CHAPTER THREE

The State, Kingship and Buddhism in Ancient Sri Lanka

Walpola Rahula states that the introduction of Buddhism and the arrival of Arahanta Mahinda may be regarded as the beginning of Sinhala culture in Sri Lanka. Elder Mahinda brought to Sri Lanka not only a new religion but also a glorified civilization.¹ This study examines the origin and evolution of state and kingship in the early period and the extent to which Buddhism and Buddhist concepts influenced the political background and structural development of political institutions in Sri Lanka.

As far as the literary sources are concerned, they were written by Buddhist monks after the fourth century A.D. According to the account in the commentaries, the original sources, which were based on Pāli literature, may be traced to the third century B.C. onward. For example, the Vamsatthapakāsinī, sub-commentary of the Mahāvamsa, provides important information about the original sources of the chronicles and the commentaries. The author of the Vamsatthapakānī seems to have had the basic source of the Mahāvamsa before him and had drawn from it in trying to explain the latter. The most important fact is that the Mahāvamsa was written based on the Sīhalatthakathā or the Sīhalatthakathā-Mahāvamsa. The term Sīhalatthakathā is applied to the commentaries on the Buddhist canon in Sinhalese. The body of the commentaries

contained an historical introduction generally referred to as the *Sihalatthakathā-Mahāvamsa* that incorporated, in some order and sequence, these historical traditions of Buddhism. It probably came down to the death of Arahanta Mahinda.²

Complementary information is found in inscriptions located in caves and rocks which mention donors and gifts which have been offered by rulers, members of the ruling house, elite, and noble persons of society to the Buddhist monks or monasteries.

### 3.1 Origin of the state and monarchy in literary and archeological sources

#### 3.1.1 Literary evidence for the beginning of state and kingship.

The literary sources, particularly the Chronicles focus on the contemporary description of Anurādhapura dynasty and attempt to highlight those Anurādhapura rulers that came from Buddha’s generation in India. Primarily, the *Dīpavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa* present details about the three visits of the Buddha to the island and credit the Buddha with clearing the island from *Yakka*s for the existence of human beings.³ Another legend associates the landing on the island of prince Vijaya, who was the first king of the island and came from India. According to this legend, the Master was said to have been lying on the deathbed but his thoughts were on the safety of prince Vijaya and his followers. The Buddha assigned the *Sakka* to protect them and later sent the God Uppalavanna to the island. Uppalavanna sprinkled charmed water on the men and tied sacralized thread on their hands for their protection.⁴

The Chronicles remark that the origin of the state and kingship was

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³ *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. I-III; *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. I
⁴ *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. VII, V. 1-5.
established with the coming of the Indian prince Vijaya who was the son of Sinhabhāhu of Lāṭa Ratta of India. According to the Vijaya legend, prince Vijaya and seven hundred followers arrived in Sri Lanka; they conquered the multitude of Yakkhas who inhabited the island; got aid from a Yakkhini known as Kuveni or Kuvannā who was married by prince Vijaya on the island. After destroying the Yākkha leadership of the island, the followers of Vijaya wanted to be consecrated as ruler of Sri Lanka. But the prince would not accept that, unless a Khattiya princess was consecrated with him. Since it was not possible to hold a consecration ceremony without a queen of Khattiya birth an embassy was sent to Madhurā in the south to ask for the hand of the daughter of the Pāndya king. The Pāndya king sent his daughter, many other maidens and a thousand families of the eighteen guilds of workmen. On arrival of the princess from Madhurā, Vijaya married her after brusquely dismissing Kuvanna, and members of his retinue married the other maidens from Madhurā. After consecration of Vijaya, he became the first king of Sri Lanka. Thus monarchy was established in the island. Obeysekere states that this foundation myth for Sri Lankan history is an inescapable part of the historical consciousness of the Sinhalese.

A few other legends are included in the accounts of the Divyāvadāna and the writings of Fa-Hien and Hiuen-Tsang. Fa-Hien remarks that in the ancient times, merchants came to this island to purchase gems from Yakkas who lived in the island. Because of the prosperity of this island, they decided to settle down here and establish the

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5 "Vina khattiya kahāya abisekan Mahesiya", Mahāvamsa, Ch. VII, V. 47.
6 Mahāvamsa, Ch. VII, V. 71
Kingdom. The Divyavadana presents a story similar to the story of Hiuen-Tsang. One of the stories cited by Hiuen-Tsang is similar to the Vijaya myth of the Sri Lankan Chronicles. However, the earlier episodes take place not in and around Vanga but in South India. Further, it is the killer of the lion who is exiled as punishment for his parricide. He founds a kingdom in the island and they called the country Sinhala (Sang-Kia-lo). In the second story of Hiuen-Tsang, which is basically similar to that in the Divyavadana, Sinhala was the son of the great merchant of Jambudipä called Sinha (Sang-kia). Sinhala comes to the island with five hundred merchants, looking for gems, and stays back to live in the company of Rakṣasis. When the merchants discover that they are about to be imprisoned by their paramours, they escape from the island with the help of a flying horse. After that Sinhala was elected king in his own country, but he leads an expedition to the island and founds a new kingdom after vanquishing the Rakṣasis. Because of the king’s name, the country was called Sinhala.

An analysis of these myths has drawn attention to the similarity of certain elements in them with the Buddhist Jātaka stories such as Padakusalamānava, Sutana, Ghata, Valāhassa, and Devadhamma and it has been suggested that either the myths were influenced by the Jātakas or both groups were derived from a common source.

The second part of the legend in the Sri Lankan Chronicles attempts to construct a relationship between Sri Lankan rulers and the Śākya clan of India. After the death of king Vijaya, his nephew, Panduvāsudeva became king of Sri Lanka and his spouse was

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10 Divyavadāna, pp. 523-529.
Bhaddakaccayana.\textsuperscript{13} Bhaddakaccayana was the daughter of the Śākya prince Pandu, the son of Amitodana Śākya, brother of Suddhodana, the father of Buddha. Prince Pandu Śākya heard that both his homeland and clan would be destroyed soon, so he left the former kingdom and came to the southern side of the river Gangā and built a new kingdom there. Pandu Śākya had seven sons and one daughter. Bhaddakaccayana, the daughter, was famed for her beauty and had many suitors. The king Pandu put her in a ship and set her adrift on the Gangā declaring "whosoever can, let him take my daughter." The princes, who tried to marry her, failed to halt the ship and it finally reached the shores of Sri Lanka where Bhaddakaccayana became queen of Panduvāsudeva, the nephew of king Vijaya. The six brothers of Bhaddakaccayana, hearing their sister is living in Sri Lanka arrived on the island and established settlements in different parts of Sri Lanka. Bhaddakaccayana had ten sons and a daughter named Chittā or Unmādachittā. When she was born, the soothsayer had forecasted that her son would slay her brothers. So she was made to live in a chamber built on a single pillar.

One of the Śākya princes, Dīgha, settled in the island, had a son called Gāmani. Prince Gāmani saw Chittā and fell in love with her. He cleverly found a means of visiting her and as a result of their relation a prince called Pandukābhaya or Pakunda was born\textsuperscript{14}

This story makes it quite clear that Pandukābhaya was descended, through both his mother and father, from the Śākya clan. Though it is not specifically stated, it is not difficult for any one who has listened or read the story to deduce that Pandukābhaya belonged to the pure Śākya clan and was the great grand nephew of the Buddha. Thus kings of the dynasty that Pandukābhaya founded not only comprised of the Śākya princes

\textsuperscript{13} Mahāvamsa, Ch. VIII, V. 1-8,20.
\textsuperscript{14} Dipavamsa, Ch. X; Mahāvamsa, Ch. IX, V. 1-28.
but also descendents of the sole surviving member of the Śākya clan. This story can be tabulated as follows:

**Kinship of king Pandhukābhaya**

Sinhānu

Suddhodana, Suklodana, Dhotodhana, Amitodana, Mitodana, Amitā, Pramitā

Siddārtha (Buddha) Pandu Śākaya Sinhābahu + Sinhasivali

Vijaya Sumittā

Dīghayu, Other nine sons, Bhaddakaccāyanī...+Panduvāstudeva

Dīgha Gāmani Other ten sons Chittā

Pandukābhaya

Fig. 1

Gunawardana states that the two myths: the tale of the first visit of the Buddha and the account of the genealogy of Pandukābhaya, form the 'point' and 'counterpoint' as it were in conveying a politically significant message. They jointly served the function of legitimizing the claims of the first dynasty of Anurādhapura to suzerainty over the

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whole island.\textsuperscript{16} G. C. Mendis thinks that the nature of this legend has similarities with Krishna in the \textit{Mahābhārata} as well as the Buddhist Canonical tales like the \textit{Ghata Jātaka} \textsuperscript{17}

It is clear from the above observation that the Chronicles have attempted to emphasise the genealogy of the dynasty said to be related to the Śākya clan of the Buddha, and one which ruled over the island based at Anurādhapura from sixth century B.C. to first century A.D. Further, the literary sources emphasise that the state and monarchy of early Sri Lanka was brought from India and established in the island as a mature one. It is difficult to trace the evolution of the political system of the early period of Sri Lanka from the available literary sources.

\textbf{3.1.2 The archaeological background and origin of the state}

The information from the literary sources regarding the socio-political background of the pre-Buddhist epoch of Sri Lanka is not supported by the archaeological evidence. The literary sources have highlighted that an uncivilized society existed in Sri Lanka before the Buddha visited the island and that Aryan civilization and state was established after the landing of prince Vijaya in the later period. But according to archaeological evidence, a somewhat different picture emerges, unlike the literary sources which trace the history of the island from the sixth century B.C.

According to archaeological evidence, Bandaranayake identified four transition periods of early Sri Lankan society. First transition period: the change from a nomadic, food collecting economy of pre-historic hunter-foragers to sedentary, food producing economy of primitive farmer. Second transition period: the transition from ‘primitive’

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{17} G. C. Mendis, “The \textit{Mahābhārata} Legends in the \textit{Mahāvamsa},” \textit{JRCBAS}, (N.S) Vol. V, 1956, pp. 81-84.
methods of food production to advanced agriculture, principally wet-rice cultivation and small-scale irrigation. Third transition period: the subsequent (and perhaps even partly concurrent) process of the emergence of a literate, historical society marked by the appearance of clear social differentiation, early state formation and primary urbanization. Fourth transition period: the development of a centralized monarchical state.18

The primitive habitation of the island was traced on the basis of archaeological evidence to the Mesolithic period.19 (see table 8) It has been suggested that the Mesolithic people of Sri Lanka were aware of different colours present in certain mineralized stones and soil/sands, leading to the use of hematite, limonite molybdenum, mica, graphite, blue clay and kaolin as pigments for ritualistic purposes and cave art.20

The Mesolithic is followed by the pre-historic Iron Age, which has been traced to ca. 900-600 B.C. in Sri Lanka. Archaeological data such as the Black and Red Ware, Red Ware, shark bone, and iron slag belonging to the Megalithic and Iron Ages have been found in various parts of Sri Lanka such as Karainagar, Anāikoddai, Pomparippu, citadel of Anurādhapura, Kantarodai, Tissamahārāma and Māntai.21 The earliest known pre-historic settlement at Anurādhapura exceeded ca 1000 B.C. in extent by ca 800 B.C., as per the evidence from the widely spaced scatter of sondages.22 This period is distinguished by the appearance of an iron technology, pottery (notably the Sri Lankan

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variant of pre-historic Iron Age Black and Red ware) iron tools, horse, domestic cattle and paddy cultivation.

**Chronology of pre-historic human habitation layers of some archaeological sites in Sri Lanka**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Name of the Archaeological Site</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Context, thickness and layer</th>
<th>Test Year</th>
<th>Lab Number</th>
<th>Chronological date of the layer according to C14 Test</th>
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<tr>
<td>Fa-Hiyangala Caves</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>C.2-ca. 50 cm thick</td>
<td>1986</td>
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<td>7100+60BP; ca. 7900 cal BP</td>
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<td>Beta 33295</td>
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<td>Do</td>
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<td>Do</td>
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<td>Beta 33294</td>
<td>33070+BP; ca. 34,070BP</td>
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<td>Batadomba-lena Sabarmamuva</td>
<td>Sabarma</td>
<td>C.4.a 50cm Thick</td>
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<td>11,200+/-320 BP; ca. 12,230 cal BP, ca. 11,500</td>
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<td>13,880+370/-360 BP; ca. 14,300 BP</td>
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<td>C.7b.30 cm</td>
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<td>BS-784</td>
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Was there Paleolithic (Old Stone Age) in Sri Lanka,” *Ancient Ceylon*, No. 4, 1981, pp. 143-156; ....
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<th>Site</th>
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<th>Height</th>
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<tr>
<td>Arnakallu North</td>
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<td>C.99</td>
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<td>1986</td>
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<td>Kandarodei</td>
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<td>Beta 33280 2640+/−60 BP, 809 cal BC; 839-797 cal BC</td>
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<td>North</td>
<td>C. trench A (stratum IV)</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>P-2521 2020+/−50 BP, 36 cal BC; 101 cal BC −22 cal AD</td>
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<td>C. A (IV/V)</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>p-2518 2290+/−50 BP, 390 cal BC; 399-370 cal BC</td>
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<td>p-2523 2060+/−50 BP, 96 cal BC; 161-75 cal BC</td>
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<td>C.B (VIII)</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>p-2525 2730+/−220 BP; 2730+/−220 BP; ca. 897 cal BC; over 1140-less than 780 cal BC</td>
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<td>p-2519 2290+/−60 BP, 390 cal BC; 401-366 cal BC</td>
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<td>p-2526 2090+/−50 BP, 111 cal BC; 185-57 cal BC</td>
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<td>C.B (XI)</td>
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<td>p-2528 2370+/−60 BP, 404 cal BC; 475, 394 cal BC</td>
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Mántai
North Upper 40cm clay stratum 1982 BM-2340 3520+45 BP; ca 3830 cal BP; ca 3860-3820,3800-3730 cal BP

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<th>Site</th>
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<td>Middle</td>
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<td>1982</td>
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Mántai
Middle 40-55 cm below top clay stratum 1982 BM-2340 3520+45 BP; ca 3830 cal BP; ca 3860-3820,3800-3730 cal BP
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<th>BM- 2342</th>
<th>3790+70 BP; 4170 cal BP; 4310-4370, cal BP</th>
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<td>C. G 260</td>
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<td>1810+/- 50 BC; ca.221 cal AD; 121-250 cal AD</td>
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<td>1420+/- 140 Bp; ca. 637 cal AD; 725-490 AD</td>
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<td>960+/-50BP ca. 1030 cal AD; 1015-1104 cal AD</td>
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<td>210+/- 50 BP; ca. 1663 cal AD</td>
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<td>C.Sm 11-12-2 sample 7</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Beta 31778</td>
<td>1060+/-50BP; ca. 985 cal AD; 929-1016 cal AD</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 8

According to archaeological evidence, the beginning of the proto-historic period can be traced to ca 600 or 500 B.C and it existed from ca. 600 or 500 to 250 B.C. The new ceramic forms (such as BRW) appear in this period and are identified by archaeological data such as polished ware related to north India. New ceramic forms and significant evidence for the sixth century B.C. in Sri Lanka, has been revealed from archaeological excavation at the citadel of Anuradhapura. The Brāhmī script made its appearance in the sixth century B.C. at Anuradhapura.

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first appearance in this particular period. It has provided useful data to understand writing skills of that society. Some scholars had considered that the Brāhmī script was introduced into Sri Lanka as a result of the establishment of Buddhism. Following an earlier trend set by P. E. E. Fernandu in 1947, it had been suggested that the symbols may be compared with the nearest parallel forms of peninsular India. Based on this evidence it had been assumed that civilization emanated from south India. But this assumption has changed after the find of Brāhmī script on potsherds from the citadel at Anurādhapura. According to Deraniyagala, the Brāhmī script on potsherds is dated to fifth or sixth century B.C.

During the early iron Age, the settlements and subsystem pattern were changing rapidly. For example, archaeological excavation of Anurādhapura, Kantarodei, Mantai, Maduru Oya (see table 8) shows that with the change from pre-historic period to proto-historic period was marked by expansion in agriculture, the hydraulic society, crafts trade and commerce.

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26 Fernandu has also shown, according to differences of some Brāhmī letter styles such as “Ma” (X) and “T” ((shader) that the Brāhmī alphabet was introduced to Ceylon from South India. It was probably introduced to Ceylon as result of the intercourse that existed between South India and Ceylon in the very early period. Brāhmī scripts was influenced by other elements probably after the arrival of Buddhist missionaries in the island. P. E. E. Fernandu, "Palaeographical Development of the Brāhmī scripts in Ceylon from 3rd Century B.C. to 7th Century A.D.,” *The University Ceylon Review*, Vol. VII, 1949, p. 285.


28 AMP-88 (75) dated 750-793 or 538-370; (Beta-34392) and 807-763, 679-662 or 627-579 B.C. (Beta 35715), Daraniyagala, *op. cit.*, 1990, p 155; “The beginning of the civilization, on the one hand, may be seen in relation to the dynamic of community movements associated with the primary technology and subsistence pattern in a geographical context. On the other hand, social formation may also be viewed in relation to the processes of acculturation and other forms of integration during the proto-historic period. This resulted in a cultural synthesis where there was a coalescence of diverse elements leading towards a semblance of cultural uniformity. The horizontal spread of a uniform cultural pattern during early historic period became evident with the expansion in agriculture hydraulic society, craft trade and commerce and also with the crystallization of the state over the multitude of chiefdoms that preceded it” Seneviratne, *op. cit.*, 1984, p. 292-293.

About 250 B.C. there was an apparent transformation in the scale of social organization although the earlier ceramic and burial forms continue with minor variations. Mauryan contacts and the introduction of Buddhism occur at the inception of the period, which is characterized by a substantial urban centre at Anurādhapura, hydraulic civilization based on tank irrigation schemes, monumental architecture, the introduction of coinage and writing using the early Brāhmi script, commercial guilds long distance trade, stratified society and state formation. The pattern of transformation from a socially undifferentiated or pre-class society i.e. of a tribal or lineage type, into one that was stratified into distinct social groups or classes culminates in the development of a centralized monarchical state, unifying the enter land under its authority.

Food production in this period was primarily based on the cultivation of a rice crop and irrigated by small-scale reservoirs. These reservoirs were constructed with the communal labour of the village and owned by the village as a whole, the owners of village tanks being term ‘Vavihamika’. The Ganekanda Vihāra cave inscription refers to Parumaka Tissa, the proprietor of the tank of Gokannagamaka (Gokanna Village). Sāseruva cave inscription mentions Yava tank owner Cula Sumana. Nāga was owner of the Kadahalaka tank. Torava Mayilāva cave inscription refers to about the lay devotee Vinu, the proprietor of Punapitika Tank. Avukana Vihāra cave inscription refers to Parumaka Uvajanaka and Dasaka, the proprietors of Kadapi tank and Gajadabutaka tank. According to insessional evidence, we may assume that these persons may have

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Early Brähmi inscriptions and Megalithic sites in Sri Lanka

key

- Inscription
- Megalithic site

Map. 4
been owners of the small village tanks. Further, cattle and swidden farming existed side by side with irrigated agriculture. Craft specialization was also known, especially pottery production and metallurgy involving copper and iron. Inscriptions give a few details such as persons who were engaged in the technical processes in this period. 36 The inscriptive evidence provides some information about traders 37 guild, 38 mariners 39 as well as urban centres (nagara). 40 Further no imported products conclusively indicating foreign trade are evident before 250 B.C. when imports begin with the appearance of the Northern Black Polished Ware of North Indian origins at the end of the pre-historic period, a time of Mauryan influence. 41 The use of coins in many transactions had become quite well known at Anuradhapura at a much earlier time. Coins have been found at sites in Anuradhapura dated by archaeologists to a period in the middle of 3rd B.C. 42

42 A total of 149 coins were recovered from the trench Anuradhapura Salgha watta 2 (ASW), of which 97 are identifiable with certainty, a further 22 were identified with some reservations and the final 30 are completely unrecognisable. The oldest which might represent a coin (circular Bull coin), a thin, extremely worn copper-ally square, was found in structural phase 15 and dated to the c 3rd century B.C., Coningham, op.cit, 1990, p. 34-35; Allchin, op.cit., 1995, p. 169.
According to Table No 8, and Map No. 4, we can identify the expansion of the early settlements and change and transformation in the pattern of the settlements in the island. Further, the most important aspects of this are the attempts to locate the major transformations and transitions that took place in the early history of Sri Lanka and to characterize the distinctive social formations that emerged from each of these major instances of historical change. It is clear that the primitive habitation places such as Fa-Hiyangala, Batadomba lena and Beli lena etc. were located inside the island in wet zone areas and they used stone tools for hunting. The city centres such as Anurādhapura emerged in the proto-historical period and there was expansion of settlements to various parts of Sri Lanka, for example Kantarodei, Māntai, Māduru Oya etc. Some settlements emerged near natural resources areas as well as coastal areas, because commercial and agricultural networks developed rapidly inside and outside the island. Based on the archaeological evidence, it is clear that although Sri Lankan society developed rapidly since the Mesolithic period, and the early historic period may be considered as a transformation epoch in the socio-political, religious, economic and cultural history of Sri Lanka.

3.2 The data from inscriptions: emergence of local polities

According to archaeological evidence two phases may be identified: pre state and early state. The initial phase of pre state expansion in Sri Lanka may be dated from third century B.C. to second century B.C., while the period from the second century B.C.
to third century A.D. may be described as the period of the early state. Inscriptions and literary sources reflect conditions in the earliest epoch of Sri Lankan political history and indicate the presence of a large number of pre-state polities which are best described as chiefdoms, scattered over a wide area within the island. But it is clear that these polities were at a very elementary level of organizational development. Gunawardana says that it is remarkable that with one exception there is no reference to administrative functionaries serving under any of the political leaders mentioned in inscriptions at fourteen different regional sites of Sri Lanka.

3.2.1. The titles of royalty and the nobles

Inscriptional evidence of the third century B.C. to first century B.C. reveals thirty local polities which existed at that time in various parts of Sri Lanka except the Jaffna peninsula. The titles such as Raja, Maharaja, Gamani, Devanapiya, Aya, Abi can be identified as royal titles which were used by rulers or members of the ruling house. The title Raja (Pali and Sanskrit equivalent Rājā) indicates ruler or king and it is appropriate that the title be assumed by a leader claiming authority over a group of people whatever

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45 Ibid.
46 Twenty eight pre-state polities have been identified by Gunawardana. Gunawardana, op. cit.,1982, p. 7.
47 Kings in ancient Sri Lanka were invested with various titles in their lithic records. These can be divided into two separate periods, for example pre and early period of state. This division is made not only because some of the early titles went out of vogue and new ones came into being after the first century but also because there is a difference in the use of the titles which was continued from the earlier period, Tilak Hettiarachchy, History of Kingship in Ceylon: up to the fourth Century A.D., Colombo: Lake House, 1972, p. 34.
the territorial extent of his rule. The title Raja seems to have been taken by early local rulers as well as Anuradhapura rulers with or without the additional title of Gamani or Devanapiyā. For instance, one of the local rulers mentioned in the Mihintale cave inscription is referred to as Raja Kanagama Tissa (Kanagamla rafjasəf).\(^{49}\) The inscription from Occăppukallu contains references to Raja Kanna (Raja puta kanasa) and his father Raja Kanna (Raja kanasa).\(^{50}\) The local ruler of Periyapuliyankulama refers to Raja Nāga (Raja Naga) and his son–in–low Raja Uttiya (Raja Uti).\(^{51}\) The Nachchīyārmalai cave inscription mentions the Raja, grandfather of Uttiya.\(^{52}\) The Kusalānkanada, Henannegala, Mottayakallu, Bōvattegala, Kottadāmuhela inscriptions refer to Raja Abhaya (raja Abaya) son of Uparaja Nāga (Uvapara Naga),\(^{53}\) Raja Majjhima (raja Majima),\(^{54}\) Raja Abhaya (raja Abaya),\(^{55}\) Raja Dhamma (Damaraja)\(^{56}\) Raja Uttiya (raja Uti).\(^{57}\) The Bambaragala cave inscription and Āmbulambe cave inscriptions mention Raja Pocani (raja pocani) and Raja Pacani (raja pacani).\(^{58}\) The inscription of Gōnavatta contains references to long a genealogy starting with Raja Pocanika (pojchanikaraja). His son was Raja Abhaya (raja Abaya) and grandson was king Raja Nāga. (raja Naga) The son of Raja Nāga was Raja Abhaya (raja Abaya).\(^{59}\)

Further, the rulers, who belonged to the Anurādhapura kingdom such as

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\(^{50}\) IC, Vol I, No. 111, p. 9.

\(^{51}\) EZ, Vol V, p. 234; IC, Vol I, No. 338, p. 27.

\(^{52}\) Ibid., No. 378, p. 30.


\(^{54}\) A.C, p. 451; IC, Vol I, No. 404, p. 31


\(^{58}\) Ibid., No. 814, p. 63, No. 831, p. 64; JRCBAS (N.S), Vol V, 1952, p. 158.

\(^{59}\) Ibid., No. 813, p. 62; CJS (G), Vol II, p. 187.
Dutthagāmani (161-137 B.C.),\textsuperscript{60} Lañja Tissa (119-110 B.C.)\textsuperscript{61} Mahāculika Mahātissa (76-62 B.C.)\textsuperscript{62} Kutakanna Tissa (41-9 B.C.)\textsuperscript{63} Bhāṭikābhaya (19 B.C.-9 A.D.),\textsuperscript{64} Mahādatīka Mahānāga (9-21 A.D.)\textsuperscript{65} Amandagāmani (21-31 A.D.)\textsuperscript{66} Ilanāga (35-41 A.D.)\textsuperscript{67} are given the title \textit{Raja} in their respective inscriptions.

According to inscriptive evidence, Hettiarachchy states that one might be tempted to draw the conclusion that in ancient Sri Lanka the title \textit{Raja} indicated an independent ruler, whether claiming overlordship over the whole island (which they actually did not exercise) or ruling within a limited area.\textsuperscript{68} Besides, Hettiarachchy remarks that the title \textit{Raja} was used by rulers with three different meanings viz.; (I) this title indicates a sovereign ruler, at least in theory, over the whole island, when applied to the main line of rulers at Anurādhapura. (II) independent authority within a limited locality used this title. (III) it indicated a subordinate ruler, with nominal allegiance to the main line of kings (Anurādhapura) to whom such rulers were probably related by blood.\textsuperscript{69}

Likewise, Perera proposes that independent or semi independent local rulers would most probably use the title \textit{Raja}.\textsuperscript{70} Although all chiefs or chiefdoms of various parts of Sri Lanka used this title, it may be assumed that the main line kings of Anurādhapura as well as subordinate rulers like Rōhana used this title to highlight their royalty and authority.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{60} \textit{JRCBAS} (N.S), Vol. II, 1952, p. 136-137.
\item \textsuperscript{61} \textit{IC}, Vol. II, part 1, No. 13, p. 16, No. 15, p. 23.
\item \textsuperscript{62} \textit{JRCBAS} (N.S), Vol. II, 1952, pp. 131.
\item \textsuperscript{63} \textit{IC}, Vol. II, part 1, No. 18, p. 28, No. 19, p. 30.
\item \textsuperscript{64} \textit{Ibid.}, No. 18, No. 19, p. 30.
\item \textsuperscript{65} \textit{Ibid.}, No. 25, p. 39, No. 30, p. 42.
\item \textsuperscript{66} \textit{CJS} (G), Vol. II, p.150. note 1.
\item \textsuperscript{67} \textit{AIC}, No. 4, p. 74.
\item \textsuperscript{68} Hettiarachchy, \textit{op. cit.}, 1972, p. 36.
\item \textsuperscript{69} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 38.
\item \textsuperscript{70} L. S. Perera, \textit{Institutions of Ancient Ceylon from Inscriptions}, Ph. D. Thesis, University of Peradeniya, 1949, p. 31.
\end{itemize}
Perera analyses the use of titles such as *Raja* and *Maharaja* by early rulers of Sri Lanka. He remarks that *Maharaja* was not at this time a common title even in India. The great emperor Aśoka who ruled over large parts of India only used the title *Raja*. The significance of the title *Maharaja* does not therefore lie in the power and splendour usually associated with this title but most probably in its relationship to the title which was widely used in Sri Lanka. It has been suggested that the title was probably borrowed from the Pāli Canon especially the *Jātaka* stories where the king was usually styled *Raja* and *Maharaja*.

The title *Maharaja* literally means ‘the great king or chief king’.

According to inscriptive evidence most of the kings in Anurādhapura kingdom, introduced themselves with the title of *Maharaja*. i.e. Devānampiya Tissa, (Devanampiya Maharajha), Utiya (Gamani Uti Maharajaha), Dutthagāmani (Gamani Maharaja), Saddhā Tissa (Maharaja Gamani Tisaha), Lañja Tissa (Lajakatisa Maharajī), Vattagāmani Abhaya (Gamani Aba Maharaha), Mahāchuli Mahātissa (Tisa Maharajaha), Kutakanna Tissa (Pudakana Gamani Abhaya Maharajaha), Bhātikābhaya (Gamani Abhaya Maharajaha), Mahādātika Mahānāga (Naka

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Maharaja), Amandagāmani Abhaya (Gamani Abaya Maharaja), Vasabha (Vasaba Maharaja), Gajabāhuka Gāmani (Maharaja Gamani Abaya), Mahālakā Nāga (Nake Maharaja), and Bhātika Tissa (Batiya Maharaja). There are no inscriptions in which local rulers used the title Maharaja to introduce themselves. But the rulers of Anurādhapura have taken both the titles Raja and Maharaja, without any distinction, i.e. in the Molahitiyavelegala inscription of king Bhātikabhaya, his grand father Mahāchuli Mahātissa, is called Maharaja but his own father, Kuttakanna Tissa is introduced as Raja. The Lainmalai rock inscription of Mahādātika Mahānāga mentions him as Maharaja, his father Kutakanna Tissa as Raja and his grandfather as Maharaja. The Ridi Vihāra rock inscription of Amandagāmani Abhaya terms his grand uncle, Tissa, Raja, but his grandfather, Kutakanna Tissa and his father, Mahadātika Mahānāga, are called Maharaja. The use of the two terms side by side for different kings of Anurādhapura does not mean that they connoted the rank of the king. Hence we may note that although there are instances where Raja and Maharaja are used by different kings in the same inscription, such instances do not indicate any difference in the status or in the power of such rulers whether in absolute terms or in relation to one another.  

