniňdu ipat Sähäkula kevuḷu
   Sudonā parapuren ā ...; see also Ep. Zeyl.,III,pp.222,
   227; cf. D.N.,I,p.87; M.N.,II,pp.134,164; B.C.Law,
   Kṣatriya Clans in Buddhist India,1922,pp.181-198.
4. Ep. Zeyl.,I,pp.185,245; III,pp.74,127;IV,62.

The term kula appears to have been similarly used in the Pali Tripiṭaka and in the Sanskrit texts.[1] In a passage of the Sikhavalaṅda Vinisa, the khattiyas, brāhmaṇas, vessas and caṇḍālas are mentioned as dā (in Pali; jāti).[2] The Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya uses also this word jāti in order to indicate varṇas.[3] If husband and wife belong to the same caste their offspring are called samajātikas. For example, two sons of Dāṭhā living at Nandivāpigāma, viz. Dhātusena and Silātissabodhi, are denoted as samajātikas in the Cūlavaṃsa.[4]

Samadā, the Sinhalese equivalent of samajāti, was used by kings who claimed that their mothers were equal to their fathers as far as caste and social standing were concerned. Thus, Mahinda IV (956-972 A.D.) explained in the Rambāva Slab Inscription that his mother, i.e. Dev, (in Pali; Devā)[5] was samadā of his father.[6] In addition, in many contexts of the Pali Tripiṭaka this

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1. Vinaya Piṭaka,III,p.184; IV,pp.80,177,272; see for more examples, N.Wagle, Society at the Time of the Buddha, pp.119ff; Monier Williams, Skt-Eng. Dict.,s.v. kula.
2. Sikhav. V.,p.43: Mehi dä ... meseyin dannē sāṅḍalhi kätayehi yanādi hīna ukaṭa dä yi.
3. Dh.A.G.,p.227: Brāhmaṇa jāti äyi (jāti) nam; cf.p.71. jāti nam bamuṇu jāya.
4. Cv.,XXXVIII,14-15.
5. Ibid.,52.64.
6. Ep. Zeyl.,II,p.67; cf.II,p.53; V,p.85.

term _jāti_ stands for _varṇa_.[1] As G.S.Ghurye has pointed out: 'Rigorous demarcation of meaning between "varṇa" and "jāti", the former denoting the four large classes and the latter only their sub-divisions cannot, however, be maintained. The word is sometimes indiscriminately used for "varṇa".[2]

From the above examples it becomes clear that the terms _kula_, _jāti_ or _varṇa_, (or their Sinhalese equivalents) in passages which reflect the brahmanic theory of caste, normally indicate, as in India proper, the four _varṇas_ in ancient Ceylon. _Caṇḍāla_ is also classed as a/_jāti_ in both India and Ceylon. On the mainland, basketmakers (_vena_), hunters (_nesāda_), charioteers (_ukkattā_) and sweepers (_pukkusa_) are also called _jātis_.[3] It is not certain that this was the case in ancient Ceylon, too.

It is of prime importance in this connexion to decide to what extent the above groups can be regarded as a caste system during the period under survey. Yet any serious study of this aspect is extremely difficult owing to lack of evidence.

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1. _Vinaya Piṭaka_, III, p.169; p.6; A.N., I, p.162.
2. G.S.Ghurye, _Caste and Class in India_, 1950, pp.55-56
3. _Vinaya Piṭaka_, IV, p.6.

During the reign of Kassapa III (724-730 A.D.), we
hear for the first time that the brāhmaṇas were recognized
as a religious group comparable with the bhikkhus in the
Island. The Cūlavaṃsa states that 'for laymen, bhikkhus
and brāhmaṇas, the king (i.e. Kassapa III), encouraged the
way of life fitting for each'.[1] This may mean 'freedom
in religious observances was allowed to the full' as has
been indicated by Paranavitana.[2] The passage may also imply
that Kassapa III provided facilities for the brāhmaṇas as
the kings normally did for the monks, and encouraged laymen
to live according to Buddhist ethics, the bhikkhus according
to Vinaya and the brāhmaṇas according to the Veda.

Thereafter we get a number of examples showing
that some other kings in the Island extended their patronage
not only to the bhikkhus but also to the brāhmaṇas. There
also is some archaeological evidence attesting the existence
of Hinduism and of brahmin priests in the Island towards
the close of our period. And there is, of course, clear
evidence for brahmins during and after the Cōḷa occupation.
Besides, there is literary evidence for brāhmaṇas and
Hindu devāles even before the time of Kassapa III.

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1. Cv.,XLVIII,23: gihīnaṃ ceva bhikkhūnaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ ca
   khatthiyo cattāpayi sakācāre.
2. UCHC, (vol.I,pt.)I,p.387.

The next occasion after Kassapa III when brahmaṇas were entertained by a king is recorded during the reign of Mahinda II (777-797 A.D.). In addition, the latter is said to have restored decayed temples of the gods in the Island and to have images made of the gods.[1] These temples were probably Hindu shrines, and the images were those of the Hindu gods. We find evidence for Śaiva temples in the Island during our period.[2] It has already been discussed that there were Śaiva temples at Māntai and Gokaṇṇa. Dantakumāra and Hemamālā, having arrived at Laṅkāpaṭṭana,[3] are said to have settled down in a devālaya near the port before proceeding to Anurādhapura. The brāhmaṇas attached to this devālaya entertained the

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1. Cv.,XLVIII,143-144.
2. See supra, pp.298ff.
3. While the Dāṭhāvaṃsa mentions Laṅkāpattana, the Daḷadā Sirita records Māvaṭutoṭa as the port at which they disembarked. (See Dāṭhāvaṃsa, v.339 and Daḷadā Sirita, p.35 respectively). About twenty miles south of Gokaṇṇa in Koddiyar Pattu, there is a port called Ilaṅka-turai about three miles west of which two Brāhmī cave inscriptions have been found. (A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1962-1963,p.G.80,nos.12-13). On the basis of the fact that Ilaṅka-turai is a precise Tamil rendering of the term Laṅkāpaṭṭana, W.B.M.Fernando surmises that it is at this port that the ship which carried the Tooth Relic arrived. (A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl., 1962, p.G.75). But this seems far-fetched, as there is nothing to suggest that Ilaṅka-turai was used as a port in ancient times or even later. It seems more likely that Mahātittha would have been called Laṅkā-paṭṭana ('the port of Laṅkā') because Mahātittha was the principal port certainly in the Anurādhapura period (see supra,p.296), and perhaps even later. The Daḷadā Sirita probably mentions Māvaṭutoṭa (Mahātittha) as a synonym of Laṅkāpaṭṭana.

above couple and accompanied them to Anurādhapura.[1] The
above _devāles_ in the major ports were probably built by
South Indian merchants who had commercial intercourse
with Ceylon for the welfare of, particularly, their travelling
countrymen.

In the interior of Ceylon, too, there are refe-
rences to Hindu shrines existing towards the close of the
Anurādhapura period. According to the _Bālarāmāyaṇa_ and
Anargharāghava, two Sanskrit plays of the ninth century
A.D., there was an Agastya shrine on or near Adam's Peak.[2]
Rājaśekhara and Murāri, the respective writers of these
two dramas, both lived in north India, and had probably
no first-hand knowledge of such a shrine, because they
never went to Ceylon, as far as we know, and also gave
different locations of the shrine.[3] Paranavitana, however,
pointed out the significance of these references to the
shrine of Agastya on or near Adam's Peak, considering

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1. Dāṭhāvaṃsa, _vv._339-341.
2. _Bālarāmāyana_,XII,_vv._48ff; _Anargharāghava_, p.361; cf.
   Paranavitana, _The God of Adam's Peak_,pp.17ff.
3. _Bālarāmayana_, XII,_v._48ff; _Anargharāghava_, p.361. While
   Rājaśekara refers to this shrine as located on a table-
   land (_adhityakā_) on the mountain, Murāri informs us
   that it was on low-land (_upatyakā_) at the foot of the
   Rohaṇa Peak.

that this sage is one of the priests of Yama[1] and the latter is the god of Adam's Peak according to Paranavitana's own identification of Saman, the traditional god of this mountain.[2]

As Paranavitana himself admits, this reference to an Agastya shrine on or near Adam's Peak, is not supported by more reliable evidence. The colossal rock-cut statue at the Potgul Vehera at Polonnaruva, for which different identifications have been suggested,[3] is, according to J.Ph.Vogel, a representation of Agastya,[4] Paranavitana has also cited some references to Agastya in the Jātakas.[5] Yet none of these examples supports the view of Rājaśekhara or Murāri that there was a shrine of Agastya on or near Adam's Peak.

Apart from these somewhat uncertain references to the worship of Agastya, we find archaeological evidence for the existence of Śaiva shrines and for a temple of Bhadrakālī, the mother goddess, as well as for residences of Hindu priests with some lesser buildings at Anurādhapura

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1. S.Paranavitana, The God of Adam's Peak,p.19.
2. Ibid.,pp.22ff.
3. CJSG, II,1928-1933,pp.229-234; Artibus Asiae,XV,1952, pp.209-217.
4. CJSG, I,1924-1928,pp.230-231.
5. S.Paranavitana, The God of Adam's Peak,p.73; Āti, the name of the minister who figures in the Minipē inscription of the thirteenth century, has etymologicaly been connected with Agastya; see S.Paranavitana, Ep. Zeyl., V,p.160.

period. The remains of these buildings, aptly termed the
Tamil Ruins, are scattered in a section of the northern
quarter of the old city of Anurādhapura.[1] In one of these,
two hundred yards from an Abhayagiri building designated
as L, an image of the goddess Kālī has been found. To
the north of this kōvil, there is another ruined temple
where a liṅga was unearthed; this was situated 20 yards
from the priest's house. About the same distance separates
a third but small sanctuary containing a liṅga. A fourth
devāla (in which no liṅga was discovered), lies near
the third one; it is apparently not provided with an
attached shelter for the priest, though three or four
buildings of unknown function lie south-west at a short
distance.[2] Describing these monuments, H.C.P.Bell reports:-

> 'All these shrines are of one design—a
> vestibule (antarāla), a middle room (ardha-
> maṇdapaya), and the garbha gṛha, or sanctum,
> at the back, where the concrete object of worship
> was enshrined. They are all built on brick
> basements with engaged stone pillars as additional
> supports to the wall. The stone doorframes are
> all more or less cramped—a characteristic
> feature of these Hindū shrines.
>
> The priests'residences, on the contrary,
> stand on high basements, stone-faced in two
> courses, with a single flight of stone steps

1. A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1892,p.5.
2. Ibid.,1893,p.4.

on their front flanked by splayed blustrades
and plain terminals. They are in every case
larger than the shrines, and were divided
into rooms'.[1]

Paranavitana dated these ruins at Anurādhapura
back to the 'latest period of that city's history'.[2]
As far as their architecture is concerned they may belong
to the pre-Cōḷa period because they are in marked contrast
to the embellished granite temples of the Cōḷa and later
periods. Therefore, these Hindu shrines must have been
built by about the tenth century A.D., if not earlier.

Such dating of most of these ruins appears to
have been confirmed by Tamil inscriptions found at that
site. Two of these are dated in regnal years of Ciṟicaṅka-
pōti Mārāyaṉ (in Pali: Siri Saṅghabodhi Mahārāja),[3] who
has been identified by Krishna Sastri with Aggabodhi III
(633-643 A.D.), because the Cūlavaṃsa mentions him as
Siri Saṅghabodhi.[4] But the name Siri Saṅghabodhi is of
little help in identification as it was a consecration

1. A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1893,p.5.
2. UCHC, (vol.I,pt.)I,p.386.
3. SII, IV,nos.1403-1404.
4. Madras Epigraphic Report (Annual Report on Epigraphy),
   South Circle (Madras G),1913,p.103, see also Cv.,XLIV,
   83 and Cv. Transl.,Geiger,p.82,note,1.

name borne by many kings from the time of Aggabodhi III.[1]
According to the palaeography of these records, it is
probable that these inscriptions are attributable to
the seventh century A.D., but it is uncertain who was
Ciricaṅka-pōti Mārāyaṉ.

On the other hand, kumārakanam and Īlakkācu,
two terms occurring in these inscriptions, may suggest
that these inscriptions were written after the ninth
century. As C.Minakshi has pointed out, the term kumāra-
kanam referring to a group of a corporation in the position
of a board of managers or trustees of a single shrine ,
does not occur in any of the South Indian Tamil inscrip-
tions before the ninth century.[2] The term Īlakkācu ('Cey-
lonese money'), indicating a particular type of Ceylon
coin, cannot be found in the South Indian Tamil inscrip-
tions before the reign of Parāntaka I (907-955 A.D.).[3]
It is therefore likely that these terms came into use in
the Tamil inscriptions of Ceylon before the ninth century.

Another Tamil inscription, found in the same ruins,
is dated in the reign of a Sinhalese king called Seṉavarmaṉ.
We know of no Sinhalese king who bore the name of Sena-
varmaṉ in the Island. Therefore, this name probably

1. Cv.,XLIV,83, see also Cv. Transl.,p.82; cf. UCHC, (vol.
   I,pt.)I,p.365.
2. C. Minakshi, Administration and Social Life Under
   the Pallavas,pp.130-132.
3. K.Indrapala,op.cit.,pp.63ff.

indicates one of Senas, who ruled during the last two
centuries of the Anurādhapura period. It is also to be
noted that there were direct contacts between the Tamil
and Sinhalese during the reign of Sena I (833-853 A.D.)
and Sena II (853-887 A.D.).[1] These kings also patronized
(South Indian ?) brāhmaṇas who lived in the Island.[2] Sena I
ruled during the period between 833-853 and the last,
Sena V, between 972-982 A.D. The above record would then
be dated in the period between c. 833 and 982. For these
reasons, the inscriptions under discussion must have belonged
to the ninth and tenth century. The above mentioned Hindu
ruins at Anurādhapura can therefore be dated in the 'latest
period of that city's history as has been suggested by
Paranavitana.

