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DURING THE PERIOD OF THE  
"GREAT DYNASTY"

JOHN. M. SENAVERATNE

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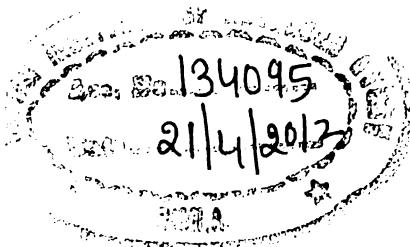
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**ROYALTY IN ANCIENT CEYLON.**  
**During the Period of the "Great Dynasty."**  
**BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.**

[*Foreword.* The following is the first of a series of articles intended to depict "*Life in Ancient Ceylon*" from material available to us in authentic histories, published or otherwise. The rest of the articles will deal respectively with (a) *The People*, (b) *Religion*, (c) *Government*, and (d) *Warfare*. I have of set purpose studiously refrained in the present article—as I propose to do in each of the others—from letting my knowledge of later conditions and things colour my survey of the period under review—roughly some 900 years—limited on the one hand by the establishment of the Vijayan dynasty in the 5th century B.C., and on the other by the death of Mahasena in the 4th century A.D. I have said nothing without warrant or authority for it in the works I have laid under contribution. Unprefixed numerical references imply that the quotation is from Professor Geiger's edition of the *Mahāvansā*.]

**The King.**

The rightful King of Lanka was and had to be of the *Kálinga-Cakravarti-kula*, i.e., of the dynasty founded by Vijaya. Any sovereign—and my remarks have reference to the earliest times only—who was not of the *Kálinga-vansa* was a usurper. It was the recognition of this right of the *Kálinga-vansa* that impelled the ministers of Vijaya, upon his death without issue, to send for a prince from India who was a kinsman of Vijaya's. Panduvásudeva fulfils this requirement, and he comes over and assumes the sovereignty of Lanka as of right.

### Succession.

“Is there any law permitting the younger children to succeed to the throne in preference to the elder?” asked the Dutch Governor von Falk in 1769, and the answer given by “some of the best-informed Candian Priests respecting the antient Laws and customs of their country” was as follows: “The succession is not regulated according to seniority; but that prince is appointed to the sovereignty who is most eminent for wisdom, virtue, and a good disposition. The second son of Muta Siva (who reigned over Lakdiwa in the city of Anurad-poor), in consequence of his having been adorned with these amiable qualities, obtained the sovereignty, even during the life-time of his elder brother; as is shewn in the book entitled *Raja Ratnakare*.\*\*

*The answer was not correct.* The case of Devanampiyatissa was the exception which proved the rule. And even here it is not quite certain that Devánampiyatissa succeeded his father *because* he “was foremost among all his brothers† in virtue and intelligence” (11.6) or *because* he was adorned with the “amiable qualities” referred to above. Abhaya, the elder brother,—histories give us no information at all of him—may have been blind, or an idiot, or suffering from some other physical disability. Or it may even be that a *mésalliance* barred his way to the throne, just as Duṭṭhagámani’s son, Prince Sáli, was by reason of his love for and marriage with a low-caste woman, the Chandála Asokamáládeví.‡

\* Bertolacci, *Ceylon*, Appendix A, p. 454.

† Mutasiva’s “ten sons” were: Abhaya, Devánampiyatissa, Mahánága, Uttiya, Mattábhaya, Mitta, Malásiva, Súratissa, Asela, and Kira.

‡ It is only fair to say that, according to the *Maháraṇsa*, Prince Sáli “cared nothing for kingly rule; therefore Duṭṭhagámani’s brother, Saddhátissa, anointed king after his death, ruled, &c.,” the implication being that, if he cared, he could still have been king. The people, it is safe to presume, would gladly have forgiven many things to Duṭṭhagámani’s son, even his *mésalliance*, and accepted him as king; but they would scarcely have accepted a Chandála woman as Queen, however beautiful and virtuous she may have been. It was this consideration probably which impelled Prince Sáli to sacrifice his throne for his love.

The eldest son's right to succeed the father was admitted and generally observed.\* Where there was a failure to act up to it, recourse was had to force of arms to assert that right.† When King Kákavanna dies, Tissa, the younger son, crowns himself king. It is improper and unusual, and therefore "the whole of the ministers, who had met together, sent letter to Duṭṭhagámani" (24.16), the elder son, to acquaint him with what in their eyes was the violation of a custom. Duṭṭhagámani comes with armed forces and fights his brother who, when defeated, says to the thera Goḍhagatta Tissa: "*I have done ill, sir; I will make my peace with my brother*" (24.49). The thera takes Tissa in order to effect a reconciliation and, leaving him on the stairs, goes into the presence of Duṭṭhagámani and pleads for the penitent prince. Duṭṭhagámani asks: "Where is the *traitor*?" (l.c. 53), but the mother also intervenes and the brothers are reconciled. Tissa was guilty of *treason* in crowning himself king in the life-time of his elder brother.

The case is the same when Tissa himself dies. Ministers and monks meet together—the meeting is

\* The Rámáyana knows only direct succession, to the eldest. Any other transfer was a crime. Compare Rámáyana II. 7. 18-19 for a true summary: *bahúnám api putránám eko rájye 'bhiṣicaye jyeṣṭheu putreṣu rájyatántráni púrthivá usajanti* (and these again on their eldest, never on their brothers).

† See the Mahábhárata I. 85. 22 ff; V. 149. 1 ff: A king had caused it to be known that he intended to make his younger son heir, because the eldest had revolted, or (in another version) had not obeyed his wishes. Thereupon the people, headed by the priests, came *en masse* and demanded how he could do this; protesting that a younger son might not 'overstep' the elder, and closing this formal address with the words: 'This we make known to thee; see that thou do thy duty.' The king now mildly argues with the people, and says sophistically that a son who opposes his father is by good men regarded as not being a son at all, 'and the law of Çukra (a semi-divine authority) has induced me to do this.' In consequence solely of these arguments, the people retire and submit: not because of the king's will, but because of his reasoning; and in closing they say expressly, 'and if it is Çukra who has commanded it, there is no more to say.' Thus it was that Yayáti was enabled to establish Púru, his younger son, as heir instead of Yadu, his eldest.—Compare Vishnu Purána, IV. 10; Váyu Purána, II. 31. 75. (Hopkins, *Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India*, p. 140).

obviously designed to invest an improper, even treasonable, proceeding against a presumably unpopular prince with the sanction and strength of a representative assembly's vote—and, ignoring the claims of Lanjatissa, the eldest son, proceed to consecrate the prince Thúlathana, a younger son, as king. In less than six weeks Lanjatissa overpowers (kills) his younger brother and takes upon himself the government which was his by right of prior birth. The sequel is interesting and should resolve all doubt on the point. For the chronicler tells us that "during three years (afterwards) did Lanjatissa use the brotherhood slightly and neglect them with the thought: '*They did not decide according to age*'" (33.20). The succession, then, *was* regulated according to seniority.

The son naturally succeeded the father;\* but when there was no son—daughters apparently had no *claim*†—the deceased king's brother had the next best right. Vijaya, just before his death, muses as follows: "I am old and there lives *no son* of mine. The kingdom peopled with (such great) difficulty may come to naught after my death; therefore would I fain have my *brother* Sumitta brought here (that I may give) the government into his hands" (8.1-2). Then, again, after Devánampiyatissa's death, "his younger *brother* since there was *no son*, the prince known by the name Uttiya, held sway piously as king" (20.29).

The rule, then, as to the succession, was that the eldest son, provided he lay under no disability, physical or otherwise, succeeded the father. If there was any such disability, he gave place to the younger brother just next to him, though the popular preference might be for the

\* In the *Mahábhárata*, the royal laws especially recommend that a king shall "make his son sure in the kingdom before his own death" (XII. 63. 19), and this is also enjoined in Manu's law-book.

† The single exception was Sivali, who succeeded her brother Cúlábhaya but reigned only 4 months, when she was deposed by her cousin Ilanága.

prince—if there were several—who was distinguished by the possession of the most amiable qualities. Where there was no son, the brother succeeded, his selection being governed apparently by the same rule of primogeniture. For it is to be noted that upon Devánampiyatissa's death without issue—Mahánága having fled to Mahágáma where he has already founded a principality,—it is the younger brother just next, Uttiya, who succeeds him, and Uttiya is in turn succeeded by his younger brother Mahásiva. Of the two intervening brothers Mattábhaya had already “received the pabbajá” (17.58) and become a monk and Mitta was presumably dead or had himself entered the priesthood. Mahásiva is succeeded by the younger brother just next to him, Súratissa (Suvannapindatissa), who is in turn followed by his next younger brother Asela, after the latter had driven away the two Tamil usurpers (Sena and Guttaka). Again, when Lanjatissa dies without issue, he is succeeded by his younger brother Khallátanága who is, in turn, succeeded by his younger brother Vattagámáni.