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86 ASCAR, 1892, p. 9; ASCAR, 1893, p. 6; JC, Vol. II, part. 1, Nos. 78, 81, 82, 84, pp. 113, 120, 122.
87 JC, Vol. II, part. 1, No. 18, p. 27.
88 Ibid., No. 19, p. 30.
89 Ibid., No. 34, p. 47.
Perera\(^91\) as well as Narendra Wagle assumed the influence of Buddhism in the popularization of this term in Sri Lanka since the third century B.C. Wagle says that since the Pāli Canon sets out the standard relationship of the Sangha towards laymen it is possible that the Sangha was merely using the standard terminology in addressing the king as *Maharaja*.\(^92\) Hettiarachchy pointed out that this title was used by the king after the arrival of Buddhism in Sri Lanka in the third century B.C. Further, there are two possible explanations for the use of this particular term by the monks in addressing the king. Either the Sangha used the title *Maharaja* in order to please their first royal convert and the chief patron in the island or the Sangha was compelled to use this term to distinguish the Anurādhapura ruler from other *Rajas* of the island.\(^93\) It may be assumed that Devānampiya Tissa was the first king who used this title in the Anurādhapura kingdom and his successors continued to use it after him.

According to inscriptive evidence, it can be assumed that the title of *Gamani* may have been used in the earliest phase in Sri Lanka.\(^94\) In addition, the title (*Gamani*) was used with the title *Raja* or *Maharaja* by the rulers of Anurādhapura after the third century B.C.\(^95\) In the third century B.C. it is likely that Mauryan political concepts influenced the Sri Lankan political structure.\(^96\)

Literary sources mention that *Gamani* was an integral part of the name of a few kings belonging to the early period of Sri Lanka. i.e. Dīghagāmani,\(^97\) Dutthagāmani\(^98\)

\(^{91}\) Perera, *op.cit.*, 1949, pp. 31-32.
\(^{93}\) Hettiarachchy, *op.cit.*, 1972, p. 45.
\(^{95}\) See, pp. 205-207.
\(^{96}\) See, pp. 223-224., The title of Devanapiya is an instance to prove this relation.
\(^{97}\) *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XI, V. 11.
\(^{98}\) *Ibid.*, Ch. XXII, V. 1.
Vattagāmani\textsuperscript{99} Amanadagāmani\textsuperscript{100} Gajabāhuka Gāmani\textsuperscript{101} The inscriptions however, show that Gāmani was not a personal name, but a title which was used by rulers who ruled before king Vasabha and by those after him. Further, this title was used not only by Anurādhapura kings but also by local rulers of principalities which flourished in various parts of the island between the third century B.C. to the first century B.C. For instance, one of the cave inscription of Henannegala refers to a Gāmani Tissa (Gāmani Tisaha), son of Raja Majjhima (Raja Majima)\textsuperscript{102} The Mottayakallu and Kusalāṅkanda Brāhmi inscriptions mention the name of Gāmani Tissa (Gāmani Tisaha), the son of Raja Abhaya (Abaya Rajaha puta).\textsuperscript{103} The cave inscription of Bōvattegala gives the genealogy of a royal family, the foremost ancestor of which was Gāmani\textsuperscript{104} The Yatahalena inscriptions refer to a Gāmani Śiva, son of Aya (prince) Dusatara. (Aya Dusatara-putasa Gāmani Sivena) \textsuperscript{105} The Gōnavatta Brāhmi inscription refers to Gāmani Tissa (Gāmani Tisena).\textsuperscript{106}

According to insessional evidence, Anurādhapura kings used this title for more than four centuries. Devānampiya Tissa (Devanampiya Gāmani),\textsuperscript{107} Uttiya (Gāmani Uti Maharaja),\textsuperscript{108} Dutthagāmani (Maharaja Gāmani Abaya),\textsuperscript{109} Saddhā Tissa (Maharajaha Gāmani Tisaha),\textsuperscript{110} Vattagāmani (Gāmani Abaya),\textsuperscript{111} Mahāchulika Mahātissa (Gāmani

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{99}Ibid., Ch. XXXIII, V. 34.
  \item \textsuperscript{100}Ibid., Ch. XXXV, V. 1.
  \item \textsuperscript{101}Ibid., Ch. XXXV, V. 115.
  \item \textsuperscript{102}AC, p. 446; IC, Vol. I, No. 406, p. 32.
  \item \textsuperscript{104}CJS (G), Vol. II, pp. 114-115; IC, Vol. I, No. 549, p. 42.
  \item \textsuperscript{105}CJS (G), Vol. II, pp. 203-204; IC, Vol. I, No. 792, p. 60.
\end{itemize}
Tisa), Kutakanna Tissa (Pudakana Gamani), Bhātikābhaya (Gamani Abaya), Amandagāmani Abhaya (Rohinika Gamani, Gamani Aba), and Gajabāhuka gāmani Abhaya (Gajabahaka Gamani Abaya).

The word Gamani is quite common to Pāli (Gamani) and to Sanskrit (Gūṃmanī) literature. But the king does not use it. According to Indian literature, this title was used in India ever since the time of the Rgveda. The Sanskrit word Gramani from which the Sinhalese Gamani is derived signifies a leader, a chief of village or community, and the leader of a troop of soldiers. The Pāli equivalent Gamani has similar meaning and denotes a village headman or the head of a company, a chief etc.

In the Vedic and post Vedic literature this term occurs several times. A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith who examined Vedic and post Vedic literature, state that this title was used there as leader of a troop, charioteer, chief of village or leader of village, president of village council, provincial officer appointed by the king and officer of justice. Not only Vedic literature but Pāli literature also provides information on the activities of Gamani in society. Pāli literature uses the title Gamani in the meaning of chief or leader of gang of thieves, group of traders, troop, institution or village. To introduce the leader of thieves who are feared by the common citizen, the title Gamani is used in the Theragāthā. In the Jātaka the title Gemini is taken to mean a person who

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120 Uma Chakravarti, op. cit, 1996, p. 85.
121 Theragāthā, p. 186.
was a leader of a cruel gang and who was the leader of a group of traders selected by other traders. In the *Samyutta Nikāya* this term is used to introduce the leader of a troop. *Gamani* is a chief of the guild, as mentioned in the *Anguttara Nikāya*. The *Anguttaranikāyāthakathā* says that *Gamani* is a senior person in the guild (*puga*). The *Samantapāsādikā* has taken this title to mean a senior (or leader) person of robbers (*chora jettako*). *Vamsattappakāsini* says that because Dutthagamani became a leader of Mahāgāma, he introduced the title of *Gamani*. According to the above observation, it is clear that *Gamani* was a chief and leader of a village or group.

There is evidence which shows that chiefdoms perhaps had their origins in a village leadership system. Some royal cave inscriptions mention that *Gamani* was the ancestor of their royal family. For instance, Bōvattegala cave inscription gives the genealogy of the royal family from their ancestor who is termed a *Gamani*. Aya Mahatisa who set-up this inscription, belonged to the fourth generation of this family. If this inscription belongs to the middle of the third century B.C., it can be assumed that *Gamani*, mentioned here may have lived in the first or second quarter of the fourth century B.C. Therefore, *Gamani* may be the chief of an ancient settlement of Sri Lanka. Gunawardana describes *Gamani*, as a type of leadership associated at an earlier time with a mobile, probably tribal group.

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123 Ibid., p. 207.
126 *Anguttaranikāyāthakathā*, p. 506.
127 *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 662.
According to the observation of Hettiarachchy, \textit{Gāma} was the sedentary settlement. In the early period it denoted not a village but large settlements, perhaps of clans. Therefore, \textit{Gamani} was the leader of these large settlements and not a village headman.\textsuperscript{131} Further, Hettiarachchy assumed that the word \textit{Gamani} was used in early Sri Lanka in the sense of an arlike leader,\textsuperscript{132} while Paranavitana suggested that the \textit{Gamani} lived in the village during the early period of the island.\textsuperscript{133} Perera on the contrary stated that the association of the word \textit{Gamani} with kingship did not rise out of the village system.\textsuperscript{134}

According to inscriptive sources, there was interaction between the \textit{Gamini} and the \textit{Parumakas}. Sometimes a \textit{Gamani} is mentioned as being selected from among the \textit{Parumakas}. This may be confirmed by examining the title \textit{Parumaka}, mentioned in the cave inscriptions of the island. 30.2\% of the all cave inscriptions which have already been published, belong to the \textit{Parumaka} group.\textsuperscript{135} In 1897, P. Goldschmidt rendered this word as \textit{Brāhmaṇa}\textsuperscript{136} H. C. P. Bell argued that it signified chief and was applied to the king. He drew our attention to the similarity of this word with Sanskrit \textit{Pramukha},

\textsuperscript{131} Hettiarachchy, \textit{op. cit.}, 1972, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{132} Ibid., p. 21.
\textsuperscript{133} S. Paranavitana, “Two Royal Titles of the Early Sinhalese and the Origin of Kingship in Ancient Ceylon, \textit{JRAI} (G & I) 1936, pp. 446-448; When the Pali canon was begin redacted, which was about the sometime as when ‘Aryan’ immigrant from north India where colonising Ceylon, the word Gamani... was applicable not only to the headman of a village, but also the leader... whether political, military mercantile or otherwise... in none of the references has the word Gamani been used for a king., Paranavitana, \textit{op. cit.}, 1960, p. 6., C. W. Nicholas believes that “ the Gamani was a headman in the earlier period of Sri Lanka” C. W. Nicholas, “The Titles of the Sinhales Kings as Recorded in the Inscriptions,” \textit{UCR}, Vol. VII, 1949, p. 237,
\textsuperscript{135} 28\%, Gunawardana, \textit{op. cit.}, 1981, p. 136; Coningham, \textit{op. cit.}, 1995, pp. 223; See map No. 5.
Distribution of inscriptions with Parumaka title in Sri Lanka (from 3rd century B.C. to 1st century)

Map 5
Province-wise location of Parumaka title in ancient Sri Lanka
(from 3rd century B.C. to 1st century B.C.)
Sinhalese *Pāmek* and Tamil word *Perumakan* used for a prince and a noble.\(^{137}\) Paranavitana mentions that there can hardly be any doubt that this word is the same as the Sanskrit *Pramukha* and Pāli *Pamuka* or *Pāmekkha*. The Pāli word *Pamuka* is often used to denote a head of a guild and suggests that some of the *Parumakas* in the early Brāhmi inscriptions may have been heads of such bodies.\(^{138}\) Hema Ellawala says that *Parumaka* has been used as an honorary title by people of some social standing.\(^{139}\) Hettiarachchy thinks that most probably this term *Parumaka* derived from Sanskrit *Pramukha*, Pāli *Pāmekkha* or *Pāmekkho*, which has the general meaning of a chief.\(^{140}\) K. Indrapala pointed out that the title *Parumaka* and its feminine word the *Parumakala* or *Parumakalu* are more similar in form to the *Perumakan* or *Perumakal* in Tamil language and they can be identified as clan leaders at that time.\(^{141}\) Gunawardana remarks that the term *Parumaka* denoted the head of the clan group.\(^{142}\) Karunatilaka mentions that *Parumaka* had established themselves as one of the most important and influential group in the administrative set up at that time, holding key posts both in the royal circles and at local levels.\(^{143}\) Sitrampalam analyses, this title as being related to Tamil literature in south India. He states that the antiquity of the term *Perumakan / Parumakan* may be clearly traced to the literary works in Tamil, namely the Sangam literature. It occur as a title meaning 'chief' or 'leader' and hence the Tamil *Perumakan / Parumakan* is earlier

\(^{137}\) H. C. P. Bell, "The Report on the Kegalla District of the Province of Sabaragamuva," ASCAR, 1882, p. 69, note, 2

\(^{138}\) Paranavitana, *op.cit.*, 1936, pp.447-449.


\(^{140}\) Hettiarachchy, *op.cit.*, 1972, p. 69.


than the Sanskrit *Paramukha*. An analysis of the word *Perumakan /Parumakan* shows that it was not derived from Sanskrit *Pramukha* because as in the case of the Sinhala *Pāmok* and Pāli *Pāmokkho*, in Tamil too, there is another parallel term, *Piramukhar* being derived from Sanskrit *Pramukha*. Further he says that the etymological derivation of this word clearly conforms to this. It could be derived in two ways: either with Tamil prefix ‘*Paru’* or ‘*Peru’* with the additional suffix ‘*Maka’* or ‘*Makan’* in Tamil; ‘*Peru’* meaning large or bulky. If ‘*Maka’* is added to ‘*Paru’* then it become *Paru+maka* =*Parumaka*. In Tamil as well as in other Dravidian languages such as Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu and Tulu ‘*Maka’* means child or infant.\(^{144}\) Not only Sitmmpalam but few other scholars such as I. Mahadevan, D. J. Kanagaratnam, A. Velluppillai,\(^{145}\) also mention that the origin of the title may be traced to the Tamil language.

Based on a similarity of some archaeological evidence from peninsular India and Sri Lanka and Sangam literature, Seneviratne has attempted to link this title to south India. Senaviratne pointed out that the introduction of the epithet *Parumaka* was from south India and community movement from peninsular India did take place at an early date to Sri Lanka. Some of those who arrived belonged to clan groups under leaders introduced as *Parumakas*.


\(^{146}\) The term *Parumaka* in the early Brāhmi inscriptions is significant. It is quite possible that this term derived from the word *Perumakan* and not *pramukha* as has been by same the fact that large number of parumaka inscriptions are located in the vicinity of Megalithic BRW sites again establish same relationship between this group and the proto historic site. The *parumaka* in early Sri Lanka may have enjoyed the same status as the *perumakan* in South India who claimed descent from the lineage ancestor and was also the leader of the resident kin group. S. Seneviratne, *op.cit.*, 1985, p. 194. .... “Pre State Chieftains and Servants of the State: A Case Study of Parumaka,” *SJH*, Vol. XV, No. 1& 2, p. 117.
attempted to link the *Parumaka* group of Sri Lanka and the South Indian *Perumakan* or *Parumakan* group. But there is little supporting evidence for this. The Sangam literature, dated in the first- second century A.D., and post Sangam works such as the *Cilappadikāram*, the *Manimekalai*, written in Tamil language, refer several times to the *Perumakan* or *Parumakan* groups.¹⁴⁷ Sri Lankan *Parumaka* inscriptions on the other hand, are earlier than Tamil literature and their language is related to the Prakrit language.¹⁴⁸ *Parumaka* inscriptions written in Tamil language have so far not been found in Sri Lanka. Instead the language of the *Parumaka* inscriptions is closer to northern Indian Prākrit or Pāli language.¹⁴⁹

Seneviratne presented his argument based on the sites and the Megalithic BRW complex in south India and Sri Lanka. He states that it is possible to suggest that the *parumaka* group, who perhaps represent the earliest political elite during the Iron Age, had their origins in the Megalithic- BRW complex emanating from South India. This was the earliest tecno-cultural basis Sri Lanka had during the Early Iron Age period to any dominant impact of the Indo-Aryan culture. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the element of political leadership and authority that prevailed in the proto-historic context of south India had considerable influence upon the evolution of the political structure during the Early Iron Age of Sri Lanka.¹⁵⁰ The burial sites and BRW complex are not restricted to South India but extend as far north as Vidarbha in Central India. It is difficult to accept that the *parumaka* group link was only with south India based on the Iron Age

¹⁴⁷ See, Sangam literature such as *Puranammurru, Akanāmnaru, Narrinai, Kuruntogai, Pattinappalai*.
¹⁴⁸ *Parumaka* cave inscriptions of Sri Lanka are belonged to the third century B.C. to the first century A.D.
¹⁴⁹ See Table 9.
evidence, especially since a comparative study of terms mentioned in the Parumaka inscriptions shows affinity with Prākrit, Pāli and Sanskrit. (see table 9)

According to the above observations, it is clear that the language which was used in the inscriptions of the parumakas was related more to northern Indian languages. Epigraphical sources provide data to identify a large number of Parumakas emerging from various levels of social organisation and the expansion of the Parumakas in the early period.

In Sri Lankan Brāhmi inscriptions Parumakas always mention their title in the inscriptions which indicates their social position and personal name. For example, the chief (Parumaka) of Samuda of Handagala cave inscription.151 The chief of Pussa of Bambaragastalāwa cave inscription.152 The cave inscription of Rusigama in Kandy District, mentions the chief Sumana.153 The chief Abhaya of Ridi Vihāra cave inscription of Kurunāgala District.154 The chief Sumana of Kiripokunahela inscription in Batticaloa District.155

Comparison of terms used in inscriptions of the Parumakas and those from north India.156

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<td>Abaya</td>
<td>Abhaya</td>
<td>Bamhana, brahmana (CII, p. 4, 6)</td>
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<td>Bamana (N 838)</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>Brāhmaṇa</td>
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<td>Bariya (N 941)</td>
<td>Bhariyā</td>
<td>Bharyā</td>
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<td>Bāta (190, 77)</td>
<td>Bāta</td>
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<td>Ca (266, 1048, 1096)</td>
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<td>Ca</td>
<td>Cha, ca (p. 16, 17, 18)</td>
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<td>Dane (816 941)</td>
<td>Dāna</td>
<td>Dāna</td>
<td>Dāne (p. 13, 120)</td>
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153 "Parumaka Sumana Kasaha lene," Ibid., No. 827, p. 64.
154 "Parumaka Abayaha lene," Ibid., No. 890, p. 69.
Table 9

Among the published Brāhmi inscriptions, most of the *Parumaka* inscriptions mention their family relations. Some inscriptions mention father and son or grandfather, father and son. For instance, the chief Sumana, son of chief Gutta of Mihintale cave inscription. The chief Sata, son of the chief Canisatara Sumana of Handagala cave inscription. In Alulena cave inscription of Kāgalla District, the chief Agiya is mentioned as the son of chief Ijhua. The chief Puna of Ridi Vihāra in Kurunāgala District. The chief Nacha, grandson of the chief Mala and son of Namare in Tonigala cave inscription of north central province.

Sometimes the title *Parumaka* was used by women, at times slightly modified as *Parumakalu*, though the precise connotation of the latter is difficult to establish. There are a few instances where both husband and wife are called *Parumaka*. The chief Dipani,

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<th>Parumaka</th>
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<td>Sumanaha</td>
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<td>Canisatara</td>
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| Dine (,148,156) | Dinne | Dimne (, p. 138) |
| Duta (,1054) | Dûta | Dûta Duta (,p. 46) |
| Ida (,902) | Ida | Idha Idha (,p.1) |
| Kama (,206) | Kamma | Kammān (p.123) |
| Karita (, 206) | Kârita | Kârita Kate, kateti (,p.123, 152) |
| Lene (,61,196,238) | Lene | Layana |
| Mahamata (,268) |Mahâmattâ | Mahâmâtra Mahâmâta (,, p. 21,144) |
| Majhima (,883) | Majimâ | Madhyama Majhima (,,p.141) |
| Mata (,,127, 1205) | Mâtû | Mâtr Matar (p.19) |
| Vanija (,215) | Vânijja | Vânijja |
| Putta (,,2,206,358) | Putra | Pute (,p.16) |
| Rajha (,,1035) | Râja | Râjan Râja (,,p.13,14,16,17) |
| Saga (,,104,118,127) |Sangha | Sangha Sâgha, Sâmgaha (,, p. 166,174,176) |
| Samana (,,1127) |Samana | Sramana Samana (,,p.4) |
is mentioned as daughter of the chief Naguli and wife of the chief Reta.\textsuperscript{162} The chief Pusā is daughter of Mita and wife of Satanasata in Ritigala cave inscriptions.\textsuperscript{163} But in most cases, the wife of Parumakas did not bear the title Parumakalu. Nicholas mentions that the term was only titular for a woman and indicated no office.\textsuperscript{164} Hettiarachchy on the contrary refers to instances when the title is given to the wife and not to her husband.\textsuperscript{165} It may be assumed that women took the title on becoming chiefs or in charge of social groups.

Though Parumakas lived as chiefs in society in the early period, with the transition to the state they had joined the rank of state functionaries. For instance, the chief Saga is mentioned as a chief minister.\textsuperscript{166} The Kaduruvāva cave inscriptions give details regarding the chief Vahita as a chief minister.\textsuperscript{167} The chief Mita is referred to as the commander of king Abhaya in the Situlpavuva cave inscription.\textsuperscript{168} The Vālaelalugodakanda cave inscription mentions the chief Pusadeva as commander.\textsuperscript{169} The chief Tissa is referred to as a keeper of the treasury in one of the Mihintale cave inscriptions.\textsuperscript{170} The Akurugoda inscription refers to an Ayaka (revenue collector) of a king who is also a Parumaka.\textsuperscript{171} Sāsseruva cave inscription refers to parumaka Punda as city councillor (purakamata).\textsuperscript{172} Further, some Parumakas were involved in state service as a superintendent or director (adeka) in several departments, for example

\textsuperscript{162}"Parumaka Retaha jhaya Parumaka Naguli jhita Parulakalu Dip[pani] ya lene...","Ibid., No. 910, p. 71.
\textsuperscript{163}"Parumaka Mita jhaya Parumaka Satanasata jhita Parumakalu Pusaya lene...","Ibid., No. 331, p. 26.
\textsuperscript{165}Hettiarachchy, \textit{op. cit.}, 1972, p. 75.
\textsuperscript{167}"Parumaka Vahiti Mahamata...","Ibid., No. 620, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{168}"Raja Abaya Senapati Parumaka Mitasa lene," \textit{Ibid.}, No. 665, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{169}"Senapati Parumaka Pusadeva," \textit{Ibid.}, No. 725, p. 55.
\textsuperscript{171}"Maharaja Ayaka Parumaka Pusadeva," \textit{Ibid.}, No. 471, p. 36.
\textsuperscript{172}\textit{Ibid.}, No. 1002, p. 78.
superintendent of horses (Asa adeka), superintendent of palanquin bearers (Sivika adeka), superintendent of roads (Pakara adeka), accountants (Ganaka), officers or in charge of store house at sea ports (Panita badakarika), superintendent of royal kitchen (Batakaraka), and cavalry officers (Asarnya). A cave inscription of Mihintale mentions a Parumaka who is given the additional designation Tanaka. This may have been derived from Sanskrit word Sthānika, which is used to denote a governor or high official connected with administration of a religious establishment. In one of the cave inscriptions of Kaduruvāva a Parumaka held the position of Kanapetika. Paranavitana pointed out that this Parumaka would have been a record keeper or an archivist. These instances clearly indicate that persons in many important positions in the royal administration had been drawn from the Parumaka groups.

Matrimonial connections provide valuable information on the social status of Parumakas and the relationship between Parumakas and Gamanis. According to epigraphical evidence, the largest number of instances of matrimonial connection were established within their own social group. There are also quite a few instances where Parumakas were directly connected with royalty by matrimonial ties. The Situlpavuva cave inscription refers to a princess (abi) Anuradhi who was the daughter of the chief Pussadeva and wife of prince (Aya) Pussadeva. In the Sāsseruva inscription of

173 Ibid., No. 325, p. 28.
174 Ibid., No. 867, p. 69.
175 Ibid., No. 60, p. 5.
176 Ibid., No. 471, p. 36, No. 647, p. 48, No. 703, p. 53.
177 Ibid., No. 1035, p. 81.
179 Ibid., No. 606, p. 46.
Kurunāgala District, the daughter of king Devanapiya Abaya was married with the chief (Parumaka) Raki.\textsuperscript{183} Based on the matrimonial connection between Parumaka and the ruler, it may be assumed that they may have belonged to the same social status in the early period. Further, some inscriptions which bear the title of Parumaka have been engraved with their own symbols. Some symbols are similar to the royal symbols which can be seen in cave inscriptions, and engraved by local rulers.

The above description of Parumakas and their activities also allows for new interpretation about the relationship between the Gamani and Parumaka. It can be said that members such as Gapati (householder) in the village level selected Parumaka as leader or chief in the society or clan in the early period, while Gamani were selected out of the Parukakas for administrative purposes. In the later period Gamani may have developed their separate authority. In the early period Gamani resided in various parts of Sri Lanka and they may have ruled this island. Therefore it can be said that the title Gamani was an initial title of the early rulers of Sri Lanka.

Devanapiya is another title that appears from early inscriptions and is used frequently by Anurādhapura rulers till the end of the first dynasty (up to the king Yasalālaka Tissa). In the Mahāvamsa, however, it is used only by king Devānampiya Tissa, the contemporary of Aśoka. The Vamsatthappakāsinī, commenting on this, states that the king’s name is Tissa and this is hidden in the subtitle (upapada) of Devanampiya. \textsuperscript{184} Studies by Paranavitana, Ellawala, Hettiarchchy and Gunawardana highlight the significance of Aśoka-Tissa relationship and the introduction of the north Indian

\textsuperscript{184} Vamsatthappakāsinī, Vol. I, p. 310.
consecration ceremony along with the title Devānampiyya to the ruling house of Anurādhapura around 250 B.C.\(^\text{185}\) Perera says that the word \((Upapada)\) literally means ‘beloved of the gods’ and was perhaps assumed by the kings to signify their meritorious activities.\(^\text{186}\)

In his edicts, Aśoka termed himself Devanampriya or Devanapiya\(^\text{187}\) and there is little doubt that this title came to Sri Lanka from India. The Mahāvamsa shows that at this time there was close contact between Sri Lanka and north India. It is clear that this term was taken by the descendants of Aśoka, as seen in the Nāgaragiri hill inscriptions where Dasarata, one of the grandsons of Aśoka, is called Devanapiya.\(^\text{188}\) Paranavitana suggests that king Aśoka may have allowed Devānampiya Tissa to use his title when the latter was consecrated by the former.\(^\text{189}\) Nicholas, on the contrary argues that Devānampiya Tissa and Aśoka were contemporaries and that there was intercourse between the Mauryan empire and Sri Lanka. There can be no doubt that Devānampiya Tissa assumed the title in imitation of Aśoka.\(^\text{190}\)

According to the insessional evidence, the earliest occurrence of this title was in the inscription in Rajagiriikanda at Mihintale which probably refers to king Devānampiya Tissa himself.\(^\text{191}\) A significant fact about the use of this title in Sri Lanka is that it is borne only by kings belonging to the main line of Anurādhapura kingdom. After king


\(^{186}\) Perera, \textit{op. cit.}, 1949, p. 35.


\(^{188}\) Ibid., p. xxviii.

\(^{189}\) Paranavitana, \textit{op. cit.}, 1936, p. 452.


Devānampiya Tissa, his successor king Uttiya used this title. Further, the Anurādhapura rulers such as Dutthagāmani, Saddhā Tissa, Lañja Tissa, Vattagāmani Abaya, Mahāchulika Mahātissa, Kutakanna Tissa, and Mahādtika Mahānāga used this title in their own respective inscriptions.

Devānampiya was therefore a title widely used by the kings of this period and it was always placed at the beginning of the name, before the title Maharaja. Another feature is that it occurs in fewer instances with Raja than with Maharaja. It is probable therefore that only the sovereign rulers used it. Nicholas says that the honorific significance of the title had added a dynastic or lineage significance to the royal house at Anurādhapura and when that house came to an end the new dynasty (beginning from king Vasabha) would not use it any longer.

An important inscription in this regard is the record found in Minvila on the bank of the Mahavāli river in Mādapattu of the Polonnaruwa District of north-central province. It refers to king Kutakanna Tissa who belonged to 'Devanampiya kula'. 'Devanampiya kula' means Devānampiya family. The reference to a 'Devanampiya kula' may indicate that this was a family title which was adopted by one of the earliest kings of this dynasty possibly Devānampiya Tissa, with whom the term is traditionally associated. Further, establishing 'Devanampiya kula' may be expected to emphasise the dynastic aspect of the

194 "Devanampiya Maharaja gamani Tisa...," Ibid., No. 422-428, p. 33.
197 "Devanampiya Tisa Maharaja...," IC, Vol. II, part. 1, No. 18, p. 28.
198 "Devanampiya Pudakana Gamani Abaya..." Ibid., No. 22, p. 34.
199 "Devanampiya Naka Maharaja..." Ibid., No. 36, p. 48.
201 Nicholas, op. cit., 1948, pp. 243-244.
title. Hettiarachchy remarks that although the title Devānampiya may have carried some glamour and lustre during the time of Devānampiya Tissa when the prestige of the Maurya empire was at its peak, once it became a family name, the title had no implication of power and prestige except those that were associated with the Anurādhapura royal house.203

The title Aya is found repeatedly in the inscriptions of the third- first century B.C. It is found in the first half of the period but disappears towards the first century A.D. This word is derived from Sanskrit Arya meaning honourable, respectable, noble and so on.204 Aya may be a direct derivation from Pāli Ayya which stands for sir, lord, Master etc.205 Both these terms Arya and Ayya have been used in an honorific sense with a cultural and religious connotation. Paranavitana equates this title with Kumara.206 Hettiarachchy does not attribute this term to the main royal house, and suggests that it was taken up by petty local rulers as well.207 Gunawardana has shown that there is no evidence to suggest that it had been used to denote political leadership. Hence Gunawardana suggests that the meaning of this term is almost the same as the Tamil word Ayya (Kannada Ayya, Malayālam Ayyan, Tulu Ayye). The term Ayya and its variants have been used as modes of addressing superiors. ‘Ai’ has been used in certain instances to denote ‘lord’ and ‘master’ as in the Tirukkural and other instances in the Chudāmanikanta, to denote ruler.208

Ayas appear generally as donors of caves to the Buddhist Sangha and sometimes

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203 Hettiarachchy, op. cit., 1972, p. 49.
204 Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 73.
205 Pāli-English Dictionary, p. 66.
207 Hettiarachchy, op. cit., 1972, pp. 66-68.
in the genealogies of the main line of rulers of Anurādhapura or petty political institutions of the early period of Sri Lanka. For instance, Aya Suratīsa has been mentioned in the Dimbulāgala cave inscription and has been identified by Perera as Mahāsīva who was the successor of king Uttiya in Anurādhapura. The Mutugala cave inscription of Polonnaruwa District, refers to Aya Sīva. Aya Suratīsa has been identified by Perera as prince Sūra Tissa, brother of Devānampiya Tissa and successor of Mahāsīva. The Rajagala Brāhmī inscription refers to Aya Tīsa or Maha Aya (Lañja Tissa) son of Saddhā Tissa, while Gallanevavā, in Karunāgala District, mentions an Aya Tīsa who has been identified with Bhātikābhaya.

Local rulers and members of these ruling houses have used this title. The Mihintale cave inscription mentions the donor as Aya Aśaliya, son of Dhammarāja (Damaraja). Mahatīsa Aya, son of Dhammarāja, and Aya Abaya, son of king Uttiya are mentioned in the Bōvattegalā cave inscription, Hambantota District. The Brāhmī inscription of Kottadāmuhela refers to Mahatīsa Aya. Aya Pusadevā is mentioned in the Situlpavuva cave inscription. The Lenagala cave inscription of Kāgalla District gives other names, Aya Dusatara and his son Aya Sīva, son of the latter Aya Dusatara.