It is interesting that one of the above mentioned
inscriptions, dated in the fifth year of Ciricaṅka-pōti
Mārāyaṉ, registers the grant by the members of the
kumārakanam of 30 Īlakkācu for the daily offerings and the
burning of the perpetual lamp, evidently in favours of
one of the Śaiva temples in the area.

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1. While the Pāṇḍya king Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha attacked
   Anurādhapura during the reign of Sena I, Sena II, who
   succeeded the latter, attacked Madurai, see *supra*, p. 305.
2. *Infra*, pp. 353 ff.

In addition to these Śaiva temples and officiating priests'quarters, some other Hindu monuments have been identified all in the same part of the city. For instance, some stone lingas were unearthed in the area north of the Basavakkulam Tank.[1] Near the sluice of the tank, a figure of a small Nandi and argha of a linga were discovered.[2] Similarly, a quarter of a mile north of the Thūpārāma, the remains of a small Hindu shrine, similar to those mentioned above, was unearthed.[3]

These lingas and the remains of the shrine seem contemporary with the so-called Tamil Ruins as there is striking similarity between them. It remains, however, uncertain whether these were original or reconstructed buildings, as the stratification of these sites has not yet been identified by archaeological excavations. On the other hand, in the chronicles there is no evidence for the construction of new devāles during our period, or even for their reconstruction, apart from a single reference which we have already mentioned.[4]

In contrast, the chronicles refer to the emergence of a number of devāles and brāhmaṇa residences in the

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1. A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1890,p.2.
2. Ibid.,1898,p.3.
3. Ibid.,1898,p.5.
4. Supra,p.345.

city of Anurādhapura during the reign of Paṇḍukābhaya.[1]

From these examples it follows that there were
Hindu temples in the major ports and in northern part
of the old city of Anurādhapura and perhaps on or near
Adam's Peak during the period under survey, in particular,
from the seventh century onwards. These temples also
included residences of the brāhmaṇas who served as
officiating priests. We also discussed the evidence for
the existence of phallic worship. Thus, in a period when
Brahmanism had many adherents in the Island, king Mahinda
II reconstructed devāles of gods, patronized the brāhmaṇas,
and restored some Hindu shrines.

Another king who extended his patronage to the
brāhmaṇas was Sena I (833-853 A.D.[2] Sena II (853-887 A.D.),
honoured the brāhmaṇas in addition to the bhikkhus. The
Cūlavaṃsa writes:-

> '(Sena) reformed the three fraternities.
> He had a thousand jars of gold filled with
> pearls and on the top of each he placed a
> costly jewel and presented (it) to a thousand
> brāhmaṇas whom he fed with milk rice in pure
> jewelled goblets, as well as golden threads.
> He clothed them also, as a friend of meri-
> torious works, with new garments at their
> hearts' desire, and gladdened them with festive
> pomp. To the bhikkhus ...' [3]

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1. Mv.,X,99,102; cf. S.Paranavitana, JCBRAS.,XXXI,1928-1930,
   pp.326ff; W.Rahula, History of Buddhism in Ceylon,pp.43ff.
2. Cv.,L,5.
3. Ibid.,LI,64-68; Cv. Transl., Geiger,p.153.

As to the correctness of this account we need have little doubt because, as we know, on the one hand, it was a <u>bhikkhu</u> who wrote this passage and it was a Buddhist king who patronized the <u>brāhmaṇas</u> on the other. It is true that the author of the <u>Cūlavaṃsa</u> describes numerous contributions made by this king, as by many others, towards the maintenance of the Buddhist Saṅgha and the <u>vihāras</u>, but the above passage reveals that this king patronized the <u>brāhmaṇas</u> more than any other Sinhalese king. It is to be noted in this connexion that Sena took Madurai and subsequently maintained close relations with the Pāṇḍyas.[1] In addition, it is at Mahātittha that Sena collected his troops which were dispatched to Madurai; his troops returned also to the Island at this port. The <u>Cūlavaṃsa</u> mentions that the king sojourned at Mahātittha while he was collecting toops; it also would have us believe that he stayed there till his troops returned to the Island.[2] Mahātittha was a place which felt influence of <u>brāhmaṇas</u> rather than of <u>bhikkhus</u>.[3]

For these reasons, it seems likely that Sena would have maintained good relations with the <u>brāhmaṇas</u> for his own prestige. It can also be assumed that there

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1. <u>Supra</u>, pp. 305ff.
2. <u>Cv</u>.,LI,28 and 45 respectively.
3. <u>Supra</u>, pp. 298.

were a considerable number of brāhmaṇas during that
period who had secured an honourable position. In addition,
the "golden threads" mentioned in the passage may, as
Geiger suggested, relate to the "cotton thread" (upavīta),
which according to Hindu tradition, the twice-born wears
over his shoulder. In this case these were evidently
interwoven with gold thread.[1]

It is also interesting to note that it was milk
rice that was offered in the above dāna. The utensils,
from which the food was served, were also specially
prepared. It is well known that milk rice was a traditional
meal which was offered to the Buddha and his disciples
and to the gods on many occasions. Even to-day, for both
Sinhalese and Hindus in Ceylon this is the traditional
food eaten on important occasions such as new year
celebrations and dīpāvalī-festival.

It is well known that Sujātā at Uruvela in Magadha
prepared milk rice as her gift to the god of the Bodhi
Tree.[2] King Kāvantissa offered milk rice to the bhikkhus
on the day of name giving of his son Gāmiṇī, and on other

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1. Cv. Transl., Geiger, p.153, note, 3.
2. J., I, p.68; Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, I, p.71.

important occasions of both Gāmaṇī and his other son

Tissa.[1]

On the other hand, there are some Hindu teachings

which discouraged the brāhmaṇas from taking certain kinds

of food. They were also asked not to drink or eat from

the vessels which were used by people of lowesr caste.[2]

Parāśara states that a brāhmaṇa may take food prepared

either by a kṣatriya or a vaiśya in their own house only

on certain religious occasions provided these persons

have lived according to the sacred law.[3]

In the above passage it is also stated that the

king reformed the three fraternities, i.e. the Mahāvihāra,

Abhayagiri and Jetavana. Similar events are recorded

during the reigns of Moggallāna I (495-512 A.D.),

Kumāradhātusena (512-520 A.D.), Silāmeghavaṇṇa (623-632

A.D.) and Aggabodhi VII (772-777 A.D.).[4] During the reign

of Kassapa IV (898-914 A.D.) it is specially stated that

the monks of questionable discipline were expelled from

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1. Mv.,XXII,70,73-78. Did Sena II hold the above alms-giving
   to celebrate his victory over Madurai?
2. Smṛtināma Samuccaya,p.16.
3. Parāśara, vol.II,pt.II,pp.78-79.
4. Cv.,XXXIX,57; XLIV,2,44,46; 75-76 and XLVIII,71 res-
   pectively. Cf. the Abhayagiri Inscription, Ep. Zeyl.,
   I,pp.1-9; and the Sikhavalaṅda Vinisa which are written
   in the middle of the ninth century and the tenth century
   A.D. respectively regarding the Vinaya of the bhikkhus.

the Sāsana.[1] These examples show that dissension occurred

from time to time in the bhikkhu community and the kings

took steps to restore order. In spite of that, from the

eighth century onwards, particularly in the following

two centuries, the Buddhist Saṅgha showed clear signs

of decline. It seems likely that the brāhmaṇas took this

opportunity to gain ground vis-á-vis the Buddhist Saṅgha.

As H.Ellawala has pointed out the brāhmaṇas had

held a favourable position in Ceylon before the advent

of Mahinda-thera, but they gradually lost it in the

following centuries, owing to the strong influence of

the bhikkhus on society.[2] It is only towards the seventh

century A.D., that they were able to regain some strength

in the Island as we have seen above. On the other hand,

before the seventh century and even a little later, the

position of the bhikkhus in society was unchallenged.[3]

It is also worth mentioning that most of the

kings who supported the brāhmaṇas were the descendants

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1. Cv.,LII,44. The conditions of the Buddhist Saṅgha during
   these centuries are discussed in detail in the following
   works:- W.Rahula, History of Buddhism in Ceylon,pp.92-111;
   R.A.L.H.Gunawardhana, op. cit., chapter,1.
2. Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl.,pp.17,170.
3. W.Rahula, History of Buddhism in Ceylon,pp.93ff. During
   these centuries no 'purification of the Buddhist Saṅgha'
   is also recorded.

of Mānavamma who had been in the service of the Pallava
army in South India and later captured political power
in Ceylon with the assistance of an army provided by
the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman II.[1] Mānavamma's son
Mahinda, who supported the <u>brāhmaṇas</u> during the reign
of Kassapa III, was born and bred in the Pallava country.[2]
Sena I and Sena II were also descendants of Mānavamma.
In addition, the last two rulers had relations with the
Pāṇḍyas, too. The Pāṇḍya king Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha captured
Anurādhapura from Sena I while afterwards his successor
Sena II invaded Madurai and captured the city.[3] Close
relations between the Sinhalese and the Pāṇḍyas subse-
quently appear to have lasted till Rājaraṭṭha became a
Cōḷa province.

Pallava influence on art and architecture in
Ceylon is noticeable from the seventh century onward.
The Nālanda Geḍige near Mātalē is an unique example in
this connexion.[4] Similarly, the well known bas-relief
at Isurumuṇiya showing a man and a horse's head, the
<u>dvārapāla</u> statue at Tiriyāy and the Bodhisatta figures

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1. <u>Cv.</u>,XLVII,4-61.
2. <u>Ibid.</u>,XLII,8; XLVIII,23.
3. <u>Ibid.</u>,L,30-40; LI,22-47; cf. <u>supra</u>,pp. 305ff.
4. <u>A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.</u>,1910-1911,pp.42,50.

at Situlpavva and Kurukkal-Madam show clear influence

of Pallava sculpture in about the same period.[1] There

are also inscriptions in the Island written in Pallava

Grantha script[2] which exercised clear influence on

Sinhalese script during the seventh and eighth centuries.[3]

We have already mentioned that there were several

Hindu shrines of pre-Cōḷa style in the northern quarter

of Anurādhapura. As K.Indrapala has pointed out there

were permanent Tamil settlements in this section of

the city and some other parts of the Island towards the

ninth or tenth century.[4] As has already been seen Tamils

in Anurādhapura made contributions towards the maintenance

the brāhmaṇa temples in the city.

Thus, it seems likely that the close relations

between Ceylon and South India were another reason for

the apparent rise of the brāhmaṇa community in the Island

from about the seventh century onwards. It is not nece-

ssary to emphasize that the brāhmaṇas occupied a very

influential position in South India in those days.[5]

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1. A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1936,pp.16-19; Artibus Asiae,
   XIX,1956,pp.126ff.
2. A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1953,pp.21,26.
3. P.E.Fernando, UCR, VII,1949,pp.300ff; VIII,1950,pp.222ff.
4. K.Indrapala, op. cit.,pp.69ff.
5. See infra, note, 1.

It would be important to find out whether there

any gāmās allocated to the brāhmaṇas in the Island during

the period under discussion, as was the case in the

Indian subcontinent. Yet the available data for this

matter are very vague. Thus, we come across a village

by the name of Brāhmaṇacola mentioned in a story of the

Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa. But it seems unlikely that this

was inhabited by the brahmins because its inhabitants

were fishermen.[1] There were of course some brahmins

both in India and in Ceylon who earned their livelihood

by different reputable occupations, but not by fishing.

On another occasion, we hear that there were

three brāhmaṇagāmas named Gokaṇṇa, Ekakāpilla and Kalanda,

in each of which a brahmin temple was founded. These temples

are recorded to have been destroyed by Mahāsena (276-303

A.D.), who had three Buddhist temples built on their sites.[2]

There are no data enabling us to identify the last two

villages. C.W.Nicholas only surmises that they were

situated on the eastern coast of Rohaṇa.[3] However, as

has already been mentioned a brahmin temple at Gokaṇṇa

is again mentioned by about the second half of the seventh

century A.D., or even earlier, at a place where there

was then a Buddhist temple,too.[4] Another allusion to a

1. Sahas., p.61.
2. Mv., XXXVII,41.
3. JCBRAS, VI,1963,pp.23,32.
4. Supra,p.312.

brahmin village is found in the Pūjāvaliya, where it is
mentioned that king Jeṭṭhatissa I (266-276 A.D.) built
a tank in a certain bamuṇugama which still remains
unidentified.[1]

As to the most important problem, that of deciding
whether these villages were mainly inhabited by brahmins,
nothing is known. However, the areas in which brahmins
are mentioned were certainly inhabited not only by them.
We know that the ruins of the Hindu temples in Anurādha-
pura, which we cited elsewhere, are concentrated in the
area between the road from the Jetavanārāma to the
Vijayārāma and that from the Kuṭṭam-pokuṇa to Pankuliya
as well as near the Thūpārāma, where there were also
Buddhist monks and others. Similarly, Māntai and Trinco-
malee, where we find references to brahmins, were also
of course inhabited by many others. Probably the above
mentioned brahmin villages were similar to Caturvedi-
maṅgalams in South India which belonged to the brāhmaṇas
but were inhabited also by craftsmen and others.[2]

It is only in later times that we get references
to the grants of villages to brahmins.[3] However, in a

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1. Pjv.,p.141; cf. JCBRAS, VI,1963,p.190.
2. See for a discussion of the Caturvedimaṅgalams as existed
   in South India, C.Minakshi,op.cit.,pp.136ff.
3. Ep. Zeyl.,III,p.65; Daṁbadeṇi Asna,p.192.

passage in slab inscription of Mahinda IV (956-972 A.D.), the word bamuṇu occurs.[1] As the remaining part of the passage is badly withered, its context is unknown. This inscription registers some land grants made by the king. It may therefore be inferred that the word bamuṇu may relate to such a grant made to brāhmaṇas. But this is very uncertain. According to the Dāṭhāvaṃsa, Hemamālā[2] and Dantakumāra were granted a village. The Rājāvaliya names this village as Kīravälla in the Beligal Kōraḷē. But this reference is doubtful, too, because firstly, there is a long gap between the event and its record. Secondly, this land grant cannot be compared with ordinary land grants made to brāhmaṇas because Dantakumāra and Hemamālā were Buddhist laymen. Therefore, the above village does not seem a brahmin village similar to these existing in the Indian subcontinent.