#### Regal Virtues.

When the boy-prince Pandukábhaya meets the Brahman Pandula in Pandulagámaka, the latter says: “Thou wilt be king, and full 70 years wilt thou rule; learn the art (of kingly rule), my dear”, and he instructed him, and by his son Canda also that art was mastered in a short time” (10. 22-23). Dutṭhagámáni, we are told, was “well versed in the duties of kings” (31.36), and Vohárikatissa is said to have reigned 22 years “with knowledge of the law and the tradition” (36.27).

What was this “art” of governing, this “knowledge of the law and the tradition”, the acquirement of which formed part of the “duties” of every king worthy of the name? It was the practice of the *dasa-rája-dharma* and the *catussangrahavastu*, i.e., that which the *Suluvansa* describes respectively as “the ten virtues of kings and

the four means of conciliation" (52.43), or as Mahinda IV. in his Vessagiri Inscription has it, "the ten regal virtues and the four elements of popularity".\*

What were, firstly, the *dasa-rája-dharma* or "ten royal virtues"? Childers enumerates them under *rája-dhammo* as follows: *dánam, silam, pariccágo, akkodho, avihimsá, khanti, ajjavam, maddavam, tapo* and *avirodhana*.† And this is how the Kandyan Priests referred to above described them to Governor von Falk.

1. *Charity*: viz., giving rice and cloth to priests, Brahmins, and poor people.

2. *Religion*: viz., constantly maintaining the ordinances of Boodho.

3. *Liberality*: viz., bestowing fields, gardens, and other valuable property.

4. *Uprightness*: viz., being void of deceit.

5. *Mercy*: viz., not being of an obdurate mind.

6. *Temperance*: viz., mortification of sensual desires.

7. *Placability*: viz., not continuing to be angry after the cause of displeasure has ceased.

8. *Humanity*: viz.: not punishing, tormenting, or molesting innocent persons.

9. *Forbearance*: viz., not being angry at faults before they have been well inquired into.

10. *Impartiality*: viz., shewing no undue preference to any one.

The *catussangrahavastu*‡ or "four elements of popularity", which partook largely of the nature of some of the *dasa-rája-dharma*, were:

\* *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, I. 34.

† That is, almsgiving, observance of the precepts, generosity, freedom from wrath, mercy, forbearance, rectitude, mildness, self-mortification, freedom from enmity. Cf. also *Dhammapada*, 341, 416. In answer to perpetual questions in regard to duty, Nárándeya says to the king: "Be merciful, be kind, be fond, be not sulky, be truthful, mild, generous, glad to protect the people; do right, avoid wrong; worship the fathers and the gods; practise all this in deed, in thought, and in word" (*Maháhárata*, III. 191. 23 ff).

‡ 10 Cf. Alwis, *Introd. to Kachcháyana's Pali Grammar*, 73; Alwis, *Attanagaluvansa*, 138.

1. *Dánam* = largesse or liberality.
2. *Piyavacanam* = affability.
3. *Atthacariyá* = beneficent rule.
4. *Samánattatá* = impartiality.

The first and last of both are identical, and the third of the latter really represents what would result from the observance of the former as a whole. The statement that Dutthagamani was "well versed in the duties of kings" is now pregnant with meaning. It explains how the greatest warrior of the period of the Great Dynasty came to be regarded also as its greatest and most popular ruler.

### "Abhiseka" or Consecration.\*

#### I. THE CEREMONY.

"What ceremonies are observed at the coronation of a king?" asked Governor Falck on the occasion already referred to, and the answer given was in fact a summary of the interesting description given in the Sinhalese commentary of that portion of the *Majjhima Nikáya* known as *Cullasihanadasuttaravannaná* and quoted in the *Mahavansa Tíká*. Both summary and description are given below in parallel columns:—

#### Summary.†

On the day of his installation, the Royal Mandapa is beautifully decorated with all sorts of precious ornaments; within that Mandapa is erected another, made of

#### Description.‡

In the first place, he who wishes to be duly inaugurated as king should obtain for this purpose three chanks (golden and otherwise), water from the Ganges river, and a maiden of the Kshatriya race.

\* "To be consecrated, to sacrifice, and to protect the people, are the chief duties of a king," says the *Rámáyana*, II. 113. 23.

† Bertolacci, *Ceylon*, Appendix A, pp. 454-5.

‡ *C. B. R. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XIV., No. 47, pp. 126-7.

*Summary.\**

the branches of the Udu-mbara or Attika tree; and in the centre of this inner Mandapa is placed a seat, made of the wood of the same tree:—the King, covered with jewels, and invested with the insignia of royalty, wearing the sword, the pearl umbrella, the forehead-band, the slippers, and the chowrie made of the white hairs of the Semara's tail, repairs to the above-mentioned seat: a royal virgin, adorned with costly ornaments, and holding in her hand a sea-chank filled with river water and opening to the right, then approaches the place where the King is seated, and, lifting up the chank with both hands, pours its contents upon the King's head, addressing him, at the same time, in these words: “Your Majesty is anointed to rule over this whole assembly of Roha-tries; may it therefore

*Description.†*

He must himself be ripe for the ceremony (i.e., be over 16 years of age) and be a Kshatriya of noble lineage, and must sit on a splendid udumbara chair, well set in the middle of a pavilion made of udumbara branches, which is itself in the interior of a hall gaily decked for the ceremony of *abhiseka*.

First of all, the Kshatriya maiden of gentle race, clothed in festive attire, taking in both her hands a right-handed sea-chank, filled with Ganges water, and raising it aloft, pours the *abhiseka* water over his head, and says as follows:—

“Sire, by this ceremony of *abhiseka* all the people of the Kshatriya race make thee their Mahárája for their protection. Do thou rule over the land in uprightness, and imbued with the ten royal virtues. Have thou for the Kshatriya race a heart filled with paternal love and solicitude. Let them (in return) protect, and guard, and cherish thee.”

Next, the royal chaplain, splendidly attired in a manner befitting his office, taking in both hands a silver chank filled

\* Bertolacci, *Ceylon*, Appendix A. pp. 454-5.

† *C. B. R. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XIV., No. 47, pp. 126-7.

*Summary.\**

please your Majesty to perform the duties of a Sovereign, and to exercise your sway with benignity and justice."—After this, the Purohita Bramin (the Head Bramin), arrayed with ornaments adapted to the nature of his office, lifts up, with both hands, a silver chank filled with river water, and, pouring its contents on the King's head, addresses him in the manner above mentioned, and recommends him to govern with gentleness and justice. Then a principal *Sita*, adorned with suitable ornaments, taking up with both hands a golden chank, likewise filled with river water, pours the contents upon the King's head, admonishes him to reign with justice and gentleness, and to perform the established duties of a Sovereign.—These ceremonies being ended, and the King invested with the crown,

*Description.†*

with Ganges water, and raising it aloft, pours the *abhiseka* water over his head, and says as follows:

"Sire, by this ceremony of *abhiseka* all the people of the Brahmin race make thee their Mahárája for their protection. Do thou rule over the land in uprightness, and imbued with the ten royal virtues. Have thou for the Brahmin race a heart filled with paternal love and solicitude. Let them (in return) protect, and guard, and cherish thee."

Next, he who holds the office of *Setthi*, attired in a suitable manner, taking in both his hands a golden chank filled with Ganges water, and raising it aloft, pours the *abhiseka* water over his head, and says as follows:—

"Sire, by this ceremony of *abhiseka* all the *grahapati*, for their protection, make thee their Mahárája. Do thou rule over the land in uprightness and imbued with the ten royal virtues. Have thou for the *grahapati* a heart filled with paternal love and solicitude. Let them (in return) protect, and guard, and cherish thee".

Those who address the

\* Bertolacci, *Ceylon*, Appendix A. pp. 454-5.

† *C. B. R. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XIV., No. 47, pp. 126-7.

*Summary.\**

the following reflections ought to present themselves to his royal mind: The addresses which have been just now made to me may be construed either as an imprecation or as a blessing; and I am to consider the substance and actual purport of them to be to the following effect: "If your Majesty act in conformity to our suggestions, it is well; otherwise it is to be hoped that your head will split into seven pieces."