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210 Perera, op. cit., 1949, p. 36.
217 Ibid., No. 550, p. 42.
218 Ibid., No. 556, p. 43.
about *Aya* Tissa, son of king Pacani, while Majjhima *Aya* is mentioned in the Pidurāgala cave inscription, Matale District.

After the first century B.C. the local *Ayas* disappeared. This may have been due to the gradual expansion of power of the Anurādhapura rulers and the consequent displacement of the local potentates by local officers. Whatever the cause of the disappearance of the *Ayas*, it is clear that they formed a local ruling class sometimes connected with the main line of rulers of Anurādhapura and subordinate to them.

The princesses of the royal line adopted the title *Abi* which probably was an honorific corresponding to *Aya*. Paranavitana suggests that this word derived from Sanskrit *Ambikā*. Although this title was used by royal ladies in the early period, later on this term seems to have been used by ladies of high rank not necessarily of royal blood.

There are many instances to prove that royal ladies used this title in the early period of Sri Lanka. In the Sāsseruva inscription of Kurunāgala District, the daughter of *Devanapiya Maharaja Gamani Abhaya* is called *Abi* Anuradhi. The Mihintale cave inscription refers to 'Mahabi', the daughter of *Raja Dīpa*. The daughter of the 'Maharaja' in the Koratota cave inscription is mentioned as 'Mahabi', while another inscription found at Mihintale, mentions that *Abi* Kana was the wife of *Gamani*.

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221 ASCAR, 1911-12, p. 121; *IC*, Vol. I, No. 832, p. 64.
223 Hettiarachchy, *op.cit.*, 1972, p. 68.
Abhaya.\textsuperscript{230} The inscription of Periyapuliyankulama, Vavuniya District, refers to Abi Anuradhi, the daughter of Raja Nāga and the wife of Raja Uttiya.\textsuperscript{231} The daughter of Aya Abhaya, son of Raja Uttiya was also named Abi Anuradhi\textsuperscript{232} in the Bōvattegala cave inscription. In the Kottadamuhella cave inscription, Abi Saverā is named as the daughter of Aya Mahatisa and wife of Tisa Aya.\textsuperscript{233} The wife of Aya Suratissa is referred to as Abi Upalaya in the Dimbulagala cave inscription in Polonnaruwa District.\textsuperscript{234} Abi Anuradhi the wife of Aya Pussadeva is mentioned in the cave inscription of Situlpavuva.\textsuperscript{235} The Balahaurukanda cave inscription refers to Abi Upalaya without any details.\textsuperscript{236}

All these inscriptions belong to the third to first centuries B.C. This use of the title provides reliable information on the expansion of chiefdoms in the early phase of Sri Lanka, as also matrimonial links between the royal families in this period. The title Abi disappeared from use by the royal house after the first century B.C.

The above discussion shows the changing social status of members of the political elite in the pre and protohistoric period. The royal titles adopted by rulers or members of the ruling house indicate the expansion of petty political institutions in Sri Lanka up to the second century B.C. These principalities evolved towards an unified state, which as discussed below was influenced by Buddhism and its ritual aspects.

\textsuperscript{230} Ibid., No. 18, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{231} Ibid., Nos. 338-341, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{232} Ibid., No. 550, p. 42.
\textsuperscript{233} Ibid., No. 556, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{234} Ibid., No. 272, p. 22.
\textsuperscript{235} Ibid., No. 655, p. 49.
\textsuperscript{236} Ibid., No. 761, p. 57.
3.2.2 Expansion of chiefdoms in the early period

The early Brāhmi cave inscriptions, of the third century B.C. to first century A.D. are useful in identifying the location of early Buddhist sites, thirty political institutions (chiefdoms), rulers and their genealogy not mentioned in the Chronicles and Commentaries. There is no evidence to define territorial boundaries of these chiefdoms, but it can be assumed on the basis of location of the inscriptions of rulers that the areas belonged to those rulers mentioned in the inscriptions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provinces</th>
<th>Number of Chiefdoms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Central</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North west</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabaragamuva</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uva</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10

The Bambaragala cave inscription, located in the mountainous region in the upper reaches of the Mahavali river and eighteen miles from Kandy, mentions one of the ruler’s family who ruled in this area. Four inscriptional records have been found in the Bambaragala Buddhist site. One of the inscriptions was engraved by a lady called Dattā,

\[237\text{ See map No. 6.}\]
Pre-State Polities in Ancient Sri Lanka
(according to cave inscriptions from 3rd century B.C. to 1st century B.C.)
consort of Pochani Raja Nāga and daughter of the Brāhmaṇa Kojara. It recorded the donation of a cave to the Sangha, of the four quarters. Another Brāhmi inscription discovered at Gōnavatta about ten miles from Bambaragala site, provides additional details about the genealogy of the chiefdom in this area.

According to this inscription, Gamani Tisa was the donor of the cave to the Sangha and introduces himself by mentioning his descent. Gamani Tisa was the son of Raja Abaya, grandson of Raja Nāga and great-grandson of Raja Abaya, son of Pochanika. Paranavitana has read the first word 'Pocunika' as Machudika. According to this reading, 'Machudiaka' has been identified as king Mahāculika Mahātissa, Raja Abaya with king Kutakanna Tissa, Raja Nāga with king Mahādāti Mahānāga and Raja Abaya with king Bhātikābhaya who ruled in the Anurādhapura kingdom in the first century B.C. and A.D. But Gunawardana does not accept Paranavitana's argument and states that it is noteworthy that characteristic titles of Anurādhapura rulers like Devanāpīya and Maharaja are not found in this record.

According to this observation, Gunawardana suggests that the first word of this inscription must be 'Pochunika', a variant of 'Pochuni', and 'Pocani Raja Nāga' of the Bambaragala inscription can be identified as the first ((Po)chudika) or the third (Nāga)

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240 King Kutakanna Tissa referred to as Abaya in some records, is mentioned either as 'Putikana Abaya' or 'Kutakana Abaya. Gamani Tisa' of this record cannot be identified with the one mentioned in the Chronicles. Likewise, the early form of the Brāhmi script, is clearly different from the script of the records of the first century. Further, Gunawardana remarks that Paranavitana's reading of the first letter of the record, which is absolutely illegible, is debatable. Reading 'ma' which Paranavitana appropriately gave within square brackets ([Ma]), is a pure conjecture. The script of this word ([Ma] cudika) as 'di' is also a doubtful reading of Paranavitana. It is clear even from the photograph of the estampage accompanying Paranavitana's edition that it is more like the first letter 'ma' and third letter 'ni'. Thus the last three letters may be read as 'cunika'. Gunawardana, op. cit., 1982, p. 13.
ruler mentioned in the Gōnavatta inscription. If so, it can be concluded that Pocunika Raja and Bambaragala Pocunika Naga belong to the same ruling house which ruled in the pre-state epoch. On the basis of this identification, the genealogical information in the two records may be tabulated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinship of Gōnavatta and Bambaragala Chiefdoms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pochunika Rajha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajha Abhaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajha Nāga (Pochunika Nāga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajha Abhaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamani Tissa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 3

Three other inscriptions have been discovered from Āmbulambe, Matale district of central province. These inscriptions furnish information on the lineage of other rulers who may have ruled this area. Aya Tisa, son of the Raja Pacina and his wife devotee Raki granted two caves to the Sangha of the four quarters.241 Another inscription refers to

Aya Tissa son of Raja Abaya son of Raja Pacina.\textsuperscript{242} According to this information, it may be assumed that after the death of his father his elder son Abaya became the ruler. Gunawardana states that Āmbulambe records point to the presence of another line of rulers who wielded authority over the northern parts of the Malaya region and were probably related to the ruling house of the Bambaragala area.\textsuperscript{243} These three records may be tabulated as follows:

\begin{center}
\textbf{Genealogy of Chiefdom of Āmbulambe}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{c c c c c c c}
\hline
 & & & & & & \\
\hline
Pachinā Rajha & & & & & & \\
\hline
 & & & & & & \\
Rajha Abhaya & & & & & & \\
\hline
 & & & & & & \\
Aya Tissa & & & & & & \\
\hline
 & & & & & & \\
Aya Tissa+ Raki & & & & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

A cave inscription which reveals another ruling house has been found from Pidurāgala, Matale district of central province close to the Sigiriya ruins and slightly less than twenty miles from the Āmbulambe site. It mentioned Tissa Devi who was daughter of Ṭissa Majjhima and grand daughter of Śiva of Kolagama.\textsuperscript{244} This inscription mentions that Majjhima was assigned the title Aya, but his father refers to the name without the title. Based on the Tamil word 'Kol', Seneviratne states that Kolagama was perhaps a

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{242} "Pacina-rajha- puta- rajha Abayah puta Tisayaha.," ASCAR, 1911-12, p. 121; IC, Vol. I, No. 833, p. 64.
\textsuperscript{243} Gunawardana, \textit{op. cit.}, 1982, p. 15.
\end{footnotes}
village of goldsmiths or iron smiths at that time. The Tamil language gives a different interpretation to the term 'Kol.' The term 'Kola' means 'caste' in Pāli, Sanskrit and Sinhala languages. 'Leaves' or 'green' (colour) is other meaning of this word (Kola) in Sinhala language. According to this Sinhala meaning, we can assume that Kolagama was a village or settlement which was located near the forest or it may be that in the village was lived high caste families. Therefore, Seneviratne’s argument is doubtful. Gunawardana suggests that most probably it reflects a situation where the son of a leader of a settlement (gama) had become powerful enough to set himself up as the ruler of a large group of people.

**Lineage of Pidurāgala Chiefdom**

Kolagama Siva

Aya Majjhima

Tisa Devi

Fig. 5

A few early Brāhmi inscriptions, found in the southern part of Dādurū Oya basin in Kurunāgala District of North-western province of Sri Lanka have revealed other petty political institutions.

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248 तिस्ता (Dictionary of Sri Sumangala), 1956, p. 282.

One local ruler has been identified from the Ranagiramada cave inscription, south of the Dāduru Oya, close to the border of the Hiriyāla and Devamādi Hatpatuva division of Kurunāgal District. It mentions that Tissa, the daughter of Aya Uttiya, donated a cave for dwelling purpose to the community of the Sangha.\(^{250}\) Another cave inscription set up by the collector of revenue or steward (Ayaka) Nāga of Aya Uttiya has been found from Hipavua, in the vicinity of the Ranagiramada site.\(^{251}\) It may be assumed that Aya Uttiya was a ruler of petty political institutions in this area.

An inscription was found at Tittavela, about three miles to the north of Ranagiramada, Kurunāgal District of north-western province. Bata Mahātissa made this cave at the time when a king Gamani Abaya was ruling.\(^{252}\) Paranavitana identified Gamani Abaya as Vattagāmani Abaya, ruler of Anurādhapura kingdom.\(^{253}\) The titles Maharāja or Devanapiya borne by the kings of Anurādhapura are not mentioned in this inscription. According to the nature of the script and location, it can be suggested that Gamani Tisa may have been a local ruler of this area.

Twenty records have been found at the Buddhist sites, Nuwarakanda, which is located about three miles to the south-east of Tittavela Buddhist site, Kuranāgal district North-western province. One of these inscriptions mentions the donation of a cave made by Aya Duhita.\(^{254}\) According to the title Aya, it is clear that Duhita may be related to the ruling house of this area. Another inscription found at this site relates to the reign of Vattagāmani Abaya.\(^{255}\) The Patahamulla Vihāra cave inscription, located on the middle

Däduru Oya Valley of Kurunägala District, mentions Raja Näga. According to the location of this inscription, it can be suggested that Raja Näga may have been an independent ruler of this area.

Ranagiramada, Tittavela, Nuwarakanda and Patahamulla Vihāra inscriptions are located very close to each other. Hence, the rulers who have been mentioned in these four sites may be either related to one ruling house or different ruling houses of this area.

A few other inscriptions have been found at Lenagala and Yatahalena, Kägalla District. This region was important for economic significance like gems. Further, these sites are located near Megalithic BRW sites in the middle and upper Mahä Oya valley and are found in the lower Kelani river valley. This evidence is useful to identify ancient settlements of this area. The two sites are about ten miles apart. Lenagala and Yatahalena inscriptions provide valuable evidence of a lineage that ruled for at least four generations in this particular area. In the record at Lenagala, Aya Duhatara granted a cave named Manapadasana and shares of two settlements, Anudiyagama and Batasanagara to the community of monks. The donor, Aya Duhatara describes himself as a son of Aya Siva and grandson of Aya Duhatara.

Only two of the six inscriptions of Yatahalena are useful in identifying the above ruling lineage. According to the Yatahalena inscription, Gamani Siva was the donor of a cave given to the community of monks. Gamani Siva introduces himself as a son of Aya

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257 See Table 11.
Dusatara, son of Aya Siva, son of Raja Dusatara who was brother of Devanapiya. The genealogical information from both sites may be tabulated as follow:

Chiefdom of Yatahalena and Lenagala

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Devanapiya} & \quad \text{Raja Duhatara I (Aya Duhatara)} \\
& \quad \quad \quad \text{Aya Siva} \\
& \quad \quad \quad \quad \text{Aya Dusatara II (Aya Dusatara II)} \\
& \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \text{Gamani Siva}
\end{align*}
\]

Fig. 6

Aya Dusatara and his son Aya Siva are mentioned in the Lenagala and Yatahalena inscriptions. Gunawardana remarks that according to the Yatahalena, record, the ruler may be identified either with Dusatara II (Dusatara II) or as a son of Siva II. It is noteworthy that in either case a ruler who has been called Raja or Gamani in one record was Aya in another record. One person of this generation has used the title Devanapiya. But there is no evidence of his relation to the ruling house of Anurâdhapura. It can be assumed that this person tried to show his authority over other local rulers by using the title Devanapiya. It is clear that Gamani Siva belonged to the fourth generation, and thus has to be dated to the latter part of second century or the early

\[\text{Devanapiyasa batika rajha Dusatarasa pute aya-ivasa-puta aya-Dusatra- putasa Gamani Sivena kariye Mahasudasane lene agata anagata catudisa sagasa,}^{260}\]

\[\text{CJS (G), Vol. II, pp. 203-204; IC, Vol. I, Nos. 792-793, p. 60.}\]

\[\text{Gunawardana, op.cit, 1982, p. 12.}\]
part of first century B.C. Likewise it may be said that this royal family may have ruled in this area as independent local rulers.

Two other inscriptions have been found from Koratota, in the Palle Pattu division fifteen miles from Kālaniya, Colombo District of Western province. One of the inscriptions was set-up by Mahabi, the daughter of Maharaja.\(^{262}\) Gunawardana suggests that it is possible that 'Mahabi' and 'Maharaja' were titles, but it would imply that this was a very unusual inscription in which only the title of the donor and his father, and not their personal name, were given. The other possible approach would be to consider 'Maha' as a name and to suggest that Abi Maha and the daughter Raja Maha, set up the record.\(^{263}\) The second interpretation is more suitable than the first one in identifying this ruling house. According to the nature of the script and location, it can be assumed that the ruler mentioned in this inscription may be taken as evidence for the presence of rulers who ruled the petty principalities in this area.

The Sōnagiri cave inscription has been found in the upper reaches of the river Kelani of western province and refers to Aya Majjhima.\(^{264}\) This area also has very important economic (natural resources) and agricultural significance. We may assume that Aya Majjhima may have ruled this region.

The cave inscriptions of Kirimakulgolla and Balahurukanada also suggest another petty political institution which may have been located in the Sabaragauwa province of Sri Lanka. There are two cave inscriptions at Kirimakulgolla which is


\(^{263}\) Gunawardana, op. cit., 1982, p. 16.

located on the right bank of the Walawe river, in the Māda Koralė of the Ratnapura District of Sabaragamuwa province. According to archaeological evidence, it is clear that the early historic culture was encroaching upon the Mesolithic habitat in the Upper Walawé river.\textsuperscript{265} One of these inscriptions records the donation of the cave called Manapadasane given to the Sangha by \textit{Aya} Mahatisa, son of \textit{Aya} Kera.\textsuperscript{266} Both the persons, 'Mahatissa' and 'Kera' have used the title \textit{Aya}. Gunawardana suggests that 'Kera' does not occur in any other contemporary record. Further, these two rulers are distinct from the chief of Kajaragāma (Kataragama) to whom Kirimakulgolla makes no reference.\textsuperscript{267}

The inscription of Balahurukanda is located at a distance of about twenty miles to the east side of Kirimakulgolla and upper Kirindi Oya valley. Early historic BRW was found from estuaries of Kirindi Oya at Bündala.\textsuperscript{268} The Rāvanā-Ella early historical site is situated a few miles from this site, and yielded early historic BRW, iron, slag and ore from the upper Mesolithic level. There are several cave inscriptions and early Buddhist sites on the upper Walawe river.\textsuperscript{269} A few cave inscriptions are to be found from Balahurukanda. Two of them were set-up by the headman of the village. The third one was engraved by \textit{Parumaka} Tissa, the son of \textit{Parumaka} Sumana who was steward or revenue collector of \textit{Abi} Uapalaya who did not mention her other royal relations.\textsuperscript{270} According to the information and location of inscriptions of Kirimakulgolla and Balahurukanda, it may be assumed that \textit{Abi} Upalaya was the wife of one of the rulers

\textsuperscript{267} Gunawardana, \textit{op.cit.}, 1982, pp. 23-24
\textsuperscript{268} Deraniyagala, \textit{op.cit.}, 1981, p. 152.
mentioned in the Kirimakulagolla inscription or sister of Aya Mahatissa. Otherwise Abi Upalaya may be another ruler or the wife of a ruler who ruled in the upper reaches of the Kirindi Oya basin.

An inscription from Situlpavuva, in the basin of the river Mānik, eighteen miles from Tissamahārāma, Hambantota District of southern province, records the gift of a lady called Abi Anuradhi, the daughter of chief Pussadeva and wife of Aya Pussadeva who granted a cave to the community of monks. It is clear that Aya Pussadeva was a member of the ruling house. Paranavitana suggests that Aya Pussadeva may have been related to the ruling house of Kataragama. Gunawardana says that this inscription is important for the additional light it throws on the relationship between the Parumakas and rulers of the early polities. Further, Aya Pussadeva may be identified as a petty local ruler of this area or perhaps subordinate ruler of the Kataragama ruling house. Many cave inscriptions, which were set up by rulers of petty principalities related to the Kataragama ruling house, are found from south east and eastern part of Sri Lanka. The Kataragama ruling house was crucial in the evolution of the polities and expansion of Buddhism in the southern part of Sri Lanka in the third-second century B.C.

272 Ibid., p. lxxxi.
Situlpavuva Chiefdom

Parumaka Pusadeva

Aya Pasadeva →+← Abi Anuradi

Fig. 7

Seven cave inscriptions written in the Brāhmi script, have been discovered at Bōvattegala, a site located to the north of the river Kumbukkan Oya in Panama Pattuva of the Ampara District of Eastern province. One of these records mentions the gift of a cave by the donor Aya Mahātissa, son of Raja Dama and states that his father was the son of the eldest son of the Gamani.274 Another inscription at this site refers to Abi Anuradhi who was the daughter of Aya Abaya and grand-daughter of Raja Uttiya, son of the Gamani.275 According to this inscriptive evidence, Gamani was the ancestor of this lineage and Savajeta was the eldest among the ten sons. Further, Raja Uttiya was another son of the Gamani. The Dhatuvamsa also refers to the ten brothers of Kataragama, living with king Gothabhaya grandfather of Dutthagmani. According to the Dhatuvamsa, king Gothabhaya had destroyed most of these ten brothers.276 This literary information is valuable to compare with epigraphical sources and the study of the political background of Rōhana (southern area) in the pre-state period.

276 Dhatuvamsa, p. 21.
Many early Brāhmi inscriptions were discovered at Kottadamuhéla, located a few miles to the west of the Kumbukkan Oya in Panama Pattuva of Ampara District of eastern province. A lady who belonged to the royal house mentioned in Bōvattegala inscriptions, set up fourteen inscriptions to record the donation of a cave to the Buddhist community. Her name is mentioned as Abi Savéra, the daughter of Maha Siva, granddaughter of Dama Raja and consort of Aya Tissa, son of Aya Abaya.\(^{277}\) According to the Bvattegala inscription, Aya Abaya was the son of Raja Utiya and one of the ten brothers. Gunawardana states that the donation made by this lineage was clearly the most important and impressive example of patronage extended to the two communities of clerics, Bōvattegala and Kottadamuhéla. Seventeen of the twenty-seven caves at the two Buddhist sites were donated by them. This is a fair indication of the generosity of the members of this ruling house towards the monastic communities and the steps they took

to publicise their donations in inscriptions. The information about their lineage perhaps reflects that, apart from religious zeal, they were also motivated by a desire for prestige.\textsuperscript{278}

**Kinship between Bōvattegala and Kottadāmuhēla Chiefdoms**

![Family Tree Diagram]

The cave inscription of Kusalāṅkanda is located in the Eravur Pattuva near Māduru Oya, Batticaloa District of eastern province. One of the seven inscriptions at this Buddhist site records a donation made by Gamani Tissa, son of Raja Abaya and grandson of Uparaja Nāga.\textsuperscript{279} Paranavitana explains that Uparaja Nāga should be identified with Uparaja Mahanāga, mentioned in the Mahāvamsa and brother of Devānampiya Tissa of

\textsuperscript{278} Gunawardana, *op.cit*, 1982, p.18.
Anuradhapura. Raja Abaya and his son Gamani Tissa have been identified by Paranavitana as king Gothâbhaya and his son king Kâkavanna Tissa. Gunawardana has suggested that Uparaja Naga was one of the ten brothers (dasabatika), mentioned in the Bâvattegala inscription. Gunawardana built up his argument based on the Kusalânkanda and Mottayakallu Brâhmi inscriptions. The Mottayakallu site is located close to the eastern sea coast to the south of the river Gal Oya. There are records of donation, made by Gamani Tissa, son of Raja Abaya and grandson of Uparaja Nâga who was the youngest of the ten brothers. These records are identified with individuals of the same name and titles mentioned in the Kusalânkanda inscription. The Mottayakallu inscription has provided additional information to identify the Kusalânkanda lineage. According to Paranavitana’s reading the introduction of Uparaja Nâga and identification of rulers is doubtful. The introductory passage was read by Paranavitana as “[jha] vaka Nâga Uparaja”, but Gunawardana has rejected the identification of Paranavitana. After reading the introduction of Uparaja Naga of Mottayakallu inscription, Gunawardana suggests that it appears to be easier to read this letter as ‘sa’ than ‘jha’, and it is possible to present an alternative reading of the whole phrase as ‘dababatikarana savakanaya.’ The ‘kanaya’ may be considered to be a derivation from the Pâli term kanittha or Sanskrit kanistha meaning junior or younger and the phrase may be explained as denoting “the youngest of all the ten brothers.” According to this explanation, it is clear that Uparaja Naga was the youngest son of the Gamani and brother of Savajeta and Raja Uttiya, mentioned in the Bâvattegala inscription. The location of the Kusalânkanda

and Mottayakallu inscriptions suggests that Uparaja Nāga and his sons ruled in the eastern coastal area of Sri Lanka in the pre-state period.

**Relationship between Bovattegala, Kusalänkanda and Mottayakallu Chiefdoms.**

![Family Tree Diagram]

**Fig. 10**

A cave inscription which includes information on a ruler, has been found from Kal-Udupotana, located in the river basin of the Mundeni Āru. Ampara District of eastern province. The inscription records the donation, made by chief Sadana and his wife during the reign of Aya Abaya. Gunawardana says that the almost casual manner in which Parumaka Sadana refers to the current ruler, without giving his title or name, perhaps reflects the nature of the prevailing relationship between the ruler and the Parumakas. According to this inscription, Gamani Tissa, son of Aya Abaya may have reigned in this area when his father Aya Abaya was reigning in Kusalänkanda and Mottayakallu area.

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Another six inscriptions which are related to the Kusalänkanda ruling house, have been discovered from Henannegala, also located in the Mundeni Äru river basin, Bintänna Pattuva of the Ampara District, Eastern province. One of the inscriptions mentions that villages, with their appurtenances, were dedicated to the Sangha by the father Gamani Tissa and Majjhima Raja.  

Gunawardana remarks that this somewhat unusual wording probably indicates that the inscription was set up by Gamani Tissa after the demise of his father.

**Kinship between Bovattegala, Kottadämühéla and Henannegala Chiefdoms**

![Diagram](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

Fig. 11

Also noteworthy are two symbols used by the rulers. These symbols are strikingly similar to the symbols of Bovattegala and Kottadämühéla inscriptions, although Gamani Tissa and Majjhima Raja belonged to the Kataragama ruling house. According  

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to this view, *Raja* Majhjima may be assumed as another son of Uparaja Nāga. But they may have been ruling in this area as independent rulers in the pre-state period.

**Kinship ties among the Chiefdoms of Bōvattegala Kottadāmuhéla, Kusalānkanda, Mottayakallu, Henannegala and Kal-Udupotāna**

```
Gamani (B)  
|      |
|      |
Jheta Šava (B)  Rajha Uti(B)  Seven brothers Rajha Naga(Ku,M)  
|      |            |      |            |      |
|      |            |      |            |      |
Rajha Dama(B,Mi,K)  Aya Abaya(B)  
|      |            |      |
|      |            |      |
Aya (B)  Aya (Mi)  Aya (K)  Abi (B)  
|      |            |      |
|      |            |      |
Mahatisa  Ašali (Mi)  Tisa  Anuradi  
|      |            |      |
|      |      |      |
Abi Shavera (K,Mi)  
```

Key: B=Bōvattegala, K=Kottadāmuhéla, Ku=Kusalānkanda, Ka=Kal-udupotāna, H=Henannégala, M=Mottayakallu, Mi=Mihintale

Fig. 12

Another cave inscription has been found at Kolladeniya, Buttala Korale Monaragala District in Uva province. The Kolladeniya inscription is located on an entry point as well as a rich zone close to Okkampitiya, an important source of gems and other mineral stones. This inscription was set up by a lady called Sona to record the donation of a cave to the Sangha. She bears the title *Parumakakla* and is the wife of *Parumaka*
Pussadeva. Sona made her donation during the reign of Aya Naga.\textsuperscript{286} Gunawardana pointed out that Aya Naga should be identified as Uparaja Naga in Kusalānakanda and Mottayakallu.\textsuperscript{287} Further, Kolladeniya Naga bore the title Aya, but he did not bear the title Uparaja. So there is no evidence to assume that the title Aya was borne by Uparja Naga. Aya Naga in all probability was an independent ruler of this area.

Two inscriptions, of the independent local rulers, have been found from Olagamgala in the Bintānna Korāle of the Badulla District in Īva province. One of these inscriptions was set-up to record a donation made by Raja Śiva. The second inscription mentions Aya Śiva who was the son of Aya Śiva and grandson of Raja Śiva.\textsuperscript{288} These two inscriptions indicate three generations of Olagangala chiefdom.

\begin{center}
\textbf{Kinship of Olagamgala Chiefdom}
\end{center}
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{c}
Raja Śiva \\
\downarrow \\
Aya Śiva \\
\downarrow \\
Aya Śiva
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Fig.13}
\end{center}

The Olagangala site is located near Mahiyanganaya, one of the ancient settlements of Sri Lanka. Seneviratne states that it is possible that this group controlled this junction connecting routes arriving from the north along the Mahavali; from the east along the Mahā Oya and from south along the Badullu Oya.\textsuperscript{289} The ruling house of Raja Śiva may be located near Mahiyangana and they ruled in this area as independent rulers till the second or first century B.C.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[289] Seneviratne, op.cit., 1985, p. 417.
\end{footnotes}
Seventeen inscriptions have been found from Mutugala, situated close to the river Mahavāli in the Egoda Pattuva of Polonnaruwa District in North-central province. One of them was set up to record a donation made by Aya Śiva.\(^{290}\) Perera assumed that Aya Śiva should be one of the brothers of Devānampiya Tissa, the ruling house of Anurādhapura.\(^{291}\) However, the assumption of Perera is doubtful. The Mutugala inscription does not mention genealogical records of Aya Śiva. Further, based on the location of this inscription it may be assumed that Aya Śiva was a ruler of the ruling house of this area. About six-miles south of Mutugala, another inscription has been found from Dimbulāgala. This mentions Abi Upala, consort of Aya Suratissa as a donor of the cave to the Sangha.\(^{292}\) Mutugala and Dimbulāgala inscriptions therefore may belong to members of the same ruling house of this area.

Another ten inscriptions have been discovered from Kandegamakanda, in the basin of the river Māduru Oya, close to the northern bank, in Polonnaruwa District of north central province. One of them mentions that the donation of a cave dwelling was made by a certain Tissa who described himself as a village headman (Gamika), grandson of Mahatissa, the revenue collector of Aya Maha, son of Aya Tissa.\(^{293}\) Two royal symbols, one an astral (\(\varepsilon\)) symbol and the other like a cross (\(\varpi\)) are depicted. These two symbols are not found in any other Brāhmi record in Sri Lanka. According to these accounts and the location of inscriptions, it can be suggested that Aya Maha and Aya Tissa belonged to the same royal house on the northern bank of the river Māduru Oya.

\(^{291}\) Perera, \textit{op.cit.}, 1949, p. 38.
A few inscriptions have been discovered from Nāttukanda, outside the basin of the Malvatu Oya and in the eastern part of Anurādhapura in north central province. This area is marked by a large Megalithic complex, the high concentration of early Brāhmi inscriptions, and the occurrence of a variety of mineral resources. One of these inscriptions was engraved by Utiya, son of Tissa. The village leader of Erakapi village, was himself a village leader, probably after succeeding his father. In his inscriptions Utiya mentions Raja Dama. Two rare symbols are to be seen (рисунок). Gunawardana says that though the name Dama occurs as the name of a ruler in the southern most part of the island (Bōvattegala inscription) it is more likely that Dama of Nāttukanda record was another ruler who wielded authority in the area to the east of the Malvatu river basin.

Many inscriptions which have been made by members of the ruling house have been found from Periya-Puliyankulam, along the river Parangi Āru, Vavniya District of northern province. Two important mineral resources are located in this region and the Mamadūwa Megalithic complex is near the cave site. There are thirty-five inscriptions in the early form of Brāhmi script. Four of these inscriptions mention that a princess Abi Anuradi, the daughter of Rajha Nāga and wife of Rajha Utiya made a donation. Paranavitana remarks that Rajha Uti in Periya-Puliyankulama inscription is referred to as Rajha while the Mihintale records called him Maharaja. The title Gamani and Devanapiya attached to the name Uti in the Mihintale cave inscriptions, are not found in

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294 Seneviratne, op. cit., 1985, p. 408.
the records from Preriya-Puliyankulam. On this ground, one may doubt whether Rajha Uti of Periya-Puliyankulam was the same as Devanapiya Maharaja Gamani Uti. These records argue that Raja Uti and Raja Naga were local rulers. Nicholas pointed out that the rulers mentioned in the Periya-Puliyankulam records are not identifiable in the Chronicles and that they may have been local rulers of the third-second century B.C. Gunawardana has shown that Rajha Naga and Rajha Uti of the Periya-Puliyankulam records appear to be distinct from the rulers of the Anurādhapura line. They probably represent two ruling houses which wielded power in the Periya-Puliyankulam area and its vicinity.