As advocated by the Smṛtis, adhyāpana (teaching), pratigraha (acceptance of gifts) and yajña (conducting sacrifice) were the duties reserved specially for brāhmaṇas.[3] In the pre-Mahinda period there were brāhmaṇas who were engaged in teaching.[4] In addition, Parā-

1. Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.235.
2. According to the Cūlavaṃsa, Hemamālā was a brahmin woman. But the Pūjāvaliya mentions that she and Dantakumāra came in the guise of brahmins. Pjv.,p.143.
3. Smṛtināma Samuccaya,pp.5,379.
4. See,Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl.,pp.13-14.

kramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.D.) is said to have learnt Kauṭilya's <u>Arthaśāstra</u> (<u>Koṭalla nīti</u>),[1] most probably from a <u>brāhmaṇa</u>. There was a relatively high standard of Sanskrit education in the Island during the period under consideration.[2] It is true that there were <u>bhikkhus</u>, particularly in the Abhayagiriya, who learnt Sanskrit, but it seems more likely that the Sanskrit education was carried out mainly by brahmins.

There were astrologers during the period under discussion,[3] as at any other time.[4] Most probably this profession was carried out by <u>brāhmaṇas</u> as was the case in the mainland and in Ceylon in the preceding period. However, according to the material we have already examined, it seems that there were brahmins who accepted gifts, but the <u>bhikkhus</u> were the main <u>pratigrāhakas</u> in the Island. Although we hear of officiatihg <u>brāhmaṇas</u> in Ceylon, nothing more is known about their activities.

The evidence from all these data would lead us to conclude that the <u>brāhmaṇas</u> occupied an important place in society from about the seventh century onwards.

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1. <u>Cv</u>.,LXIV,4; <u>Cv. Transl</u>., Geiger,p.248,note,1.
2. D. Paññasara, <u>The Sanskrit Literature Extant in Ceylon</u>, pp.34-55.
3. <u>Ep. Zeyl</u>.,I,p.110; <u>Cv</u>.,XLVIII,77-78.
4. <u>Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl</u>.,pp.145ff; <u>Soc. Med. Ceyl</u>.,pp.206ff. We find no references to the <u>purohitas</u> in our period.

This may well be compared with their rise in South India.[1]

There are a number of references to Ceylonese khattiyas in the chronicles and inscriptions but it is extremely difficult to determine how far these references are sufficient to lead to the conclusion that these royal members belonged to the kṣatriya-varṇa. Thus, there are instances of Sinhalese kings belonging to both the Lambakaṇṇa and Moriya dynasty[2] and sometimes princes[3] as well as princesses[4] are indicated by the terms of khattiya and khattiyā respectively. In addition, some Sinhalese kings claimed, in their inscriptions, to be kṣatriyas. The Ceylonese chronicles, too, appear to have taken great pains to show the kṣatriya origin of the Sinhalese kings.

Up to about the eighth century A.D., the inscriptions in Ceylon have only a brief introduction. This includes only the name of the monarch with that of his father and grandfather. Very few inscriptions add the titles and biruda of the monarch, as well as his regnal years. But

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1. Cf. K.A.N.Sastri, A History of South India, pp.412ff; C.Minākshi, op. cit., pp.136ff.
2. Dv., X, 7; Cv., VII, 12; XLVII, 23; Ep. Zeyl., I, pp.85, 218, 223; II, p.66.
3. Cv., XLVIII, 20, 26; L, 44.
4. Dv., X, 1; Cv., LIV, 9; cf. the Ruvanmal Nighaṇḍuva gives kät kat mehesun as a synonym of the mehesī (anointed queen) and kät kat as that of rä jäna (other queens), see v.259.

in the eight and ninth-century inscriptions, there are,
in addition, laudatory praśastis in which the royal
lineage is not confined to the immediate genealogy of
the kings but is traced back to the origin of the whole
dynasty. These praśastis bear a striking similarity to
those of South India: the charters and grants of the
South Indian monarchs of this period also include a long
introduction praising the king's valour, his prowess in
battle and wisdom in administtation, his personal qualities
and his works of charity as well as his royal descent
and lineage.[1] These praśastis have undoubdetly influenced
those in the Sinhalese inscriptions.

In the Sinhalese praśastis, it is Okāvas rad
parapuren baṭ ('descending from the line of Okkāka')
that is the most used passage with or without a qualifying
phrase.[2] Okkāka, (Ikṣvāku, Sanskrit) was a mythical
kṣatriya king to whom most of the kings of early India,

1. See for example, Sinnamannūr Inscr., Udayendiram Inscr.,
   and Tiruppārakkaṭal Inscr.,(SII, no.206,II,no.75 and
   III, no.99 respectively.
2. Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.232; II,pp.40,45; III,pp.139,264; IV,p.182.
   In some praśastis this phrase is qualified with siribar
   kät kula kot ('pinnacle of the illustrious kṣatriya
   caste'), (see Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.245;III,pp.74,127; IV,p.62)
   or siribar kät kulaṭ talāṭik baṅdu ('like a tilaka mark
   to the illustrious kṣatriya caste'),(see Ep. Zeyl.,III,
   p.297) or Dambadivhi an kät kula pāmili kaḷa ('which
   has caused other kṣatriya (sub) caste of the whole of
   Jambudvīpa to render it homage'), (see Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.218;
   II,pp.51,60,66).

too, traced their descent.[1] Some Sinhalese kings appear
to have further defined their kṣatriya origin by stating
that they descended from the Śākya clan, derived from
the Okkāka dynasty,[2] in which Gautama Buddha was born.
In addition to claiming their affiliation to the Śākya
dynasty and to Lord Buddha, some Sinhalese kings traced
back their origin to Paṇḍuvāsudeva.[3]

According to the tradition preserved in the
chronicles, both Paṇḍuvāsudeva and his queen Bhaddakaccānā
were Śākyas from whom the Sinhalese rulers are said to
have originated.[4] The kṣatriya origin of these kings is
similarly mentioned in the Cūlavaṃsa, too. Thus, Mānavamma,
from whom the above kings (who regarded themselves as
kṣatriyas), descended, is described in the Cūlavaṃsa as
a scion of lineage of Mahāsammata,[5] the first (mythical)
king of the present age of the world, from whom Okkāka
and other kṣatriya clans are descended.

1. F.E.Pargitar, Ancient Indian Historical Traditions,
   1922,pp.84ff.
2. Ep. Zeyl.,III,p.222: Okāvas parapuren baṭ Sāha kula.
3. Ep. Zeyl.,III,p.227: siribar Sāhakula-kot Okāvas parapuren
   baṭ Sudovun maharaj-hu anvayen ā Paṇḍuvasdev Abhā maharaj-
   hu parapuren baṭ Siri Saṅgbo-Mihiṅd maharaj-hu; cf.
   Ep. Zeyl.,III,p.222.
4. Dv.,X,1; Mv.,VII,47; VIII,4,14,15,17; Pjv.,pp.115ff;
   Rjv.,pp.23ff.
5. Cv.,XLVII,2.

In addition, most Sinhalese kings whose kinship
with the preceding rulers was not clear have been connected
with this line in one way or the other in the chronicles.
Thus, king Dhātusena (459-477 A.D.), who regained the
Sinhalese throne from the Tamils, has been connected with
the Moriya clan[1] to which subsequently a whole line of
Sinhalese rulers belonged. Similarly, Mahātissa, the
founder of a royal dynasty in Rohaṇa by about the seventh
century A.D., has been described as a scion of the lineage
of Okkāka.[2] Likewise, king Dappula I (659 A.D.), who
belonged to another royal family in Rohaṇa, whose relation-
ship with the dynasty of Mahātissa was not clear, is
described also as a scion of Okkāka.[3] The Origin of Datta
(683-684 A.D.) is given in similar terms.[4] Mānavamma
(684-718 A.D.), the founder of the so-called second
Lambakaṇṇa dynasty, was also described as a descendant
of Mahāsammata.[5] The Sinhalese prose work Saddharmaratnākaraya
and two poems Pärakumbā-Sirita and Kāvyaśekharaya, all
attributable to the 15th century, explain the Lambakaṇṇas

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1. Cv.,XXXVIII,13-14.
2. Ibid.,XLV,38.
3. Pjv.,p.146; Rjv.,p.63.
4. According to the Cūlavaṃsa, Datta is descending from
   the rājavaṃsa, (see Cv.,XLVI,41). Whereas the Pūjāvaliya
   and the Rājāvaliya represent him as a scion of Okkāka
   line, (see Pjv.,p.146 and Rjv.,p.63).
5. Cv.,XLVII,2.

were originally a branch of the Moriya clan to which

Aśoka belonged.[1] They describe the Ceylonese Lambakaṇṇas

as the descendants of Sumitta, who was one of the eight

princes that accompanied the Bodhi Tree. Sumitta is a

brother of Aśoka's Vidiśā queen. The latter is also a

Śākya, according to the Saddharma Ratnākaraya.[2]

Thus, there are examples showing that the Ceylonese

Moriyas as well as the Lambakaṇṇas were regarded as

khattiyas in Ceylon. But, as has been indicated above,

the most difficult problem is to decide whether these

clans were real khattiyas. It is to be borne in mind that

the Indian Moriyas were also regarded by Ceylonese

Buddhists, contrary to all others, as khattiyas. However,

as these theories of the origin of the Indian Moriyas

have been widely discussed by many scholarls, there is

no need to repeat them here. It is sufficient to conclude

that there is no prima-facie evidence suggesting that

the Maurya dynasty in ancient Magadha had a kṣatriya

origin and to reconcile the discrepancy between the

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1. Saddharma Ratnākaraya (Colombo edition,1923),p.296;
   Pārākumbā-Sirita,v.10; Kāvyaśekharaya,XV,vv. 11-21,
   see also Dv.,XXII,53; Attanagaḷu Vaṃsaya,pp.6,19.
2. Saddharma Ratnākaraya,p.296.

Buddhist tradition and others regarding this matter.

It is also to be noted in this connexion, that there are a number of ruling clans in India proper, which had no real kṣatriya origin or, of which the origin is uncertain, were regarded as kṣatriyas. For instance, the Pratīhāras of Maṇḍor described themselves as descendants of a brāhmaṇa named Hariścandra but bring in the name of Lakṣmaṇa, the pratīhāra (door-keeper) of Rāmacandra, to show that there was nothing inferior about their avocation.[1] Similarly, the Guhilas of Mewar and Cātsu are now regarded as solar kṣatriyas. But their earliest inscription describes their ancestor named Bappā as vipra and mahideva which would prove as contended by Bhandarkar, that originally the Guhilas were brāhmaṇas of Vādnagara.[2]

The mythical and legendary character of the above traditions is manifest. Such traditions in Ceylon most probably arose in order to connect the Sinhalese rulers with the lineage of the Buddha. On the one hand, these traditions were preserved mainly through the writings

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1. Ep. Zeyl.,IX,p.279; cf. D.R.Bhandarkar, 'The Foreign Elements in Hindu Population', Indian Epigraphy, XLI, p.66; R.C.Majumdar, The Classical Age,p.64; B.N.Sharma, Social Life in Northern India,pp.48ff.
2. Aṭapur Inscription of Śaktikumāra, see Indian Epigraphy, XXX,p.191; D.R.Bhandarkar 'Guhilots',Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (NS),V,1909,pp.167-187. M.Sharma; 'Origin of the Guhilots', IHQ, XXVIII,1952, pp.83-86.

of monks. On the other hand, it is not surprising that
at a time when the kings adopted Buddhist names and
entertained the Bodhisatta ideal[1] they would desire to
claim kinship with the Buddha. They traced their line to
Mahāsammata to show their pure ksatriya origin and their
legitimacy as rulers. So it is difficult to decide whether
the Sinhalese rulers belonged to the ksatriya caste,
although they claimed so themselves and the chroniclers
believed so, as was the case with some dynasty in India
proper.

It is also to be pointed out that the Lambakaṇṇas
and Moriyas as well as the kulinga, taraccha and balibhojaka
may have originated from the totemistic tribes of pre-Aryan
origin, mainly because these names denote animals: Lamba-
kaṇṇa is 'hare' or 'goat', moriya 'peacock', kulinga is
the name of a bird, the 'forktailed shrike', taraccha
'hyena' and balibhojaka 'crow'. It is also suggested that
a peacock was the emblem and perhaps the mythical ancestor
of the Moriyas.[2] But here again the problem is whether
these tribes had any caste affiliation.

It is also worth considering that there were
khattiyas in Kācaragāma (Kataragama) and Candanagāma

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1. UCHC, (vol.I,pt.)I,p.364ff; Soc. Med. Ceyl.,pp.44ff.
2. Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times,pp.26-27.

(in Rohaṇa ?) lived during the third or second century B.C. There is nothing to suggest that they were related to the Lambakaṇṇas or to the Moriyas. It appears possible that these kṣatriyas were connected with a stream of immigration to the Island quite distinct from the main stream whose legends and traditions are the theme of the chroniclers of Anurādhapura.