*Description.†*

above form of words pronounce, as it were, a curse upon the king, as if they should say:—

"It is meet that thou shouldst rule the land in accordance with these our words. Should it not be so, mayest thy head split in seven pieces".

In this Island of Lanká be it known that a Kshatriya princess, sent by Dharmasoka, performed the ceremony of *abhiseka* over the head of Devánampiyatissa with a right-handed sea-chank filled with water from lake Anotatta. Previous to this no such ceremony was known (in Lanká).

The ceremonial of consecration was borrowed from India;‡ it was integrally Hinduistic, modified later in details under the influence of Buddhism.|| It was

\* Bertolacci, *Ceylon*, Appendix A, pp. 454-5.

† *C. B. R. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XIV., No. 47, pp. 126-7.

‡ In the *Rámáyana*, the priestly council meet in the *sabha* (assembly-hall), and the chief priest makes an address, explaining the death of the king and the necessity for having a new one consecrated. The elder son being banished, the younger must reign, for many ills ensue to a kingless people. The older councillors say: "Even when the king was alive, we stood at your orders (*casane*); proceed, then, give your orders" (*ea nah gadhi*). After this the election is practically over, and there remains only the ceremony: *Ram.* II. 69. 1 ff., 33; from 70. 1, the councillors are all priests, as usual in later legal assemblies (*parisad*). Hopkins, *Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India*, p. 145.

|| "There is no reason to suppose that the ceremony was of purely Buddhist origin. A new religion seldom adopts an entirely fresh ritual. It rather adopts and assimilates an existing ritual so as to suit the new circumstances, and in the *abhiseka* ceremony one sees but a revised edition of the Vedantic ceremony of the royal inauguration. From what can be gathered from the Vedantic literature, the Hindu ceremony of the royal inauguration was but the parent of the Buddhist ceremony." *C. B. R. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XIV., No. 47, p. 128.

“according to custom” (7.71) that Vijaya was consecrated king, and the “custom” followed was presumably that obtaining in India, *i.e.*, in Bengal, “in the country of the Vangas” (6.1).

The statement in the above “description” that “previous to this (*i.e.*, Devánampiyatissa’s *abhiseka*) no such ceremony was known in Lanká” appears to be scarcely correct in view of the *fact*, explicitly stated, of Vijaya’s consecration “according to custom in full assembly” (7.71) and of the *manner* in which Pandukábhaya “solemnised his own consecration” (10.78). The only way to reconcile the two would be to assume that the consecration of both Vijaya and Pandukábhaya lacked the pomp, ceremonial and full ritual with which Devánampiyatissa’s *abhiseka* was undoubtedly invested.

### Consecration.

#### II. ACCESSORIES.

Asoka’s gifts to Devánampiyatissa (11.28ff) are of interest as enumerating all that was “needful for consecrating a king” (l.c. 32). They are as follows, the first five being of course what are known as *rájakakudhabandáni*, *i.e.*, ensigns or symbols of royalty: (1) a fan, (2) a diadem, (3) a sword, (4) a parasol, (5) shoes, (6) a turban, (7) ear-ornaments, (8) chains, (9) a pitcher, (10) yellow sandalwood, (11) a set of garments that had no need of cleansing, (12) a costly napkin, (13) unguent brought by the nágas, (14) red-coloured earth, (15) water from the lake Anotatta, (16) water from the Ganges, (17) a (spiral) shell winding in auspicious wise, (18) a maiden in the flower of her youth, (19) utensils as golden platters, (20) a costly litter, (21) yellow and emblematic myrobalans, (22) precious ambrosial healing herbs, (23) sixty times 100 waggon-loads of mountain rice brought thither by parrots, etc.

1. *Fan*:\* This was a chowrie or fly-whisk (Skt.: *cámarā*) made of the hair of a yak's tail. At the consecration it was held or waved, presumably by a noble or minister in attendance.

2. *Diadem*: We have no description of this ornament as worn by the earliest Sinhalese kings, but it was probably simpler in design and less costly than that which decked the brow of modern rulers.† That, however, it did not lack splendid jewellery is evident from the fact that, when Vattagamani was fleeing from the Tamils, he "gave to (Queen) Somadevi his splendid diadem-jewel" (*cúlámanim*) before letting her descend from the car.

3. *Sword*: This was borne at the consecration probably by either a beautiful maiden or a great minister.‡

4. *Parasol*: It was of white, and of the five ensigns or symbols of royalty it was the one most *en evidence* on all state occasions. In fact, no state function or public festival was complete unless the king had his *setachatta*. In preparation for the arrival of the Relics, Mahinda tells Devánampiyatissa: "Go thou, in the evening, mounted on thy state-elephant, bearing the *white parasol*!" (17.7). And, later, when the

\* On the occasion of the consecrating of the *Lohapásada*, "on the exceedingly beautiful throne covered with costly oushions was placed a beautiful *fan* of ivory, gleaming magnificently" (27.35). And at the enshrining of the Relics, *Samtusita* is said to have held "the yak-tail whisk" and *Suyáma* "the jewelled fan" (31.78).

† See the description of the crown of the last King of Kandy: "The king of Kandy's Crown, of a very singular but tasteful form, gold, with projecting angles, from which are suspended ornaments of table diamonds, small rubies, &c.; round the circle, which embraces the forehead, are 15 ornaments of gold, set with rose diamonds, and rubies, which screw on; on the top is an ornamental tuft of gold and pearls, and in front attaches an enamelled gold ornament of great beauty, in the form of a plume, covered with table diamonds, emeralds, and rubies, the centre ruby of a very large size, forming altogether a singularly splendid and costly mark of royalty." *Catalogue of the Regalia of the King of Kandy*. Printed by W. Smith, King Street [London], 1820.

‡ Note at the making of the Relic-Chamber the reference to "rows of sword-bearing devas" (30.93) and at the enshrining of the Relics "the four great kings stood with swords in their grip." (31.79).

young Bodhi-trees came, Devánampiyatissa “worshipped them by the gift of a *white parasol* and bestowed royal consecration on them” (19.59). Just before the enshrining of the Relics, Duṭṭhagámani is seen standing, “holding a golden casket under the *white parasol*” (31.39).

An idea of the beauty and the costliness of the royal parasol may be formed from the description we have of the one which graced the throne within the Lohapásáda pavilion: “A *white parasol* with a coral foot, resting on mountain crystal and having a silver staff, shone forth over the throne. On it, depicted in the seven gems, were the eight auspicious figures\* and rows of figures of beasts with jewels and pearls in between; and rows of little silver bells were hung upon the edge of the parasol” † (27.36ff).

The king has his parasol even on the battlefield. Note the ruse practised by Duṭṭhagámani to deceive Elára’s warriors when he formed 32 bodies of troops and in them “placed parasol-bearers and figures of a king” (25.56) i.e., wooden figures to represent the king (*rañño paṭirúpakaṁ kaṭṭhamayarúpakaṁ ti*).

Of the *rājakakudhabhandaṇi* the parasol was the one most directly associated in the popular mind with duly constituted authority and symbolical of kingly rank. Five months after Vattagámani’s accession, Tissa, the Brahman, and seven Damilas, who would wrest the power from the king, send him “a written message concerning the handing over of the parasol” (33.40). Ilanága dethrones Sivali and “raises the parasol (of sovereignty) in the capital” (35.15,38), and so does Vasabha when he has conquered Subharája in battle (35.69).

\* Lion, bull, elephant, water-pitcher, fan, standard, conch-shell, lamp were the *attha mangalikáni*.

† Over the Buddha-image in the Relic-Chamber was “a silver parasol” (30.74).

It was not unusual for a king to be consecrated or to "raise the parasol of sovereignty" more than once, the second occasion being usually when the enemies of the king, who had disputed his sovereignty by force of arms, had been completely defeated and driven and the country thus united (25.71) "under one rule" (*ekātappatka*=lit. "being under one parasol"); or to put it thus, when the king was able once more to rule "in single sovereignty" (25.75) or to "come into the capital as victor in battle" (35.38). Both *Duttthagámani* and *Ilanága* are thus consecrated twice (24.17; 26.6ff; 35.15, 38). The ceremonial at the second consecration was possibly simpler than at the first, though there may have been no diminution in the scale of the attendant festivities.