The Nācciyārmalai inscription has provided information about another independent ruling house. This mentions Rajha as a grandfather of Uti and father of Daraka. The location of both inscriptions, Periya-Puliyankulam and Nācciyārmalai suggests a different interpretation about the link between these two ruling houses. For example, the Periya-Puliyankulam inscription mentions that Rajha Uti, son-in-law of Rajha Naga was son of Daraka of Nācciyārmalai and that they may have built-up a relationship through matrimonial links. After their marriage Rajha Uti and Abi Anuradi may have donated a cave together to the Buddhist community in Periya-Puliyankulam.

299 Ibid., p. liii.
300 C. W. Nicholas, "Historical Topography of Ancient and Medieval Ceylon," JRCBAS (N.S), Vol. VI, 1958, p. 86.
Matrimonial relations of the chiefdom of Periya-Puliyankulama and Nachhiyārmalai

Rajha Nāga

↓

Rajha

Daraka

↓

Abi Anuradi

+ –

Rajha Uti

Fig. 14

The Occāppukallu inscriptions are located about thirty miles to the north-west of Anurādhapura in North-central province. Less than two miles south-east of this Buddhist site is located the urn burial site of Tekkam. Six records in the early Brāhmi script have been found at this site and a Raja puta Kana, son of Rajha Kana, set up one of them. Gunawardana states that it seems likely that this area was of some importance in long distance trade even at this early date. Pearls are a valuable resource in this coastal area. An early inscription which was set up by a mariner of Bhojakataka, was found from Andiyāgala few miles from the Occāppukallu site. This inscription is valuable to understand the role of this area in long distance trade since the early period. Therefore, it can be assumed that control of the long distance trade may have provided the resources to the ruling house settled in this area.

Some of the cave inscriptions also provide data on the petty political rulers and their relations with Mihintale, Anurādhapura District of north central province. According to archaeological and literary evidence, since the third century B.C., the Buddhists regarded Mihintale as one of the major Buddhist centres of the island. Therefore, it is not surprising that the religious community at the site attracted patrons even from distant parts of the island which lay outside the pale of authority of the Anurādhapura rulers.\textsuperscript{307} One of the seventy-five cave inscriptions at Mihintale, refers to a nun Savera who was the daughter of \textit{Rajha} Tissa of Kanagama.\textsuperscript{308} Nicholas identified Kanagama with a settlement in the vicinity of the reservoir Kana (Pāli Kānavāpi) located to the north-east of Anurādhapura on the tributary of the river Malvatu Oya.\textsuperscript{309} Gunawardana remarks that it is more likely that \textit{Rajha} Tissa of the Mihintale cave inscription was from an area further away from Anurādhapura than the river Kanadara Oya. Further, the Kottadāmuhēla cave inscription, located in Rōhana, refers to a royal lady called \textit{Abi} Savera, the daughter of \textit{Aya} Tissa.\textsuperscript{310} The \textit{Cūlavamsa} pointed out a hospital that king Dappula (659 A.D.) built at Kānagāma among his activities in Rōhana.\textsuperscript{311} Based on these instances, it may be suggested that Kanagama was located in Rōhana. It can be assumed that \textit{Aya} Tissa (Kottadāmuhēla cave inscription) or \textit{Rajha} Kanagama Tissa (Mihintale cave inscription) who was related to the Kataragama ruling house, may have ruled at Kanagama in Rōhana. Sometime after she entered into priesthood \textit{Abi} Savera under the name \textit{Saverā Samaniya} (nun) gifted a cave at Mihintale, introducing herself as a daughter of \textit{Rajha} Tissa of Kanagama.

\textsuperscript{308} “Kanagama-rajasa\textsuperscript{a} Tisaha jīta Saverā Samaniya īne Šagasa..,” \textit{IC}, Vol. I, No. 14, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{309} Nicholas, \textit{op.cit.}, 1958, p. 160.
Another cave inscription of Mihintale was set up by Abi Maha, the daughter of 'Diparājha.' \(^{312}\) Paranavitana translated 'Diparājha' as 'king of the island.' \(^{313}\) According to the Sammohavinodani, one of the Commentaries of the Abhidhamma Pitaka, a ruler of Anurādhapura, who probably belonged to a period between the first century B.C. and the second century A.D., appointed his son to rule over the Nāgadīpa area and this prince came to be known as Diparājha. \(^{314}\)

One of the inscriptions found from Mihintale mentions that Aya Aśali, the son of Gamani Damarajha, made a cave dwelling for the Sangha, of the four quarters. \(^{315}\) The Bovattegala and Kottadāmuhēla inscriptions point out that Dhamarajha was the son of 'Jheta Sava', eldest among the ten brothers (Dasabatika) and father of Aya Maha Tissa. \(^{316}\) If we consider that Damarajha of Mihintale and Dhamaraja of Bovattegala were the same person, it can be assumed that Aya Aśali of Mihintale inscription should be related to the ruling house of Kataragama and brother of Aya Mahatissa, father of Abi Savera.

This epigraphic evidence from thirty sites reviewed in the preceding paragraphs is of crucial importance for the understanding of the petty political institutions in Sri Lanka. Human settlements in various parts of the island were administrated by many different rulers, before the emergence of a unified kingdom with a single lineage of rulers controlling the island from Anurādhapura. According to archaeological evidence, the state or kingship was not brought from the mainland of India as a full-fledged institution.

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311 Čulavamsa, Ch. IV, V. 43.
312 "Diparājha-jîthā Mahabiya lene...", IC, Vol. 37, p. 4.
314 Sammohavinodini, p. 443-444.
but was a natural development of local leadership in various parts of the island. After the third century B.C. the powerful influence that the subcontinent exerted in its development, may be linked to the ascendancy of imperial Magadha. Though external influence was certainly an important factor, it appears that the evolution of state of ancient Sri Lanka was, in essence, an indigenous phenomenon.\textsuperscript{317}

An analysis of the location of petty political institutions in various parts of Sri Lanka is necessary to understand the evolution of the state. A majority of polities which existed before the time of Dutthagāmanī, were in the dry zone area and were dependent on the small reservoir, canal and rivers.\textsuperscript{318} It is possible to suggest that the physical setting of the different polities introduced an element of inequality regarding access to certain basic resources. The chiefdoms of Koratota, Yatahalena, Āmbulambe Piduragāla Balahurukanda and Kirimakulgolla were close to iron ore bearing areas where haematite, limonite and goëtite were close to the surface. The pearl banks were located on the north-western coastal area. Ranagiramada, Tittavela, Occāppukallu chiefdoms were situated a few miles from this area. Malaya Mountain and its northern and southern parts have been equally well known for its precious stones. The Yatahalena, Kirimakulagolla, Balahurukanda, Kolladeniya, Āmbula-ambe, Pidurāgala chiefdoms lay adjacent to the major gem deposits in the island. The eastern chiefdoms were located close to the copper deposits in the Seruvila areas and resources such as mica, quartzite dolomite and marble have been found near most of the chiefdoms.

\textsuperscript{316} See p. 246.
\textsuperscript{317} Gunawardana, \textit{op.cit.}, 1982, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{318} Gunawardana, \textit{op.cit.}, 1992, p. 62.
Distribution of Mineral Resources in Sri Lanka

- Hot spring
- Mica
- Quartzite
- Vein quartz
- Graphic working mine
- Main graphic area
- Gem bearing area
- Dolomite marbles
- Iron ore
- Gold
- Apatite
- Pearl banks
- Copper
- Silica-sand
- Mineral sand

Map 7

1: 100,000
### Availability of natural resources and location of chiefdoms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Chiefdoms</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Location of Natural resources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occăppukallu,</td>
<td>North Central</td>
<td>Pearls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuvarakanda, TittavelaRangiramada, Patahamulla</td>
<td>North Western</td>
<td>Pearls, Iron, Mica, Laterite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirimakulgolla Balahurukanda</td>
<td>Sabaragamuva</td>
<td>Gold, Iron, Gems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bōvattegala, Kottadamuhēla</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Vein quartz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolladeniya</td>
<td>Uua</td>
<td>Gems, Mica, Magnetite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonavatta Bambaragala</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Iron, Gems, Mica, Feldspar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambulambe, Pidurāgala</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Iron, Mica, Gems, Quartzite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periya-Puliyankulam</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>Gold, Iron, Mica, Quartzite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kusalānkana Mottayalallu Kal-Udupotan, Olagangala</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Copper Iron, Hot springs, Mica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāttukanda,</td>
<td>North Central</td>
<td>Mica, Quartzite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bōvattegala, Kottadamuhēla Situlpavuva</td>
<td>East and south</td>
<td>Vein quartz, Mica</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11

### 3.2.3 Emergence of unified kingdom and expansion of Buddhism

At this time Buddhist sites expanded mainly around the ancient settlement areas. According to archaeological evidence and expansion of early Brähmi inscriptions, it is noteworthy that most of the Buddhist sites may be identified near centres of chiefdoms. A

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large segment of the political elite of the pre-state period in Sri Lanka made their endowments to resident monks associated with non-urban habitation site or village units.

The introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka is traditionally attributed to Asoka’s son Arahanta Mahinda who came to the island. King Devanampiya Tissa, who was the ruler of the Anuradhapura chiefdom at that time, took many measures which contributed towards establishing its firm footing here. Firstly, he donated a royal park to the Buddhist monks for their residence and religious purpose and later erected various buildings in the royal park for the Buddhist monks. The king Devanampiya Tissa also gifted caves at Cetiyapabbata (Mihintale) for the monks for stay during the rainy season and built a stūpa called Thūparāma, containing Buddha’s relics at Anuradhapura. According to the advice of Arahanta Mahinda, king Devanampiya Tissa sent messengers to the royal house at Pataliputra and invited Sanghamittā to come to Sri Lanka and bring a branch of the sacred Bodhi tree which was planted in the Mahameghavana park. After the arrival of Theri Sanghamittā and other nuns, the Anuradhapura king helped them to establish the ‘Bhikkuni Sāsana’ in the island and built the residence of nuns within the capital 520

King Devanampiya Tissa gave his assistance zealously and encouraged Buddhist

ceremonies in his chiefdom, which later became a unifying force. King Devānampiya Tissa gathered many people who lived in various parts of the island (Dīpavāsi) for enshrining Buddha’s relics at Thūparāma stūpa at Anurādhapura. The relics of the Buddha were regarded as representing Buddhism itself and their enshrinement was as good as representing the Buddha’s residence in the island.321 King Devānampiya Tissa invited princes of Kajaragāma, Candanagāma and Brāhmanas of Tivakka and the sapling of the Bodhi tree was planted in Anurādhapura. It is possible that the Kattiyas of Kajaragāma and Candanagāma belonged to the royal house of Kataragama in the southern part of the island.322 Although Devānampiya Tissa was the most important king in the island at the time, there were several contemporary independent rulers in various parts of the country, a fact attested to by inscriptions and chronicles. The planting of forty saplings, sometimes located far away from Anurādhapura can be regarded as a symbolic acceptance of Buddhism all over the country, and more importantly the acceptance of Devānampiya Tissa as the foremost king in the island by petty rulers in outlying provinces. Devānampiya Tissa tried to impose a moral obligation upon the royal house in Rōhana, the northern part of which recognised no loyalty to him. This may perhaps be regarded as a small scale application of Dhamma Vijaya.323 The Mahāvamsa repeatedly emphasises the fact that Asoka and Devānampiya Tissa worshiped the saplings of the Bodhi tree by bestowing upon it kingdom and

322 Mahāvamsa, Ch. XIX, V. 59-63 Samantapāsādik, p. 34.
323 Hettiarachchy, op.cit., 1972, p. 121.
kingship. Moreover, although the main Buddhist centre was located at Anurâdhapura, most other Buddhist monasteries were situated in the territories of petty political institutions such as Situlapavuva, Bövattegala, Kulâlankanda, Dimbulâgala, Bambaragala, Yatahalena, and Periya-Puliyankulam.

The expansion of a common script (Brâhmi) in the island after the introduction of Buddhism further helped in the Buddhist cultural coalescence. Because of this new alliance and the consequent religious enthusiasm on the part of the king, the Anurâdhapura kingdom was brought into prominence. The capital of the Anurâdhapura chiefdom became the centre of all religious activities and the main Buddhist centre. In Sri Lanka the struggle among chiefdoms took place against the background of the expansion of Buddhism. In fact the penetration of the influence of Buddhism over a very wide area of the island preceded political unification, and most of the leaders of chiefdoms had become patrons of the new religion.

Because of this Buddhist cultural background petty political rulers attempted to obtain loyalty of other rulers through imposition of moral obligations. The activities of king Kâkavanana Tissa, father of Dutthagâmani and ruler of the petty political ruling house of Rôhana, is an example of this. It is said in the Dhamuñyamsa that king Kâkavanna Tissa decided to build a Buddhist monument, a stûpa enshrining the relic of the Buddha, as "a prophecy that had been made by the Buddha himself." What is most noteworthy about this pious venture was that the place where he was destined to build

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324 Dipavamsa, Ch. XIII-XV, Mahâvamsa, Ch. XIX, V. 8-9, 30, 58, Samantapâsâdikâ, p. 34. The fact is the symbiosis between the monarch and the Buddhist order and between the monarch and the people. The monarch symbolises his own recognition of the state's purpose and by bestowing the kingdom on the Bodhi tree acknowledges that the royal authority is both delegated and responsible, W. I Siriwera, "The Sacred Precincts of the Sri Mahâbodhi Tree in Anurâdhapura: An Historical Survey," Mahâbodhi Tree in Anurâdhapura, Sri Lanka, ed. H. S. Nissanka, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1994, p. 5.
325 Gunawardana, op.cit., 1982, p. 64.
that monument according to the prophecy, lay at a considerable distance from his polity, within the chiefdom ruled by Śiva of the ruling house of Séru in the eastern province. King Kākavanna Tissa arrived at the site, selected the site with the relics, and accompanied by Buddhist monks as well as his troops put forward the choice before Śiva either to confront him militarily and disrupt what was ostensibly a pious act by a ruler who claimed he was carrying out a prophecy or to follow the more prudent course of acquiescence. Śiva chose the latter. In the course of the construction of the Buddhist sites, the ruling houses of Lona, Abaya and Sōma are found to have been reduced in status to individuals who carry out various orders issued by Kākavanna Tissa.326

King Devānampiya Tissa also imitated this means to display his authority. When Therī Sanghamittā reached the port of Jambukolapattana with a sapling of the sacred Bodhi tree, King Devānampiya Tissa and his followers went to welcome them with a fourfold army. As evident from inscriptions, it is clear that there were a few chiefdoms located in the northern part of Anurādhapura e.g. chiefdoms such as that of Nāttukanda and Periya-Puliyan-kulam.327 Devānampiya Tissa perhaps visited Jambukolapattana through the territories of these chiefdoms.328 These two instances highlight the fact that Buddhist rituals were utilised by an expanding polity as a means of demonstrating its power and thereby reducing potential rivals to client status without resorting to open warfare.

The ritualised political aggression is also highlighted by the war campaign of

326 Dhātu-vamsa, pp. 70-71.
327 See, pp. 251-252.
328 Dipavamsa. Ch. XVII, V. 31-32, Samantapāsādikā, p. 33.
Dutthagāmani. According to the accounts of literary sources about the campaign of Dutthagāmani, he left Mahāgāma (Rohana) for Anurādhapura and, after winning battles fought at eighteen different places on the way, he faced king Elāra whom he killed in a duel. It is said that he fought the final battle at the port of Mahātitta where he defeated a nephew of king Elāra’s paladin Dīghajantu who had come with Tamil troops to support his uncle. The victorious Buddhist, who was struck with remorse at the thought of having sent so many to death in battle metamorphosed into a deeply pious man who spent the rest of his life constructing many religious edifices including the great monuments, such as the Mahātupa.

King Dutthagāmani was blessed by the Buddhist monks of Tissamahārāma, before he left for the war campaign with king Elāra. Then Dutthagāmani marched with a relic in his spear and having shown favour to the Sangha, began his military campaign by saying “I will go to the land on the farther side of the river to bring glory to the doctrine of Buddha. Give us, that we may treat them with honour, Bhikkhus who shelter go with us, since the sight of Bhikkhus is a blessing and protection on us.” The relationship of Buddhist ideology

\[\text{PL XV  Mahātupa at Anuradhapura}\]

\[\text{Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXV, V1.2, 3.11-34, 77-78.}\]
\[\text{Gumawardana, \textit{op.cit.}, 1982, p. 36}\]
\[\text{Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXV, V. 1-4}\]
and temporal power as displayed by Dutthagāmani stand in sharp contrast to that of Aśoka and Buddha himself. In the Aśokan case, Buddhism resulted in the lessening of the search for temporal power as Aśoka’s Digvijaya gave way to Dhammavijaya. In the case of Dutthagāmani, Buddhist ideology supported and abetted his search for temporal power.

According to the literary sources, the annihilation of the Kattiyas of Kataragama (Rōhana) by king Gothābaya (grandfather of Dutthagāmani), son of Yatāla Tissa, marks the beginning of a movement at building-up the unified kingdom of the island, bringing in Mahāgāma and adjoining provinces into the hegemony of the dynasty of Mahāgāma. The Dhātuvamsa says that after defeating the Kataragama Kattiyas, the petty political institutions of Rōhana which had been ruled by several Kattiya rulers, were unified by king Gothābhaya under a single ruler.332

King Kākavanna Tissa completed the task begun by his predecessor. Initially, a marriage alliance was engineered between the royal house of Kālaniya and that of Mahāgāma and the dynasty of Kelaniya was never heard of thereafter. It may be that this chiefdom was also related to the Rōhana ruling house after the death of Kālani Tissa, the grandfather of Dutthagāmani.333 With a state, statesmanship and the aid of the Buddhist Sangha, king Kākavanna Tissa imposed his authority over not only two royal houses of Sēru, Sōma and Lona but also other ruling houses of south east and the eastern part of Sri Lanka. After unifying this area, king Kākavanna Tissa appointed his younger son Tissa (later Sddhā Tissa) to protect the development of Dīghavāpi as a subordinate ruler.334

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332 Dhātuvamsa, pp. 21-22.
333 Mahāvamsa, Ch. XX, V.12.
334 Ibid., Ch. XIV, V. 2.
political foundation was built on the base of cultural coalescence by king Kākavanna Tissa who assisted Dutthagāmanī in establishing the unified kingdom in Anurādhapura in the second century B.C.\textsuperscript{335}

After king Dutthagāmanī shifted his political centre from Mahāgāma to Anurādhapura, he also appointed his brother prince Tissa as a subordinate ruler of the critical Mundeni Āru (Gal-Oya) area in the eastern part of the island.\textsuperscript{336} This clear arrangement helped king Dutthagāmanī avoid the problems which could arise from the usual tendency of collateral branches asserting their independence. If, in the course of his campaigning Dutthagāmanī did coerce most of the rulers of the petty principalities in the island to accept his suzerainty, evidently, his attempts at subjugating the montane regions did not meet with much success. As noted earlier, the records from the Bambaragala area near Kandy and from Yatahalena in Kāgalla District seem to suggest that the ruling houses in these areas continued for some time longer.\textsuperscript{337}

It is noteworthy that king Dutthagāmanī after he was seated on the throne at Anurādhapura, patronised Buddhism by constructing the monuments in the Mahā Vihāra boundary. The Mahāthupa begun by king Dutthagāmanī and completed by his brother king Saddhā Tissa, was the largest Buddhist monument in the Buddhist world for a long time. Besides the Mahā Vihāra he founded another stūpa, the Maricavatti Vihāra and Uposatagarā, Lovāmahāpāya for the disciplinary activities of Buddhist monks.

\textsuperscript{335} Ibid., Ch. XXVI, V. 1.
\textsuperscript{336} Ibid., Ch. XXV, V. 34, Ch. XXXIII, V. 14.
\textsuperscript{337} Gunawardana, \textit{op. cit.}, 1982, p. 38.
3.3 Early state and Buddhism

3.3.1 Royal authority and management.

The period from second century B.C. to third century A.D. can be described as the period of the early state of Sri Lanka. This period witnessed the evolution of administrative institutions, which gradually supplanted rulers of local polities by taking over such functions as collection of revenue and administration of justice. Thus the transformation of hegemonic domination over most part of the island into territorial incorporation appears to have been an important achievement of the state.\footnote{Gunawardana, \textit{op.cit.}, 1992, pp. 65-66.}

The available literary and the lithic records, point to the fact that the early form of state which existed in the island was monarchy. The king was the pivot around whom the administrative machinery revolved. The character of the state therefore depended on the personality, character and the power of the sovereign.

From the provinces, the inscriptions of the rulers of petty political principalities indicate the limitation of the extent of power of the Anurādhapura king until about the first century B.C.\footnote{Hettiarachchy, \textit{op.cit.}, 1972, p. 144.} The petty polities may have existed until the first century B.C. and there is no evidence that these polities developed against the power of Anurādhapura sovereignty. After the accession of king Dutthagāmani to the throne of Anurādhapura, some petty rulers may have accepted his authority or the Anurādhapura king may have prevented the tendency of advance of petty rulers through his power. Therefore the Anurādhapura kings concentrated on confirming their power not only in Anurādhapura but also in the Rōhana, north and eastern parts of the island. When king Dutthagāmani
was ruling at Anurādhapura his brother Tissa (Saddhā Tissa) was a subordinate ruler of Dīghavāpi (eastern province).³⁴⁰ After prince Saddhā Tissa became king of Anurādhapura, his elder son Lañja Tissa was the sub-ruler of this area.³⁴¹ According to Rajagala cave inscriptions, it is clear that prince Lañja Tissa lived in this area.³⁴² It is also evident that some kings who lived at Anurādhapura, appointed their sons, brothers or loyal officers as subordinate rulers in Rōhana and other parts like north or eastern parts of the island after the first century B.C. During the reign of king Bhātikābhaya, his brother ruled the southern part of the island as a sub-king of Anurādhapura dynasty. This fact is confirmed by the Kirinda rock inscription and Akurudoga pillar inscription at Tissamahārāma.³⁴³ Rajagala and Tumbullegala rock inscriptions also confirm that Mahādātika Mahānāga, brother of king Bhātikābhya, bore the title of viceroyalty.³⁴⁴ A son of Mahādātika Mahānāga³⁴⁵ lived in Rōhana and styled himself Rohanika Gamani, as is evident from the Sandagiri Vihāra pillar inscription at Tissamahārāma.³⁴⁶ This prince must have been commissioned by the governor of Rōhana, under king Mahādātika Mahānāga who departed for Anurādhapura in order to ascend the throne. The sons and ministers assisted king Vasabha as a ruler or governor in various parts of the island for establishing his authority. According to Hābassa and Tammānnāwa rock inscriptions, Utara and Dutaga, the sons of king Vasabha, governed (may be in Ûva and the western part of island) as sub rulers.³⁴⁷ The Vallipuram gold plate

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³⁴⁰ Mahāvamsa, Ibid., Ch. XIV, V. 2
³⁴¹ Ibid., Ch. XXXIII, V. 19.
³⁴² IC, No. 422-428, p. 32.
³⁴⁵ Ibid., No. 36, p. 48.
³⁴⁶ Ibid., No. 32, p. 45.
³⁴⁷ Ibid., No. 57, p. 85, No. 55, p. 83.
refers to a minister named Isigiri who governed in Nāgadipa in the northern part during the reign of king Vasabha.\textsuperscript{348} In contrast, the Kāsimottei rock inscription states that Honaya was the deputy governor of Rōhana (\textit{cula rohana-bojika}) and chief territory officer (\textit{maharatiya}) and minister of king Vasabha.\textsuperscript{349} In the reign of king Gajabhāhuka Gāmani, there was a sub king in Rōhana; although this sub king acknowledged his inferior position by assuming the less pretentious designation of \textit{Uparaja}, he still does not refer to his overlord.\textsuperscript{350}

An inscription at Linmalai is dated in the reign of king Kanittha Tissa. This document registered a grant made by a \textit{Ratiya} who was governing the province of Ūva (Huvaka).\textsuperscript{351} Previously Ūva had been governed directly by the provincial subordinate ruler of Rōhana; but \textit{Ratiya} in this grant, refers directly to the king of Anurādhapura. Hettiarachchchy remarks that this appointment as governor of the province of a dignitary whose direct allegiance was to the king of Anurādhapura and not to the subordinate ruler of Mahāgāma, the provincial capital of Rōhana, must have reduced the prestige enjoyed by provincial Rōhana.\textsuperscript{352}

According to literary sources and inscrptional evidence, there is no doubt that Rōhana was a crucial part of the Anurādhapura throne in this period. Prince Lañja Tissa became a king of Anurādhapura. He came from Dīghavāpi and expelled his brother Tullatthana.\textsuperscript{353} The first part of king Vattagāmani Abhaya's reign saw a successful rebellion in Rōhana caused by a brāhmaṇa. According to accounts of \textit{Sammohavinodani},

\textsuperscript{348} \textit{Ibid.}, No. 53, p. 81.  
\textsuperscript{349} \textit{Ibid.}, No. 48, p. 74.  
\textsuperscript{350} EZ, Vol. IV, pp. 214-217.  
\textsuperscript{351} \textit{UCR}, Vol. VII, p. 127.  
\textsuperscript{352} Hettiarchchchy, \textit{op.cit.}, 1972, p. 154.  
\textsuperscript{353} \textit{Mahāvamsa}, Ch. XXXII, V. 2-4.
it is clear that the brahmana Tiya had the power to challenge the authority of Anurādhapura.\textsuperscript{354} After Lañja Tissa vacated Dīghavāpi and Rōhana area to seize the throne of Anurādhapura, this situation may have arisen leading to the rebellion against Anurādhapura. The Rōhana area was located far away from Anurādhapura but there had been political interaction since the pre-state period. Therefore, many kings attempted to control Rōhana and the eastern part of the island. Hence Anurādhapura kings appointed their loyal persons as sub rulers of Rōhana in the north and eastern parts of the island. According to these instances kings used kin-related networks for administration in the island in this period.

In the early state period, it can be seen that the position of the ruler had become hereditary. The rulers and their kinsmen were generally careful in their records and mention their titles as well as the fact that they came from families that had produced rulers for several generations. For example, the Minvila rock inscription refers to the king Gāmani Abhaya, friend of the gods (Amandagāmani), son of the great king Nāga, (Mahādātika Mahānāga) and grandson of the great king Putakana Abhaya, the friend of the gods (Kutakanna Tissa).\textsuperscript{355} King Tissa (Vankanāsika Tissa) was son of the king Vasabha,\textsuperscript{356} the sub-king Nāga, son of the great king Uttara and grandson of the great king Vasabha.\textsuperscript{357} King Gajabāhuka Gāmani was son of the king Tissa (Vankanāsika Tissa) and grandson of Vasabha.\textsuperscript{358}

\textsuperscript{354} Sammohavinodani, p. 365.
\textsuperscript{356} Ibid., No. 54, p. 82.
\textsuperscript{357} "Vahaba-maharajaha maru-makcke Utara-maharajaha puta uvaraja Nake.,” Ibid., No. 57, p. 83.
\textsuperscript{358} Ibid., No. 58, p. 87, No. 59, p. 88, No. 61, p. 92, No. 62, p. 93, No. 63, p. 94.
Further some kings used special titles in this period to highlight their authority. Titles such as *Raja*, *Maharaja*, *Devanapiya*, *Pita Maharaja*, *Abhaya*, *Maparumaka*, *Srimekavana*, *Puvaya*, were used to introduce rulers of Anurādhapura in the early state period. *Pitamaharaja* (Sanskrit, Pitr-Mahārāja; Pāli, Pita Maharaja) was one of the titles which was used by king Vattagāmani Abhaya. The *Mahāvamsa* says that Vattagāmani Abhaya adopted his own son prince Mahācukamahā Tissa, the son of his elder brother named king Khallātanāga, as he stood in the position of father to Mahācukamahā Tissa, Vattagāmani Abhaya was called *pitiraja*. However, this term *Pitiraja*, is used in the Pāli commentaries to refer to Vattagāmani Abhaya.

An inscription in an early type of Brahmī script, found at Koravaggala near Situlpavuva in Hambantota District in the southern part of the island, records that the cave in which it is engraved was fashioned and dedicated to the Sangha by Parumaka Cerna, the son of the Parumaka Sumana, treasurer of Pitamaharaja, during the reign of king Tissa. Tissa Raja has been identified as king Mahacukamahā Tissa, successor of king Vattagāmani Abhaya. Hence, it is clear that *Pitumaharaja* mentioned here, was the title of king Vattagāmani Abhaya. Another Brahmī inscription discovered from Nuwarakanada in Kuranāgala District of north-western province of the island mentions that the cave of

359 See, pp.206-207.
360 See, pp.210-211.
361 See, pp.222-224.
367 "Kallatanāgarai'io so puttakam saka bhātuno- Mahācukika namām puthāne thapesi ca tanntārānulādevim mahesīca aksi so-Pitithāne thittis sa pitirajāti cabravum," Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXIII, V. 35-36.
368 Sammohavinodani, p. 448, Samantapāsādikā, pp. 440, 473.
Kanha Tissa, the son-in-law of "Gamani Abaya Pitamahraja", was given to the Sangha.\(^{370}\) Although this is a conjectural reading of Paranavitana, Gunawardana suggests that the identification with Vattagāmani Abhaya appears to rest on a reading which is not beyond doubt.\(^{371}\) A long inscription, on the pavement of the Dakkhaṇa stūpa at Anurādhapura, is ascribed to the third century A.D. on palaeographic ground and refers in a number of places to monuments found in the reign of pīta-mahi-raja.\(^{372}\) Paranavitana remarks that the explanation of the epithet Piti-raja given in the Mahāvamsa appears, therefore, to have been invented, not necessarily by the author of that the Chronicle, but at a time when the real significance of the word had been forgotten.\(^{373}\) Paranavitana's argument, however, is doubtful. We have no other evidence to present the new interpretation of this title Piti-raja. But it is clear that this title was used by king Vattagāmani Abhaya to highlight his status and authority. The word, 'Piti' is equivalent to Pāli 'Pita' and Sanskrit 'Pitru'. According to this view, it can be assumed that Vattagāmani may have tried to appear as the father of not only prince Mahaculikamahā Tissa but also all subjects in the island.

According to inscriptive evidence, several kings used the title Aba, Abaya, or Apaya in the early state period. This title deserves our special attention as it is hardly ever found among the names or titles of Indian kings. According to literary sources, some kings who lived in the pre and early state epochs in the island used Abhaya as one part of their personal name. For example, Abhaya, Pāndukābhaya, Dutthagāmani Abaya,

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\(^{372}\) ASCAR, 1947, pp. 9-10.