The khattiyas in the above two settlements are said to have been present at the celebration of the Mahā-bodhi during the reign of Devānaṁpiya Tissa.[1] Paranavitana has expressed the view that Devānaṁpiya Tissa invited them to the above celebration and their acceptance of the invitation indicates that they acknowledged the supremacy of the Anurādhapura ruler.[2] However, even after the reign of Devānaṁpiya Tissa there were independant rulers called Dasabhātikas (Pali), Dasabā (Sinhalese): 'Ten Brothers' at Kataragama,[3] who have been identified by Paranavitana with the above mentioned khattiyas.[4] The Dhātuvaṃsa relates that these khattiyas were slain by Goṭhābhaya, ruler of Māgama, early in the second century B.C.[5] Consequently, Kataragama was annexed to the Māgama kingdom.

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1. Mv.,XIX,54.
2. Inscr. Ceyl.,Introd.,p.LVII.
3. Ibid.,nos.487 and 549-552.
4. Dhātuvaṃsa,pp.23-24.
5. Inscr. Ceyl.,Introd.,p.LVII.

A contemporary khattiya family lived at Kālaṇiya, too, lost their independence to the rulers of Rohaṇa.[1] Thus, it appears that there were petty states in some parts of the Island during the pre-Christian centuries which were, however, subjugated by the principal kingdoms. This may well be compared with the Indians' recognition of the war-like republican tribes such as the Licchavīs and Mallas in North India during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.

There can be no doubt that the Sinhalese khattiyas retained an influential position even after they had lost their independence. As Paranavitana believes they would have migrated to other parts of the country. Paranavitana also identifies Asali, son of Gamaṇi Dhamaraja mentioned in a Brāhmī inscription found at Mihintalē with a son of Dhamaraja, the eldest son of the Dasabhātikas mentioned in the Bōvattēgala inscriptions. Thus, Asali would have migrated to Anurādhapura from Kataragama.[2] In addition, we find a number of local chieftains, who eventually captured the Anurādhapura kingdom and Rohaṇa, whose origin is obscure.[3] Some of them were perhaps originated from the above mentioned khattiyas. Some khattiyas would

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1. UCHC, (vol.I,pt.)I,pp.146ff.
2. Ep. Zeyl.,V,p.233; cf. H.Parker, Ancient Ceylon,p.443; A.R. Arch. Surv. Ceyl.,1910-1911,p.22.
3. See infra, pp. 380ff.

have merged into the kulīnas.[1]

It appears, however, beyond doubt that a number of ruling families occupied a very favourable position in ancient Ceylon. It is established that kingship in the Island was hereditary, and limited to the so-called kṣatriya families. Succession took place in such a way that the king was normally succeeded by his younger brother. If there were no younger brothers the son of the eldest brother, and if there was neither brother nor a son as a successor, the son of a sister, (the bhāgineyya) could become king.[2] This enabled the ruling families, i.e. Lambakaṇṇa and Moriya to keep kingship in their power though there were some interruptions.

We find that the Lambakaṇṇa dynasty founded by Goṭhābhaya (253-266 A.D.) continued to rule till the end of the reign of Mahānāma (410-432 A.D.). Mahānāma had neither a son by the mahesī nor a brother nor a bhāgi-neyya. Therefore, on his death, his son Sotthisena, born of a Tamil consort, was elavated to the throne, but was murdered on the same day by a princess named Saṅghā, the daughter of Mahānāma by his mahesī. Saṅghā installed

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1. See infra, 377 ff.
2. See supra, pp. 38 ff.

her own husband named Jantu, the umbrella bearer (chattag-
gāhaka), on the throne who could remain in power only for
a year. A usurper named Mittasena ruled next for a year,
but was afterwards killed by Tamils who then ruled for
about twenty-seven years.

Overthrowing the Tamils, the Moriyas came to
power under Dhātusena at aboubt the beginning of the
latter half of the fifth century.[1] His dynasty lasted
till the Lambakaṇṇas re-established their political
power in about 620 A.D.[2] Again the Moriyas were able to
come to power in about 680 A.D., defeating the Lambakaṇṇas.[3]
This follows a series of struggles for the throne between
these two clans, which gave rise to a new élite represented
the sword bearers (asiggāhakas) and ministers (camūpatis
or amaccas). They played a vital role in the political
field[4] till the emergence of Mānavamma, who founded another
Lambakaṇṇa dynasty. At last, some of these new political
figures were related to the traditional ruling families
in one way or another. Thus, the sword bearer Saṅghatissa,

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1. Cv. chapter,XXXVIII; Rjv.,pp.62ff; Pjv.,pp.145ff.
2. Cf. some scholars believe that the Sinhalese kings ruled
   before Subha (59-65 A.D.) were also descendants of the
   Moriya line, see C.W.Nicholas and S.Paranavitana, Concise
   History of Ceylon,p.123, see also UCHC, (vol.I,pt.)I,p.294.
3. Cv.,XLI,69ff; Rjv.,p.63; Pjv.,p.146.
4. See for the rise of the senāpatis and others in later
   times, A.Liyanagamage,op.cit.,pp.51ff; H.W.Codrington,
   JCBRAS, XXXII,1933,pp.260ff.

who founded a short-lasting dynasty, was a kinsman of

the mahesī of king Aggabodhi II (608-618 A.D.).[1]

For others, viz. camūpati Moggallāna, asiggāhaka

Silāmeghavaṇṇa and amacca Dāṭhāsiva, who became kings

as Moggallāna III (618-623 A.D.), Silāmeghavaṇṇa (623-

632 A.D.) and Dāṭhopatissa I (643-650 A.D.)[2] respectively

it is unknown whether they were in any way related to

one of the royal familes. The offices they held were

generally bestowed on close relatives of the king.[3] On

the other hand, these three rulers would also have

belonged to one of the ruling classes of the past i.e.

the Lambakaṇṇas if we believe the later Sinhalese sources.[4]

It is well known that the so-called second Lambakaṇṇa

dynasty lasting till the downfall of Anurādhapura, was

founded by Mānavamma, the grandson of the above-mentioned

Silāmeghavaṇṇa.

The higher officers of the state were, after

the king, the āpa (heir presumptive) and māpā (heir

apparent). It is beyond our scope to go into details of

these aspects. But it is important to point out that

these offices were always granted to the princes. The

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1. Cv.,XLII,42; cf. Cv. Transl., Geiger,p.74,note,1.
2. Cv.,XLIV,2,22; 63,88,128.
3. UCHC, (vol.I,pt.)I,p.146.
4. Rjv.,p.63; Pjv.,p.146.

princesses were also given the title <u>rājinī</u> from about
the third decade of the ninth century A.D.[1]

Most of other higher officers entrusted with
administrative and other duties were also selected from
the royal family. The <u>chattaggāhaka</u>, 'umbçrlla bearer',
was one of them. The first reference to this position
appears in the following account of the death of Mahānāma
(410-432 A.D.): Sotthisena, the son of the daughter by
a Tamil consort was murdered at the instance of Sanghā,
the daughter of Mahānāma by his <u>mahesī</u>. Sanghā was married
to a certain Jantu, who held the office of <u>chattaggāhaka</u>
and later became king for about a year.[2]

Another such position was the <u>asiggāhaka</u> 'sword
bearer'. The first known <u>asiggāhaka</u> was the brother-in-law
of Moggallāna I (459-512 A.D.), named Silākāla, a scion
of the Lambakaṇṇa clan who later became king.[3] The
<u>asiggāhaka</u> of Aggabodhi II (608-618 A.D.), named Sangha-
tissa, was also a relative of king.[4] Sanghatissa seized
the throne on the death of his master.[5]

The <u>senāpati</u> 'commander-in-chief of the army
forces' was also appointed from among the close relatives

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1. <u>Cv.</u>,L,58; <u>Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times</u>,p.123.
2. <u>Ibid.</u>,XXXVIII,2-3.
3. <u>Ibid.</u>,XXXIX,55.
4. See <u>supra</u>, p. 375.
5. <u>Cv.</u>,XLIV,1.

of the king. Thus, the <u>senāpati</u> of Dhātusena (459-477 A.D.) was his sister's son, as well as his son-in-law. Aggabodhi VI (733-772 A.D.) conferred the office of <u>senāpati</u> on his own son Mahinda, who later became king. Mahinda appointed also his own son <u>senāpati</u>. The <u>senāpati</u> of Kassapa IV (898-914 A.D.), Sena Ilaṅga, belonged also to the royal lineage.[1] There were a number of <u>senāpatis</u> whose relationship to the royal family, if any, is unknown. There is, however, no evidence which, on the contrary, shows the appointment of <u>senāpatis</u> from outside the court circle. Thus, it is clear that members of the royal family in the Island enjoyed a privileged position in society.

In this connexion, the words <u>kulīna</u> and <u>kulagāma</u> deserve attention, too. Regarding the former, Geiger holds as follows:—

> 'Since the word <u>kulīna</u> is derived from <u>kula</u>, it is manifest that originally the nobility was meant by it, those who belonged to one of these clans.[2] And indeed, where the term occurs in the chronicle, the <u>kulīnā</u> are genarally somhow or other connected with the ruling dynasty and with the government. They were the supporters of the kingdom and its tower of strength. From those clans the officials were taken both for civil and military service, probably by inherited right'.[3]

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1. <u>Cv</u>.,XXXVIII,81; XLVIII,78-82; 154; LII,16 respectively.
2. <u>I.e.</u> the Moriya and Lambakaṇṇa.
3. <u>Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times</u>,p.29.

We have seen elsewhere that the term kula is used in different connotations.[1] In the above contexts, as has been indicated by Geiger, it may indicate 'nobility' and kulīnas may mean nobles like kulaputta ('noble son'), Geiger arrived at the above conclusions mainly from examples taken from the Cūlavaṃsa account of the Polonnaruva period, but it may be seen that his conclusions are applicable to our period as well.

It is said in the Cūlavaṃsa that during the Tamils held sway in Anurādhapura from about 432 to 459 A.D. kulīnas. betook themselves (from Anurādhapura?) to Rohaṇa. A similar event is recorded in the chronicle with reference to the emergence of Dhātusena: those of the Moriya clan, who had fled (from Anurādhapura) through fear of the door-keeper Subha (Sabha) (59-65 A.D.), returned after Dhātusena's succession.[2] Dhātusena was one of the Moriyas who lived in Nandivāpigāma and Ambilayāgu as we shall see later.[3] Thus, the Moriyas came to the fore some four centuries later, in the confusion following the death of Mahānāma. Subha may or may not have belonged to the Lambakaṇṇa clan.[4] However, the political

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1. Supra, p. 341, note, 1
2. Cv., XXXVIII, 12, 38.
3. Ibid., XXXVIII, 13-14; see also infra, pp. 380ff.
4. Cf. UCHC, (vol. I, pt.) I, p. 178.

achievements of the Lambakaṇṇas culminated in Vasabha, the successor of Subha who founded a dynasty.[1] Therefore, his seeking refuge with other clans, particularly the Mauryas, would be quite understandable at that time. It may be assumed that the Lambakaṇṇas had also fled during the Tamil rule in Anurādhapura. If this was the case, kulīnas in the above context may imply both the Lambakaṇṇas and Moriyas and probably all other noble clans. It is mentioned that some kulīnas served the Tamils. Dhātusena after becoming king, deprived them from their villages (kulagāma). Others who had supported him were well treated by the king.

The kulīnas who sided with the Tamils may have be the Lambakaṇṇas who did not want the Moriyas to come to the fore. This may be compared with the actions of some nobles during the Kandyan period who took the side of English preventing their rivals from gaining positions in the state. There can be no doubt that the kulīnas who supported Dhātusena to become king were mainly members of his own clan, i.e. the Moriyas.

Kulagāma may indicate either the villages which had been granted to the nobles for their service to the

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1. Mv.,XXXV,69.

state, or those that these nobles had held in hereditary succession. If we believe that it was the Lambakaṇṇas who took the side of the Tamils as metioned above, evidently the kulagāmas in this context mean property belonging to them, either their settlements or the land granted to them for their service.

It is, however, evident that the kulagāmas were inhabited by nobles (kulīnas). We find a number of such villages. But these are not mentioned in the chronicle as kulagāma but by particular names. One such village was Nandivāpigāma where prince Dhātusena's grandfather kuṭumbika (house-holder) Dhātusena lived. Probably, Datta, the son of kuṭumbika Dhātusena, had moved from this village and settled in the Ambilayāgu where prince Dhātusena and his other children were born.[1] Meraliyavagga was another such village where Lambakaṇṇa Dāṭhāpabhuti's family lived.[2] Mahānāga's family lived at Saṅgillagāma.[3] A similar village was Dhanapiṭṭhi of which Datta, who later became king, was the chief.[4] In this connexion, it would be interesting to examine whether these villages were built by these noble families, and whether they

1. Cv.,XXXVIII,13-15.
2. Ibid.,XXXIX,44-45.
3. Ibid.,XLI,69-70.
4. Ibid.,XLVI,41; Pjv.,p.146.

were mono-clan villages. But unfortunately nothing is known about these. Besides, the identification of these villages may enhance our knowledge of the geographical spread of the nobles in the Island.

C.W.Nicholas has attempted to identify Ambilayāgu and Nandivāpi (gāma?) as follows:-

> 'The village Ambilayāgu, near which was Nandivāpi, was close to the Kalā Oya. Ambilagrāma was a village assinged to Abhayagiri Vihāra. Ambilahāla Vihāra existed in the Ist century'.[1]

Regrettably this scholar gives no reasons for his conclusion that Ambilayāgu and Nandivāpi (gāma?) were close to the Kalā Oya. On the other hand, 'close to the Kalā Oya' itself gives only a vague idea. The grant of the Ambilagrāma village appears among other such grants in the so-called Jetavanārāma Slab Inscription, written in Sanskrit, attributable to the first half of the ninth century A.D. It was found at the Kapārārāma ruins at Anurādhapura.[2] The Ambilahāla Vihāra is referred to in the Papañcasūdanī with reference to the sermon delivered by thera Cūlanāga during the reign of Kūṭakaṇṇa Tissa (41-19 B.C.).[3] But there is nothing to identify

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1. JCBRAS, VI,1963,p.167.
2. Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.4,line,8.
3. Papañcasūdani, (PTS,)p.1025.

this village and the above _vihāra_ in any source. Therefore we can see no convincing reason to identify Nandivāpigāma and Ambilayāgu as places 'close to the Kalā Oya'. Probably Nicholas was under the impression that Dhātusena would have constructed the Kālavāpi, his main work, in approximity of his native place.