At the *abhiseka* the parasol was either held aloft over the king's head by a great Minister of State\* or more probably fixed on to the back of the "splendid udumbara chair" referred to above. The parasol used by *Abhaya* at his consecration was possibly the one used by his two predecessors, *Panduvásudeva* and *Vijaya*. It was certainly the identical one used by his successor and nephew, for we learn that "when he had caused the (state) parasol of his uncles to be brought and purified in a natural pond that is here (Anurádhapura), *Pandukábhaya* kept it for . . . . his own consecration" (10.77f). It had to be "purified" presumably because it had been "polluted" by being in the hands of his enemies (uncles) whom he had fought and slain.

5. *Shoes*:† These must have been something not unlike the gold or silver worked velvet shoes or slippers

\* At the enshrining of the Relics, Brahma is said to have "held the parasol" (31.78).

† In an enumeration of the *rájakakudhabhandáni* the *Rájávaliya* (p. 9) has the following: chowri, diadem, royal sword, golden slippers, and white parasol, ivory knobbed.

(leather-soled) of modern times.\* Note the “ornamented shoes” (30.14) which Dutṭhagāmani presented to a skilful master-builder.

6. *Turban*: It was probably of silk, like the “silken turban” (23.38) which Dutṭhagāmani, in order to reward Súranimila’s dexterity, orders should be wound round the latter’s head. Among the lower classes, then as now, the turban did duty for the hat. Note that in the elaboration of the royal jest which ended in grim tragedy, King Yasalálakatissa is found “binding the guard’s *turban* about his own head” (35.53).

7. *Ear-ornaments*: The ear-ring was, in the ancient days, as much a man’s, as it is to-day a woman’s, ornament. In the battle of Kolambahálaka, Phussadeva, sitting behind Dutṭhagāmani on the elephant, lets fly an arrow into Bhalluka’s mouth wherewith (as the arrow passed) “he lightly touched the king’s *ear-ring*” (25.91). And one of Dutṭhagāmani’s meritorious deeds, recounted in his dying moments, was that “in the mountain-region called Kotta, at the time of the Akkhakháyīka famine, two precious *ear-rings* were given by the king, and thus a goodly dish of sour millet-gruel was gotten for five great theras who had overcome the *ásaras* and offered to them with a believing heart” (32.29f).

8. *Chains*: They were probably of gold,† gem studded, and worn round the neck.

9. *Pitcher*:‡ This was of gold and contained the “sacred” or “pure” water for pouring over the king.

\* Largely used by village damsels, and even matrons, when coming into “town,” attired in their best, or when proceeding to temples on *póya* days.

† “Make a golden chain! with that will I bind him” (24.6) says Kákavanna when his son Dutṭhagāmani sends him in contempt a woman’s ornament.

‡ Pitchers were put to various uses in ancient times. Note their domestic use: “pitchers filled with ball-sugar, oil, sugar-dust, and honey” (27.23). As an article of household adornment it was used as a flower-vase: “The king had three pitchers with jasmine-blossoms placed in the court-yard of the sacred Bodhi tree” (30.27); As lamps: “pitchers five cubits high, filled with fragrant oil, with wicks made of *dukúla* fibres continually alight” (30.93 ff).

If at the *abhiseka* there was not, such as there was at the ceremony of the beginning of the Great Thúpa, what is described as “the consecrated place of the ‘filled pitcher’” (29.48), the vessel was probably borne by a high caste and beautiful woman. Note the “thousand and eight beautiful women from the city with the adornment of well-filled pitchers” (31.40) who surrounded Duṭṭhagámani’s car at the solemn ceremony of the enshrining of the Relics.\*

10. *Yellow sandalwood*: This was probably intended both to perfume the *abhiseka* water and to ensure a fragrant or perfumed atmosphere round about the place of consecration.

11. *A set of garments that had no need of cleansing*: These were “festival array” (29.50), i.e., new garments (not washed before). They may well have been of such costly material, such as velvet or satin, as did not lend themselves to cleansing, i.e., washing. Of this stuff possibly was the “state-raiment” (29.25) in which Duṭṭhagámani was clad at the ceremony of the beginning of the Great Thúpa. The set of garments sent by Asoka was presumably much costlier than the “pair of garments worth a thousand pieces of money” (30.14,36) which Duṭṭhagámani gave on one occasion to a skilful master-builder, and on another to the thera resident in Kotthahálaparivena.

12. *A costly napkin*: This was presumably to wipe the king’s head (and body) after the pouring of the water.

13. *Unguent brought by the nágas*: This *anjanam* is a collyrium applied to the eyelashes to darken them.† Collyrium brought by the nágas was precious by reason of its rarity and so fit for use by a king.‡

\* Cf. *Mahávára* 30.93 for the representation in gold (in the Relic Chamber) of “devas bearing pitchers.”

† Childers, p. 35.

‡ Says the Queen in Rajasekhara’s *Karpúra-Manjari* (a drama written about 900 A.D.): “What sort of fun can we have without our worthy Kapinjala [jester] or how adorn our eyes beautifully

14. *Red-coloured earth*: A rare substance. Like sandalwood, it was moistened with water and used for smearing the body.

15 & 16. *Water from Lake Anotatta\* and water from the Ganges*: † Water from Lake Anotatta or the Ganges was not used in Lanka before Devánampiyatissa's time. So we find that his predecessor, *Pandukábhaya*, "solemnised his own consecration with the water of a natural pond that is here," i.e., at Anurádhapura (10.78). Even after Devánampiyatissa's time Ganges water was not always used if at all, and it is possible that the same "natural pond" or some other at Anurádhapura was requisitioned for obtaining the consecrating water.

17. *A (spiral) shell winding in auspicious wise*: This is the shell which the Kshatriya maiden, referred to above, uses for pouring the water over the king's head, the shells used for the same purpose by the Brahman and the Setthi being respectively of silver and gold. It is to be noted that the pouring of water has to be done with both hands.

18. *A maiden in the flower of her youth*. It was a Kshatriya princess who consecrated Devánampiyatissa, though "a maiden of the Kshatriya race" would have answered the purpose quite as well. (See my remarks below under the heading "By whom consecrated").

19. *Utensils as golden platters*: It is not clear what purpose these served at the *abhiseka* unless to hold the yellow sandalwood, or the costly napkin, or the unguent, or the red-coloured earth, or the auspicious shell or the myrobalans and herbs.

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without collyrium?" *Harvard Oriental Series*, Vol. IV., p. 234. See also p. 236 (*loc. cit.*): "Her eyes are red with the washed-off collyrium." Also p. 250: "With native collyrium they adorned her eyes."

\* Name of one of the seven great lakes of the Ganges.

† For a brief but interesting summary of the origin of the Ganges as detailed in several sections of the first part of the *Rámáyana*, see Garrett's *Classical Dictionary of India*, pp. 222-3.

20. *Costly litter*: Presumably this brought the king to the *abhiseka* pavilion and took him back. (For fuller reference to the litter, see my notes under "Ancient Vehicles").\*

21. *Yellow and emblematic myrobalans*: To what use these were put at the consecration ceremony it is difficult to say.

22. *Precious ambrosial healing herbs*: The manner of their use, too, at the consecration, does not transpire.

23. *Mountain-rice*: This rice, brought by parrots, was rare and precious and so meet for distribution by a king.

#### Consecration.

#### III. By WHOM PERFORMED.

Though three distinct persons—the Kshatriya maiden, the Purohita Brahmin or Royal Chaplain, and the Setthi or Merchant—pour the water over the king's head, only one would seem to have been *essential* for the ceremony, viz., the Kshatriya maiden. For the quotation given above from the *Cullasihanadasuttavannaná*, while including "a maiden of the Kshatriya race"—omitting reference to the other two—in its enumeration of the "necessaries" for an *abhiseka*, also explicitly bids us understand that it was the "Kshatriya princess sent by Dhammadásoka (who) performed the ceremony of *abhiseka* over the head of Devánampiyatissa". The omission, again, to refer to the other two—Chaplain and Setthi—is significant.

Were they not an absolutely *necessary* part of the ceremony? It appears they were not, and such evidence as we have seems to point to the fact that even "a maiden of the Kshatriya race" was not a *sine qua non* at the *abhiseka* of early Sinhalese kings. It is "the ministers" who carry out the consecration both of Vijáya (7.71) and of Panduvásudeva (8.27); but in the case of Abhaya it is his brothers who preside at the ceremony (9.29). Pandu-

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\* Vide *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV. Pt. III., pp. 135-142.

kábhaya, we are told, “solemnised his own consecration” (10.78). On the young Canda—son of the Brahmin Pandula who had befriended him earlier and had taught him the art of kingly rule (10.23)—he “conferred the office of his chaplain” (10.79). This Canda, as Royal Chaplain, may not impossibly have performed Pandukábhaya’s consecration, but the conferment of the chaplaincy would appear to have taken place after the consecration.