Vattagāmani Abhaya, Bhātikabhaya, Amandagāmani Abhaya, Cūläbhaya Gajabāhuka
Gāmani Abhaya, Abhayanāga, Gothabhaya.\textsuperscript{374}

According to inscriptive evidence, the title \textit{Aba} or \textit{Abaya} was used by
Dutthagāmana (\textit{Devenapiya gamani Aabaya}),\textsuperscript{375} Vattagāmana (\textit{Devanapiya Gamani
Abhaya}), Kutakanna Tissa (Putakana Gamani Aba),\textsuperscript{376} Bhātikabhaya (\textit{Gamani Aba}),\textsuperscript{377}
Amandagāmana (\textit{Amadagamani Aba}),\textsuperscript{378} Gajabāhauka Gāmana (\textit{Gayabahu Gamani
Abaya or gamani Aba or Abaya})\textsuperscript{379} in the early state epoch. After this period, \textit{Abaya}
changed to \textit{Apaya} and was used merely as a title. Hettiarachchy remarks that this may be
due to the close similarity of the two terms \textit{Apaya} and \textit{Abaya}. We may point out an exact
instance when \textit{Apaya} replaced \textit{Abaya}.\textsuperscript{380} The Timbirivāva inscription of king Gothābhaya
refers to him as \textit{raja Mekavana Abaya}.
\textsuperscript{381} But his grandson’s (king Kitsirimeghvanna)
inscription of Karabagala refers to the king Gothābhaya as a \textit{raja Mekavana maharaja
Apaya}.\textsuperscript{382}

The literal meaning of \textit{Abaya} is fearless, undaunted, confident etc.\textsuperscript{383} and
Hettiarachchy believes that this title was used by kings to highlight their warlike
character.\textsuperscript{384} According to Buddhist scriptures, the title \textit{Aba} was also used by the Buddha

\textsuperscript{374} \textit{Mahāvamsa}, Ch. IX, V. 1, Ch. X, V. 21, Ch. XXII, V. 71, Ch. XXXIII, V. 84, Ch. XXXI, V. 37, Ch.
XXXV, V. 1, 12, 115, Ch. XXXVI, V. 42, 98.
p. 214, not. 4.
\textsuperscript{377} \textit{Ibid.}, No. 18, p. 28, No. 19, p. 30, No. 32, p. 45.
\textsuperscript{378} \textit{Ibid.}, No. 33, p. 45, No. 34, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{379} \textit{Ibid.}, No. 58, p. 87, No. 59, p. 88, No. 60, p. 90, No. 62, p. 92, No. 63, p. 94, No. 64, p. 96, No. 66, p.
100, No. 67, p. 101, No. 69, p. 102.
\textsuperscript{380} Hettiarachchy, \textit{op.cit.}, 1972, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{381} \textit{EZ}, Vol. IV, p. 227.
\textsuperscript{382} \textit{Ibid.}, Vol. III, p. 179, not 3.
\textsuperscript{383} \textit{Pāḷi-English Dictionary}, p. 61.
\textsuperscript{384} Hettiarachchy, \textit{op.cit.}, 1972, p. 20.
as an honorary title. With the expansion of Buddhism in the island, the title Aba or Abaya which related to the Buddha’s character, may have been adopted by kings.

The use of another new royal title can also be identified in this period. The royal title Maparumaka or Mapurumuka (Sanskrit Mahāpramukha Pāli Mahāpamuka or Mahāpāmokkha) is used by kings. Maparumaka occurs as a royal title for the first time in the reign of king Kanittha Tissa, who called himself Maparumaka Malitisa maharaja, in one of his rock inscription, dated in the second century A.D. After Kanittha Tissa upto the time of king Mahāsena, Maparumaka is not mentioned in the royal inscriptions. Only one inscription mentions a Maparumaka Maharaja but the name is not given. Hettiarachchy believes that this inscription is dated to the time of king Kanittha Tissa on palaeographical grounds and has been attributed to king Kanittha Tissa. There are two possible explanations for this absence of reference to the title Maparumaka until the time of king Mahāsena. Hettiarachchy remarks that the king was trying to add some glamour to his position using grandiose titles which would explain why he introduced the new title Maparumaka. Further, he adds that the title may have been used by a king but that the epigraphs have not been found. King Mahāsena introduced his successor rulers as Maparumaka Mahāsena. i.e. the Karabagala rock inscription belonged to the reign of king Kitsirimeghavanna, son of the Mahāsena, called Maparumaka Mahāsena

386 ASCSPR, 1896, p. 47.
388 Hettiarachchy, op.cit., 1972, p. 57.
389 Ibid.
maharajha.\textsuperscript{390} The Bovattegala inscription of king Jettha Tissa II refers to king Mahāsena as Maparumaka.\textsuperscript{391}

After the fifth century, it is important to notice that the title Maparumaka occurs in place of Raja or Maharaja.\textsuperscript{392} It would seem that Maparumaka gradually replaced Raja or Maharajha as a royal title. Hettiarachchchy thinks that perhaps it would have appeared redundant to use equivalent expressions in the same record and only the more popular one of the time would have been retained.\textsuperscript{393} It can be assumed that Maparumaka may have been used by kings as an honorary title to introduce themselves.

3.3.2 Administration and officers in early state

The expansion of royal authority and sphere of royal activities led to the growth of administrative bureaucracy and this resulted in two fold development: on the one hand, it led to an expansion of both the power and the field of activity of individual offices; and on the other hand there was a multiplication of officers in high ranks to meet the new demands of intensified royal activities. According to inscriptive and literary sources, the sub king or vice-royalty was the highest officer of the king and royal administration in the early state epoch. Inscriptions reveal two terms to introduce this officer viz. Uparaja or Uvaraja. (Sanskrit:-Yuvarāja; Pāli:-Uparaja). Hettiarachchchy pointed out that it is not clear whether these terms were synonymous or indicate two different officers. In the later Anurādhapura period both terms occur with identical meaning but there are instances when Uparāja and Yuvarāja were two different persons holding office.

\textsuperscript{390} EZ, Vol. III. p. 179 not. 3.
\textsuperscript{391} ASCAR, 1934, p. 18 (71-VII).
\textsuperscript{393} Hettiarachchhy, op.cit., 1972, p. 58.
simultaneously.\textsuperscript{394} It is clear that according to the Rajagala inscription of \textit{uparaja\textit{ Kutakanna Tissa}}\textsuperscript{395} and Tumbullegala inscription of \textit{uvaraja Mahanaka},\textsuperscript{396} these two terms were used in the same meaning in this period.

The sub king helped the king and his royal activity. Most of the time the king filled this post with a suitable person from among his kinsmen such as an elder son or brother. Before ascending the throne at Anurādhapura king Saddhā Tissa, brother of king Dutthagāmani, and king Lañja Tissa, the son of Saddhā Tissa, ruled in Dīgahavāpi as sub rulers.\textsuperscript{397} The Rajagala inscription mentions king Kutakanna Tissa as \textit{uparaja}.\textsuperscript{398} From the location of this inscription it may be assumed that Kutakanna Tissa ruled Rōhana or eastern part of the island before ascending the throne of Anurādhapura. King Bhātikābhaya’s brother Mahādātiyika Mahānāga was appointed as an \textit{uparaja} in the Rōhana area; the \textit{uparaja} Naka in the Kirinda rock inscription and Akurugoda pillar inscription at Tissamahārāma refer to this prince.\textsuperscript{399} The Tumbullegala inscription, Vilachchi Koralé, Nuvaragampalāta in Anurādhapura District, mentions that Mahānāga, younger brother of king Tissa (Bhātikābhya) was a \textit{uvaraja}.\textsuperscript{400} Another inscription found from Hābassa in Monarāgala District of Ūva province, refers to \textit{uvaraja} Nāga, son of the Maharaja Utara and grandson of Maharaja Vasabha. The Herath Halmillawa inscription, Hurulu Palāta in Anurādhapura District, refers to Tissa who was \textit{uvaraja} of king Vasabha.\textsuperscript{401} \textit{Uvaraja} Tissa can be identified as Vankanāsika Tissa, the son and successor

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{394} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 100.
\item \textsuperscript{395} \textit{IC}, Vol. II, part. 1, No. 2, p. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{396} \textit{Ibid.}, No. 11, p. 13.
\item \textsuperscript{397} \textit{Mahāvamsa}, Ch. XXIV, V, 2, Ch. XXXIII, V.14, \textit{IC}, Vol. I, Nos. 422-426, p. 33.
\item \textsuperscript{398} \textit{IC}, Vol. II, part. 1, No. 2, p. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{399} \textit{JACBAS}, Vol. XXXIV, No. 98, 1945, pp. 61-65.
\item \textsuperscript{400} \textit{IC}, Vol. II, part. 1, No. 11, p. 13.
\item \textsuperscript{401} \textit{Ibid.}, No. 51, p. 78.
\end{itemize}
of king Vasabha. The Piccandiyāva cave inscription indicates the prince as the minister of *uparaja*.

The rock inscription of Situlpavuva mentions one gift of *Maha uvaraja* Tissa *Aya*. Hettiarachchy pointed out that the exact significance of this term is hard to establish. If *Maha* is taken to denote 'chief' or 'foremost' it would follow that there was more than one *uparaja*. It can also be taken in another meaning like 'large' or 'elder'. It is clear that *aya* means prince. Hence *uvaraja* Tissa may be elder prince or elder son of one of the kings. Otherwise we can assume that Maha Tissa is the name of this prince and *uvaraja* is his designation.

According to insessional evidence, there is no doubt that the position of *uvaraja* or *uparaja* was one of the highest posts of this period. *Uvaraja* helped the king not only in administrative activities, but also in establishing the authority of the Anurādhapura king in distant areas such as Rōhana, Ūva and the eastern part of the island, which belonged to the Anurādhapura kingdom in this period.

The *senapati* (general) was another important, influential and powerful position in the administration at this time. Many inscriptions have revealed the use of the word *senapati* or *senapiti*, dated before the third century A.D. These have been found from north, north-western, north-central and eastern parts of the island. One of the inscriptions of Ritigala north-central province, mentions a *maha senapati* (commander-in-chief) who granted a cave to the Sangha during the great king Tissa (may be king Saddhā Tissa).

The Mahakaccatkodi cave inscription, Vavuniya District, refers to *parumaka* Nadika who

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402 IC, Vol. I, No. 1064, p. 84.
was son of a senapati. One inscription of Mihintale, Anurâdhapura District, dated to the second century A.D., refers to a maha senapati Naka (Nâga). Senapati parumaka Mita, was the commander of king Devanapiya rajha Abaya (may be Dutthagâmani) as mentioned in the Koravaggala cave inscription at Situlpauva, Hambantota District.

The Vâlaellugoda-kanda cave inscription, Monaragala District, gives detailed information about senapati Agidata who was commander of the great king of Tissa (may be king Saddhâ Tissa) and his father-in-law senapati parumaka Pussadeva. The Nélugala rock inscription, in the Eravur Pattu of the Batticaloa District, dated second century A.D., mentions senapati Ahalaya who was the commander of king Tissa (Bhâtiaka Tissa or Kanittha Tissa). Based on the accounts of the commentaries senapati was not only an important person in warfare activities but also this post was related to some judicial activities. It is clear that most of the accounts of the Commentaries related to the senapati and his activities, belong to the later period.

According to the literary sources, sometimes the senapati became so powerful that he became a threat to royalty. The senapati of king Khallatanâga named Mahârattaka assassinated the king and captured the throne of Anurâdhapura. Among the seven Tamils who invaded the island and captured power after dethroning king Vattagâmani

407 UCR, Vol. VIII, p. 117.
411 The Commentaries explain that senapati was regarded as the highest judicial authority after the king. Papañcasudani, the Commentary of Mjjhima Nikâya, says that if Vinicca mahamaccha (Judicial chief minister) could not decide a case could refer it to the senapati before sending it to king. (Papañcasudani, Vol. II, p. 122) Further, Senapati was regarded as the head of the amaccas (ministers) mention in the Papañcasudani. (Ibid., Vol. I, p. 14)
412 Mahâvamsa, Ch. XXXIII, V. 33.
Abhaya, four are described as senapati, each obtaining in turn by his own senapati.\textsuperscript{413} The senapati of Kuñcanāga took up arms against the king and expelled the king from the throne.\textsuperscript{414} King Sangha Tissa who was the senapati of king Vijaya Kumara killed the king and captured the throne of Anurādhapura.\textsuperscript{415}

Because the senapati enjoyed some state power, so rulers tried to keep this position for close blood relations or loyal persons. Senapati Mita was a loyal person of king Duttthagāmāni.\textsuperscript{416} The senapati of Gajabāhuka Gāmāni was his brother-in-law.\textsuperscript{417} Senapati Sirināga was brother-in-law of king Kuñnanāga.\textsuperscript{418} The Vessagiriya inscription in Anurādhapura has confirmed this information in the Mahāvamsa.\textsuperscript{419} Hettiarachchhy states that the senapatis wielded less power under warrior kings such as king Duttthagāmāni, Vattagāmāni Abhaya and Gajabāhuka Gāmāni and rather more power under peace-loving rulers.\textsuperscript{420} But there is no such evidence to prove this argument.

Amacca (minister) was another important post in the early state period. There is no evidence that amaccas performed separate or specific functions in the administration, but they have contributed in various ways such as adviser, councillor, revenue collector and war assistant to the king.

On the advice of Arahanta Mahinda, king Devānampiya Tissa sent a mission to king Aśoka, to invite Sanghamittā and bring the branch of the Bodhi tree. Amacca Aritta

\textsuperscript{413} Ibid., Ch. XXXIII, V. 56-60.  
\textsuperscript{414} Ibid., Ch. XXXIV, V. 21-23.  
\textsuperscript{415} Ibid., Ch. XXXIV, V. 63.  
\textsuperscript{417} EZ, Vol. IV, p. 213, p. 217; Vamsatthapakāsinī, p. 657.  
\textsuperscript{418} Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXIV, V. 21; EZ, Vol. IV, pp. 218-222.  
\textsuperscript{419} EZ, Vol. IV, pp. 218-222.  
\textsuperscript{420} Hettiarachchhy, \emph{op.cit.}, 1972, p. 105.
led that mission. King Elāra heard that king Dutthagāmani had come to wage a war with him, consulted the council with his maccas and decided for a war. After the death of king Kākavanna Tissa, immediately prince Tissa came from Dīghavāpi and after finishing his father’s funeral ascended the throne of Māgama. All the amaccas met together and sent a message to prince Dutthagāmani, the elder son of king Kākavanna Tissa. Prince Dutthagāmani fled from the battlefield of Cūlangani with his amacca called Tissa when his brother Tissa defeated him. Vēlusumana, one of the ten paladins of Dutthagāmani is called amacca. After the death of king Saddhā Tissa, all the amacca joined together and elevated prince Thullatthna, younger son of Saddhā Tissa, to the throne with the consent of the Sangha. The seven warriors who helped the king Vattagāmani Abhaya to defeat south Indian invaders at Anurādhapura, are called amaccas. When a dispute arose between the two monasteries, Mahā Vihāra and Abhayagiriya, regarding the interpretation of a Vinaya rule, the then king Bhātikābhaya appointed an amacca named Dighakārāyana to solve that problem. King Vohārika Tissa also appointed an amacca called Kapila to investigate the Vitulya doctrine. King Jettatissa killed many amaccas who refused to go in procession to his father’s funeral and impaled them around the funeral pyre. An amacca called Dhammika appointed by king Mahāsena was found guilty of an offence of Parājikā.

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425 *Sahasavatīthupakarana*, p. 43.
426 *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXXI, V. 17-18.
428 *Samantapāśādikā*, p. 582-583.
430 *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXXVII, V. 119-120.
431 *Nikāya Sangrahaya*, p. 63.
According to insessional evidence, the *amacca* was assisted in his royal duties by a number of higher dignitaries. *Uparaja* prince Mahāsena adopted the title *amacca* which is mentioned in the Piccandiyāva inscription. ⁴³² Some *amaccas* have described themselves as governors of certain parts of the island. The inscription, found from Tissamahārāma, dated first century B.C. refers to Rōhana *Bojaka* (governor) *amacca* Patavanaka. ⁴³³ The Kasimottei rock inscription, located on the eastern sea coast mentions that *amacca* Honaya was deputy governor of Rōhana. ⁴³⁴ According to the Vallipuram gold plate, found from Vadamaracchi division of Jaffna peninsula *amacca* Isigira was the governor of Nāgadipa during the reign of king Vasabha. ⁴³⁵ Two inscriptions located in the Rasnakavāva and Uddakandara Vihāra at Tissamahārāma mention two *amaccas* bearing the title *paheja*. ⁴³⁶ Paranavitana derives *paheja* from Pāli *Parisajja* through a Prakrit form *pasajja* which means councillor. ⁴³⁷ The Tonigala inscription in the Anuradhāpura District refers to *amacca paheja* Sivaya. ⁴³⁸ The inscription of Katugampolagama refers to an *amacca* named Naka *paheja*. ⁴³⁹

Some *amaccas* mention specific official designations in their inscriptions. The Kaduruvāva inscription refers to *amacca* Kanapetika (record keeper) Tissa. ⁴⁴⁰ *Amacca* Datta introduces himself as a *Mahadoratana* (grand chamberlain) of king Mahanaka. ⁴⁴¹

Some inscriptions mention *amaccas* without any specific designation. For instance,

⁴³⁶ *ASCAR*, 1892, p. 2; UCR, Vol. VIII, pp. 120-121.
⁴³⁹ *CJS* (G), Vol. II, p. 110, (440).
⁴⁴¹ Ibid.
*amacca* Mata in the Brāhmanayāgama cave inscription\(^{442}\) and the Atugoda cave inscription refers to *amacca* Sinha Batatu.\(^{443}\) The Dematagala cave inscription mentions *amacca* Baraya.\(^{444}\) The Kaduruvāva inscription refers to *amacca* Vahiti.\(^{445}\)

There is evidence that a system of rank existed among the *amaccas*. Some *amaccas* introduced themselves as *mahamata* (chief Minister) (Pāli-*Mahamacca*, Sanskrit-*Mahāmāṭya*). One of the Ritigala inscriptions refers to *mahamata* Brahmadatta.\(^ {446}\) the Uddakandara Vihāra inscription indicates *mahamata* Tissa.\(^ {447}\) Vahiti the chief minister of king *Devanapiya* Tissa is mentioned in the inscription of Kaduruvāva.\(^ {448}\)

In the early state period, there is some evidence that the term *amacca* indicated a hereditary post of the state. The Kaduruvāva inscription, dated second-first century B.C., shows that the rank of *amacca* was held by members of the same family down to the great grandsons.\(^ {449}\) The Nélugala inscription, dated first century A.D., mentions *amacca* Ahalaya, the son of the *amacca* Asagiriya.\(^ {450}\) The Bōvattegala rock inscription refers to *amacca* Nakayi, the son of the *amacca* Abagiriya.\(^ {451}\)

According to inscriptional evidence, *amaccas* can be identified as wealthy persons in the society of that time. This evidence is also corroborated by references to donations made by *amaccas* to the Sangha. Such donations included tanks, fields, and

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\(^{444}\) *ASCAR*, 1931, p. 21; *IC*, Vol. I, No. 1179, p. 94.  
\(^{451}\) *PPFY*, 1956, p. 67; *IC*, Vol. II, part.1, No. 84, p. 123.
income derived from water-right. The inscription of Kaduruvāva records the grant of some fields, tanks and revenues derived from tanks by an amacca family to the Sangha.\textsuperscript{432} According to the Nēlugala rock inscription, amacca Ahalaya donated revenues of the tanks which belonged to his family, to the Ahalapavata Vihāra.\textsuperscript{433} The Torava Myailāva Vihāra rock inscription mentions that amacca Mahā Atulaya bought three fields spending one thousand kahapanas and granted one share of eight karisas (ancient measurement of land) to the Sangha.\textsuperscript{434} The Ilukvāva and Avukana Vihāra inscriptions, belonging to the first century A.D., mention the donation of a field and a tank by two amaccas.\textsuperscript{435} A second century inscription found at Bimpokuna in the Polonnaruwa District gives details of the donation by an amacca of some fields and tanks which were given for the benefit of the Vihāra.\textsuperscript{436}

According to above observations it is clear that the amacca was one of the important persons in the administrative structure. Hettiarachchy remarks that the amacca became a powerful part of an aristocracy to resist the king if they acted in concert.\textsuperscript{437}

\textit{Dovārika or Doratanana} was another important post of the royal court in the early state period. It means palace guards or doorkeeper of palace. Some time dovārika was a position of honour and not a mere doorkeeper. According to literary sources king Devānampiya Tissa entrusted the kingship to persons who belonged to the Bodhārakula, and himself became dovārika for a short period, to honour the Mahā Bodhi.\textsuperscript{438} Jetta

\textsuperscript{432} IC, Vol. II, part. 1, No. 39, p. 59.
\textsuperscript{433} Ibid., No. 79, p. 114
\textsuperscript{434} JRCBAS (N.S),Vol. V, p. 155.
\textsuperscript{435} EZ, Vol. V, pp. 412-418.
\textsuperscript{436} CJS, (G), Vol. II, p. 22, (379).
\textsuperscript{437} Hettiarachchy, \textit{op.cit.}, 1972, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{438} Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXI, V. 30-31; Samanapāsādikā, p. 38.
dovārika called Śiva was promoted as king by the cruel queen Anulā.\textsuperscript{459} For fun, a dovārika named Sabha captured the throne from the king Yasalālaka Tissa.\textsuperscript{460} The Kaduruvāva inscription refers to mahadotratana (chief dovārika) Vahiti.\textsuperscript{461} It can be assumed that jettadovārika and mahadoratana may be similar positions of the royal court and the chief person of other dovārikas.

Kautilya recommends that the dovārika received twice the salary of a member of the council of ministers.\textsuperscript{462} Richard Fick pointed out that dovārika was an officer of lower rank of the royal court.\textsuperscript{463} But according to Sri Lankan literary and insessional sources, Dovārika had a high place in the royal court. The Pāli Commentaries provide some information about the nature of the post of dovārika.\textsuperscript{464} Hettiarachchy explains that it seems that at least at the beginning, the dovārika’s duties were more or less confined to the protection of the royal household and the king’s person.\textsuperscript{465} After the fourth century the name of the dovārika was changed to geharattaka (watchman of the palace) or dvāranayaka (chief of the door)\textsuperscript{466}

The king’s treasury was an important place of the royal court. Some officers such as badakarika (treasurer) ayaka (revenue collector) ganaka (accountant) served under the

\textsuperscript{459} Ibid., Ch. XXXIV, V. 17-18.
\textsuperscript{460} Ibid., Ch. XXXV, V. 51-56.
\textsuperscript{461} IC, Vol. II, part 1, No. 39, p. 54.
\textsuperscript{462} Arthaśāstra, Ch. III, 16. 30.
\textsuperscript{463} Richard Fick, The Social Organisation in North-East India in the Buddha’s Time, Calcutta; Calcutta University, 1920., p. 154 ff.
\textsuperscript{464} The Papāṇcasudani records that anybody who wishes to see the king must attain permission of the dovārika and dovarika refuses access to the king to any person who did not fulfil the condition of such an audience. (Papāṇcasudani, Vol. III, p. 313.) Further without any prior order from the king no one could enter the palace when there were dovārika. When gifts were brought to the Palace they reached the king through the dovārika. (Atthasālinī, p. 279.) The Somantapāsādikā says that the dovārika interrogated only the people who passed through the city portals and not all the people who were inside or outside the city. (Somantapāsādikā, p. 422.)
\textsuperscript{465} Hettiarachchy, op.cit., 1972, p. 107.
\textsuperscript{466} Ciilavamsa, Ch. XXXVII, V. 51, 1.
royal treasury. In the early state period, a high position was given to the *badakarika* (Sanskrit Bhāndāgārika) among the royal officers. Many cave inscriptions were set up by the *badakarika* and have been found at Buddhist sites located at various places on the island. Some *badakarikas* have introduced their designation with and without the king’s name. Two cave inscriptions of Mihintale refer to *badakarika parumaka* Tissa and Parumaka *badakarika* Saga.\(^{467}\) The Situlpavuva cave inscription mentions *parumaka* Sumana who was *badakarika* of the king *Piti-raja* (Vattagāmani Abhaya).\(^{468}\) The Torava Mayilāva inscription in Kurunāgala District, dated first century A.D., indicates *parumaka* Sumana who was the *panita badakarika* (officer in charge of the store-house of goods) of the king.\(^{469}\) The term ‘*panita’ is equivalent to Sanskrit ‘*pranita’ or ‘*parinishtha’ and Pāli ‘*panita’.*\(^{470}\) Hettiarachchy assumed that the person may have occupied the highest place among a host of lesser *badakarika*.\(^{471}\) The Rāgala Vihāra cave inscription mentions *badakarika* Ahali.\(^{472}\) The Mahāvamsa states that prince Ghotābhaya was *badakarika* of king Sanghabodhi.\(^{473}\) The Sahassavatthuppakarana mentions that the *badakarika* was entrusted with the administration of some provinces during the reign of the king Saddhā Tissa and king Vattagāmani Abhaya.\(^{474}\) A number of *Badakarikas* mentioned in the early records belonged to the nobility known as *parumaka* and some were known as *gamika.* But there is no evidence that this post was hereditary.

The word *ganaka* etymologically meant an accountant. Eight inscriptive

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\(^{468}\) Ibid., No. 621, p. 47.

\(^{469}\) Ibid., No. 1035, p. 81.

\(^{470}\) Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 123; Pāli-English Dictionary, p. 94.

\(^{471}\) Hettiarachchy, op.cit., 1972, p. 108.

\(^{472}\) Ibid., No. 1192, p. 95.

\(^{473}\) Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXIV, V. 92.

\(^{474}\) Sahassavaṭṭhuppakarana, p. 176-177.
records of *ganakas* have been found in different parts of the island. The Maha Álagamunu Brähmi inscription in the Anuradhapura District mentions *ganaka* Cali Tissa.\(^{475}\) The Miyuguna Vihāra cave inscription, Ampāra District, refers to *mahaganaka* (chief accountant) Vohaliya.\(^{476}\) One of the Mandagala cave inscriptions in the Batticaloa District gives details about the *ganaka* Rohakasa.\(^{477}\) The Situlpavuva cave inscription indicates *ganaka* Tissa who lived in Pasanadadariya.\(^{478}\) One of the Magulmahā Vihāra cave inscriptions, Hambantota District, has given another name of *ganaka*, Vemarukana Śiva.\(^{479}\) The Silavakanda cave inscription of Hambantota District gives details about *ganaka* Raki.\(^{480}\) The Vallaellugoda-kanda inscription in Monarāgala District refers to *ganaka* Tissa.\(^{481}\) The inscription of Mullégama mentions *ganaka* Buta.\(^{482}\)

This evidence is not enough to conclude that accountancy was a hereditary profession of the state. Further, the inscriptions referring to *ganaka* do not contain evidence to decide whether they were officers of the state or trading corporations. It can be assumed that most of the *ganakas* served under the state. Besides, according to the location of the inscriptions, *ganakas* may have lived in various parts of the island.

*Ayaka* was another post related to the royal treasury since the pre-state period. *Ayaka* means revenue collector or steward. One inscription has been found from Balahurukanda site, dated second or first century B.C. containing a reference to an *ayaka* who was revenue collector of the princess Upalaya.\(^{483}\) Few inscriptions, dated after

\(^{476}\) *ASCAR*, 1934, p. 21; *IC*, Vol. I, No. 580, p. 44.  
\(^{481}\) *AIC*, No. 83, p. 20; *IC*, Vol. I, No. 1070, p. 84.  
second century B.C., were set up by ayakas and have been found from different places on
the island. The Kandégamakanda inscription in Polonnaruwa District, refers to ayaka
Mahā Tissa who was the revenue collector of the prince Mahā son of the prince Tissa.\footnote{CALR, Vol. III, 1917, p. 208; UCR, Vol. VIII, 1949, p. 201; /C, Vol. I, No. 289, p. 23.} The Rajagāla cave inscription mentions ayaka Abaya who was the revenue collector of
Hambantota District, mentions that paruma ayaka Pussadeva was revenue collector of the
king.\footnote{ASCAR, 1953, p. 65, EZ, Vol. V, pp. 315-317; /C, Vol. I, No. 703, p. 53.} One of the inscriptions found at Situlpavuva mentions an ayaka without the
king Gajabāhu Gāmani, refers to nagara ayaka.\footnote{EZ, Vol. III, pp. 116-117; /C, Vol. II, part. 1, No. 60, p. 90.} Nagara ayaka may be assumed to
be an accountant of the city. According to insessional evidence, it is clear that ayakas
lived in various parts of the island.

Nagaragutika was one of the officers in the royal administration in the early state
period. He was an officer entrusted with the administration of a town, and corresponds to
the nagaraka of the Arthaśāstra.\footnote{Arthaśāstra, II.32.4.} The Mahāvamsa states that king Pandu-kabhaya
appointed his elder uncle called Abhaya as nagaraguttika in Anurādhapura.\footnote{Mahāvamsa, Ch. X, V. 80-81.} According
to the Mahāvamsa, as the word nagaraguttika, implies, the holder of this office was
responsible for the proper administration of the capital city, and was known as night king
The inscriptions of Maha Álagamuva and Torava Mayiláva provide information about the post of *nagaragutika*. The Maha Álagamuva inscription refers to *parumaka nagaragutika* Datta. The Torava Mayiláva inscription mentions another person who had borne the title *nagaragutika*. There is no doubt that this officer was not appointed to the royal court directly.

The Brähmi inscriptions also refer to certain officers called *adeka* a word derived from the Sanskrit ‘Adyaksa’ (Tamil-:Adikaram) which means a superintendent. They formally corresponded to the chief of various departments. In the administrative system of the *Arthasástra* there were a number of important departments of state, each placed in charge of a superintendent, with the title of Adyaksha, and our inscriptions refer to a number of personages to whose names are attached the title *adeka*, with other qualifying words. One of the inscriptions in Mihintale refers to *adeka* of roads. Periyakádu Vihára Brähmi inscription of Kurunágala District mentions an *adeka* of the mint. The Kumburulena inscription in the Kurunágala District has given details of *adeka* of palanquins of the king Gámani Abhaya. One of inscriptions of Kaduruváva indicates *adeka* of elephant. The *Adeka* of trade called Cula Honaya is mentioned in the inscription of Handagala, Anurádhapura District. One of the Periya-Puliyankulam cave inscriptions, Vavuniya District, refers to *adeka* of horse.