Geiger, on the other hand, had earlier than Nicholas suggested that Nandivāpigāma was not far from Kacchakatittha (modern Mahagamtoṭa).[1] His suggestion rests on the Nandivāpigāma Vihāra which was built by Sabha in _gaṅgante_. In this connexion, Geiger has apparently based his identification on the _Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā_ which defines _gaṅgante_ in the above passage as _Kacchakagaṅgātīre_ ('on the banks of the Kacchaka river').[2] Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, during his campaign against Elāra, is said to have defeated a Tamil chieftain named Nandi at Nandigāma. This _gāma_ is mentioned among other Tamil strongholds situated near Kacchakatittha.[3] Probably it is this Nandigāma that appears in connexion with the campaign of Parākramabāhu against Mānābharaṇa, too.[4] There remains, however, the difficulty that it is by no means certain that Nandigāma is to be

1. _Cv. Transl._,p.29,note,4.
2. _Mv. Ṭīkā_,II,p.684.
3. _Mv._,XXV,12-14.
4. _Cv._,LXXII,44.

identified with Nandivāpigāma. One wonders whether there
is an important vāva or whether there are remains of a
Śiva temple (as Nandi 'bull' associated with Śiva) near
this place leading to confirm the above identification,
but unfortunately there is none.

The other village mentioned in connexion with
the family of Dhātusena is Ambilayāgu ('sour gruel').
Perhaps this and Ambilahāla ('sour rice') Vihāra and Ambila-
grāma ('sour village') may refer to one and the same
village, but we do not know its location. It seems quite
likely that this and Nandivāpigāma were situated in close
proximity as Nicholas has suggested.[1] One may attach some
importance, in this connexion, to the village Ambilapiṭṭhiyaṅ-
gaṇa or Mahāmbalapiṭṭhi, the exact location of which is
unknown, although there is no doubt that it was situated
in the vicinity of Kacchakatittha. It is said that
Duṭṭhagāmaṇī camped at Ambilapiṭṭhiyaṅgaṇa and then
marched to Vaḍḍhamānakatittha of the mahāgaṅgā (i.e.
the Mahavāli-Gaṅga) and then to Mahākola destroying the
Tamil fortress there.[2] In the Mahāvaṃsa, there are two
Tamil strongholds which are referred to as situated at
Mahākoṭṭha and Koṭa near Kacchakatittha together with

1. See supra, p. 381.
2. Sahas., pp. 104, 107.

Nandigāma and others.[1] Mahākola may be either Mahākoṭṭha or Koṭa. Thus, we find two villages named Nandigāma and Ambilapiṭṭhiyaṅgaṇa situated apparently in close distance from one another, but it is uncertain whether Nandivāpigāma was identical with Nandigāma and Ambilayāgu with Ambilapiṭṭhiyaṅgaṇa, and that these were villages associated with the family of Dhatusena.

Meraliya vagga has been identified by Nicholas with the Merukandara district in the central highlands. But in this case, too, none of the examples he has cited [2] established beyond doubt that these two names refer to the district. A passage in the Cūlavaṃsa [3] would give the impression that Saṅgillagāma, where Mahānāga's family lived, was not far from Gokaṇṇa, but there is no evidence for its exact location. Geiger identifies Dhanapiṭṭhigāma with Modern Danapiṭigama, an uninhabited village at his time but now inhabited by mainly paddy cultivators, situated to the north

1. Mv.,XXV,11-14.
2. JCBRAS, VI,p.111: Nicholas has given the following references:- 'M.(hāvaṃsa), 39,45: 41.19: 44.28:47. 27,58,59; 70.282,295,296'. (M.47.27 is a mistake!).
3. Cv.,XLI,75-79.

of Kuruṇāgala in the Kaṭuvana Kōraḷe, Aṁbagaha Palāta.[1]
As this is a very striking similarity applying to
an uncommon name, this identification may be correct,
but nothing of archaeological interest has been noticed
at this site.[2]

Thus, unfortunately, there is no conclusive
evidence to identify the villages inhabited solely
or mainly by nobles. It may, however, be assumed that
the chiefs of these villages were generally nobles.
Evidently the Dhanapiṭṭhi was under their control.[3]
As far as the available evidence is concerned, it may
be suggested that there were kulīnas during our period
established in different parts of the country, as well
as in the capital.

From the above discussion it may be seen
that though there was no real kṣatriya-varṇa during
our period, the king and the members of the royal family
formed a class by themselves, which can be compared
with the kṣatriyas in ancient India. There can be
no doubt that some kulīnas belonged also to this class.

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1. Cv., Transl., p.101, note, 7.
2. As no archaeological excavations have been started in
   any of the above villages, this argument evidently
   carries little weight.
3. See supra, p. 380.

Evidence is too scanty to make any serious study of the vaiśyas in Ceylon. The Mahāvaṃsa refers to vaiśyas in connexion with the origin of the Vessagiri monastery: this monastery was so-called because there lived five hundred vessas who were admitted to the Order by Mahinda.[1] This is, however, not supported by any other evidence. We come across another reference to the vaiśyas in Ceylon in connexion with the families sent to Ceylon by Aśoka along with the Bodhi Tree.[2]

After pre-Christian times we find no evidence for the existence of the vaiśyas. In the Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya, vaiśyas are mentioned, but only in the passages where the brahmanic theory of the caste system was discussed. For instance, in the Ānandattherassa[3] vatthu of the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā the khattiyas and brāhmaṇas are described as mahāsāla-kulas ('prosperous castes'), and others as nīca-kulas ('inferior castes').[4] This is common in Indian texts. The Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya explains that by nīca-kula in this context

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1. Mv.,XX,15.
2. Sār.dip.,p.154; cf. Mv.,XIX,2.
3. Ananda thera lived at the time of the Buddha.
4. Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā,III,p.248.

the _vaiśyas_ and _śūdras_ are meant.[1] But in many contexts
the _vaiśyas_ are also enumerated as a _mahāsāla-kula_ or
uccā-kula.[2] These examples are by no means sufficient
to prove that there were indeed _vaiśyas_ in the Island.
Geiger is of the openion that the _vaiśyas_ in Ceylon
were regarded as _kulīna_.[3] But as we have discussed
elsewhere,[4] our sources do not provide us with sufficient
material enabling us to make a comprehensive study of
kulīna. What may be safely concluded from the available
evidence is that the _kulīna_ were people of high social
rank as we have already discussed.[5]

The word _śūdra_ occurs neither in the literary
nor in the epigraphic sources of Ceylon in the earlier
period. As far as the period under review is concerned,
this term is mentioned in our sources, but only in
similar passages as those in which the _vessa_ are
mentioned in the _Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya_, as has
already been seen.

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1. _Dh.A.G._,p.217: _vessakula sūduru kula du metäna_
   nīca-kula nam.
2. _M.N._,III,pp.37-38; _A.N._,I,p.107.
3. _Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times_,p.30.
4. See _supra_,pp. 36, 77 ff.
5. See _supra_,pp. 77 ff.

The Sinhalese caste system in later times was based on occupational differences.[1] It is true that we find no conclusive evidence for the existence of this system in early days, but there are examples showing that people who carried out similar occupations lived together. Thus, the people who earned their livelihood by making pottery (kumbhakāra) lived together in the south of Anurādhapura. This settlement was known as Kumbhakāragāma.[2] References are made to this Kumbhakāragāma in the Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa and Visuddhimagga, too.[3] The potters' caste is at present known as kumbal-kula or baḍahäla-kula. It is interesting to note that the word kumbal was in existence in the tenth century A.D. as it is mentioned in the Mihintalē Slab Inscription.[4] Similarly, kevaṭṭas (fishermen) (present kevul) had their own village settlements (Pali, Kevaṭṭagāma). The Rasavāhinī speaks of such Kevaṭṭagāma named Mahājallika.[5] The Cūlavaṃsa refers also to a Kevaṭṭagambhīragāma.[6] Weavers (old Sinhalese

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1. Ralph Pieris, Sihhalese Social Organization, pp.169ff; William Gilbert, 'The Sinhalese Caste System', CHJ, II,1953,pp.29ff; Ryan Bryce, Caste in Modern Ceylon, 1953,pp.85ff.
2. Mv. Ṭīkā, p.483.
3. Sahas., p.85; Visuddhim., pp.66-67.
4. Ep. Zeyl., I, p.96, line, B28: mas mas patā pā dasayak hā kumbu dasayak dena pā-kumbaḷak.
5. Rsv., II, p.107: Mahājallikaṃ nāma Kevaṭṭagāmaṃ.
6. Cv., XLV, 58.

pehekara, Pali, pesakāra) lived, too, in separate
village settlements. In an inscription written in
later Brāhmī script there is a reference to a Pehekara-
gama.[1] We find reference to weavers' settlements in
the Cūlavaṃsa and Pūjāvaliya, too.[2] The Mihintalē
Slab Inscription states that the village Vaḍudevāgama
was granted to two chief carpenters (āduru vaḍu dejanakhaṭ),
eight assistant carpenters (sirivaḍu aṭjank), and two
tile makers (uḷuvaḍu dejanakhaṭ).[3] Similarly, to
lime-burners (sunu bolnaṭ) the village Sunuboldevāgama
was granted.[4] Lime-burners belong to the hunu caste
at present. Reference is made to radavun (washermen),
too.[5] This word, at present, indicates the people
belong to the radā caste. It is also interesting to
note that the word radavun has been used in the above
context with apulana ('washing') just as to-day.

In this connexion, it is also necessary to consider
the term pañcapessiyavaggās mentioned in our sources.
The Cūlavaṃsa states that Māna, the son of Kassapa VII
(1054-1055 A.D.), built the Uttaromūla pariveṇa and

1. Inscr. Ceyl.,No.1145,p.91.
2. Cv.,XLI,96; Pjv.,p.146.
3. Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.97,lines 44-45.
4. Ibid.,I,p.97,lines B47-48.
5. Ibid.,I,p.97,lines 53-54: apulana radavun.

granted the pañcapessiyavaggās to it.[1] This term occurs

in the chronicles in two later instances. First,

Kittisirimegha seeking a reconciliation with the young

prince Parākramabāhu, sent the pañcapessiyavaggas to

him.[2] Second, Parākramabāhu II (1236-1270 A.D.) assigned

the pañcapessiyavaggas and dasapessiyavaggas, who served

at the palace, to work for the Sangha.[3] In the Abhayagiri

inscription, attributable to the ninth century A.D.,

there is a reference to pañcakaulikas who worked in the

Abhayagiri monastery.[4]

Pañcapessiyavaggas and pañcakaulikas may refer

to a similar kind of people. The ordinary meaning of

the pessiya is 'servant'.[5] Geiger translates the term

pañcapessiyavagga as five groups of servitors.[6] Pañca-

pessiyas and pañcakaulikas are probably equivalent to

pañca-kammālar in Tamil, and pañcakammakāras described

in the Abhidhānappadīpikā and Mahārūpasiddhi. The last

two texts agree in saying that the five kammakāras

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1. Cv.,LV,27.
2. Ibid.,LXVII,58.
3. Ibid.,LXXXIV,5.
4. Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.5,line,29: ārāmābhyantara karma (kārakaiḥ)
   pañcakaulikaiḥ.
5. Pali-Engl. Dict.,s.v. pessiya.
6. Cv. Transl.,p.194; cf. Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times,p.31.

consisted of carpenters (<u>taccha</u>), weavers (<u>tantavāya</u>),
washermen (<u>rajaka</u>), barbers (<u>nahāpita</u>), and leather-
workers (<u>cammakāra</u>).[1] As listed in the <u>Madras Tamil</u>
<u>Lexicon</u>, pañca-kammāḷar consisted of gold-smiths (<u>taṭṭān</u>),
copper-smiths (<u>kannān</u>), stone workers (<u>cirpān</u>), carpenters
(<u>taccan</u>), and black-smiths (<u>kollan</u>).[2]

The above mentioned examples do not exclude the
possibility of the existence of the present caste system
in Ceylon in ancient times at least in embryonic from.

To the <u>caṇḍālas</u>, the untouchables in Indian
society, we find only a single reference during our
period: king Buddhadāsa (340-368 A.D.) is said to have
cured a <u>caṇḍāla</u> woman, whose "foetus in utero" had
gone astray, <u>i.e.</u>, cannot be delivered properly,
(<u>mūḷhagabbhiniṃ</u>).[3] This <u>caṇḍāla</u> woman lived at Helloli-
gāma. Another <u>caṇḍāla</u> woman, <u>i.e.</u> Asokamālā, the consort
of Sāliya, lived also in a village by the same name.[4]
If these two women lived in the same village, Helloli-

1. <u>Abhidhānappadīpikā</u>, <u>v.</u> 295; <u>Mahārūpasiddhi</u>, (edited by
   Dharmaratne) 1926, p.418.
2. <u>Madras Tamil Lexicon</u>, <u>s.v.</u> pañca-kammaḷar.
3. <u>Cv.</u>, XXXIX, 140: see for <u>mūḷhagabbhā</u>, <u>J.</u>, I, p.407;
   Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, IV, p.192; <u>Milindapañha</u>, p.169; <u>Samv.</u>,
   p.96. This term has been rendered in the Dhampiyā Aṭuvā
   Gäṭapadaya as <u>muḷāgäba</u> (see p.257) and as <u>mūḍhagarbha</u>
   in the <u>Amāvatura</u> (see p.81) and <u>Saddharmālaṅkāraya</u>
   (see p.151); cf. also <u>Dharmapradīpikā</u>, p.154: mūḍhagarbha-
   mātṛ.
4. <u>Mv.Ṭīkā</u>, p.606; <u>Rsv.</u>, II, p.119.

gāma would have existed for many centuries as a Caṇḍāla-gāma.