However that may be, we know the name of the chaplain who officiated at Devánampiyatissa’s *abhiseka* as also of that of the Setthi who probably figured at that ceremony. According to the *Mahávansa Tiká* they were Tálipabbata\* and Tissa. They were members of the embassy to Asoka who, before sending them back along with the things needful for Devánampiyatissa’s consecration, conferred on them the dignities of Chaplain and Guild-lord respectively.

Thúlathana himself is consecrated by the ministers; but the latter in this case—since Lanjatissa is the rightful heir—are careful to do it “with the consent of the brotherhood” (33.18), the chief of whom probably acted as chaplain at the ceremony. Samghatissa is consecrated by his two ministers, Samghabodhi and Gothakábhaya (36.63), and when Samghabodhi becomes king, Gothakábhaya performs the ceremony. Mahásena’s *abhiseka* was carried out by the “lawless bhikkhu” (36.114), the thera Samghamitta, who “came thither from the further coast to consecrate him” (37.2).

It was not unusual for the king to adopt another name upon accession or consecration. In regard to Mahásiva’s younger brother who succeeded him, we are told that “Suvannapindatissa was his name before his reign, but he was named Súratissa after the beginning of the reign” (21.9).

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\* Hálipabbata in the *Kambodian Mahávansa*.

### Consecration.

#### IV. THE QUEEN.

The Queen's consecration followed in all probability immediately that of the King, and was performed by the King himself with as much solemnity as his own.\* "With solemn ceremony", be it noted, "Vijaya consecrated the daughter of the Pandu king as his queen" (7.72). Again, it is Panduvásudeva himself who "consecrated Subhaddakaccáná, of noble stature, as his own queen" (8.28). It is the same with Pandukábhaya: "Suvannapáli, his spouse, he consecrated queen" (10.78). And when the winds waft Viháradévi's "golden vessel" to the south and she lands on the shore at Mágama, king Kákavannatissa conducts her to his capital and himself "consecrates her as queen" (22.22).

### Consecration.

#### V. THE ASSEMBLY.

It is easy to conceive how large and thoroughly representative (of every section of the people) the assembled throng must have been at so important and so magnificently imposing a ceremony as the consecration of a king. It was a ceremony calculated to draw thousands, and the thousands, clad in festal array, would come gladly to the capital—to watch the rare ceremony and to take part in the festivities which usually extended to a week.

We have no pen-picture of such a crowd assembled 2,000 years ago in Ceylon or of the festal garb which the city wore against the event which decreed a general holiday throughout the length and breadth of the land. But we can form some idea, however vague, of both, from the following:

When Dutthagámani, glad at heart, had had preparation made upon the spot where the Great Thúpa was

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\* In the *Mahábhárata* (II., 67.30) the Queen shares the sprinkling.

to be built, "he arranged. . . . an assembly of the brotherhood of the bhikkhus, and spoke thus: ' . . . Let our whole brotherhood assemble here, to the end that a festival may be held. . . . . ; let the people in festal array, with fragrant flowers and so forth, come to-morrow. . . .' He entrusted ministers with the adorning of the place . . . . They. . . . adorned the place in manifold ways. On the following morning he placed at the four gates of the city many barbers and servants for the bath and for cutting the hair, clothes likewise and fragrant flowers and sweet foods did the king place there for his people's good, he who rejoiced in the people's welfare. Taking, according to their wish, the things thus put before them, towns-folk and country-people went to the place. . . . .

"The king, supported in order of their rank, by many ministers, richly clothed as befitted their office, surrounded by many dancers richly clothed like to celestial *nymphs*, he himself being clad in his state-vestment, attended by 40,000 men, while around him crashed the music, he being glorious as the king of the gods". (29.14ff).

Or look at this picture :

"He commanded that the whole city and the road leading hither be carefully adorned and that the burghers be clad in festal garments. . . . . At the four gates of the city the ruler of men had garments, food and so forth placed for the use of the people.

"On the 15th uposatha day in the evening, the king, glad at heart, well versed in the duties of kings, arrayed in all his ornaments, surrounded on every side by all his dancing-women and his warriors in complete armour, by a great body of troops, as well as by variously adorned elephants, horses and chariots, mounted his car of state that was drawn by four pure white Sindhu-horses and stood there. . . . A thousand and eight beautiful women from the city, with the adornment of well-filled pitchers,

surrounded the car and even as many women bearing baskets filled with various flowers, and as many again bearing lamps on staves. A thousand and eight boys in festal array surrounded him, bearing beautiful many-coloured flags. While the earth seemed as it were rent asunder by all manner of sounds from various instruments of music, by the thundering noise of elephants, horses and chariots, the renowned king shone forth. . . . . in glory like to the king of the gods when he goes to Nandavana" (31.33ff).

We can now visualise something of the pomp and circumstance, the splendour and stately ceremonial which attended the *abhiseka* of kings in ancient Ceylon.

#### Consecration.

#### VI. LARGESSE.

Of the *catussangrahavastu* or "four elements of popularity" enjoined upon a king, that which he would be most careful, even anxious, should mark the beginning of his reign would naturally be the first, *dánam* or largesse, than which there could be nothing more calculated to ensure his popularity. And the bounty of the ancient Sinhalese kings was, if anything, carried too far, to an extravagance that might be considered reckless.

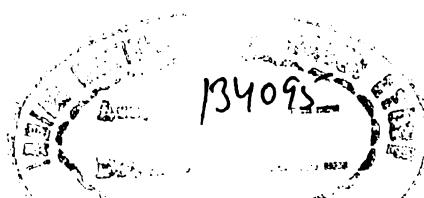
Vijaya, immediately after his *abhiseka*, not only "bestowed wealth on his ministers," but also "every year (*i.e.*, probably on the anniversary of his consecration) sent to his wife's father a shell-pearl worth twice a hundred thousand pieces of money" (7.73). Devánampiyatissa held his consecration "bestowing good upon his people" and the "good" may well have been largesse upon a very large scale. *Duṭṭhagámani* was not likely to be behind-hand in generosity as compared with his predecessors. We know at least that "he distributed places of honour to his warriors according to their rank" (26.1), and we may be sure it was only one of many mani-

festations of bounty on the occasion. If at the festival of consecrating the *chatta* on the Great *Thúpa*, Samghatissa “distributed the six garments to the brotherhood (in number) forty thousand” (36.67), his generosity at his own consecration was probably on no meaner scale.\*

The object of largesse being to secure the good-will of the people and to lay them under obligation, the other “elements of popularity” would not be lost sight of by kings. And even as Sirinága, availing himself of the festival of the consecration of the *Lohapásáda*, “remitting the tribute of families throughout the island” (36.26), it is possible that other kings took advantage of the *abhiseka* similarly to make a pronouncement which would be in the nature of what is termed *atthacariyá*, i.e., “wise or beneficent conduct”† —the third of the “four elements of popularity” or conciliation so highly recommended for royalty. It may well be that it was at his consecration that Sirinága’s son, taking a leaf out of his father’s book, promulgated the “law that set aside bodily injury as penalty” (36.28) and which won for him the name he is best known by in history, viz., Vohárikatissa. Even the royal penalty: “Whosoever gives food to a bhikkhu dwelling in the *Mahávihára* is liable to a fine of a hundred pieces of money” (37.5) may not impossibly have been established at Mahásena’s consecration. It was enacted at the instance of the “lawless” thera Samghamitta who came hither from India expressly to carry out Mahásena’s consecration and, what is more significant, consecration and penalty are spoken of in one and the same sentence.

\* “For the occasions when the *Ariyavamsa* was read he (Vohárikatissa) decreed over the whole island a regular giving of alms.” 36.38.

† De Alwis (*Attanagaluvansa*, 138) renders it “fruitful conduct, acts productive of benefit, well-being in law.” Cf. also De Alwis, *Introd. to Kachcháyana’s Páli Grammar*, 81, and Burnouf, *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, 406.



## Consecration.

## VII. FESTIVITIES

The consecration was immediately followed by festivities which generally lasted a week. The ministers, after consecrating Vijaya king, "appointed a great festival" (7.71), and Pandukábhaya's *abhiseka* is described as "the great *estival* of consecration"\*\* (9.29). The festivities were not confined to the capital, for we learn that after Devánampiyatissa's consecration, "*in every place* they (the people) held high festival" (11.42). We have no precise knowledge of the nature of these festivities, but we may be sure they included, *inter alia*, "mimic dances, songs and music" (34.77) such as formed part of the rejoicings on the Cetiya mountain which Mahádáthikamahánága once commanded.