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495 *Arthasástra* mentions thirty names of Adyaksakas who were related to the various departments. *Arthasástra*, I, 5.8; II, 26-36.
Hettiarachchy points out that it is difficult to decide whether the superintendent came directly under the king and was counted to the ranks of *amacca* or whether they were officers of lesser consequence.\(^{502}\) It can be suggested that some superintendents such as *adeka* of palanquins, *adeka* of trade may have been appointed by the king directly because some departments were more influential.

Inscriptions dating from the beginning of the Christian era refer to an officer who was called *ratiya*.\(^{503}\) The *Rāśtriya* figures as a provincial ruler during the time of the Maurya emperor Candragupta\(^{504}\) and during the Gupta period.\(^{505}\) According to Sri Lankan inscriptions, the duties of the *ratiya* must have been restricted to provincial administration; the relationship either with the king, *uparaja* or with prominent provincial administration. The Kāsimottei rock inscription, located in the eastern part of the island refers to *amati* Cula Honaya as *mahāratiya*.\(^{506}\) It can be assumed according to this inscription that Maharatiya Honaya may have ruled this area as a territorial officer during the reign of king Vasabha. Another inscription found from Lainmalai, is dated to the second century A.D. This refers to Hatada who was *ratiya* of Úva during the reign of the king Kanittha Tissa.\(^{507}\) Hettiarachchy says that since the Linmalai inscription uses the direct form, the *ratiya* of the province of the Huvanaka (may be Úva) most likely exercised this power on behalf of the king, which indicates an important place accorded to the office.\(^{508}\) The Akuruketugala rock inscription mentions *ratiya* Śiva.\(^{509}\) The

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\(^{503}\) *Ratiya* corresponding to *rattika*, found in the inscriptions of Asoka.


\(^{506}\) *IC*, Vol. II, part 1, No. 48, p. 74.


\(^{508}\) Hettiarachchy, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

Sahassavatthuppakarana has given information about one of the rich ratiyas who lived in Dakkhina Malaya (hill area).\footnote{Sahassavatthuppakarana, p. 63.}

According to insessional and literary sources, an officer called bojaka or bojiya can be identified as an important official person of the state administration in the early state period. In India bojakas come in between sāmantas and visayapatis.\footnote{CH, Vol. III, p. 11, note. 2.} Hettiarachchy states that the it would seem that bojakas in Sri Lanka would have had some relation to this contemporary institution in the subcontinent. But this expression is not entirely true because there is no evidence to prove this statement.

Bojaka can be taken to mean either enjoyment or ruling over a large area of the kingdom under the royalty. The Kok-ābe rock inscription of Anurādhapura District mentions prince Sagaya as a bojika in Mahāgāma (Rūhana).\footnote{ASCAR, 1893, p. 6; IC, Vol. II, part. 1, No. 82, p. 120.} Cula Honaya describes himself as Cula (deputy) bojaka of Rūhana in the Kasimottei rock inscription.\footnote{IC, Vol. II, No. 48, p. 74.} According to the Vallipuram gold plate inscription, the Minister Isigiraya can be identified as a bojaka, governing (bujamem) Nāgadīpa during the reign of king Vasabha.\footnote{EZ, Vol. IV, pp. 229-237; IC, Vol. II, part. 1, No. 53, p. 81.} A Rūhana bojaka is mentioned in one of the inscriptions belonging to the second century A.D., found at Tissamahārāma.\footnote{CJS (G), Vol. II, p. 24 (391).} Another rock inscription has been found from Devamādi Hatpattuva in Kurunāgala District, dated third century A.D. and mentions a bojaka named Gutaha residing at Malaya (hill country).\footnote{CJS (G), Vol. II, p. 16. (128.)}

According to the above observations, it is clear there was an expansion and development of the administrative bureaucracy in the early state period. Some royal
functions were decentralized among the royal officers, though in several cases these were related through kinship ties. The evolution of administrative institutions gradually supplanted rulers of local polities by taking over functions such as the collection of revenue and the administration of justice. Hettiarachchy states that it was by efficient control of the bureaucracy that the king made his sovereignty felt among his subjects. 517

After the second century B.C., inscriptions reveal that orders issued at Anurâdhapura were being implemented in the eastern and southern parts of the island, e.g. king Lañja Tissa, was living at Anurâdhapura and granted some revenue to the community of the Sangha in the eastern part. 518 The Lainmalai inscription of king Mahâdâtiika Mahânâga, 519 the Sandagiriya inscription of king Vasabha, 520 the Situlpavuva and Godavâya inscriptions of Gajabâhahuka Gâmani, 521 refer to gifts to the Sangha or monasteries in southern or eastern part of the island. Likewise, the setting up of inscriptions and granting revenues by the Anurâdhapura kings in the distant areas of the island reinforce their power and authority in the country. The location of these records is the only means to understand the geographical extent of political power of Anuradhâpura kings. According to inscriptional evidence, the administration depended mostly on the character of the king and his personal ability as well as the relationship between the king and regional governors. It is clear that this relationship was established between and among the administrative divisions during the reign of king Vasabha. This is indicated by the fact that king Vasabha’s regional governors mention king Vasabha’s name when they

517 Hettiarachchy, op. cit., 1972, p. 179.
519 Ibid., No. 19, p. 30.
520 Ibid., No. 49, p. 76.
521 Ibid., No. 64, p. 96, No. 67, p. 101.
issued the inscriptions. The Minister Isigiriya was the regional governor of the northern part of the island during the reign of king Vasabha. When the minister Isigiriya issued the gold plate, he initially mentioned king Vasabha's name. The Kāsimottei, Tammānāva and Hābassa rock inscriptions are important for an analysis of this argument.

3.3.3 Agrarian and economic expansion

The transformation of hegemonic domination which secured most of the island into territorial incorporation appears to have been an important achievement of the early state. Further, evolution of the early state led to an increasing trend among the rulers of Anurādhapura for involvement in this expanded irrigation and commercial activity.

According to literary and archaeological evidence, there is no doubt that activities such as agriculture and commerce received special attention of the king. Kings mediated directly in the development of agriculture, building large tanks and canals in various places of the island and helped people to build the tanks and canals in their own areas. The growth of irrigation activities in the early state period affected cultivation and agriculture in the island. Gunawardana remarks with regard to development in the field of irrigation technology, that this was the period during which reservoirs were capable of irrigating an area more than a single village; the canal system transcended the boundaries of village settlements; and sluices enabled stricter control of the outflow of water from irrigation systems. Coeval with the evolution of the early state was the increasing trend among the rulers of Anurādhapura to participate in irrigation activity, but some of the irrigation works of enhanced capacity were constructed and owned by
powerful lineages in each locality and represented the earliest and the most common type of private property in the island.  

Large scale irrigation works appear in Sri Lanka only after the emergence of the state. Noteworthy progress was made in the field of technology in the preceding period of early state formation, as evidenced by the provision of spill accommodation in reservoirs. Improvements in metallurgical techniques enabled the production of steel tools to work on hard substances like granite. The development of improved technology and the emergence of a state with a capacity to divert extensive resources to public works were important preconditions for the large scale irrigation enterprise of the four subsequent centuries. Likewise, Gunawardana says that while irrigation activity was conducive to the evolution of the state in Sri Lanka, it also generated forces which worked in opposition to the total concentration of power in the ruler. According to literary and archaeological evidence, with its appearance began a stage of decisive intervention by the ruler in irrigation enterprise. It was only in the first century, in the reign of king Vasabha, that steps were taken towards the construction of large reservoirs. Even before king Vasabha, previous kings had also taken an interest in building to retain rain water, but irrigation activities of magnitude started only with king Vasabha. King Vasabha is credited with the construction of twelve reservoirs and the Alisāra canal which was the first attempt at diversion of water to a distant locality.

The Ālahāra canal (Alisāra), which diverted the water of the Ambangaga to the

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525 Tanks named Mayetti tank, Rajapul tank, Kolabagama tank, two tanks of Manikaviti, Kehala tank, Kelivasa tank, Ambiti tank, Vatamangana tank, Abivadaman tank Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXV, V. 94-95.
north, is first mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* in the account of the reign of king Vasabha. The construction of a weir across the river, which is the main tributary of the Mahāvali river, was a major technical feat. The canal, probably structured for about thirty miles from this weir, formed the core of the irrigation system of this area which developed in the subsequent period. King Mahāsena assisted in the construction of sixteen tanks and one canal for the development of agriculture in the island. 526 The Minneri tank of Mahāsena represents a new stage in the development of hydraulic technology in the island. This reservoir, which covered an area of about thirty-nine square kilometers, is best described as an artificial lake.

After second century B.C., with the growth of the irrigation system, different types of tanks can be identified. Gunawardana remarks that the consequent development of irrigation is evident from the distinctions that the inscriptions make, not long after this period, between different categories of tanks like ‘village tank’ (*gamikavavi*), ‘large tank’ (*mahavavi*), feeder tank (*dānavavi*). The last one was a storage tank of large capacity from which other tanks in the vicinity drew their through canals. 527 Although

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526 Minneri Tank, Jallura tanka, Kantha tank, Maminivava tank, Kokavata tank, Monara tank, Paraka tank, Kumbalaka tank, Vahata tank, Rattalakada tank, Tihava tank, Velanvatiya tank, Madag tank, Siru tank, Mahadagaralaka tank, Kalupahan tank. *Mahāvamsa*. Ch. XXXVII. V. 47-49

527 Gunawardana, *op. cit.*, 1971. pp. 5-6
the ‘gamikāpi,’ can be seen before the first century B.C., ‘Mahāvāpi’ and ‘Dāna vāpi’ can be identified only after the first century A.D.

The taxes of tanks provided considerable revenues to the royal treasury. According to inscriptions, three types of taxes can be identified: ‘Dakapati’ (share of water),528 ‘Bojakapati’ (share of overlord),529 ‘Mataramajibakapati’ (share of fish).530

Like wise, increasing the commercial relations with the west as well as within the South Asian region promoted processes of magnetization that was an important feature of this period. Paralleling these changes in the economy was the transformation of levies collected by the rulers from tribute to a tax (kara) on productive resources and to tolls (suka) on commodities.531 Fa-Hien noted in the fifth century that the ruler had placed guards over the area which produced pearls and that a share of three-tenths of all pearls harvested had to be paid to him.532 When compared with what we have termed oblations, these new exactions which were levied on irrigation works, land perhaps other means of production represent a depersonalization or formalization of the relationship between the ruler and the ruled.533

Inscriptions indicate that a regular system of taxation (kara) had appeared about the second century A.D. In Sanskrit literature ‘kara’ means royal

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revenue, tribute or tax. In votive inscriptions of Sri Lanka, when land or some other source of income was granted to the community of monks, it was sometimes added that the ‘kara’ was remitted. For example Lainmalei inscription mentions the grant of ‘dakapati’ after remitting ‘kara’ by a ‘ratiya’ of king Kanittha Tissa. In Nāgarikanda inscription of king Kumara Dhātusena, ‘dakapati’ and ‘bojhakapati’ were granted to a monastery after remitting ‘kara’. Any person who received ‘dakapati’ (water share), ‘bojhakapati’ (overload share) or any source of revenue and income was liable to pay ‘kara’ to the king even when such grants were made by the king. Fa-Hien says that the king claimed three tenth of the gems found in the island. The fines imposed at lower courts were another source of royal revenues. The Situlpavuva inscription of Gajabāhuka Gāmani proves this statement. It can be suggested that ‘kara’ denoted a royal tax levied on all incomes, which must have been one of the major source of the royal treasury in this period.

Further, among the other sources of royal revenues were tariffs and customs duties levied at sea ports and other places in the country. The term used for this in the inscriptions is ‘Suka’, derived from Pāli, ‘Sunika’ Sanskrit ‘Sulka’. The Godavāya inscription of king Gajabāhuka Gāmani mentions that customs duties at the port of Godapavata were granted to the Godapavata Vihāra by the king.

According to this example, it may be assumed that with an increase in the commercial activities, custom duties may have been collected from every seaport. The

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538 Legge op.cit., p. 104.
539 IC, Vol. II, part. 1, No. 64, p. 96.
Samantapāsādikā discussed whether or not a Bhikkhu is held guilty according to the Vinaya for not paying sunika (toll), and the passage makes it quite clear that even the clerics were subjected to pay these taxes.\textsuperscript{541} The Manorathapuranī, the Commentary of Majjhima Nikāya, remarks that if people tried to avoid ‘sunika’ they were brought before the king along with the goods.\textsuperscript{542}

It may be assumed that additional wealth which the royal treasury got, was contributed to the king for his administration and other welfare and religious activities in the kingdom. Especially the growth of agricultural activities helped the development of the monasteries and existence of a large number of monks in various parts of the island.

3.4. Buddhist political concepts and role of kings in the early state

Buddhism was adopted by the state in Sri Lanka from the day of its introduction in the island.\textsuperscript{543} Since that time, Sri Lankan kings were considered as the defenders of Buddhism; contributors to the expansion of Buddhism; responsible for the welfare activities of the community of the Sangha; builders of monasteries and protectors of Sāsana.\textsuperscript{544} Although, since that time Buddhism was spreading in the island, but there is no direct evidence to indicate that the ideal rule of a Buddhist Cakkavatti monarch had influence on Sri Lankan monarchs. On the other hand, Asoka’s state policy, particularly his religious policy, had some influence from the time of Devānampiya Tissa himself.\textsuperscript{545}

\textsuperscript{541} Samantapāsādikā, p. 358.
\textsuperscript{542} Manorathapuranī, Vol. II, p. 102.
\textsuperscript{543} Rahula pointed out that state religion means a religion officially recognized by the state concern. Rahula, \textit{op.cit.}, 1966, p. 62 ff 1.
\textsuperscript{544} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 68.
The political situation which existed at that time may have restricted the spread of such a concept in Sri Lankan society. But the building of stūpas, which related to the Cakkavatti concept as a symbol, began to commemorate the Buddha in Sri Lanka. The symbol of the stūpa was the first Buddhist symbol, which was established on the patronage of the king in the Sri Lanka. According to literary sources, King Devānampiya Tissa contributed to build the stūpa called Tūpārāma at Anurādhapura, Arahanta Mahinda gave advice, and King Aśoka provided the Buddha’s relic to build it. Many people who lived in various parts of Sri Lanka (Dīpavāsi) had gathered in Anurādhapura to participate in the ceremony of deposition of Buddha’s relics. King Uttiya built stūpas depositing ash and relics of Arahanta Mahinda and Therī Sanghamitta. The Rajagala inscription indicates that a stūpa was built here for depositing relics of Arahanta Mahinda and Ittika Thera.

Further, after third century B.C. many kings of Sri Lanka patronised Buddhist stūpas depositing Buddha’s relics in various parts of the island. King Kākavanna Tissa,

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547 Ibid.
548 Dīpavamsa, Ch. V 112. Mahāvamsa, Ch. XX, V. 45-46, 54.
father of king Dutthagamani, built a stūpa at Seruvila for establishing his power in the eastern part of Sri Lanka. After establishing the unified kingdom of Sri Lanka, King Dutthagamani built a large stūpa at Anurādhapura. Several Buddhist monks also participated in the relic ceremony of the Mahātupa. These were politically significant activities which extended the mobilising of power of the ruler and enhanced the importance of the capital as the foremost centre of ritual for Buddhists living in all parts of the island. This occasion was a good opportunity for king Dutthagamani to spread his hegemony. The expansion of hegemonic domination in turn helped to enhance the power of the dominant polity. The possibility of utilising ritualised political aggression as an alternative to the actual application of force was generally limited to a situation of struggle for hegemony, as distinct from aggrandisement of the territorial state. However in the long run, the hegemonic relationship could be the precursor to incorporation.

King Vattagamani and king Mahāsena also built large stūpas, Abhayagiriya and Jetavanaya, after suppressing rebellion against them. According to archaeological evidence, Sri Lankan kings who lived before the fourth century A.D., contributed to build stūpas, protecting and repairing the stūpas and offered revenues for

![PL XVII Jetavana Stupa at Anuradhapura](image-url)
the development of stūpas. Inscriptional evidence reveals that some kings such as King Bhāṭikābhaya, King Mahādāti Mahānaga, King Mahānaga, King Gajabahuka gāmari, King Bhāṭikatissa gave revenues to stūpas for their development. Because the stūpa is one symbol of the Buddha as well as Cakkavatti king, therefore Sri Lankan kings may have patronised them.

3.4.1 Dhamma concepts and Sri Lankan kings

After the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka in the third century B.C., the Buddhist Dhamma concept provided not only major ideas for the development of the political structure but it also influenced the character and conduct of rulers as well as the social and religious life of the subjects. King Devāmanampiya Tissa occupies a place in history as the first Buddhist monarch in Sri Lanka. He was imbued with the lore of the Buddha and was undoubtedly influenced by the political thought of the Buddha. His administrative policies and religious outlook served as a model for future kings. Some of the customs (cārītta, pubbacārītta) adopted by him are referred to in the chronicles and inscriptions in the following period.

The Chronicles have introduced Sri Lanka as a ‘Dhammadīpa’ based on the influence of the Dhamma concept. Wikramaratna states that closely associated with the concept of the dhammadīpa was the notion of dhammarājja: the idealized polity of

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553 See pp. 305-322.
555 Ibid., No. 29, p. 42.
556 Ibid., No. 37, p. 50.
557 Ibid., No. 63, p. 94.
560 Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXI, V.21; Cūlavamsa, Ch. 42., V.41, Ch. 44, V.25, Ch. 50, V. 2, Ch. 52 V.15, Ch. 53, V.27, Ch. 54, V.55.
561 Mahāvamsa, Ch. II, V. 84.
righteousness. The complementary relationship of the political and religious ideas implicit in the notion of the Buddhist state is reflected in the term ‘Dhammadīpa’ where ‘Dhamma’ indicates the religious aspect and ‘dīpa’ (island) the political aspect. This island was protected by Gautama Buddha from Yakkhas and previous Buddhas (Kakusada Konāgama etc.) from various calamities through their own power of Dhamma and prince Vijaya also established the Sinhala kingdom based on the blessing of the Buddha.

Further, the Chronicles may have introduced the island as ‘Dhammadīpa’ on the basis of the establishment of the Buddha Sāsana, the main stūpas in which was deposited the Buddha's relics, planting of the branch of Māha Bodhi and rule by pious kings through righteous administration in the island. Likewise, it was through Arahanta Mahinda and Sanghamittā that Sri Lanka achieved a national kingship based on Dhamma. Hence, it is clear that the Chronicles imply that Dhamma was considered as a legitimation of power on the island.

The process of legitimizing is not simply power but authority in any society is a constantly evolving, complex and subtle phenomenon. While its configurations vary within all societies, the process reveals a number of interrelated features. In Sinhalese history the interplay between the monarchy, the Sangha and society at large portrays a

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564 *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. XVII, V. 5-20; *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XV, V. 57-135; *Samantapāśādīkā*, p. 42.
565 See, p. 185.
continuing awareness on the precariousness of order in every sense of the word: cosmic, social and personal. There is repeated testimony about the contagious nature of disorder, especially when it manifested within the Sangha or by kings. The Buddhist doctrine of power and Aśokan models in Sri Lanka form the norms for legitimate authority since the establishment of Sinhala Buddhist kingship in the reign of Devānampiya Tissa to its final demise in the nineteenth century. It was a continuing reform which attributed legitimacy only to monarchs who not only supported the Sāsana but who perceived the Buddhadhamma as an essence of social order and harmony. Besides, it was considered that only a Buddhist had the legitimate right to be the king of Sri Lanka. Gombrich states that the kings of ancient Sri Lanka considered themselves to be a part of the tradition established by Aśoka and to be responsible for the well-being of the Sangha. Many kings tried to follow in Aśoka’s footsteps by working for the public good.

This belief becomes more strong in the tenth century inscription of king Mahinda IV. He says that the king of Sri Lanka had not only to be a Buddhist but also a Boddhisattva. The Pujāvaliya, a Sinhalese work prose, mentions that “this island of Lanka belongs to the Buddha himself; it is like a treasury filled with the three gems. Therefore, the residence of wrong-belief (miccāditthi) in this island will never be permanent, just as the residence of the Yakkas of old was not permanent. Even if a non-Buddhist ruled Sri Lanka by force for a while, it is the particular power of the Buddha

568 Infra., pp. 305-322.
that his line will not be established. Therefore, as Lanka is suitable only for Buddhist kings, it is certain that their lines, too, will be established.”

Further, the Chronicles and inscriptions highlight that Sri Lankan kings as well as some invader kings engaged in righteous activities. As an outcome of this mutual influence, kings were expected to rule Righteously i.e. in keeping with the Dhamma or norms. Devānampiya Tissa himself fulfilled this requirement. He is praised as one attached to the virtues of the Dhamma (Dhammagunerato). This conveys the idea that he was apprised of the Dhamma and ruled accordingly i.e. Righteously. Further, Sena-Guttika, invader rulers of Anurādhapura in second century B.C., were introduced by the Chronicles as the rulers who ruled in a righteous way (Dhammena). Rahula states his argument on the basis that they governed the country as Buddhists or, at least, according to Buddhist customs. King Elāra, in the second century B.C., adopted righteousness and ruled for forty-four years in the island. King Elāra did not know the great virtues and value of the Three Gems (Tisarana), but he went to Cetiya Pabbata (Mihintale), paid homage to the Sangha and invited them for alms. He followed customs (cārītta) which had been practised by ancient Sinhala kings. The custom means right law of royalty which was followed by Buddhist kings in the contemporary period of the island. The inscription which was erected by the queen of Khudda Pārinda who was one of the invader rulers at Anurādhapura in fifth century A.D. refers to her husband, who was

573 Mahāvamsa, Ch. XX, V. 7.
574 Dipavamsa, Ch., XVIII, V. 49; Mahāvamsa, Ch. X1, V. 11.
576 Dipavamsa, Ch. XVIII, V.,50; Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXI, V. 21-34.
577 one member of the invader rulers at Anurādhapura in fifth century A.D, Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXVIII, V. 29-23.
a Tamil as ‘Budadasa Laparideva’ or ‘Buddhadāsa Laparideva’\textsuperscript{578} (Laparideva who was servant of Buddha). The epithet proves that Khudda Pārinda was a Buddhist, or at least he wished to create that impression.\textsuperscript{579} According to literary sources ‘Buddhadāsa’ was a famous and pious Buddhist king in fourth century A.D. in Sri Lanka.\textsuperscript{580} Sometimes king Khudda Pārinda may have taken this title to compare his character with that of the pious king Buddhadāsa or to show his loyalty to Buddhism and Buddhist attitudes. Another inscription found from Kataragama (Southern part of Sri Lanka), registers a gift by Dhātiya who was the son of Tiritara, one of the members of invader rulers at Anurādhapura in fifth century A.D., to the Mahācetiya at Kataragama.\textsuperscript{581} Paranavitana thinks that these Tamil princes (came from south India as invaders) who ruled at Anurādhapura for twenty seven years towards the end of the fifth century A.D., were Buddhists by faith.\textsuperscript{582} But there is no other evidence to prove this idea, though there is no doubt that they may have engaged in Buddhist activities to show their righteousness. Further, some kings of Sri Lanka used the title or name, which related to Buddhism to highlight their righteousness. According to insessional evidence, in the pre-state period three rulers mentioned in Nāttukanda, Bovattegala, Kottadamuhela and Mihintale cave inscriptions, used the ‘Dama’ (Sanskrit:- Dharma, Pāli:- Dhamma) as their name.\textsuperscript{583} These kings introduced themselves as ‘Damaraja’ (Sanskrit:- Dharmarāja, Pāli:- Dhammarāja). The Pāli texts use this word to introduce the Buddha and the Cakkavatti king.\textsuperscript{584} In the Dipavamsa and the Divyāvadāna, king Aśoka is introduced as

\textsuperscript{578} E.Z, Vol. IV, p. 113.
\textsuperscript{579} Rahula, \textit{op.cit.}, 1966, p. 65.
\textsuperscript{580} \textit{Mahāvamsa}, Ch. XXXVII, V. 105-208.
\textsuperscript{581} E.Z, Vol. IV, p. 114.
\textsuperscript{584} See Śela Sutta in the \textit{Suttanipāta}, Vol. III, p. 7; \textit{Anguttara Nikāya} Vol. I, op. 109.
‘Dhammarāja’.\textsuperscript{585} The \textit{Samantapāśādikā} uses this term in the compound \textit{Aśokadhmararājā} to denote Aśoka.\textsuperscript{586} But these rulers are already identified as chieftains of small chiefdoms, which were located in north central province, and southern part of Sri Lanka.\textsuperscript{587} Hence we cannot compare these rulers with the Cakkavatti king or king Aśoka. Pranavitana contends that the member of the Kataragama family who took the title ‘\textit{Damaraja}’ was a worshipper of Yama-Dhamarāja equated with \textit{Dharmarāja}, one of the epithets of Yama.\textsuperscript{588} Paranavitana’s argument is doubtful because his argument depends on the epic tradition and there is no evidence of the influence of the epic tradition on the Sri Lankan political structure.

There is no doubt that these inscriptions which mention the term ‘\textit{Damaraja}’ belong to the third or first part of second century B.C. Hence, we can assume that these chieftains used this term for the honour of Buddhism (Dhamma+ rāja) or they may have highlighted their righteousness (Dhamma means righteous and rāja means king or ruler) by using this term. Hettiarchchy states that a few inscriptions contain the important title ‘\textit{Damaraja}’, showing how the Buddhist ideas of kingship made their way into the island.\textsuperscript{589}

Furthermore, the title ‘Aba’ or ‘Abhaya’ which was used by Sri Lankan kings is also related to the Buddhist concept.\textsuperscript{590} Some kings of Anurādhapura used some Buddhist terms as a prefix to their personal name, e.g. king Tissa, brother of king Dutthagāmanī introduced himself as Saddhā Tissa (Saddhā+Tissa). The term ‘Saddhā’ means pious.\textsuperscript{591}

\textsuperscript{585} \textit{Dipavamsa}, Ch. XIV, V. 6, 9, 12; \textit{Divyāvadāna}, p. 379.
\textsuperscript{586} \textit{Samantapāśādikā}, pp. 46, 52.
\textsuperscript{587} See, pp. 244, 254.
\textsuperscript{588} S. Paranavitana, \textit{The God of Adam’s Peak}, Ascona, 1958, p. 65ff.
\textsuperscript{589} Hettiarchchy, \textit{op.cit.}, 1972, p. 64.
\textsuperscript{590} See p. 248.
\textsuperscript{591} \textit{Pāli - English Dictionary}, p. 89.
Other names of kings are Bhātikābhaya (Bhātika+Abhaya) and Bhātika Tissa (Bhātika+Tissa). ‘Bātika’ also means pious or faithful. Sanghabodhi (Sangha+Bodhi), Buddhādāsa (Buddha+ dāsa) (servant of the Buddha) \(^{592}\) are other personal names of kings of this period.

It is clear that most of the Sri Lankan Buddhist kings tried to practice Dhamma concepts such as Dasarājadhamma, Cattāri Agatidhamma, Chattari Sangahāvatthu. The Mahāvamsa says king Upatissa I in the fourth century A.D. practised the Dasarājadhamma and Cattāri Sangahāvatthu \(^{593}\) as well as fulfilled the ten perfection (Dasapāramita). \(^{594}\) Further, Sri Lankan kings involved in the “dasa pinkiriya vat” to promote their virtuous character. These were the ‘dasa pinkiriya’ (dasa puññakamma) or the ten merit generating acts of kingship, viz. Dāna (arm giving), Sīla (morality), Bhāvanā (meditation), Pindāma (sharing merit with others), Punyānumodanā (sharing other’s merit), Vatāvat kirima (attending to one’s duties), Pidiyayuttam pidima (honouring those worthy of honour), Banakima (preaching the doctrine) Bana āsima (listening to the doctrine) and Samyakditthi (right view). \(^{595}\) Some kings seems to have had a note book called “puñña pottaka” (merit book) in which their meritorious deeds were recorded. King Dhuttagāmani had a “puñña pottaka”, and it was read at his death-bed. \(^{596}\)

\(^{592}\) Ibid, Ch. XXIV, V.37; Ch. XXXVI, V.1; 73, Ch. XXXVII, V. 105.

\(^{593}\) Ibid., Ch. XXXVII, V. 180,181.

\(^{594}\) “Puresi rāja Pāramitadása,” Mahāvams, Ch. XXXVII, V. 180.


\(^{596}\) Anguttaranikāyattakathā, Vol. I, p. 366; Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXII, V. 25.
I Role of righteous activities of Sri Lankan rulers.

Further, most of the Sri Lankan kings attempted to involve themselves in the righteous concept and display their righteous character through the activities initiated by the king Devānapāṁja Tissa. The gifts or grants given by Sri Lankan kings for the benefit of the Buddhist Sangha and monasteries are recorded in their inscriptions, which are erected in various places of the island.597 According to the archaeological and literary sources, it is clear that alms or gifts (dāna) could be considered as one of the major aspects for displaying the righteousness of kings and their administration. Hence, kings always attempted to provide material alms to the Sangha and build monasteries to spread wealth for the benefit of the Buddhist community.

According to early Brāhma inscriptive evidence of third century B.C. to first century A.D.,598 the residential places of monks were introduced as ‘lena’ or ‘guha’ (means cave) though sometime specific names have been used to identify these caves before the early state.599 Paranavita’s category of rulers or members of ruling houses,

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597 See pp. 305-322.
598 See table No. 12, fig. 15, and map No. 8.
The location of cave dwellings with early Buddhist inscriptions in Sri Lanka (from 3rd century B.C. to 1st century B.C.)


Map. 8
Location of inscriptions according to Provinces
(from 3rd century B.C. to 1st century A.D.)