Another interesting point emerging from these passages is that there was no rigid discrimination against the caṇḍālas, as it is mentioned that prince Sāliya was married with a caṇḍāla woman and king Buddhadāsa personally attended to a sick caṇḍāla woman. On the contrary, in the Indian subcontinent the caṇḍālas were invariably considered untouchables. As described in a passage of a Jātaka, contact with the wind that touches a caṇḍāla's body was regarded as pollution.[1] A certain seṭṭhi in Benares, having seen a caṇḍāla, washed his eyes which were contaminated by a mere glance at him.[2] It is also to be noted that the caṇḍālas in Ceylon enjoyed religious rights and became Buddhists.[3] It is therefore reasonable to assume that the milder treatment to the caṇḍālas in Ceylon was due to the influence of Buddhism on society.

As we have seen elsewhere, the area under cultivation towards the close of our period was quite

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1. J.,III,p.233.
2. Ibid.,IV,p.576: apassitabbayuttakaṃ passiṃhāti gandhodakena mukhaṃ dhovitvā.
3. Rsv.,II,pp.7-8.

considerable. Consequently, a class of land owners

appears to have emerged at that time. Thus, Paranavitana

explains that 'those who enjoyed pamuṇu land were

referred to as pamuṇu-laddan, and they appear to have

held their estates irrespective of any service which

rendered to the state. Gam-laddan on the other hand

appear to have held their land as recompense of the

serices they rendered to the state, and were not obliged

to pay the Treasury any share of the revenue that derived

from them. A third class of land holders named kābāli-

laddan most probably were allocated shares from a

large estate'.[1]

The old Sinhalese word pamuṇu, the equivalent

of paveṇi in Pali, means 'hereditary succession'. The

Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gäṭapadaya translates the Pali passage

paveṇi-rajjaṃ ('hereditary kingship') as pemen väläñdiya

yutu rajaya ('kingship which is to be enjoyed in

hereditary succession').[2] In the latter part of the

Cūlavaṃsa we find the expression kulappaveṇikāyattagāma,[3]

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1. UCHC, (vol.I,pt.) I,p.367; cf. Codrington, Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon,1938,pp.13ff.
2. Dh.A.G.,p.106; cf. Amāvatura,p.53; Saddharmaṛatnā-valiya,p.315.
3. Cv.,LXXXIV,13ff; Dv.,XVIII,1.

which means 'village held by a family in hereditary succession'.[1] This may well be compared with pamuṇugam and batgam[2] (Pali, bhuttagāma) inherited by people. We find the Pali passage taṃ ca gāmaṃ yathāsukhaṃ paribhogaṃ katvā adāsi, appearing in the Milindapañha has been rendered in̆to Sinhalese as Macala gamat pamuṇu koṭa dunha ('(he) granted the village of Macala, too, as a heritable piece of land').[3] The Sahassavatthuppa-karaṇa speaks of a minister named Tissa who enjoyed Mahāgāma as his bhogagāma.[4] In the Saddharmālaṅkāraya, the word batgama has been used in the place of bhogagāma.[5]

We find a number of persons who held gāmas as pamuṇu. Thus, Mahayā Kitambavā, living in the reign of Kassapa IV (898-914 A.D.), held Kolayuṇugama as a pamuṇu.[6] Similarly, a certain Kaliṅgurad received land from the king. It is also laid down that this land should be enjoyed by children and grandchildren of Kaliṅgurad.[7] This may imply the hereditary succession

1. Cult. Ceyl. Med. Times, p.144.
2. Cf. there are villages in present Ceylon bearing the names Pamuṇugama and Pamuṇuva.
3. Saddharmaṛatnāvaliya, p.712.
4. Sahas., p.158.
5. Saddharmālaṅkāraya, p.617.
6. Ep. Zeyl., II, p.17.
7. Ibid., p.68.

of the descendants of Kaliṅgurad to this property.
In later times, Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.D.)
granted a pamuṇu village to Kitnuvaragal in recognition
of his service in the Burmese campaign. It is also
laid down that the grant should last as long as 'the
sun and the moon endure'.[1] Thus, the grant has been
made to Kitnuvaragal, to be enjoyed by himself and his
descendants in hereditary succession.

In a number of inscriptions there occurs the
term käbällas to indicate a particular type of land
holding. Thus, veher-käbälla and tunnakä-käbälla may
indicate a piece of land belonging to Buddhist monasteries.[2]
Those käbällas were granted to the servants working in
the monasteries.[3] Governors of districts (raṭ-ladu) also
received käbällas, and these käbällas were called raṭ-
ladu-käbällas.[4] Käbällas held by Tamil soldiers were
indicated as Demel käbällas.[5]

It is said in the Mihintalē Slab Inscription
that the kämiyan or temple officers and other servants

1. Ep. Zeyl.,III,p.322.
2. Ibid.,I,p.197; IV,p.40.
3. Ibid.,I,pp.94ff.
4. Anc. Inscr. Ceyl.,p.143.
5. Ep. Zeyl.,II,p.143.

were given kābällas as divel.[1] The Sinhalese word divel
may be the equivalent of Sanskrit and Pali jīvita which
means 'life', 'existence', 'subsistence' and 'livelihood'.
Land on divel tenure would therefore be land held for
subsistence for the period of service in lieu of salary.
Unlike pamuṇu properties these were not permanent
possessions.

Only in the ninth-and tenth-century inscriptions
do we find the technical term pāṭṭa-laddan. H.W.Cod-
rington equates the word pāṭṭa with Tamil pāṭṭam. 'It
is in common use', he writes, 'in Tinnevelly District
with the meaning of "rent" always in cash as opposed
to vāram, a share of the produce. It exactly equals
the Sinhalese badda, the medieval Indian taḍḍapāḍḍam,
&c., being the Sinhalese kottal-badda, &c. In Malabar
the word pāṭṭam is not confined to cash but includes
share of the produce as well'.[2] Pāṭṭa-laddan may mean
middleman who received the revenues due from the tenant
on behalf of the lord.[3] No evidence is available on

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1. Pali, jīvita has been translated as divel (see Dh.A.G.,
   pp.127,272). See also the Saddharmālaṅkāraya (p.761)
   and Amāvatura (p.58). In the following Pali words, too,
   ta has changed into la or ḷa in Sinhalese:- jagata=diyal
   (see Ep.Zeyl.,I,p.24); matā=maḷa (see Dh.A.G.,p.14).
2. Codrington, Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon,
   1938,p.14.
3. Ep. Zeyl.,V,pp.127-128.

pātta-laddan after the tenth century A.D.

Those who lived on land belonging to the vihāras were known as kudīn or haskaruvan. The ulkudi means the hereditary cultivators whose ancestors either helped in the original founding of a village or were brought in to extend the cultivated area.[1] The Jātaka Atuvā Gätapadaya refers to those who paid land tax to their land owners as ayakudi.[2] The Milindapañha refers to the people who lived in villages belonging to some one else as kutipurisa.[3] The kudīn appearing in the inscriptions may be analogous to ulkudi, ayakudi or kutipurisa. The Mihintalē Slab Inscription states that the land tax should regularly be taken to the vihāra from the kudīn reaiding in the vihāra land.[4] It is also revealed from this inscription that the officers (kämiyan) in the monastery collected the land tax from the kudīn. It is also laid down that any gifts from the kudīn should not be accepted by these officers. Nor were they allowed to use cows and buffaloes belonging

1. Codrington, Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon, 1938, p.1.
2. Jātaka Atuvā Gätapadaya, p.91.
3. Milindapañha, (PTS), p.147.
4. Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.93.lines,A41-42: veher bimä hun kudīngen bim sovas nisi seyin veherat gata yutu.

to the kuḍīn for the cultivation of their own land.[1]

The haskaruvan (Pali, sassakāra) evidently indicates

the cultivators. It becomes clear from a passage in

the Mihintalē Slab Inscription that the haskaruvan

tilled the land belonging to the Cetiyagiri monastery

as hereditary cultivators.[2] It is also laid down that

such fields should not be taken away from the haskaruvan

as long as they were able to cultivate them.

Dāsas

There are numerous examples showing that dāsas

were employed in the Buddhist monasteries, royal

households and in the noble families and other rich

households. In fact, the Buddha had prohibited bhikkhus

from accepting male or female dāsas.[3] But with the

increase of monks and properties attached to the vihāras

dāsas were accepted by the bhikkhus. The commentators

may have tried to justify such acceptence by interpreting

it (ot) suit the injunctions of the Buddha. Thus, Buddha-

ghosa explains that it is not improper to accept dāsas

1. Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.93,line,A48: kudīngen paṅḍuru no gata
   yutu. Mekungen ge gon gena kämiyan tumanat govikam
   no kära viyä yutu.
2. Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.93,lines A48-49: haskaru parapuren
   vätena kärä kumburu.
3. Mahāvagga,1.pt.V,pp.180,345: dāsa dāsī paṭiggahaṇā
   paṭivirato hoti; cf. D.N.,p.49.

from some one who says: 'I offer a kappiyakāraka, I offer an ārāmika'.[1] From a passage in the Samantapāsādikā it becomes clear that dāsas were offered to the monasteries by kings and these dāsas were known as ārāmikadāsas.[2]

The Cūlavaṃsa records some kings who granted dāsas to the vihāras. For instance, Silāmeghavaṇṇa (623-632 A.D.) granted captives taken in battle as slaves to monasteries.[3] Similarly, Aggabodhi IV (667-683 A.D.), Potthakuṭṭha(c.683-684 A.D.), and Sena I (833-853 A.D.) granted slaves to the Buddhist monasteries. From the first instance mentioned above, it appears that the type of karamarānīta (captives in war) dāsas were found in the Island at that time.[4] No clear evidence is available on this type of dāsas before the reign of Silāmeghavaṇṇa, except for a vague allusion: Veḷusumana, a paladin of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (c.161-137 B.C.), promised Eḷāra to bring Kākavaṇṇa Tissa as a captive and make him his slave when Veḷusumana visited the former

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1. Papañcasūdanī,p.404: dāsidāsavasena tesaṃ paṭiggahaṇaṃ na vaṭṭati "kappiyakārakaṃ dammi, ārāmikaṃ dammī"'ti evaṃ vutte pana vaṭṭati; cf. Smp.,p.683.
2. Smp.,p.1001: vihāresupana rājūhi ārāmika dāsā nāma dinnā honti.
3. Cv.,XLIV,73.
4. See for details of this type of dāsas, Mahāvagga,1,2,I; Smp.,p.1001; Nīti-Nighaṇḍuva,p.7; J.,V,pp.456ff; cf. Breloer, Kauṭalīya Studien,II,p.30.

in the disguise of a spy.[1]

It is also interesting to note that there were anvayāgata slaves and ran slaves who were granted to the Galapāta monastery as recorded in an inscription in situ.[2] The anvayāgata slaves and ran slaves mentioned in this record may be equivalent to the antojāta (slaves who had been born and bred in the family for generations) and dhanakkīta (purchased slaves) respectively.[3]

The Samantapāsādikā further describes how bhikkhus came to own dāsas. Thus read:-

'Poor people become kappiyakārakas themselves in the monastery (thinking we) shall live depending on the Saṅgha; the relatives or patrons of a bhikkhu grant a dāsa (to the bhikkhus); one (bhikkhu) has his own dāsa; masters grant a dāsa (to the bhikkhus); a dāsa who is without master be a dāsa to the bhikkhus'.[4]

In this passage the first and the last mentioned dāsas may represent the category of sāmaṃdāsavyopagata

1. Rsv.,II,p.62: Kākavaṇṇa-tissaṃ banditvā ānetvā tava dāsaṃ karomi; cf. Sahas.,p.85: Kākavaṇṇa-tissaṃ tumhākaṃ dāsaṃ karomi.
2. Ep. Zeyl.,IV,p.206,lines,12-13: me vihārayaṭa hā me vihārayehi vāda hiṅdinā vahansē-varundāṭa at-pā-mehe karaṇa paridden apa anvayāgata-vahalin hā ran vahalin hā.
3. See for the categories of antojāta and dhanakkhīta slaves, Mahāvagga,1.2.I; Smp.,III,p.1001; Nīti-Nighaṇḍuva,p.7; cf. Ep. Zeyl.,III,p.57.
4. Smp.,p.1001: duggata-manussā saṅghaṃ nissāya jīvissāmā'ti vihāre kappiyakārakā honti; bhikkhussa ñātakā vā upaṭṭhakā vā dāsaṃ denti; attanō va assa dāso atthi; sāmikā dāsaṃ denti; nissāmiko dāso hoti.

(those who for their livelihood or for their protection, of their own accord, agree for a certain sum to become slaves) dāsas. Dāsas mentioned thirdly were perhaps those owned by a bhikkhu before becoming a monk. The above mentioned examples may be important to determine the relationship between master and slaves in Ceylon, a topic which will, however, be discussed later.