The festivities in the capital were, it would seem, wound up with a water-fête at the Tissa tank, the king usually presiding. "When the week of the festival of kingship was gone by the fearless king Abhaya (Dutṭha gámani), who had carried out the consecration with great pomp, went to the Tissa-tank, that was adorned according to the festival custom, to hold festival plays there and to observe the tradition of crowned kings" (26.6,7). And Ilanága, when he had raised the parasol of sovereignty, "went to a festival at the Tissa tank" (35.38). Devánampiyatissa himself "arranged a water-festival for the dwellers in the capital"† (14.1); but without apparently observing what is termed "the tradition of crowned kings", he "set forth to enjoy the pleasures of the chase" (l.c.). The water-sports must have been a most pleasant form of recreation, for we find that Dutṭhagámani once

\* Cf. also "In that great festival of consecration..... shall the great king Devánampiyatissa take part" (13.13).

† The *Pújávaliya* suggests that Devánampiyatissa, "who had decorated the city like unto a divine city," had himself been "holding sports for the past seven days" (p. 7).

“disported himself in the water *the whole day through*, together with *the women of the harem*” (26.10).

### Royal Recreations or Amusements.

Water-sports were not, as suggested by the above, an extraordinary form of royal recreation in ancient times; or to put it thus, indulgence in them by kings was not necessarily restricted to occasions of consecration. Thus Dutṭhagāmani, after destroying Vijitanagara, gradually approaches Anurādhapura and pitches his camp south of the Kasa mountain. He has time to indulge in sports, and so, “when he had made a tank there. . . . he held a water-festival” (25.51). And Ilanāga’s son, after 8 years and 7 months’ rule, meets with his death at just such a water-fête: “Having slain Candamukha Siva in the festival-sports at the Tissa tank his younger brother, known by the name Yasalálakatissa, reigned as king in delightful Anurādhapura” (35.49).

Hunting was a favourite form of amusement both among royalty and populace in the days before Buddhism was established and forbade the “destruction of life”. Thus Pandukābhaya, in his infancy, narrowly escapes death at the hands of his uncles “who had gone a-hunting in the Tumbara forest” (10.2) and who are led away from his presence by giving chase to “a great boar” that appears at the moment. Between the Lower Cemetery and the Pásána mountain, a “line of huts for the huntsmen” (10.95) was built by direction of Pandukābhaya who, presumably, was a great hunter; and Devánampiyatissa himself, in his “unregenerate” days, goes elk-shooting—“set forth to enjoy the pleasures of the chase” (14.1).

After the establishment of Buddhism we hear of no *kings* going a-hunting, but it still remained a pastime of the people, though perhaps not so extensively as in the olden days. Of Khanjadeva, before he took service under

Duṭṭhagámani, we learn that “when he *went a-hunting with the village-folk*, he chased at those times great buffaloes, as many as rose up, and grasped them by the leg with his hand, and when he had whirled them round his head the young man dashed them to the ground breaking their bones” (23.79). Again “a huntsman who went into the forest with his dogs” (28.9) pursues an iguana, and further references to “the chase” as a pastime are not wanting.\*

There may have been other regular royal recreations, but of them we have no precise knowledge. We know, however, of one king’s favourite form of amusement—Yasalálakatissa’s exchange of places with his gate-keeper—an amusement which cost the king his throne and his life. Says the *Mahávansa* (35.51 ff.):

“A son of Datta the gate-watchman, named Subha, who was himself a gate-watchman, bore a close likeness to the king. And this palace-guard Subha did the king Yasalálaka, in jest, bedeck with the royal ornaments and place upon the throne and binding the guard’s turban about his own head, and taking himself his place, staff in hand, at the gate, he made merry over the ministers as they paid homage to Subha sitting on the throne. Thus was he wont to do from time to time. Now one day the guard cried out to the king, who was laughing: ‘Why does this guard laugh in my presence?’ And Subha the guard ordered to slay the king and he himself reigned here six years under the name Subharája”.

Another king, Samghatissa, liked nothing better than “with the women of the royal household and the ministers. . . . to go to Pácínadípaka† to eat jambu-fruits” (36.70). But this pastime too ended as fatally as the other, for “vexed by his coming the people dwelling

\* Cf. *Mahávansa*, 28.41.

† According to the *Mahávansa Tiká*, it was one of the islands between the north point of Ceylon and the Indian continent.

in Pácínadípa poisoned the fruit of the jambu-tree from which the king was to eat. When he had eaten the jambu-fruits he died forthwith even there" (*l.c.* 71).

### Royal Occupations and Duties.

We have no picture—not even a vague indication—of the king's daily life;\* but the "system approved by the Mánavas", which Hopkins† regards as generally obtaining in ancient India, may not impossibly have been followed, to some degree at least, in Ancient Ceylon as well. This account, quoted from Hopkins,‡ is called Instruction, and is given by the old king of Hastinapur to his successor:

"The king ought to rise early in the morning, || dress, and pay his respects to the elders of the court (here assumed to be necessarily priests). His first business should be to enquire what work there is on hand for the day. This will be explained to him by the elders, and they will also advise him how to act. His councillors (for with the vulgar he must not consult) should be regenerate men, wise, aristocratic, skilled in determining what is right and useful; his general officers should be of hereditary office and superior to deceit. He should consult with his ministers both collectively and individually; and, to do so, should (early in the morning) enter the well-encircled Hall-of-Council, or, if he choose, may go into any other secret place, such as a wood, hill, or housetop. He should exclude from the place of consultation any people or talking birds that might betray what is said. Night consultations are a mistake. When he meets his council,

\* The universal rule, according to the *Mahábhárata*, was that one should devote himself to "duty in the forenoon, wealth in the middle of the day, pleasure in the latter part of the day" (*dharmaṁ púrve dhanam madh' e jazhanye kámaṁ ácaret, ahany anucáred evam esa cásatrakrto vidhiḥ*, III., 33.40).

† *Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India*, p. 129.

‡ *Loc. cit.* pp. 129-132.

|| For an interesting list of the king's attendants, jesters, pages, etc., see *Rámáyana*, II., 32.20.

he should make a speech, repeating the formula that declares the sins of those that betray council.

“Business affairs and legal matters he should personally superintend, or have attended to by experts and judges. In making judgments, he should condemn to fines or death, according to circumstances, thieves, adulterers, violent men, cheats, and (among others) those that destroy halls and places of assembly. His morning duties consist also of a conference with those that have the control of his finances. He should then dress, eat, and exercise, examine the arms, and later, in the evening, give audience to ambassadors and interview spies—for he should have well-trained native spies of every sort. The latter part of the night is the proper time for him to decide as to what ought to be done. His meals should be taken at noon and at midnight; but in respect of these divisions of time the general rule is that any time is good for action if there is anything to be done. The next day he should rise, dress, and go through the same duties over again: ‘forever turning is the wheel of duty’. At all times he should take particular care to protect himself from assassination, and have his women especially supervised by proper old men.

“As to his foreign policy, he must remember that it is all-important to have a capable commander-in-chief, and should elect him that is faithful, brave, pains-taking (rather than one only of good family).

“Each king is surrounded by a ‘circuit’ of consideration, and every king should be familiar with his own and his neighbours’ affairs. A technical enumeration of these by the teachers of polity makes 72 subjects for consideration.

“The king (it may be assumed) actually went each morning to the court-house and heard cases, deciding them by the help of those learned in the law. Such help must have been mainly in quoting precedents, for

of all rules this is the strictest, that the law as handed down shall not be changed. The business was, however, chiefly shifted to the shoulders of the judge, in press of other business, and of course wholly so in all but the imperial city. The king whose justice in judgments is especially sought must always 'let his rod fall alike on friend or foe,' and, as an incorporation of the god of justice, always opens the court by a set speech, in which he conjures the witnesses to speak the truth. The king himself may not be a witness"

We have some reference to the king in the role of judge. Elára's "bell"/\* (21.15) was probably an extraordinary—even freakish—form of dispensing royal justice. But of Kanirajánutissa we learn that "he decided the lawsuit concerning the uposatha-house in the (vihára) named after the cetiya, but sixty bhikkhus who were involved in the crime of high treason did the king order to be taken captive, with all that was theirs, upon the cetiya-pabbata, and he commanded these evil-doers to be flung into the caves called Kanira" (35.10-11).