Fig 15
result in a total of 6.4 per cent royal cave donations. Twenty one cave donations were
from Brāhmanas and their families, with occupations listed as treasurers, chiefs, royal
physicians and teachers. They represent 1.7 per cent of the sample, and one even records
royal connections. The majority of the donors, 372, are recorded from individuals bearing
the title Parumaka and their families, representing 30.2 per cent of the cave inscriptions.
The Gamika and Gapati and their families account for 103 and 66 inscriptions,
representing 8.3 and 5.3 per cent. There are only thirteen donations from craftsmen,
representing 1.1 per cent of the sample. General Buddhist male and female lay devotees
offered 580 caves to the Sangha.600

It is believed that with the emergence of the early state and growth of agriculture
and commercial activities the life pattern of the community of the Sangha changed. The
early residence place of the Buddhist monk ‘lena’ was rapidly abandoned and a new
‘Ārāma’ or Vihāra was established near towns or village settlements. After the second
century B.C., according to inscriptive evidence, many Buddhist ‘Vihāras’ (monasteries)
can be identified in various parts of the island.601

600 Robin A. E. Coningham, “Monks, Caves and Kings: A Reassessment of the Nature of Early Buddhist in
601 Achagarika Tissa Pabbata (Achagirika tisa pavata), IC, Vol. I, Nos. 1051,1052, p. 82; Pilipavata Vihāra
(Pilipavata Vihara). IC, Vol. II, part. 1, No. 2, p. 5; Anulāpavata Vihāra (Anula pavata vihara), Ibid., No. 5,
p. 7, Tissa Vihāra, (Tisa Vhara), Ibid., No. 11, p. 12.; Ahali pavata Vihāra, (Ahali pavata Vihara.), Ibid., No. 11,
p. 13; Yajanai Arama, Yajanai sagarama., Ibid., No. 14, p. 18; Tissa pavata Vihāra (Tisapavata Vihara...)
Ibid., No. 14, p. 17; Arittā Vihāra (Arita Vihara), Ibid., No. 16, p. 24; Kubulavi Tissa pavata Vihāra
(Kubilavi-tisa pavata Viharahi..), Ibid., No. 14, p. 20; Payeli pavata Vihāra (Payalipavata Viharahi),
Ibid., No., p. 5; Sihaapabbata Vihāra, (sihapavata Vihara), Ibid., No. 19, p. 30; Cetiyagiri Vihāra (cetagiri
vihara.) Ibid., No. 21, p. 30; Nagapabhata Vihāra (nakapavata Vihara.) Ibid., No. 23, p. 36; Dakkapahanaka
Vihāra (dakapahanaka vihara.) Ibid., No. 30, p. 42; Abi Vihāra (Abi Vihara) Ibid., No. 33 , p. 45; Patanika
Vihāra (isuramana patanika), Ibid., No. 37 , p. 50; Bovidaka Vihāra, (bovidaka Vihara), Ibid., No., p. 40,
p. 57; Ekadora Vihāra, (Ekadora vihara), Ibid., No. 43, p. 61; Dakkina Vihāra (dakina Vihara), Ibid., No. 46,
p. 72; Piyaguka Tissa Vihāra (Piyaguka tisa Vihara.) Ibid., No. 53, p. 81; Halagiriya Vihāra (halagiriya
Vihara.) Ibid., No. 57 , p. 84; Ulibi kali Naga Mahavihāra (ulibikalinkarnaha Vihara.), Ibid., No. 57, p.
85;Dakkhina Abhayarama Vihāra (Dakini abaya araba Vihara.) Ibid., No. 58, p. 87; Uttara Mahavihāra
(Utaramaha vihara.), Ibid., No. 58 , p. 88; Ratanarāma Vihāra,(Ratanaarama Vihaca.), Ibid., No. 60, p. 90;
Tupārāma (tubaraba), Ibid., No. 61, p. 92; Cittala Pabbata Vihāra (Citalapavata Vihara) Ibid., No.64 , p. 96;
Mangiri Vihāra (maniagiya vihara..) Ibid., No. 69, p. 102; Pajani Naga Pabbata Vihāra (pajminka pavata
Details of donor of early Buddhist cave dwellings in Sri Lanka.\textsuperscript{602}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Donor</th>
<th>No. of Donations</th>
<th>% of donation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Royal</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brāhmana</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parumaka</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamikas</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gapati</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1234</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12

Based on archaeological and literary sources, however, it is clear that large monasteries and Buddhist monuments were built and gifted revenues by kings and other nobles of state after the emergence of the early state,\textsuperscript{603} e.g. during the reign of king Dutthagāmani, the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura with its large number of buildings, became a vast colony of monks. Dutthagāmani erected many large religious edifices; the Mahātupa (Rovanvālisāya), Maricavatti stūpa (Mirisavātiya) and Lovāmahāpāsāda with seven storeys which was the for assembly of all Vinaya activities of monks.


\textsuperscript{603} See map No. 9.
Historical and Archaeological sites in Sri Lanka (from 3rd century B.C. to 4th century A.D.)

Map 9
(uposatagaras) of Mahāvihāra.\textsuperscript{604} Other requests of the Sangha were provided by king Dutthagāmani.\textsuperscript{605} According to the Buddhist history of the island, king Dutthagāmani was identified as the first Buddhist king initiated the construction of large stūpas. The contribution of Dutthagāmani allowed the Mahāvihāra to consolidate their strength and led to the expansion of the main Buddhist centres not only in Anurādhapura but also in the whole island. The successor of Dutthagāmani king Saddhā Tissa also did a great deal for Buddhism and built many Vihāras.\textsuperscript{606} Although Thullatthan reigned for a short period, he also helped to construct the Kandaraka Vihāra, located at Rōhana.\textsuperscript{607}

According to the Dūvegala inscription, king Laṅja Tissa constructed a Vihāra for Thera Godhagatatta and gave the revenues of three tanks and one canal for the benefit of this monastery.\textsuperscript{608} An auspicious symbol was caused by king Laṅja Tissa in Rajagala monastery.\textsuperscript{609} The Bakki-Āla rock inscription mentions that the king Laṅja Tissa caused the Sangārāma (temple) named Yajani to be founded for the monastery of Kubilavi Tissa Pabbata and donated the Maragana tank to the community of Bihkkus with their own property providing the requisites to the Sangha in this monastery.\textsuperscript{610}

\textsuperscript{604}Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXVI, V, 15-19. Ch. XXVII, XXVII, XXIX, Ch. XXXI, V. 26.Ch. XXVII, V. 10-20; Papañcasudani, Vol. II, p. 145; See Map 10.
\textsuperscript{605} King Duttagāmani issued the order to build the ninety-nine Vihāras in various parts of the island for the benefit of monks and provide four requisites to preaching monks. (Mahāvamsa, XXXII, p. 45-46) The king offered alms daily to monks before partaking his meals (Atthasāliṇī, p. 80) During the famine named Akkhakkhāyikā, he gave alms to monks even selling his precious earrings (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXII, V.29-30).
\textsuperscript{606} Such as those at Dakkhinagiri, Kallakalena, and Kalambāka Vihāra, Petangavāli Vihāra, Velangavāya Vihāra, Dubbalavāpitissa, Daratissakāvāpi Vihāra and finished the Mahātupa which was begun by his brother. He was said to have built Vihāras from Anurādhapura to Dīghavāpi one in every Yojana. During the reign of king Saddhā Tissa, nine storeys of the Lovāmahāpāsāda caught fire and he rebuilt it into a new, seven storeys high. (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXIII, V.5-10.), Sammohavinodanī says that four requests were given to the monks of Ceteya Pabbata Vihāra by this king daily (Sammohavinidāni, p. 473)
\textsuperscript{607}Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXIII, V. 15.
\textsuperscript{608} ASCAR, 1897, p. 9; IC, Vol. II, part 1, No. 15, p.23.
\textsuperscript{609} ASCAR, 1911-1912, p. 85; IC, Vol. II, part 1, No. 13, p. 16;
\textsuperscript{610} IC, Vol. II, part 1., No. 14, p. 18.
which are located here provide detailed information about this king who granted revenues of tanks, a canal and some karisás of field to this monastery.²⁶¹ The monks of Aritta Pabbata Vihāra were granted donations for the supply of meals and a Vihāra was built in this place and a tank given named Abadalaka for their development in future by king Lañjaka Tissa.²⁶² Literary sources also present many religious activities of king Lañjaka Tissa.²⁶³ King Khallātanāga²⁶⁴ and king Vattagāmanī Abhaya²⁶⁵ helped in various ways to develop the monasteries. The inscription of Veheragoda at Pimbūrattawwa in the Polonnaruwa District mentions the contribution of a tank by the son of ‘Devanapiya Tisa Maharaja’. The son of ‘Devanapiya Tisa’ can be identified with king Vattagāmanī Abhaya.²⁶⁶ It has also been suggested that the Nā-Ulapata and Galgamuwa inscriptions mention donations of both agricultural and irrigation property to monasteries, dated from the reign of king Vattagāmanī.²⁶⁷

King Vattagāmanī’s nephew king Mahāculikamahā Tissa is mentioned in the Mahāvamsa as a pious king of the island. Many Viharas were erected by him in

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²⁶² Ibid., No. 16, 24.
²⁶³ Ibid., No. 16, No. II, pp. 24-25.
²⁶⁴ Lañjaka Tissa has contributed to build several monuments such as stone stupa in front of the Thupārāma, the seated hole for the monks known as ‘Lajikāsana slā at Anurādhapura, Girikumbila Vihāra, Kandarahinaka and Aritta Vihāra and given alms with three type of robes (trīchivara) and medicine for monks and nuns (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXIII, V. 22-28.
²⁶⁵ constructed thirty two mansions around the Lovāmāhapāsā, wall of the sand compound of Mahātupa and a Vihāra called Kurundakapāsaka. (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXIII, V.30-32.)
²⁶⁶ Vattagāmanī Abhaya built an another large stūpa named Abhayagiriya at Anurādhapura and his minister also contributed to build new Viharas such as Dakkhīna Vihāra Uutta Tissārāma Vihāra, Mulavokāsa Vihāra, Saliyārma at Anurādhapura (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXIII, V. 82, 90-92). During the reign of this king, Bhikkhus of Mahāvihāra thought it expedient to commit writing the teachings of the Buddha which were preserved till then by words of mouth. Five hundred monks assembled at Alu-Vihāra at Matale and received the help of a certain chieftain who performed this memorable task (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXIII, V.101-102; Nikāya Sangrahāa, p. 12.
²⁶⁷ EN, No. 1-18, 1987, p. 8 (No. 5)
Location of Buddhist Sites in Anuradhapura

Map. 10
Anurādhapura and outside the capital. According to Kantaka-cetiya inscription at Mihintale, this king dedicated revenues for the development of Kantaka stūpa and monastery. King Kutakanna Tissa, the son of king Mahācūlikamahā Tissa, contributed his patronage for erection and development of monasteries and monuments in various parts of the island. The Minvila inscription refers to the Degama canal, but there is no information whether it was granted to the Vihāra or some other person. But according to the location of the inscription we can assume that this canal may have been offered to a Vihāra as revenue. The Molāhitiyavelagala inscription gives information about the wife of king Kutakanna Tissa named Anulli who granted revenue of a tank and few karisas of field to the community of the Sangha at Pilipavata Vihāra. The Dambulla rock inscription mentions that thirteen steps were made by king Kutakanna Tissa in this place. According to the Gallanevāva cave inscriptions, Paranavitana assumed that these caves were set up by king Kutakanna Tissa. Other meritorious activities of this king are given by the Mahāvamsa. King Bhātikābhaya, elder son of king Kutakanna Tissa patronised to the Buddhist monks and monasteries for their benefit. According to the Dunumadalākanda rock inscription, many karisas of fields were given to the stūpa and monastery for their development by king Bhātikābhaya. The revenues that were got from the village named Kadisagama, were given to the Anula Pabbata Vihāra which was

618 Mandavapi Vihāra, Abagallaka Vihāra, Vngupatnkgallaka Vihāra, Dīghabahukagallaka Vihāra Valagamaka Vihāra, Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXI, V. 8-9.
619 See map No. 11.
625 King Kutakanna Tissa eroded Uposatagara, stone stūpa and a branch of Bodhi tree at Mihintale, Pelagama Vihāra at Attaraganga and nun monastery named Dantageha. Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXIV, V. 30-32, 35.
Location of Buddhist Sites in Mihintale

Map: 11
founded by Bhātikābhaya himself. The Kotaveheragala rock inscription mentions that the canal named Vannaka was dedicated to the Tissa Vihāra by this king. The Mihintale Ātvehera inscription indicates that this stūpa is of Bhātikābhaya. The canal called Galatataka at Ataraganga was given to the community of the Sangha who lived at Payeli Pabbata Vihāra, by king Bhātikābhaya. The Lainmalai rock inscription provides details about king Bhātikābhaya and his brother Nāga who dedicated two canals named Dakapunaka and Girigamaka to the monks of Sīhapabbata Vihāra. Literary sources also give information about the religious activity of king Bhātikābhaya.

The Buddhist activities of the king Mahādātika Mahāṅga are revealed by his inscriptions and literary sources. During his viceroyalty, the proprietor’s share (bojakapati) of the Ahalaviya-tank on the western coast was donated to the stūpa of Mahānaka Ahali-pabbata built by uparaja Mahāṅga as mentioned in the Tumbullegala rock inscription. Two categories of revenues (dakapati and bojakapati), which were received from the tanks, Kabavika and Balayatagamaka, were donated to the Kantaka stūpa for their improvement. The Āt-vehera inscription mentions that this king granted two categories of revenues in the village of Caladaha and thirty one Karisas of...
fields in the area irrigated by the Upalava tank for the benefit of the Paribhanaka stūpa (cetiya) and monastery.\textsuperscript{637} The Mihintale rock inscription indicates that king Mahādātika Mahānāga granted tanks, a canal and lands of coconut for the benefit of monks of the Mihintale monastery and erected three images of missionaries, Thera Arahanta Mahinda, Baddasāla, Ittīka and Uttiyya, at Mihintale.\textsuperscript{638} The Rātravela rock inscription mentions that this king dedicated revenues for the benefit of his own monastery (tumaha viharahi) named Nāga Pabbata Vihāra at Bogiri.\textsuperscript{639} According to the Ambalava rock inscription, this king granted the revenue of two villages: Vavalapagama and Giributaya, for the purpose of providing oil for lamps at the house of stūpa (cetiyyagara) in the Naitagamaka Vihāra.\textsuperscript{640}

The Vehera-Uda-Male rock inscription revealed that Mahādātika Mahānāga donated to the Sangha of the Dakapahanaka Vihāra a canal at Girikahota.\textsuperscript{641} Further, a tank was granted to the Naka stūpa for the purpose of their development by this king.\textsuperscript{642} The Mahāratmala inscription mentions that this king gave Mulagutika (may be name of village) in Viharabijaka, together with appurtenances, for the purpose of providing gruel and cooked rice, waist clothes to be used in the retreat during the rains and cloth (vasavasika-hadaka), robes and blankets to twenty monks from the community of Bhikkhus in this monastery.\textsuperscript{643}

King Amandagāmani also assisted the monks and monasteries in various ways. When he was the governor of Rōhana, Amandagāmani dedicated two categories of

\textsuperscript{637} {ASCAR}, 1911-12, p. 93; \textit{JC}, Vol. II, part 1, No. 24, p. 38.
\textsuperscript{640} \textit{JC}, Vol. II, No. 29, p. 42.
\textsuperscript{641} \textit{Ibid.}, No. 30, p. 42.
\textsuperscript{642} \textit{Ibid.}, No. 31, p. 43; See map No. 9.
revenues to the Sangha, mentioned in the Sadagiri Vihāra pillar inscription. The Hatigamuva rock inscription indicates that this king offered fields named Jālīka Keta which were his own property, to the Abi Vihāra. The Ridi Vihāra (Rajata lena) rock inscription reveals that the king Amandagāmanī granted two villages called Kulagama and Padagama to the Sangha and made the flight of steps in this place. The Chronicles also mention other righteous activities of king Amandagāmanī.

According to insessional evidence, the king Mahānāga (may be Ilanaga), having caused the spire of the Cetiya named Pitanika at Isiramaṇa to be constructed, and having caused the umbrella (catta) to be raised gave it the overlord’s share (bojakapati) of the tank of Ayibaravika Vihāra of which the ownership was vested in him, as mentioned in the Vessagiriya rock inscription. The Ratgallégama and the Situlpavuva rock inscriptions indicate that this king granted some Karisas of field to the monks of Bavidaka Vihāra and some revenue to the Cittalapabbata Vihāra (Situlpavuva).

The Vihāregala inscription indicates that king Suba, having caused the uposatha hall at the Ekadora Vihāra which was to be reconstructed, bought the Uppaladonika tank for five hundred (kahapana), caused silt to be removed spending another five hundred and gave it to the community of the Sangha of Ekadora Vihāra. Muvangala inscription mentions that the son of the king Saba made a cell (Kuti) for the monks. Literary

\[\text{References:}\]
\[\text{AIC, p. 31; CJS (G), Vol. I, p. 17; IC, Vol. II, part. 1, No. 32, p. 45.}\]
\[\text{CJS (G), Vol. II, pp. 179, 218; IC, Vol. II, part. 1, Nos. 34,35, p. 47.}\]
\[\text{New umbrella (chatta) has been made on the old one and foot platform and top platform built in the Mahatupa by this king. Amandagāmanī built Rajata lena Vihāra and a compound and veranda of the Upasatha houses of Thupārāma and Lovāmahiāpāya. After constructing a tank in the southern part of Mahāgāma the king granted it to the Dakkhina Vihāra. (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXV, V. 2-5).}\]
\[\text{See map No. 9.}\]
\[\text{ASCAR, 1911-12, p. 116; IC, Vol. II, No. 37, p. 50.}\]
\[\text{IC, Vol. II, part. 1, No. 38, p. 52.}\]
\[\text{EZ, Vol. III, pp. 163-169, Ibid., No. 43, p. 61;}\]
sources give details about king Subha, but do not mention any information about his son.

King Vasabha seems to have patronised all Vihāras impartially, and constructed new stūpas, images, monasteries and repaired old monasteries. Inscriptional evidence provides further details about Buddhist activities of king Vasabha. The Periyamiyankulam rock inscription mentions that king Vasabha dedicated water revenue and a share of fish caught in the canals of the tank of Palonakaraka for purposes of spreading carpets and reconstruction of meditation hall named Sudassana. The Sinadiyāgala rock inscription of king Vasabha indicates that this king built the Uposatha house by spending hundred thousand and a quarter of kahapanas in Dakkhinagiri Vihāra and gave revenues of tank, reconstruction of uposatha house (may be in the future) and providing meals to the monks of this monastery. The Sadagiriya pillar inscription of king Vasabha refers to some revenues, which were given by this king, for the purpose of setting up oil lamps in the uposatha house of the royal monastery in this place. The water revenue of Badabamara tank was given to the Sangha of the Matagopa monastery by king Vasabha.

Vasabha's son uparaja Tissa (may be Vankanāsika Tissa) established a Vihāra and he granted property to the Sangha in this monastery, mentioned in the Muvangala

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653 The king Saba or Subha had established two pirivenas and built a few Vihāras such as Valli Vihāra, Ekadara Vihāra, Nandigāma Vihāra, the benefit of the Sangha (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXV, V. 57, 58.)

654 King Vasabha constructed Anurārāma Vihāra at Māgama, Machela Vihāra at Tissavaddamānaka and Uposata houses of Kubigallaka Vihāra and Issamanakārama, stūpa house of Thupārāma and four Buddha statues in shrine room at the Bodhi tree. Further, he has ordered to provide four requests to the studying monks and deliver the preaching Dhamma, Gee, Sugarcane, Jaggery and salary for patient monks and three type of robes to all monks of the island in every three years. (Mahāvamsa, Ch.XXXV, V. 77-93)


657 AC, p. 393; IC, Vol. II, No. 49. p. 76.

658 ASCAR, 1894, pp. 6-7; IC, Vol. II, part. 1, No. 50, p. 77;
rock inscription. The Hābāssa rock inscription indicates that the grandson of king Vasabha dedicated a canal named Ulibikala and fields, Mataviya, Abaviya and Gavidaviya, to the community of the Sangha in the great monastery of Ulibikala-Naka.

During the reign of Vasabha, the minister, Isigiriya, built a Vihāra named Piyangutissa at Nāgadipa in the northern part of island. A minister of king Vasabha built a stūpa and granted the revenue for the reconstruction of this stūpa and to raising the banners on the stūpa in the reign of king Vasabha as mentioned in the Kāsimottei inscription.

Inscriptional evidence reveals more information of Buddhist activities of king Gajabhāhuka Gāmani. The Ruwanvālisāya slab inscription reveals that the monastery called Dakkhina Abhayārāma was established and he granted overlord’s share (bojakapati) and water share (dakapati) of the Varukavi tank to the Sangha for the reconstruction of the uposatha house and for the benefit of the four monastic requisites of the Vihāra. The tank of Pilagāmaka was given to the Uttara-mahā-stūpa (Abhayagiri) by him as mentioned in the Ratnaprāsāda slab inscription at Anurādhapura. The Vihāregala inscription indicates that the Upaladinika tank was re-granted to the Buddhist monks of Ekadora Vihāra for the purpose of reconstruction of the Uposata house by Gajabhāhuka Gāmani Abhaya. According to the Tāmaragala inscription, many karisas of fields were donated to the stūpa of Guttapabbata by this king. The custom duty of

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659 ASCAR, 1891, p. 10; IC, Vol. II, No. 51, p. 78; Mangala Vihāra was built by Vankānsīka Tissa at bank of Gonamadi and he gave alms to the monks of Mahāvihāra as well as in the Vesak day offered three type of robes to the monks in the all island. (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXV, V. 32,41.)
663 IC, Vol. II, part. 1, No. 58, p. 87.
664 Ibid., No. 59, p. 88.
the port of Godapavata granted to the Godapavata Vihāra by this king is mentioned in the Godavāya rock inscription. The Thupārāma slab inscription describes that the king Gajabhāhuka Gāmāni granted two categories of revenues of Gori-uta tank to the Sangha of Ratanārāma monastery for the four monastic requisites (catarapacaya). The Pālumakichchāva rock inscription mentions that king Gajabhāhuka Gāmāni purchased Vaddamānaka tank by spending five thousand kahapanas and granted it to the community of the monks of Thupārāma for their four requisites. Some income which was got from the court of justice in Dubala-yahata gama and Akuju-mahagama, was given to the Sangha of Situlpavuva Vihāra for their medical facilities. The mother of king Gajabhāhuka Gāmāni Abhaya, having purchased, the tank of Kubbaragāma by spending four thousand kahapanas, gave it to the monks of her own monastery. Literary sources give further details about the Buddhist activities of king Gajabāhahuka Gāmāni.

The king Mahallaka Nāga, the son of Gajabhāhuka Gāmāni Abhaya, built seven Vihāras in various parts of the island. The Thammānnākanda inscription of king Mahallaka Nāga indicates that the revenues of the three tanks called Pajala, Palooviya and Manikaragama were granted to the Sangha of Pācina Nāga Pabbata monastery by him. The Diyabātta rock inscription mentions that this king granted the Punakadaka

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671 ASCAR, 1891, p. 9; ASCSPR, 1896, p. 8; IC, Vol. II, part 1, No. 65, p. 98.
672 king Gajabhāhuka Gāmāni Abhaya built Rajamatuka Vihāra, developed the Abhayagiri stūpa and erected four pandols in four gates of Abhayagiriya. After constructing of Gamani tank, granted to it the Abhayagiri Vihāra by king. (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXV, V.119-12.)
673 Pajalaka Vihāra in estern part, Kothapabba Vihāra in sothen part, Dakapasana Vihāra in western part, Sālippabba vihāra at Nagadipa in Northern part, Tanveli Vihāra at Bijagama, Tobbala Naga pabbata Vihāra in Rohana, Girihalika Vihāra in Antaratta (Malaya) (Mahāvamsa, Ch.XXXV, V 124-125.)
674 AIC, p. 40; ASCAR, 1891, p. 6; IC, Vol. II, part 1, No. 73, p. 106.
tank to the monastery of Tikanaka. The Nelugala inscription provides details about king Mahallaka Nāga who dedicated the revenue of Vadamanaka Ahali tank for expenditure in the refectory, reconstructing of the Bodhi shrine and the uposatha house of the monastery of Payagalaka. Forty-four stone bricks were donated by king Mahallaka Nāga for the reconstruction of the Mahātupa as mentioned in the Ruvavāli Dāgāba slab inscription.

King Mahallakanāga’s son king Bhātika Tissa built two monasteries named Gavara Tissa and Bhātitya Tissa for Buddhist monks, a wall of the Mahā Vihāra and uposatha house of Thūiapārāma. The Galkirikanda rock inscription mentions that many Karisas were granted to the Manikaragala monastery by this king. According to Pahala-usgollāva rock inscription, a Karisa in the field of Mahātubari was granted to the Sangha by the king Bhātika Tissa. The Pahala Tammānnāva inscription also gives information about the donations of king Bhātika Tissa. The Velagama Vihāra inscription reveals that the revenue of the overlord’s share of tract of the field named Culagiriya and water share of the Abagiriya tank granted to Velgama Vihāra by a general of king Bhātika Tissa. According to Situlpavuva inscription, king Kanittha Tissa contributed to the reconstruction of the uposatha house and the kitchen in the Cittalapabbata Vihāra. Another fragmentary inscription of king Kanittha Tissa was

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678 Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXIV, V, 1-5.
679 ASCAR, 1890, p. 3; IC, Vol. II, part. 1, No. 80, p.118.
681 ASCAR, 1892, p. 7; IC, Vol. II, No. 84, p. 122.
found from Abhayagiri Vihāra and it may have indicated that some money or other sources of revenues were granted to the Buddhist institutions as an endowment. King Kaniththa Tissa, king Chulanāga, king Sirināga, king Vohārika Tissa, King Abhayanāga, King Gothābhaya and King Mahāsena patronised in various ways development of the Buddhist monasteries in the island. The Pānama Vihāra inscription refers to king Jettha Tissa who granted the tank named Bayutari to the Sangha.

In addition to material alms given to the Sangha by kings, large reservoirs were built by Anurādhapura rulers for the happiness of subjects and cultivation agricultural

685 King Kaniththa Tissa built few monasteries in various parts of the island and constructed wall of Abayagiriya, Mahā vihāra, road of Dakkina Vihāra, the Uposatha houses of Kalayanika Vihāra, Mandagiri Vihāra and Dublavaṇi Tissa Vihāra and Anulatissa Vihāra, developed a pabbata Vihāra, Niyela Tissa Arāma, Pilapitika Vihāra (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXVI, V. 7-17).
686 King Culanibagai has developed the main alms hole at Anurādhapura named Mahāpali and always given alms to five hundred monks of Ekani Vihāra (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXIV, 19-20).
687 The Umbrella (chatta) was raised, applied gold in Mahātupa, built the Lovāṃhpāsāda as a five storey, reconstructed the stairs case of the four sides of the Mahābodhi by king Vohārika Tissa (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXVI, V. 24-25).
688 King Vohārika Tissa helped to the both main monasteries, Mahā Vihāra and Abhayagiri Vihāra. Two stages were made in Mahā Vihāra, erected two iron statues (may be the Buddha) near Mahābodhi, raised umbrella (cata) in stūpas of Abhayagiriya, Maricavattiya, Nāga Vihāra at Mahāgāma (south), Mhiyangana Vihāra, Tissa Vihāra at Nāgadipa (north), and Kākani Vihāra, reconstructed the wall of Mukanagasenapati Vihāra, Dakkhina Vihāra, Maricavatti Vihāra, Issarasamiina Vihāra and Tissa Vihāra at Nāgadipa, built a Uposatha house of Anurārāma Vihāra by king Vohārika Tissa (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXVI, V. 31-37).
689 This king constructed a platform spreading stone slabs around the Mahābodhi, a stage in the compound of Lovāṃhpāsāda and donated clothes to all monks of the island. (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXVI, V. 52-53).
690 King Gothābhaya made a stone stage at Mahā Vihāra, erected the four pillars with wheel (cakra) around the Mahābodhi and pandol (Torana) of north gate there, to keep the stone statues (may be the Buddha) in other three gates of Mahābodhi, reconstructed all old monasteries and houses of stūpas (upagāra) of Thupārāma, Manusoma Vihāra and Ambastala Vihāra, Dakkhina Vihāra and Maricavatti Vihāra and built a new monastery named Meghavannabhaya (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXIV, V. 102-108).
691 Although the regnal year of Mahāsenas was a crucial period for Buddhism, he assisted in construction of a new large stūpa called Jetavana in the Mahā Vihāra boundary. Other Buddhist monasteries established inside and outside the capital of Anurādhapura such as Manihiraka Vihāra, Gokanna Vihāra, Erakapilla Vihāra, Kalandaka Vihāra at Bamunugama, Muvagam Vihāra, Dascen Vihāra, Ruparamma Vihāra, Sulupiti Vihāra and two nunneries were also built by king Mahāsenas. Alms and robes were given to the Mahātheras (chief monks) annually by the king. (Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXVII, V. 40-45.)
692 EN, Nos. 1-18, p. 74.
activities. The Sudassana Sutta in the *Dīgha Nikāya* states that the king Dalhanemi provided seeds and facilities for agriculture for reducing the poverty and demolished the thief's activities from his kingdom.

Further, ancient Sri Lankan kings offered their kingdom to *Sāsana* or sacred things such as Mahābodhi, Mahāthupa, and tooth relic of the Buddha as an expression of their righteousness. Rahula says that the offering of the whole kingdom by he king to the Sāsana, which was not uncommon in ancient Sri Lanka, was also symbolic of the principle that the state was run for the good of Buddhism. King Devānampiya Tissa granted his kingdom to the Mahābodhi, which he planted at Anurādhapura. King Dutthagamani is reported to have bestowed five times the kingdom of Sri Lanka to the Sāsana, each time for seven days. King Saddhā Tissa offered his kingdom as a gift to Thera Kāla Buddhakakkhita after listening to his Dhamma sermon. After bringing the Tooth relic of the Buddha, king Kitsirimeghavanna granted his kingdom to the Tooth relic. After defeating his brother, king Kāshyapa, Moggallāna I went to the Mahāvihāra to see the Sangha, and offered his parasol (symbol of the kingdom) to the Sangha at that time. Initially, the king granted the kingdom to the Sāsana, which the monks offered again to the king with advice. This action of kings may be identified as one of the methods to show his righteousness, and his rule and administration depended on the

693 See, pp. 290-295.
694 See, Ch. I, pp. 21-22.
696 *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XIX, V. 19, Samnapasādikā, p. 43.
697 *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXXI, V. 36, 90, 92, 111.
699 Dhāthavamsa, V. 394.
700 *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXXIX, V. 31.
advice of the monks. *e.g.* king Saddhā Tissa is said to have offered the kingdom to the Sangha in the person of a famous monk, who returned it saying "O great king, you have expressed your sense of devotion. We, on our part, return the kingdom given to us. O great king, rule justly and righteously."702

Likewise, Sri Lankan kings provided patronage for the spread of the Dhamma concept in the island. Although Sri Lankan kings did not erect the 'Dhamma lipi' as King Aśoka, they helped and provided facilities to the monks to learn Dhamma and to preach Dhamma. The contributions given by kings Devānampiya Tissa, Dutthagāmani, Saddhā Tissa, Bhātikābhaya, Ilanāga, Vasabha, Vohārika Tissa are mentioned in the Chronicles.703 These actions, taken by rulers, helped to spread the Dhamma concept among the subjects in a short period and helped cultivate good behaviour and conduct in the society704.