It seems that in some large monasteries there were a large number of dāsas. For instance, the Mihintalē Slab Inscription records that in the Cetiyagiri monastery there were twenty four female slaves. They were supervised by a chief female slave.[1]

It is also worth considering in this connexion that some people granted villages to monasteries to provide for maintenance of the slaves. For example, a senāpati named Mūga of king Aggabodhi I (575-608 A.D.) built a great (visāla) vihāra and assigned to it the village Lajjika for the maintenance of the dāsas.[2] Similarly, the senāpati of Sena I (833-853 A.D.) named Bhadda built a parivena and endowed it with revenues to ensure the maintenance of dāsas (dāsa-bhoga).[3]

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1. Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.95, lines,20-21.
2. Cv.,XLII,23.
3. Ibid.,L,82: dāsa-bhoga may also mean dāsa and revenue; cf. Cv. Transl., Geiger,p.145.

It has been suggested that the serfs attached to the monasteries and to the royal household lived in villages allocated only for them and it is these villages which are meant by dasagam (Sanskrit, dāsagrāma; Pali, dāsagāma) in the inscriptions.[1] Doubts have also been cast regarding this meaning of the term, as it may be interpreted as 'ten villages', too, if it should be equated with Sanskrit daśagrāma (Pali, dasagāma).[2] In fact, in some cases ten or twenty (or even more) villages sometimes constituted groups for administrative purposes, both in Ceylon and in the Indian subcontinent. It is stated in the Manusmṛti that if any trouble arose in the village, the village chief should personally report the matter to the chief of ten villages, the latter to the chief of twenty villages, who again should inform the chief of a hundred villages.[3] In the Khalimpūr plate of king Dharmapāla, an officer is referred to as dāśagrāmika, presumably the chief of a group of ten villages.[4] The Cūlavaṃsa mentions that king Buddhadāsa

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1. Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.243; UCHC, (vol.I,pt.)I,p.378.
2. Ep. Zeyl., loc. cit.
3. Manu,VII,116-117: grāmadoṣān samutpannān grāmikaḥ śankaiḥ
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　svayam
　　　　　śaṁsed grāmadaśeśāya daśeśo viṁśatīśine.
　　　　　viṁśatīśastu tatsarvaṁ śateśāya nivedayet
　　　　　śaṁsed grāmaśateśastu sahasrapataye
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　svayam.
4. Ep. Ind.,IV,p.253,No.11.

(340-368 A.D.) appointed physicians for every ten villages.[1] In the Vēvälkäṭiya inscription of Mahinda IV (956-972 A.D.), which contains rules of rural administration, we find that there was a chief for every ten villages (dasagamaṭ ekeka nāyakayan).[2] These officers are again referred to in the same inscription as dasagam-ättan, who may well be compared with the above mentioned chiefs of group of ten villages appearing in Indian inscriptions. Dasagama in this inscription may therefore mean a group of ten villages. In the Vessagiriya inscription of the same king, dasagama[3] appears to have been used in a similar connotation.

Some inscriptions, attributable to the sixth and seventh century A.D. and found in the Buddhist monastic precincts, refer to people releasing themselves or others from slavery by paying a fee and granting money (kahāpaṇas) for the maintenance of slaves in the monasteries. Doubts have been cast by some scholars on the validity of the evidence from these inscriptions. They deny that the term

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1. Cv.,XXXVII,147: adāsi vejjamekekaṃ rājā gāmadvipañcake; cf. Pjv.,p.143: dasagamaṭa vedeku bägin pat koṭa.
2. Ep. Zeyl.,I,p.246.
3. Ibid.,I,p.33,line 26.

<u>vaharala</u> which occurs in these records means 'slavery'.[1]

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1. Paranavitana, who first edited the inscriptions in which
the term <u>vaharala</u> appears, interpreted this term as
'slave'. He also translated the <u>vaharala cidavi</u> or <u>cidavi</u>
<u>vaharala</u>, the most used expression in the above ins-
criptions, as 'freed slaves'. In some contexts the term
<u>vaharala</u> has also been used as <u>vaharala vatakata</u> which
is translated by him as 'for the maintenance of slaves'.
(<u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,pp.142-150). W.Wimalakitti, who edited the
same inscriptions, substituted Paranavitana's inter-
pretation of <u>vaharala</u> by two alternative meanings, <u>i.e.</u>,
'a residential building' or 'meals in the monastery'. He
also translated the expression <u>vaharala cidavi</u> or <u>cidavi</u>
<u>vaharala</u> as 'a residential building caused to be built'
or 'provided meals in the monastery'. According to him,
<u>vaharala vatakata</u> may mean either 'for the maintenance
of a residential building in the monastery' or 'for
continued supply of meals in the monastery'. (See for
these conjectures, W.Wimalakitti, 'Inscriptions of
Ceylon'. The <u>Silumina Literary Supplement</u>,1938, Sep.11.
and <u>Silalekhana Sangrahaya</u>, 1951,pt.I,pp.127-128,1959,
pt.V,pp.87-93 respectively). D.J.Wijayaratne disagreed
with Paranavitana and argued that <u>vaharala</u> may mean
'timber' and the passage <u>vaharala cidavi</u> or <u>cidavi</u>
<u>vaharala</u> means 'cut timber'. He also took <u>vaharala</u>
<u>vatakata</u> to mean 'for the expenses (or continued supply)
of timber'. (D.J.Wijayaratne, 'Interpretation of <u>vaharala</u>
etc'., <u>UCR</u>, X,pp.103-120). Paranavitana rejected the
interpretation put forward by Wijayaratne (<u>Ep. Zeyl.</u>,V,
pp.35-65). However, neither Paranavitana nor Wijayaratne
took into consideration the meanings suggested by
Wimalakitti. But recently, M.W.Sugatapala de Silva, who
carried out a brief survey of the suggested inter-
pretations of the above term, preferred Wimalakitti's
notion, <u>i.e.</u> 'provided meals in the monastery'. (M.W.
Sugatapala de Silva, 'The "<u>Vaharala</u>" Inscriptions of
Ceylon', <u>Journal of the American Oriental Society</u>,85,1965,
pp.206-207). Paranavitana wrote again in support of his
own argument and rejected the interpretation made by
Silva. (S.Paranavitana, 'The Interpretaion of Old
Sinhalese Word "<u>vaharala</u>"', <u>Journal of the American</u>
<u>Oriental Society</u>,87,1967,pp.166-169). Paranavitana's
interpretation has, however, been followed by many
scholars. (See, Rahula, <u>History of Buddhism in Ceylon</u>,
p.147; Ellawala, <u>Soc. Hist. Early Ceyl.</u>,p.64; R.A.L.
H.Gunawardhana, <u>The History of the Buddhist Sangha in</u>
<u>Ceylon</u>, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis,p.185).

even if this evidence is discarded the prevalence of
slaves in the Buddhist monasteries in ancient Ceylon
and their release and the making of grants towards their
maintenance are facts firmly based on the commentaries,
the chronicles and on a number of inscriptions, as has
already been seen.

As a matter of fact, there were dāsas who were
employed in the royal household. The daughter of Paṇḍu
Vāsudeva named Cittā is said to have guarded by a dāsī.[1]
When prince Mahānāga was wandering in the forest, his
sister handed him over a slave.[2] Aggabodhi VIII (804-
815 A.D.) employed dāsas and kammakāras for the service
of his mother.[3]

In addition, there were dāsas who were employed
in well-to-do families. For example, in a family in
Nāgadīpa a dāsī named Nāgā was employed for sixty
kahāpaṇas. Later, Nāgā borrowed another sixty kahāpaṇas
from her master on the understanding that she would
become a ratti dāsī[4] (servant who does night duties),
too. Similarly, in Rohaṇa, there were a certain husband
and wife who had become slaves.[5]

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1. Mv.,IX,2-4,15-16,19.
2. Cv.,XLI,71.
3. Ibid.,XLIX,60.
4. Sahas.,p.32.
5. Ibid.,p.50.

In spite of the above mentioned examples showing the existence of dāsas in ancient Ceylon, there is little evidence to determine their position in society. As far as the expected pattern of behaviour of the masters towards dāsas is concerned, their position was by no means in all respects unfavourable.

According to the Sigālovāda Suttanta, the master should assign to his servants work in keeping with their strength (yathābalaṃ kammantasaṃvidhānena), supply them with food and wages (bhattavetanānupadhānena), tending them in sickness (gilānupaṭṭhānena), sharing with them unusual delicacies (accariyānaṃ rasānaṃ saṃvibhāgena), and granting them leave at times (samaye vossaggena).[1] According to the commentary on this Suttanta, regular relaxation should be accorded to them so that they did not need to work all day, and special leave with extra food and ornaments should be given to them.[2] These passages set out the servants' rights to fair treatment, conditions, regular holidays and free medical attention.[3]

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1. D.N.III,pp.182ff.
2. Suttasaṅgahaṭṭhakathā,p.59: aphāsukāle kammaṃ akaritvā sappāyabhesajjādīni datvā paṭijagganena, niccasamaye ca kāla samaye ca vossajjanena chaṇanakkhattakīḷādīsu alaṅkārabhaṇḍakhādanīyabhojanīyādīni datvā.
3. Cf. A.L.Basham, Sources of Indian Traditions,p.116.

Dāsas and kammakāras should in return discharge
their duties towards their masters as follows:- 'They
should rise before him, lie down to rest after him,
be content with what is given to them, do their work
well and carry about his praise and good fame.[1] From
a passage in the Cūlavaṃsa, it reveals that any humiliation
to dāsas by their master was by no means appreciated:
king Aggabodhi VIII (804-815 A.D.) once addressed,
probably in anger, one of his slaves with the word
dāsa but he afterwards repented of it, to make up for
this he allowed the slaves to use the same word towards
himself.[2]

We learn from other sources that dāsas sometimes
had enough time to engage in religious activities. For
instance, the above mentioned Nāgā gave a dāna to sixty
bhikkhus accompanied by fellow villagers.[3] This suggests
also that the villagers by no means discriminated
against Nāgā. It is also worth considering that, as a
way, to show their complete submission and generosity
towards the Saṅgha, kings sometimes offered themselves

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1. D.N., III, pp.182ff.
2. Cv., XLIX, 62.
3. Sahas., p.33; cf. p.50.

to the Saṅgha as slaves. For example, Mahādāṭhika
Mahānāga (first century A.D.) offered himself, his queen,
his two sons, his state elephant and his state horse
to the Saṅgha and then redeemed himself and the others
by giving to the Order of monks various suitable gifts.[1]
Similarly, a noble son of the Lambakaṇṇa family once
having listened to a discourse, offered to the Saṅgha,
his valuable ornaments, his chariot and oxen, his children
and wife and finally himself by saying "I am also your
slave".[2] A king attributed himself as a _dāsa_ of the
Buddha as it reveals from his name, _i.e._ Buddhadāsa.[3]
It is true that the last three examples do not imply
actual _dāsas_ in the real sense of the word but they
indicate that one would by no means bring disgrace on
oneself by becoming a _dāsa_. Some more important points
emerge from the story of Nāgā: to make the above mentioned
gift, Nāgā borrowed money from her master. Probably, in
the interest of the both parties, only after making
a written agreement (_paṇṇe likhitvā_) her master lent
the money to Nāgā on the understanding that she would
become a _ratti dāsī_. Another interesting point is that

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1. _Mv._,XXXIV,86-88.
2. _Sīhalavatthuppakaraṇa_,p.150.
3. Cf. _Cv._,XXXVII,158.

Nāgā was a 'debt slave' (Pali, ina-dāsī; Sanskrit, ṛṇa-dāsī), i.e. one who became a slave to his creditor till her debt is paid. A reference is made to another ina-dāsī in the Saddharmālaṅkāraya lived in Mahāgāma.[1]

In addition, the normal duties of dāsas in Ceylon were husking paddy, cooking, collecting firewood, sweeping the compound and fetching water etc.,[2] which suggests that dāsas in Ceylon were treated as domestic servants rather than slaves as known in Europe and America till about a century ago. Sometimes they were employed as gurdians,[3] personal attendents of the royal household and as spies.[4]

Although there were instances, as mentioned above, in which dāsas were offered to the monasteries, we have no conclusive evidence to prove the existence of slave trade in Ceylon. On the other hand, sources contain some, though not many, examples of payments made by the masters to their dāsas. As has already been seen, a dāsī was paid by her master 120 kahāpaṇas for day and night service. This dāsī formerly received

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1. Saddharmālaṅkāraya, p.564.
2. SaddharmaRatnāvaliya, pp.38,109,339,540,791,941; Sahas.,pp.33ff.
3. Mv.,IX,2-4.
4. Cv.,XLIX,60.

sixty kahāpaṇas only for day duty. The same amount of money was received by Tissā and Muṇḍagutta.[1] This may have been the normal payment for a dāsa or a dāsī in ancient times. It would therefore be important to try to determine the monetary value of a kahāpaṇa and the time that a dāsa or a dāsī had to work for sixty kahāpaṇas. But, unfortunately, no conclusive evidence is available on these aspects, except for some vague allusions: Nāgā in the above story had already sixty kahāpaṇas when she asked for another sixty, and her master told her that other dāsīs gradually reduced the amount of their loan whereas she increased hers by borrowing more and more money.[2] It may become clear from this passage that Nāgā had not to work for her master during her whole life for sixty kahāpaṇas. It is also revealed that for a meal of a single person, at least, one kahāpaṇa would have to be spent, because in order to prepare just a piṇḍapāta for a bhikkhu Nāgā had to spend, at least, one kahāpaṇa. Then the sixty kahāpaṇas may be equivalent to about thirty day's

1. Sahas.,p.50.
2. Ibid.,p.32: paresaṃ gehadāsī hutvā vasamānā thokena thokena iṇaṃ appakaṃ karonti; tvaṃ pana punappunaṃ vaddhetvā dhanaṃ gaṇhāsi.

food expenses of an ordinary man. This may give some idea of the value of a kahāpaṇa.[1]

In addition, the Nihintalē Slab Inscription mentions that an officer-in-charge of female slaves at the Cetiyagiri Vihāra was paid two payas and each of assistant female slave was paid one paya.[2] In this context, it is not clear whether paya here means a plot of land or a measure of rice, and whether these payments were made yearly or otherwise. For the garments of these female slaves the price paid was one kalaṅda (of gold?). It is, however, specified that this payment should be made yearly (havuruduvakaṭ). It would therefore appear that the payment on a yearly basis did not apply to other cases. Yet we are in no position to decide whether other payments were made monthly or weekly or daily.