#### Royal Justice.

The above brings us naturally to a consideration of the nature of the "justice" which the king dispensed whenever the occasion arose.† Elára was in some respects a madman,‡ certainly in his view of what con-

\* For parallels of the story of the bell, see *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, pp. 530-1; Geiger's *Dipavamsa und Mahávamsa*, p. 25, note; Weber's *Indische Studien*, III., 363, note, and 368, note; Longfellow, *The Bell of Atri*; Langbein, *Das blinde Ross*; Rückert, *Die Leidglocke*; Joh. Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, c. 648; K. Simrock, *Das Pferd als Kläger*; Lidzbarski, *Neuramäisch: Handschriften*, II., 153.

† The theory was, as in Ancient India, that "it is better for a man that he even kill an Aryan than that he rule by overstepping the right" (Cf. *Mahábhárata*, XII., 25.6 ff., and III., 34.15). But the practice was different.

‡ Just such a madman—a benevolent madman—was Sirisamghabodhi of whom the *Mahávamsa* says: "At the news: 'Rebels are risen here and there,' the king had the rebels brought before him, but he released them again secretly; then did he send secretly for bodies of dead men, and causing terror to the people by the burning of these he did away with the fear from rebels" (36.80 ff.).

stituted justice, and the only word which can adequately describe the punishment he inflicted on his son for “*unintentionally*” killing a calf is—*murder*. Other kings, however, if they did not go to the lengths which Elára did, nevertheless inflicted punishments and generally behaved in a manner which showed that they were little, if at all, restrained by settled laws, or actuated by regard for the principle—the unwritten law which governed civilised humanity in ancient times as in modern—that “*the punishment must fit the crime*”. The king had absolute power and against those who offended him (personally) or the state, he wielded it arbitrarily, not infrequently cruelly, just as his fancy prompted or his mood dictated.

Thus Kelanitissa, enraged by the discovery of his Queen’s infidelity, casts the latter alive into the river, kills the messenger who brought the fatal *billet-doux* and similarly casts his corpse into the river, and flings a suspected but innocent High Priest into a cauldron of oil which he keeps “boiling for seven days”.\* Ilanága punishes the desertion of the Lambakannas by ordering “that they, even they themselves, should make a road to the Mahá Thúpa, commanding to stamp it down firmly, where it ran beside the tank, and he set candálas to be their overseers” (35.17-18). These same Lambakannas he later “yoked two and two behind one another to his car and thus did he enter the city in front of them” (35.40). Abhayanága has an innocent “uncle’s hands and feet cut off” (36.43). Jetṭhatissa’s punishment of “the hostile ministers who would not go in procession with him, at the performing of the king’s funeral rites” is that he has them “slain and their bodies impaled on stakes round

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\* *Rájávaliya*, p. 26. According to the *Mahávárasa*, however, Kelanitissa “caused the thera and the man to be slain and thrown into the sea” (22.19).

about his father's pyre”\* (36.121). As of interest in this connection it may be mentioned that Ancient Ceylon produced at least one Sinhalese Chief Justice who was honourable—and, brave—enough to ignore, nay to defy, his sovereign's wishes and to discharge his duties “according to right and law”. For, as the *Mahávansa* tells us: “Within the brotherhood of bhikkhus a complaint touching an offence of the gravest kind† was raised against the thera Tissa, who had received the (Jetavana) vihára. The high minister, known to be just, who decided the matter excluded him, according to right and law, from the Order, albeit the king's wishes” (37. 38-39).

Failure to make proper obeisance before royalty costs a minister his life. “At the very time when the minister Kapisísa, having gone up to the courtyard of the Ákása-cetiya to sweep the building, had come down from thence, the king, who was going up with the queen, saw him sitting by the road, and being wroth with him that he had not flung himself down before him, he slew Kapisísa” (33. 68-69). And in the battle with Bhalluka, Phussadeva sitting behind Dutthagámani lets fly an arrow into Bhalluka's mouth wherewith (as the arrow passed) he lightly touched the king's ear-ring. When Bhalluka had fallen, “to make known his fault Phussadeva himself cut off the lobe of his own ear and showed the king the blood streaming down. When the king saw this he asked: ‘What does this mean?’ ‘I have carried out the *royal justice* upon myself’ he said (in answer) to the ruler of the land. And to the question: ‘What is thy guilt?’ he answered: ‘Striking thy ear-ring’” (25. 94-6). Did the “royal justice” demand the peculiar punishment in this case? One is reminded of the story of Rája Sinha II. which Knox relates:

\* Turnour's translation of the sentence seems to me better than Geiger's: “He.....transfixed them (the nobles) on impaling-poles around his father's funeral pile.”

† *Antimavattu* is a matter that involves expulsion from the Order.

“Once, to try the hearts of his attendants and to see what they would do, being in the water a-swimming, he feigned himself to be in extremity, and near drowning, and cryed out for help; upon which two young men more venturous and forward than the rest, immediately made way and came to his help: who taking hold of his Body brought him safe to Land. At which he seemed to be very glad. Putting on his Cloaths he went to his Palace: then he demanded to know who and which they were that had holpen him out of the Water. They, supposing by his Speech it was to give them a reward for the good Service they had so lately done him, answered, *We were they*. Whereupon he Commands to call such a great Man. (For it is they whom he appoints always to see Execution done by their Soldiers). To whom he gave Command. saying, *Take both these, and lead them to such a place, and cut off their Heads, who dared to presume to lay their hands on my Person, and did not prostrate themselves rather that I might lay my hand on them for my relief and safety.* And accordingly they were Executed.” (Ceilon (1681), Ch. iii., pp. 46-7).

#### The Princes.

The eldest son, if of suitable age, was generally appointed Vice-Regent or Sub-King, his formal installation in that dignity being accompanied by a ceremonial almost as imposing as that of the king’s *abhiseka*. Thus “*Panduvásudeva consecrated his eldest son Abhaya as vice-regent*” (9.12). When there was no son or the son was of tender years, the king’s brother was consecrated sub-king, as *Mahánága* was in the reign of *Devánampiyatissa*.

If there were several sons, these and the other scions of the royal house—uncles, cousins, nephews, &c., of the king—not unusually served him in the capacity of ministers. *Devánampiyatissa*’s “*nephew Mahárittha, who was the chief of his ministers*” (11.20), heads an embassy

from Ceylon to the Emperor Asoka ; and the same Arittha goes again to India to bring hither the great Bodhi tree and the theri Samghamittá (18.4).

Such princes as were unencumbered with ministerial responsibility presumably spent their time in luxurious ease, doing nothing, or gave themselves up to “the pleasures of the chase” (14.1). Saddhátissa’s sons, however, were apparently religiously bent; and we find the eldest Lanjatissa getting “built the beautiful vihára called Girikumbhila” (33.14), and Thúlathana, a younger son, “the vihára called Kandara” (l.c. 15).

An important casual occupation—it may have been regular employment—of Princes was as a sort of Director of Agriculture or Superintendent of the Harvest. Dutṭhagámani’s brother Saddhátissa, before he came to the throne, fills this post. “And thither too (*i.e.*, to Dighavápi) he (Dutṭhagámani) sent his brother to direct the work of harvest; and he too, when he had made it known by beat of drum, directed the work of harvest” (24.58). Prince Girikandasiva, uncle of Pandukábhaya, is similarly employed, so much so that his food, as also that for the reapers, is brought to him by his daughter to the field where he is at work (10.31). So honourable was labour in the rice-field considered to be—in fact any form of manual labour—so fit for princes, that we find even a crowned king, Mahácúli Mahátissá, engaged in the work of a farmer: “Since he heard that a gift brought about by the work of a man’s own hand is full of merit, the king, in the very first year (of his reign) went in disguise and laboured in the rice-harvest, and with the wage that he received for this he gave food as alms to the therá Mahásumma” (34.2-3). The same king “laboured also in Sonnagiri three years in a sugar-mill” (l.c. 4).

#### Royal Cremation.

When the king died his remains were cremated, not buried. The body was first embalmed and there was

a “lying-in-state” for three, five, or seven days. The city was gaily decorated and, on the day appointed for the cremation, the coffin placed on a costly bier was taken in solemn and imposing procession to the spot where the last rites were to be performed.