According to Buddhism, 'Abhaya Dāna' is one part of the 'Dāna' concept, which belongs to Dhamma. 'Abhaya Dāna' means gift of life.705 King Aśoka also practiced this virtue and gave advice to his subjects to promote this quality. The order of 'Māghāta' (prohibiting the killing of animals) which was proclaimed by several kings of Sri Lanka, was purely religious based on the principle of 'Avihimsā' taught in Buddhism.706 King Bhātikabhaya was averse to the slaughter of animals for food and he

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701 For example that Kāla Buddhārakkhita Thera offered the kingdom to Saddhā Tissa again and gave advice how to rule of kingdom on righteously, *Majjhimanikāyathakathā*, Vol. II, p. 470.
703 *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XIV, V. 14, 51–58; Ch. XXXII, V. 42–46; Ch. XXXII, V. 46, *Papañcasudani*, Vol. II, p. 294, Ch. XXXIV, V. 66; Ch. XXXV, V. 30–32, 92; Ch. XXXVI, V. 38.
704 Some Buddhist stories, are given by the *Sahassavatuppakarana*, the *Sīhalavatuppakarana* and the *Rasavēhinī*, are useful to understand good behaviour of people and conduct of early Sri Lankan society.
706 Rahula, *op. cit.*, 1966, p. 73.
made the eating of beef an offence punishable with fine. In the third century A.D., peace was kept not only to men but also to birds and beasts as well by king Amandagāmani. He forbade the killing of any kind of living beings and encouraged the cultivation of vegetable and fruits throughout the country. King Vohārika Tissa enacted a law setting aside bodily injury as punishment for offenders of the law. King Sri Sangabodhi burnt dead bodies secretly, pretending that they were live bodies, to show terror and discourage people from such behaviour.

Likewise, some kings developed health facilities for the safety of human life from disease. Dutthagāmani gave support to existing hospitals by appointing doctors and providing other facilities to patients. King Buddhādāsa was involved as a physician for treatment not only of human beings but also for animals and he established hospitals by appointing doctors in various places of the island and provided equipment for surgical activities of the hospital to save human life, and for spreading compassion and kindness in the society.

According to the above observations, it is clear that Buddhist Dhamma concepts influenced the ruling circles and provided the guidance to promote their character, attitude as well as to cultivate quality of ritual on the part of the political structure.

3.5 The role of the Buddhist monks in the political circles

Although participation in political activities was not an aspect of monastic life, but with the expansion of Buddhism and the existence of Buddhism and the community

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708 "Māghātām sakale dipe Kāresi. valliphalani sabbāni ropāpetva tahim tahim," Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXV, V 10-11.
709 Ibid., Ch. XXXVI, V 28.
710 Ibid. Ch. XXXVI, V 80-81.
711 Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXII, V 38.
of the Sangha interaction with rulers and other political elites became unavoidable. This situation can be identified through reference to the Buddhist monks who assisted the king as advisor and teachers to the political circles.

Dhammavisuddhi states that Mahinda Thera as the supreme head of the Sangha prepared the ground for what later evolved into righteous rule. It was probably on his instructions that king Devānampiya Tissa ruled the country. In fact, his state policy served as the model for later kings. In general, kings in Sri Lanka had to be Buddhist and were expected to rule righteously. Relation between the State and the Sangha became very close from the very beginning and this had a tremendous effect on the political ideas which evolved in Sri Lanka. The Sangha got involved more in political activities whereas the king became more religious minded. But it is clear that although a close relationship existed between Buddhist monks and royalty, they never seem to have attempted to wield political power directly by themselves. Carrithers suggests that the theory of the king’s relation to the Sangha is deducible from two premises. First, the king is a layman like other laymen, earning merit by his gifts to the Sangha and owing them obeisance because of their moral superiority. Second, he is the lord, owner, husband and enjoyer of the land, all rights flow from him, his is the ultimate recourse to force and the ultimate duty to preserve the institutions of society.

3.5.1 Buddhist Sangha as a teacher, advisor and defender of the king

The Sigālovāda Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya mentions that the education and guidance of the laity is a duty associated with the monks. With the expansion of

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712 Ibid., Ch. XXXVII, 112-136, 145.
Buddhism, Buddhist monks added to the society not only as preachers of the Buddhist doctrine or Buddhist clergy, but also as teachers or advisors of the whole nation from prince to peasant. Rahula remarks that the Bhikkhus began to take an active interest in educational and cultural activities of the country, and the whole system of education, both ecclesiastical and lay, was in the hands of the Sangha.\(^{716}\) Gunawardana on the contrary, argues that Rahula's statement is an exaggeration.\(^{717}\) There is no evidence to say that the whole education system existed in the hand of the Sangha in the early state period. Inscriptional evidence has shown layman as being involved in training activities. For example, a cave inscription of Tantirimale and Nāvalārkarulam refers to an elephant trainer.\(^{718}\) The Navarkanda Brāhmi inscription of Kurunāgala District mentions a teacher of archery.\(^{719}\)

The progress of literacy in the early period can be identified through the Brāhmi inscriptions of the island.\(^{720}\) According to archaeological evidence, although using of the Brāhmi script is dated to the sixth-fifth century B.C., its expansion to all parts of Sri Lanka is linked to the spread of Buddhism in the island. The inscriptions recording donation by Buddhist devotees in various places of Sri Lanka, indicate that literacy skill had grown rapidly in most parts of the island with the expansion of Buddhism.\(^{721}\) It is


\(^{715}\) (by dissuading him from vice, by exhorting his to virtue, by feeling kindly towards him, By interesting him in religion, by clearing up his doubts and pointing the way to liberation, Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 127.

\(^{716}\) Rahula., op.cit., 1966, p. 287.

\(^{717}\) Gunawarddana, op.cit., 1979, p.164.


evident that Buddhist monks and nuns may have contributed in the development of these skills. It may be assumed that after the third century B.C. lay devotees also engaged in the spread of the writing system in the island. According to insessional evidence some Buddhist monks and lay devotees are referred to as *acariya* (Sanskrit-: āchārya, Pāli-: āchariya, Sinhala-: Āduru). The Maha Aragamuwa cave inscription in Anurādhapura District refers to Thera Nanda as a teacher (*Achari-Nada Teraha*). One of the Situlpavuva cave inscriptions mentions the lay devotee Parāsari as a teacher (*Acariya Parāsarisa*). The Māvaragala cave inscription in the Monarāgala District indicates that Kanadata was a teacher (*Acari Kanadatasa*). The Nuvarakanda Brāhmi inscription refers to Aya Duhita and in the second part of this inscription the only word that can be read is *Acariyaha*. The Buddagama inscription refers to *aciri Guta*. The Kahata Atuhela cave inscription in the Monaragala District, refers to Pusamita who was son of an *aciriya*. The Dīvela cave inscription of Kāgalla District mentions *aciri* Kapila. *Aciriya* Kanagutta is indicated in the cave inscription of Kaduruvāva in Kurunāgala District.

According to literary sources, the monks as well as nuns were involved in educational activities. Buddhist monks also acted as advisors or teachers to the king in order to initiate the king in righteousness. As religious preceptors and men of letters the

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730 *Dīpavamsa* mentions the names of some educated nuns such as Naramitta, Sārā, Mahāsonā, Dattā, Kāli, Uttara, Sumantā, Mahādevi, Padumā, Uttara, Sivali, Ganika Dit, Mahā Tisā, Mahākali, *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. XVIII, V, 14-17, 25, 27, 34-35, 39, 40.
monks held a prominent and influential position in society. This very role gave some monks access to the royal family and influence over the king.\textsuperscript{731} For example in India, the Minor rock edicts of Aśoka mention that king Aśoka visited the Sangha.\textsuperscript{732} The \textit{Mahāvamsa} says that Arahanta Moggaliputta Tissa advised king Aśoka about his righteous activities.\textsuperscript{733} The \textit{Divyāvadāna}, on the other hand, has shown that Thera Upagupta advised king Aśoka.\textsuperscript{734} Alex Wayman says that Moggaliputtatissa was the religious name of Uapagupta.\textsuperscript{735} Similarly the Thera Aśvaghosa and Vasubandhu were counselors of king Kanishka.\textsuperscript{736}

In Sri Lanka, since the beginning of Buddhist activities, the Sangha advised the king about his social, religious and political activities. The influential position that monks held as preceptors and teachers gained them access to the king and could be put to important political use. Monks were sometimes counselors of kings.\textsuperscript{737} Initially, Arahanta Mahinda advised king Devānampiya Tissa about religious and cultural activities.\textsuperscript{738} In the early period, it can be seen that the advice of the Buddhist monks was given not only on religious matters but it also extended to the secular spheres. Therefore they were introduced as ‘Kuladevātā’, which means the family’s guardian spirits. According to the \textit{Mahāvamsa}, the Sangha was called ‘Kuladevātā’ of the Royal house of Rōhana. The

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Gunawardana, \textit{op. cit.}, 1979, p. 204.
\item Ya sumi haka[m] sa[a]h[a] up[e]te .. (Rupanath ME) sangha Upayāte (Bairat ME), sangha Upagate (Maski ME), Sangha Upayite (Brahmagiri and Siddhāpur) \textit{CII}, Vol. I, pp. 166, 172, 174, 176; Vidharbha rock inscription of king Aśoka, mentions that he saluted the Buddhist order and enquired its about well being. (Priyadasi lājā Māgadh samgam abhiva deta (the) nānā aha apābadhatam cha phāśūvihālatam cha.), \textit{Shastra, op. cit.}, 1987-1988, p. 56.
\item \textit{Mahāvamsa}, Ch. V, 79-80.
\item \textit{Divyāvadāna}, p. 570.
\item \textit{IA}, 1903, p. 385 (\textit{Fou-fa is 'ung-in-iuen-ch'oen}, Ch. V); Khotanese Manuscript \textit{JRAS}, 1945, p. 19.
\item Gunawardana, \textit{op. cit.}, 1979, p. 205.
\item See p. 257-258.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
two princes (Dutthagāmani, and Tissa) of king Kākavanna Tissa, king of Rūhāna, swore in the presence of the Sangha not to betray the 'Kuladevata'.\textsuperscript{739} All ceremonies connected with the two princes were carried out in the presence of the Sangha and some performed in the Vihāra.\textsuperscript{740} The king Kākavanna Tissa expected not only blessing of the Sangha but also took advice from the Sangha to build up the character of his two sons.

Prince Uttiya, the brother of king Kēlani Tissa was given education by the Thera Kālani Tissa. This monk was also the teacher or advisor of the ruling house of Kālaniya.\textsuperscript{741} The erudite monks such as Culla Pindapātika Tissa, Tripitaka Tissa often gave advice to the king Kākavanna Tissa.\textsuperscript{742} Prince Duttagāmani went to the Tissamahārāma monastery to visit the Sangha before leaving from Mahāgāma for battle with king Elāra at Anurādhapura. It may be assumed that Dutthagāmani would have gone to Tissamahārāma not only to be blessed by the monks but also to take advice from them. Further, five hundred monks had gone with him to the battle field.\textsuperscript{743} After the death of king Kākavanna Tissa, in the dispute for royalty among the two brothers, Thera Godhagattha Tissa advised the two princes. Duttagāmani and Saddhā Tissa.\textsuperscript{744} The Dūvegala rock inscription of Laṅja Tissa mentions that the revenues of the tanks and one canal was given after building a Vihāra to Thera Godhagattha.\textsuperscript{745} It can be assumed that because Thera Godhagattha Tissa was advisor or teacher of the royal house, king Laṅja Tissa may have given such donations to this Thera.

\textsuperscript{739} Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXII, V.80.
\textsuperscript{740} Ibid., Ch. XXII, V. 65-69, 74-77; Vamsatthappakāsini, Vol. I, p. 443.
\textsuperscript{741} Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXII, V. 13-16; Rasavāhini, p. 60.
\textsuperscript{742} Dīhatuvamsa, p. 37, 41.
\textsuperscript{743} Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXV, V.1-5.
\textsuperscript{744} Ibid., Ch. XXIV, V.49-50.
\textsuperscript{745} IC, Vol. II, part. 1, No. 15, p. 23.
After the defeat of king Elāra, King Dutthagāmani repented for the destruction of many thousands of human lives. The Mahāvamsa says that eight Arahanta monks who lived in Puvagudīpa, are reported to have assured the king that there was no cause for repentance, that only one and half human beings had been slain—one who had taken refuge in the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha as well as another who observed the five precept—that the others who were wrong believers (mīchchadīthi) and men of evil life (dussīla) were equal to animals (pasusamata) “but you will illuminate the doctrine of the Buddha in many ways, therefore dispel care from your mind.”

Obeysekere states that this statement is an important development in Buddhist history because it produces a theory, or at least a rationale, for killing one’s enemy that contradicts the Buddhist doctrines and the Buddhist faith, and overthrows the primary Buddhist ethical postulates of compassion and nonviolence. It is close to the Dharma of duty enunciated by Krishnā to Arjuna on the field of battle: Arjuna ought not to be troubled by his conscience because he is acting selflessly and without personal motivation, thereby fulfilling the Dharma of royal duty. The Mahāvamsa retranslates this ethic in terms of its own view of Buddhist history. 747 But we may assume that after the end of the war, the monks advised the king to promote his mental strength and morality. When king Dutthagāmani was lying on the dead bed, Buddhist monks came to see him, advised and reminded him of his meritorious activities for delighting his mind.748

746 Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXX, V. 103-111.
748 Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXIII, V. 62, 66, 69, 77.
King Saddhā Tissa held a close relationship with Thera Kāla Buddharakkhita. The latter may be considered the advisor of king Saddhā Tissa.\textsuperscript{749} Further, after the death of king Saddhā Tissa, the ministers of the state consecrated prince Thullathana in preference to Lañja Tissa with the approval and advice of the Sangha who assembled at the Thupārāma for this purpose.\textsuperscript{750} Thera Mahātissa who lived at Kuppikkala Vihāra and Mahātissa, Hambugal Vihāra, advised king Vattagāmani and his generals to promote their determination.\textsuperscript{751} King Mahāchulikamahā Tissa was noted for his piety and devotion to Thera Mahā Summa.\textsuperscript{752} King Kutakanna Tissa had great affection and respect for Thera Summa who resided at Dīpa Vihāra.\textsuperscript{753} The Sammohavinodanī also gives an interesting account of these two personages.\textsuperscript{754} It can be said that these two monks may have been advisors of kings.

During the reign of the king Bhātikābhaya, Abhidammika Godhagatta Thera was appointed as a chief justice of the kingdom, after he had been satisfied with a decision by Abhidammika Godhagatta Thera regarding a quarrel between two monks about a theft. The king issued an edict by beating of drum and declared that as long as I live, judgments given by Abhidammika Godhagatta Thera, in cases either of monks nuns or laymen is final. I will punch him who does not abide by the judgment.\textsuperscript{755} Rahula remarks that it is not certain whether Godhagatta Thera ever acted as a judge in secular matters after the king’s declaration and that this may be regarded as an expression of his recognition of the Thera’s wisdom and knowledge of the law and his high qualities. Even if the Thera had

\textsuperscript{749} Papancaśudani, Vol. II, p. 293.
\textsuperscript{750} Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXIII, V. 17-18.
\textsuperscript{751} Ibid., V. 50, 51, 67-77.
\textsuperscript{752} Ibid., Ch. XXXIV, V. 2-3.
\textsuperscript{754} Sammohavinodani, p. 452.
\textsuperscript{755} Samantapāśadikā, pp335-336.
presided over secular cases, there is no doubt that he would not have passed any judgment like capital punishment or physical torture.\textsuperscript{756} According to the statement of the \textit{Samantapāsādikā}, it may be suggested that Abhidhammika Godhgatta Thera were involved directly in solving ecclesiastical matters which were presented to the king or assembly of the Sangha. There is no doubt that Abhidhammika Godhgatta Thera may have advised the king to solve crucial problems according to Dhamma and royal law.

King Vasabha was pleased with a monk who lived at the Valli Vihāra, and built a Vihāra to donate it to that monk.\textsuperscript{757} When the queen of Vasabha was ill, then a servant girl went to see Thera Mahāpaduma and asked him to prescribe some medicine for her.\textsuperscript{758} According to Vinaya rules, Thera Mahāpaduma did not say that he did not know medicine, but began to converse with other Bhikkhus about the medicine. The servant girl learnt the prescription from their conversation and prepared the medicine and gave it to the queen and the queen was cured.\textsuperscript{759} According to the statement of the Vinaya Commentary, it is clear that Buddhist monks advised not only about Dhamma but also regarding other necessities of the king and members of the royal house.

King Sanghabodhi had taken advice and education from the Sangha since his childhood when he was staying in the Mahiyangana area. After he became older, prince Sanghabodhi and his two friends, Sanghatissa and Gothābaya came to Anurādhapura to join the royal service with Thera Nanda.\textsuperscript{760} King Gothabhaya who was impressed by the

\textsuperscript{756} Rahula, \textit{op.cit.}, 1966, p. 163 ff.4.
\textsuperscript{757} \textit{Mahāvamsa}, Ch. XXXV, V. 82.
\textsuperscript{758} If laymen were to inquire from a monk as to what is given for a certain ailment, then it is proper to tell him. If a man says to a monk ‘sir my mother ill, please prescribe some medicine’, he should not be told any thing. But Bhikkhus may start a conversation among themselves about what they gave to a certain monk when he was suffering from the identical illness. If the man listens to the conversation and treats his mother accordingly there is nothing wrong. \textit{Samantapāsādikā}, pp. 336-337.
\textsuperscript{759} \textit{Samantapāsādikā}, p. 337.
\textsuperscript{760} \textit{Mahāvamsa}, Ch. XXXVI, 58-59; \textit{Hattavanagalla Vihāravamsa}, pp. 25, 46.
erudition and wisdom of Sanghamitta, entrusted him with the education of his sons. Thera Sanghamitta was a teacher of prince Jettha Tissa and Mahāsena. After prince Mahāsena ascended the throne, Thera Sanghamitta became an advisor to the king. These instances reveal that Buddhist monks provided informal advice to kings and members of the royal house.

Further, the Sangha was always ready to extend a helping hand to the royalty in distress, for it did not take long for them to realize the doom of the Sangha as well. Thus the Sangha helped the members of the royalty and tried to unite the royal circle. Sometimes interfering with the succession, different factions of the Sangha tried to secure the loyalty for their own fraternity. It was in the role of mediators that they were most profitably employed. Not only did they have easy access to both parties in a dispute, they could also be certain of getting a respectful hearing. For example, Thera Godhagatta Tissa advised princes Duttagāmani and his brother when there was a dispute for royalty among the brothers after the death of their father. When queen Anulā was in her heydays and the country was thrown into confusion, prince Kutakanna Tissa received the protection of the Sangha. The Prince entered the priesthood for escaping the wrath of queen Anulā. Later on when popular opinion was about to turn in favour of him the prince gave up the robe and ascended the throne. The Mahā Vihāra monks helped prince Vasabha to claim the throne under the patronage of the Sangha. Likewise, the monks who lived at Mahiyangana provided security to Lambakanna prince Sanghabodhi to

761 Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXVII, V. 2, 28.
762 Hettiärachchy, op. cit., 1972, p. 126.
764 Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXI V. 49
765 Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXXV, V. 65.
protect his enemies and he ascended the throne with the surreptitious support of the Sangha. ⁷⁶⁶

These instances explain that the Sangha often intervened to unite the royal house as well as help them to maintain the unity after third century B.C. in the royalty and to prevent distress, which kings and princes faced.

3. 5. 2 Foreign cultural and political relationship and the role of the Buddhist Sangha

The propagation of Buddhism in Sri Lanka was an event of exceptional significance and its impact was felt on every aspect of Sri Lankan society. This event stimulated a series of contacts and for many centuries to come Buddhism formed the basis of not only Indo-Sri Lanka relations but also relations with East and South East Asia. Under the Mauryas, the cultural relationship between India and Sri Lanka was established on the basis of Buddhism. The patronage of Aśoka and the personality of Arahanta Mahinda brought Buddhism to the island within the sphere of the Mauryan cultural tradition and linked Sri Lanka with India during one of the most creative ages of Indian thought opening new vistas of artistic, spiritual and intellectual expression. ⁷⁶⁷

Further, with the expansion of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, interaction also grew rapidly between local and foreign monasteries. The international relationship of monks of the island can be discussed mainly under two sections.

1. Religious and educational travel

2. Pilgrimage

⁷⁶⁶ See foot note 760.
According to literary sources, after the arrival Arahanta Mahinda and Theri Sanghamittā to Sri Lanka, many Buddhist monks and nuns reached the island from time to time for religious and educational purposes. The Dipavamsa says that the nuns Uttarā, Hemā, Masaragallā, Aggimittā, Dāsikā, Peggu, Pabbatā, Mallayā, Dhammadāsi, arrived in Sri Lanka with Theri Sanghamittā and they began to teach Vinaya and Abhidhamma at Anurādhapura. During the reign of Vattagāmani Abhaya, a nun named Uttarā visited Sri Lanka with twenty thousand nuns and they joined the Mahā Vihāra for teaching the Vinaya to other nuns of Anurādhapura.

It is said in the Mahāvamsa that the inauguration ceremony was held in connection with the construction of the Mahāthupa (Ruvanvāli sāya) at Anurādhapura during the reign of king Dutthagamani. There were large congregations of the Sangha representing not only the famous Buddhist centers in India such as Bodhgaya (Bodhimandala Vihāra), Ujjayini (Ujjēni), Isipatana (Sārnāth), Kosambi, Rajagahā, Jetavanāṭāma (Sravasthi), Pātaliputra and Vaisāli, but other such distant places like Kashmir and Kelas in the Himalayan region, Pallavabogga (Afghanistan?) Alisanda of Yonas (Alexandria of Egypt?). The Dipavamsa lists the name of another twelve monks who participated in the Mahāthupa ceremony and came from India.

In the first century B.C., the monks who followed the philosophy of the famous Buddhist teacher named Dhammaruchi, arrived from south India and settled down at Abhayagiri Vihāra at Anurādhapura. Dhammaruchikas belonged to the Vajjiputtaka

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768 Dipavamsa, Ch. XVIII, V. 12-13.
769 Ibid., Ch. XVIII, V. 24-25
770 Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXIX, V. 30-45.
771 Siddattha, Mangala, Sumana, Paduma, Sivali, Chandagutta, Suriyagutta, Indagutta, Sagara, Mittasena, Acala, Jayasena, Dipavamsa, Ch. XIX, V. 8-10.
school which originated from the reputed Mahāsāṅgika sect.\textsuperscript{772} Since then, the incumbents of the Abhayagiri sect at Anurādhapura adopted the teaching of Dhammaruchi and preferred to call themselves Dhammaruchikas. Another group of Buddhist monks who accepted the Vaitulya doctrine, came from India and tried to spread Mahāyānism in the island.\textsuperscript{773}

Although Sri Lankan sources do not provide details regarding the visit of Sri Lankan Buddhist monks to India for the purpose of educational or religious matters, the \textit{Sammohavinodanī} mentions that the monk whose name was Tissa, went to India, after primary education in Sri Lanka, and studied under Thera Yonaka Dhammarakkita.\textsuperscript{774}

The two inscriptions of Nāgarjunakonda, belonging to the middle of the third century A.D., reveal that a monastery named 'Sīhalārāma' was located at Nāgarjunikonda.\textsuperscript{775} According to these inscriptions, a 'Sīhalārāma' or monastery of Sihala was erected exclusively for the residential purpose of the Sri Lankan Bhikkhus or the Sinhala Sangha. The Nāgarjunakonda monastic establishment which was ably presided over by Thera Nāgarjuna the great exponent of the Madhyamaka philosophy began one of the two streams intimately associated with Mahāyānism.\textsuperscript{776} According to the Nāgarjunakonda inscriptions, it is clear that the Buddhist monks, resident in Kashmir, Yona, Gandhāra, China and Sri Lanka (Tambapanni) came to this place for religious purpose.\textsuperscript{777} This inscription refers to the \textit{Teriya} monks of Sri Lanka and it may be assumed that Mahā Vihāriya monks may have lived in this place.

\textsuperscript{772} Nikāya Sangrahaya p. 11.
\textsuperscript{773} Dipavamsa, Ch. XXII, V. 41-42; Nikāya Sangarahaya, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{774} Sammohavinodanī, p. 273.
\textsuperscript{775} EI, Vol. XXXIII, p. 127.
\textsuperscript{777} Ibid., p. 250.
In Sri Lanka, the Theravāda school which had a large number of adherents had to always be on the defensive against the Mahāyāna threat. It was found necessary to have the canonical literature that had till then existed in the form of Sinhala Commentaries translated into Pāli and the treatise of exegetical nature compiled for the use of students of Buddhism in Sri Lanka and abroad. This responsible task was entrusted to a versatile scholar-monk named Buddhaghosa who came from South India. Thera Buddhaghosa translated all Sinhala Commentaries into Pāli language and wrote a book, *Visuddhimagga* which is the most authoritative treatise on Theravāda Buddhism till today.\(^{778}\)

According to these instances, it is evident that Theravāda as well as Mahāyāna monks from Sri Lanka arrived at Buddhist centers in India to improve their knowledge about Buddhism. Indian monks may have also visited Sri Lanka for the same purpose. Further, during the famine period in Sri Lanka, some Buddhist monks escaped to India. The *Papañcasudanī* refers to a story which was related to a monk and nun, and shows that they went to India during famine time in the island.\(^{779}\) During the reign of Vattagāmani Abhaya, there was a famine in Sri Lanka. At that time some monks either went to the hill areas or to India. The *Sammmohavinodanī* says that most of the monks assembled at Jambukolapattana at Nāgadīpa to cross over to India. Thera Isidatta and Thera Mahātissa gave advice to Thera Mahāsena to go abroad and return after the peril was over. The monks who were gathered at Jambukolapattana visited India on three decks of the raft.\(^{780}\)


It is clear according to these instances that ever since the advent of Buddhism in Sri Lanka close contact existed with the main Buddhist centres in North and South India. These contacts were not only limited to the spread of Theravāda or Mahāyāna Buddhism in Sri Lanka but also helped the spread of some political concepts such as Bodhisattva concept and coronation of Buddha etc.\(^{781}\)

With the expansion of Buddhism in the Indian subcontinent, the importance of sacred places which were related to Buddha’s life and Buddhism increased rapidly and became attractive holy places for the Buddhists. The shrine of Mahābodhi was the foremost among the many sacred sites of veneration and pilgrimage of Buddhists through the ages and it attracted pilgrims not only from different parts of the subcontinent, but also from faraway places like Sri Lanka, Tibet, Burma, central Asia and China.\(^{782}\)

According to Sri Lankan literary sources Buddhist monks are known to have visited India as pilgrims since third century B.C. The Sahassavatthuppakarana mentions that sixty monks of Sri Lanka arrived in India for worshipping at the sacred place of Mahabodhi and one day, they left for Pindapata in the city of Pātaliputra.\(^{783}\) Another three stories related to a pilgrimage tour of India by Sri Lankan Buddhist monks, are mentioned in the Sīhalavatthuppakarana.\(^{784}\) These sources indicate that Mahākonda was the embarkation place and the port of landing was Kaveri Pattana in South India. From there they travelled overland to Uttarāpatha.

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781 After the fifth century A.D. some Kings used the title ‘Sirisangabo’ (EZ, Vol. I, pp. 32,33; Vol. II, p. 34; Vol. IV, p. 64, Vol. V, p. 185) it’s used as an epithet of Bodhisattva.; King Mahinda IV mentions his inscription that “the Kshatriya lords devoted to the Buddha, who of yore have received the assurance made by the omniscient Lord of sages, the pinnacle of the Sākya clan, that none but Bodhisattvas would become kings of prosperous Lanka.”(EZ, Vol. I, p. 232, Vol. II, p. 52-53); Āูลavamsa gives information about coronation of Buddha’s statue in fifth century.(Āูลavamsa, Ch. XLI, V. 51-51.


783 Sahassavatthuppakarana, p. 60.
One of the inscription found in the Mahābodhi at Bodhgaya is datable to the second century B.C. This Bodhgaya railing inscription inscribed on a crossbar of the sandstone railing of Bodhgaya temple refers to the gift of Bodhirakshita, resident of Tambapanni (Sri Lanka) for construction of a railing around the Bodhi tree. 285

Important references to Sri Lankan relations with the Mahābodhi come in the records of Chinese travelers. A Chinese source called Wang-Hiven-Tse’s Mission to India says that a king of Ceylon (Cheeu-tzeu) named Sri Megavanna (Chi-mi-kia po-mo) which means in Chinese ‘cloud of merit (Koung-to-ium)’ sent two monks to visit the monastery built by king Aśoka to the east of the Bodhi tree at Gaya. The two Sri Lankan monks paid their respects to the Bodhi tree but the monastery did not pay much hospitality to them. The monks reported this to the king on their return journey. On hearing the complaint, king Kitsirimeghavanna, sent envoys with gifts of precious stones to the Indian king Samudragupta (San-meou-tolo-kiu-to) requesting his permission to build a Sri Lankan monastery at Bodhgaya. Up to the time of Wang Hiuen-Tse’s writing, the monastery was occupied by Sri Lankan monks. 286

Hiuen-Tsang, while describing the shrine at Mahābodhi, mentions that the younger brother of the king of Ceylon, who had gone on a pilgrimage to the holy place met with a bad reception at that place. Returning to his native isle, he persuaded his elder brother to build a monastery intended to give lodging to Sinhala monks near the Bodhi tree, with the consent of the king of India. 287 It is clear that these two statements were

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284 Sihalavatthuppakarana, pp. 34-39.
aimed at the same incident which occurred regarding the problem of residence of Sri Lankan monks at Mahābodhi during the Gupta period. The Allahabad pillar inscription of the king Samudragupta refers to his receiving embassies from Sinhala among others.\footnote{CII, Vol. III, p. 8.} Bardwell L. Smith suggests that this has been interpreted as the event referred to by the two Chinese travellers regarding the Sinhalese king’s request for permission to construct a monastery at Bodhgaya.\footnote{Bardwell L. Smith, \textit{Essay on Gupta Culture}, Delhi, 1983, p. 135.}

In this connection reference could be made to a Sanskrit inscription found at Bodhgaya which records that a monk named Mahānāma of Sri Lanka constructed a monastery and established a Buddha image at the shrine of Vajrāsana. This inscription can be dated to the fourth-fifth century.\footnote{CII, Vol. III, p. 276-277.} Another Buddhist monk named Prakhyakīrti, who belonged to the royal family of Sri Lanka is referred to in a donatory inscription.\footnote{JBORS, Vol. IV, 1943, p. 408.}

According to foreign accounts and inscriptive evidence, it is clear that at least around the fourth or fifth century A.D. the Sinhala monks who went on pilgrimage to the Mahābodhi had established a monastery exclusively for themselves with the support of the Indo-Sri Lankan kings.

These visits of Sri Lankan Buddhist monks were important to build up close cultural relations between Sri Lanka and the Indian subcontinent and for the exchange of ideas. The presence of a permanent community of Sinhala monks at Bodhagaya and visits of pilgrims and scholars helped to bring in diverse influences which enriched the traditions of Buddhist thought in the island.\footnote{Gunawardana, \textit{op.cit.}, 1979, p. 345.} These cultural relations may have
influenced the Sri Lankan political structure to adopt the political concepts and rituals of
the political circles in the island in this period.