From the above study of the social groups and ranking during the period under consideration, it may become clear firstly, that Hindu varṇa system was hardly followed by Sinhalese, though there were brāhmaṇas, who, organized as a religious group, probably were

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1. Cf. H.W.Codrington, Ceylon Coins and Currency, p.11.
2. Ep. Zeyl., I, p.95, lines, B20-21.

influenced by South India from about the seventh century
A.D. onwards, and kings and the members of the royal
families who claimed to be kṣatriyas and formed a class
by themselves equivalent to the kṣatriyas in ancient
India. Examples in our sources are too scanty to show
the existence of the vaiśyas and śūdras in Ceylon.

Secondly, instead of the Indian varṇas, something
like the present caste system in Ceylon appears to have
prevailed, at least, in embryonic form.

Thirdly, as there was a vast area in the Island
which was opened for cultivation, the kings made many land
grants to the nobles; officers in the state and vihāras
were generally paid in land. As a matter of fact, the vast
majority of Sinhalese earned their livelihood by cultivating
paddy and other crops. Thus, the land owners (gam-laddan,
pamuṇu-laddan and kābāli-laddan) and cultivators (kuḍīn
or haskaru) became very large in number and they occupied
a foremost place in society. The bhikkhus, kings and rich
people demanded the service of dāsas, who represented the
poor class of society. However, they were by no means
equal to 'slaves' in the European sense.

Finally, it seems to us that there was no rigid
caste system or class distinction in Ceylon during
the period under consideration.

CONCLUSION

In the light of the foregoing study it may be concluded that social conditions in Ceylon underwent certain changes during the later Anurādhapura period, particularly from about the seventh century. Although a comparison between social conditions in the period under discussion with those prevailing in the early Anurādhapura period would have been of great interest, no such attempt has been made in this study for two reasons. Firstly, the sources for such a comparative study are, on the whole, inadequate. Secondly, a comparison of this kind to the extent to which it is possible, would involve a major study by itself.

It seems that, although the nuclear family was the basis of society, the joint family system had become its most prevalent characteristic. Collective responsibility and co-operation of several nuclear families were the general norm. This is especially clear in the royal family from about the seventh century. Although there were internal conflicts from time to time, the rulers always strove to maintain or to restore solidarity among the members of the royal family.

This attitude of the rulers from the seventh century had important political implications with the emergence of an independent ruling dynasty in Rohaṇa. For the rulers of the main kingdom, i.e. Anurādhapura, always tried to maintain close relations with Rohaṇa by matrimonial alliances and other means: sisters and daughters of the kings of Anurādhapura were given in marriage to princes of Rohaṇa. Princes and princesses of Rohaṇa, in many cases the children of sisters of the Anurādhapura rulers, were sometimes brought up in the palace of Anurādhapura; their marriage were arranged by the kings of the latter again with members, mostly cross-cousins, of the Anurādhapura royal family. The rulers of Anurādhapura, assisted their sisters' sons to recover their positions in Rohaṇa if the need arose. Princes of Rohaṇa, in return, assisted their mother's brothers in Anurādhapura.

Secondly, family solidarity may have been an important factor in strengthening the position of the ruling clan in case of rivalries between the two main royal dynasties: the Moriyas and the Lambakaṇṇas.

Finally, there can be no doubt that the Sinhalese rulers were aware that any conflict within the royal

family would be dangerous as it might elicit intervention by South Indian rulers, who invaded Ceylon many times during the last centuries of the Anurādhapura period.

It is true that there are only few examples attesting solidarity between members of ordinary families, but the available evidence suggests that members of such familes, who normally carried out similar occupations and lived in mono-clan villages, considered family solidarity of prime importance.

It also emerges from this study that there was a well-established Sinhalese kinship terminology. This terminology was classificatory in its widest sense.

There is evidence for a patriarchal social system, although there are also examples of a bilateral system. In the context of kinship terminology, both paternal and maternal kin were recognized for the three middle generations. In addition, it was established that any claimant to the throne should be qualified not only from his father's but also from his mother's side.

On the other hand, it follows from our study on family and kinship and particularly from that on the position of women, that women during the period under review occupied a very favourable position. As daughters,

mothers and wives, women could certainly play an important role. Girls' rights were by no means inferior to those of boys as far as marriage was concerned; both could conclude a second marriage; no restrictions nor satī practice were imposed on widows. Women possessing land and other properties were by no means rare. Their literary accomplishments were unrivalled. Moreover, religious and social achievements of women certainly added to their credit. The bhikkhunī Order, with was probably in its peak of glory during the period under review, was itself an institution which enabled the women to enjoy equal religious rights.

Certain changes in patterns of settlements and also in the social groups and ranking, can be noticed during the period under review. In order to meet the needs of the apparently increasing population a considerable number of reservoirs were built not only in the outskirts of Anurādhapura but also in more remote areas from about the last decade óf the third century A.D. throughout the period under discussion. Hence, vast areas were brought under cultivation.

Towards the close of the tenth century the area settled by the Sinhalese was considerable. Naturally,

most of the settlements were gāmas, In addition, other local groupings such as nigama, paṭun-gama and nagara were common. Because it had been the capital of the Island for many centuries, Anurādhapura naturally developed into its greatest city. The emergence of the city of Sīgiriya in the latter half of the fifth century A.D. was an important event. Similarly, Polonnaruva, had developed into a city well before the end of the period under study. Mahātittha was the principal sea port, which had also developed into a relatively large nagara inhabited by mainly local and foreign merchants.

The ruling clans in the Island always regarded themselves as khattiyas, although some of these clans, such as the Moriyas and Lambakaṇṇas, were, most probably, of totemistic origin.

We find neither vaiśyas nor śūdras in the Island. However, brāhmaṇas appear to have occupied favourable positions from about the latter part of the seventh century. There are a number of examples showing that brāhmaṇas were especially concentrated in the capital towards the close of the period under review. We feel that the apparent rise of the brāhmaṇas was a consequence of the close relations between Ceylon and South India.

Nevertheless, there is little evidence for the existence of the varṇa system except as a purely theoretical model. Instead, there are quite a number of examples suggesting some features of the modern caste system in Ceylon. Modern Sinhalese castes, such as those of the rajaka (washermen), sunu (lime-burners), kumbal (potters) and kevaṭṭas (fishermen) existed in mono-clan villages during the period under discussion.

There is evidence for the emergence of a class of feudal lords from about the seventh century. These were known as gam-laddan, raṭ-laddan, kābāli-laddan and pāṭṭa-laddan. Those working on monastic and other kind of property were known as kudīn or haskaru.

Slavery existed in Ceylon but the corresponding term dāsa, had a totally different connotation from the slaves in Europe. Dāsas in Ceylon were usually domestic servants with limited freedom.

As has already been pointed out in some cases, some features of modern Ceylonese society, can already be noticed in the period under discussion. Particularly, kinship terminology, cross-cousin marriage and the ceremony of the tying of the marriage badge (tälla) may be mentioned in this connexion.

In many cases, the social system was flexible;
there was no rigid caste or class system. This attitude
was probably the result of the influence of Buddhism
on the Sinhalese. It may, however, cause (an) surpries
that the behaviour of historical persons was not always
in agreement with the Buddhist norms because 'real
societies can never be in equilibrium'.[1]

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1. Cf. E.R.Leach, Political Systems of Highalnd Burma,
   1954,p.4; see also P.C.Lloyd, 'Conflict Theory and
   Yoroba Kingdoms', I.M.Lewis, (editior) History and
   Social Anthropology,1968,pp.25-61.

APPENDIX
WEIGHTS AND MEASURES IN ANCIENT CEYLON

Table I

(A)

4 (dīgha) gāvutas (about $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles)= 1(dīgha) yojana

4 (rassa) gāvutas (a little more than 1 mile)=

$$1 \text{ (rassa) yojana}^{[1]}$$

(B)

4 hätäkmas (4 miles)= 1 gāvuta

4 gāvutas   = 1 yojana[2]

Table II

36 paramāṇus	= 1 aṇu
36 aṇus	= 1 tajjārī
36 tajjārīs	= 1 rathana
36 rathanas	= 1 likkhā
7 likkhās	= 1 ūkā
7 ūkās	= 1 dhaññamāsa
7 dhaññamāsas	= 1 aṅgula (inch)
12 aṅgulas	= 1 vidatthi (1 foot)
2 vidatthis	= 1 rathana
7 rathanas	= 1 yaṭṭhi
4 yaṭṭhis	= 1 abbhantara
5 abbhantaras	= 1 usabha
80 usabhas	= 1 gāvuta
4 gāvutas	= 1 yojana[3]

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1. Cv.,LXV,4,LXXIII,157, LXXVI,167; Saddharma Ratnāvaliya, pp.440-441,592,697,880; H.Parker, Ancient Ceylon,1906, pp.255ff; CJSG,II,1928-33,pp.129ff; Ep.Zeyl.,IV,p.77.
2. B.F.Hartshorne, Report on the Nuvara Eliya District,pp.96ff
3. Abhidānappadīpikā,p.269.

Table III

7 ūkās	= 1 viyaṭa(paddy grain)
7 viyaṭas	= 1 aṅgula (finger breadth)
12 aṅgulas	= 1 viyata (span)
2 viyatas	= 1 riyana
4 riyanas	= 1 baṁba (fathom)
7 riyanas	= 1 yat
20 yats or 35 baṁbas	= 1 isba
80 isbas	= 1 gāvuta
4 gāvutas	= 1 yojana[1]

Table IV

35 baṁbas	= 1 isba
7 riyanas	= 1 yaṣṭi
20 yaṣṭis	= 1 isba[2]

Table V

4 pasatas (sataḷosa or kadamba)	= 1 näli or pata
4 ..näli or patas	= 1 ālāhaka
4 ālāhakas	= 1 doṇa
4 doṇas	= 1 mānaka
4 mānakas	= 1 kari
20 karis	= 1 vāha (sakaṭa)

11 doṇas	= 1 amuṇa
10 amuṇu	= 1 kumbha

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1. Navanāmāvaliya, v.v. 75-76; Saddharma Ratnāvaliya, p.236;
   Ep. Zeyl., II, p.82, note, 5.
2. Ibid.

Table VI

5	kuruṇis or yala	= 1	parā
12	kuruṇis	= 1	pāla
8	parās or 160 sērus	= 1	amuṇa
40	lāhas	= 1	pāla
4	pālas	= 1	amuṇa [1]

Table VII

4	miṭas	= 1	atalosa
8	miṭas	= 1	pata
2	patas	= 1	manāva
2	manāvas	= 1	nӓliya
4	nӓli	= 1	kuruṇi or lāha
4	lāhas	= 1	tiṁba
5	kuruṇis	= 1	bera
2	beras	= 1	pāla
4	pālas	= 1	amuṇa [2]

Table VIII

3	tala ӓṭas	= 1	amu ӓṭa
3	amu ӓṭas	= 1	vī ӓṭa
8	vī ӓṭas	= 1	madaṭiya
20	madaṭiyas	= 1	kalaňda
3	kalaňdas	= 1	huṇa

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1. <u>Saddharma Ratnāvaliya</u>, pp.774ff; T.W.Rhys Davids,
   <u>Numismata Orientalia</u>,1877,p.18,note,3; <u>Ep. Zeyl</u>.,I,pp.98ff.
2. F.Modder,'Sinhalese Weights and Measures', <u>JCBRAS</u>,XII,
   1953,pp.173ff.

2	huṇas	= 1	palam
2	palams	= 1	kulundal
2	kulundals	= 1	pata or huṇḍuva
2	patas or huṇḍu	= 1	manāva
2	manāvas	= 1	nāli or sēru or kuruṇiya
2	..ṅāli	= 1	lāha
4	lāhas	= 1	tiṁba
10	lāhas	≑ 1	pāla
4	pāḷas	= 1	amuṇa[1]

Table IX

3	tala äṭas	= 1	amu äṭa
3	amu äṭas	⚹ 1	vī äṭa
8	vī äṭas	= 1	madaṭa
20	madaṭas	= 1	kalaňda
3	kalaňdas	= 1	huṇa
4	huṇas	= 1	palam
2	palams	= 1	kulundal
2	kulundal	= 1	pata
4	patas	= 1	nadumba
4	nadumbas	= 1	lāsu
4	lāsus	= 1	droṇa[2]

Table X

4	vīhas	= 1	guñja
2	guñjas	= 1	māsaka
2	māsakas	= 1	akkha
8	akkhas	= 1	dharaṇa

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1. B.F.Hartshorne, Report on the Nuvara Eliya District, 1872,pp.96-99.
2. Yogārṇavaya, (K.A.Pereʒa's edition), v.v.283,285-286.

5	dharaṇas	= 1	suvaṇṇa
2	suvaṇṇas	= 1	phala
5	suvaṇṇas	= 1	nikkha
100	phalas	= 1	tulā
20	tulās	= 1	bhara[1]

Table XI

8	vī äṭas	= 1	madaṭa
20	madaṭas	= 1	kalaňda
3	kalaňdas	= 1	huṇa
4	huṇas	= 1	palam
20	vī äṭas	= 1	aka
8	akas	= 1	kalaňda[2]

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1. <u>Abhidhānappadīpikā</u>,p.194.

2. <u>Yogārṇavaya</u>, (K.A.Perera's edition),p.195.

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Note:- Unless otherwise stated, all footnotes refer to
editions marked with an asterisk, if more than one edition
of a text is available.

INDEX

k. king, m. monk, n. nun, q. queen, t. title