The ceremonial observed as regards the cremation of Mahinda differed probably very little from that usually followed when a king died. The details we have of the former are suggestive of the regular procedure upon the demise of royalty. When Mahinda died king Uttiya “caused the dead body\* of the thera to be laid forthwith in a golden chest sprinkled with fragrant oil, and the well closed chest to be laid upon a golden, adorned bier; and when he had caused it then to be lifted upon the bier, commanding solemn ceremonies, he caused it to be escorted by a great multitude of people, that had come together from this place and that, and by a great levy of troops; commanding due offerings (he caused it to be escorted) on the adorned street to the variously adorned capital and brought through the city in procession by the royal highway to the Mahávihára.

“When the monarch had caused the bier to be placed here for a week in the Pañhambamálaka—with triumphal arches, pennons, and flowers, and with vases filled with perfumes the vihára was adorned and a circle of three yojanas around, by the king’s decree, but the whole island was adorned in like manner by the decree of the devas—and when the monarch had commanded divers offerings throughout the week he built up, turned toward the east in the Theráambandhamálaka, a funeral pyre of sweet smelling wood, leaving the (place of the later) Great Thúpa on the right, and when he had brought the beautiful bier thither and caused it to be set upon the pyre he carried out the rites of the dead” (20.35 ff).

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\* The *Rájaratnákaraya* (p. 36) gives us the additional information that the body was “anointed with the richest perfumes.”

Exactly similar honours were paid to Mahinda's sister, Samghamittá, when she died.

There was no settled place of cremation for royalty in those ancient times. That spot was chosen which was most convenient or most closely associated with some incident in the deceased's life. Thus Mahinda's funeral pyre was "turned toward the East in the Theránam-bandhamálaka. . . . leaving the (place of the later) Great Thúpa on the right" (20.43). And Samghamittá's cremation took place "to the East of the Thúpá-ráma, near the Cittasálá (of later times) in sight of the great Bodhi tree, on the spot pointed out by the therí herself" (20. 52-3). The cremation of Elára took place "on the spot where his body had fallen" (25.73) in the battle with Duṭṭhagámani; and Duṭṭhagámani himself, in his dying moments, chooses his cremating place: "In a place whence the Great Thúpa may be seen, in the málaka (bounded about) for the ceremonial acts of the brotherhood, do ye burn the body of me the servant of the brotherhood" (32.58). Kutákannatissa "burned the licentious Anulá in the palace" where she had lived (34.34).

Some monument, simple or imposing as the case may be, marked the site of each king's cremation-place. Thus there was "a monument" (25.73) built on the spot where Elára's body was burned, and the *Sohona* is pointed out to this day. The Rájamálaka is the name of the málaka "in which they burned the body of the king Duṭṭhagámani" (32.80). A "cetiya" and a "thúpa" respectively were built where Mahinda and Samghamittá received "the last honours" (*sakkáram antimam*).

#### The Queen.

The King had several wives, but the chief one among them was his consecrated Queen who was invariably—and perhaps necessarily—of royal or noble lineage. Thus

Vijaya forsakes Kuveni—he considered her a “super-human being” (7.60)—and refused consecration “unless a maiden of a noble house were consecrated as queen at the same time” (7.47).

The *Rájávaliya* tells us (p. 20) that Subhaddakaccáná was Panduvásudeva’s “principal queen”, the implication being that he had other queens or rather wives. The only Queen who figures prominently in Devánampiyatissa’s reign is Anulá, the consort of his brother, the vice-regent Mahánága. Devánampiyatissa’s own Queen is referred to but once\*—as accidentally poisoning her own son in the attempt to murder Mahánága (22.45)—but that he had his own harem we have evidence: On the occasion of the acceptance of the Mahávihára, Devánampiyatissa is described as coming in his car “together with his ministers and the women of the harem” (15.189). The “women of the royal household” (17.63) who on the arrival of the Relics brought each their offerings were presumably the members of “the harem” referred to above. The sub-king Mahánága himself takes “his wives” (22.6) with him when he goes, to save his life, to Rohana. Kákavanna, the father of Dutthagámani and husband of Viháradevi, has “another wife” (23.17) by whom he has Díghábhaya. Dutthagámani’s “Queen” presumably died early after giving birth to Prince Sáli, for at all the public functions in his reign we find him surrounded either by “his dancing-women” (31.37) or the “women of the harem”, the Queen being conspicuous by her absence. Vattagámani had “two Queens” (33.47), only one of whom presumably was the Queen. Samghatissa had his harem “—the women of the royal household” (36.70)—and Mahásena had a plurality of wives (37.26). Only one

\* At *Mahávaṇsa*, 16.5, Devánampiyatissa is described as “taking the two queens with him.” These were probably his own and his brother’s consort.

Queen of ancient times may be said to have been of lowly birth, and she was Vankanásikatissaka's Queen, Mahámattá, daughter of the gate-watchman Subha who became king under the name Subharájá; but it is quite possible that she was born when her father was on the throne—a circumstance which would make her descent at least "royal".

The King's harem was probably recruited from the noble houses in the land, from the "numbers of women of noble families" (15.4) such as those who, we are told, sat at Mahinda's feet filling the Nandana Park. Even the lowlier-born but beautiful maids of the country may have been brought thither. We find one such, "the daughter of a scribe" (37.26), who was "exceedingly dear" to Mahásena, inducing a labourer to kill a lawless and impious therá.

The Queen, *qua* Queen, had no *right* to rule. It is for this reason that the licentious Anulá, after murdering her way to the throne, gives the government, even nominally, into the hands of each of her successive husbands (34.15 ff). Sívali's case is different. When her brother Cúlábhaya dies, no one has a better claim than she, and she rules for 4 months till dethroned by Ilanágá only to be enthroned again as his Queen.

We get no clear picture of the daily life of the Queen. What glimpses we have of her show that she lived a life of comparative freedom, not immured like a prisoner as were the inmates of harems in other lands. She had (from villages allotted to her) "her own revenues" (35.48) which she not infrequently spent in the cause of religion, endowing viháras or building or rebuilding places of worship. Thus Damiládevi allots her own revenues (*l.c.*) to the temple known to-day as Isurumuniya, and we find Queen Mahámattá, in the life-time of her husband, "collecting money to build a vihára" (35.114). When her husband dies and her son succeeds,

she buys a plot of land and constructs monastery buildings, inducing her son to build a thúpa and to present the necessary lands for the inmates of the monastery. Potthá builds "a splendid thupa and a beautiful temple for the thúpa" (35.90).

The Queen seldom or never interfered in politics, in the administration of the country; but she sometimes offered her counsel and it was not ignored. Ilanága drives into the city with the Lambakannas "yoked two and two behind one another to his car", and at the palace door he gives the order to strike off their heads. But the Queen-mother intervenes: "These are but oxen yoked to thy chariot, O Lord of chariots; therefore let their horns and hoofs be struck off"; thus admonished by his mother the king recalled (the order) to behead them and commanded that their nose and toes be cut off" (35.42 ff.).

The Queen appears even on the battle-field (25.9); she is in one instance a member of the "High Command" and advises as to the plan of battle and the disposition of troops. "The king Duttthagámani also took counsel with his mother and by her counsel formed thirty-two bodies of troops. In these the king placed parasol-bearers and figures of a king;\* the monarch himself took his place in the innermost body of troops" (25.55-6).

The Queen was never the sister of the King, *i.e.*, the King never took his sister to wife. In legendary lore, of course, it was not unusual for the brother to marry the sister †—Sihabáhu makes his sister Sihá-sivalí his queen (6.36) and Vijaya's son and daughter by Kuveni marry each other (7.68)—but in sober history we read of no such union. It has been said that Devá-

\* That is, wooden figures to represent the king.

† Cf. also the *Mahárastu* I. 348<sup>a</sup>-352<sup>a</sup> and the *Dulva* (Rockhill, p. 11 foll.)—the story about the rise of the Sákyá and the founding of Kapilavastu—where Iksváku's sons withdraw into the wilderness and there take to wife their sisters who have accompanied them. Geiger, *Mahávánsa*, App. A., p. 274.

nampiyatissa's brother Mahánága's consort was his sister Anulá; but this is no more than a mere surmise, based on the chance resemblance of a name.

It would not be out of place here briefly to refer to the practice, so widely prevalent in the past in the Kandyan districts, for one woman to have two (or more) brothers as associated husbands, more especially as the practice is traced to the ancient times with which we are now dealing. But there is no record of the practice in those early days whether among kings and princes or people. "As is the king, so is his people".\* The king was the norm of morals and set the fashion. What he did not do—or rather what he considered it impious to do—the people would certainly not be guilty of, nor would it be tolerated among them. And there is abundant evidence that the early kings not only considered the practice impious and unholy, but also visited the most terrible punishments upon such of their brothers—and accomplices—as sought to take liberties with their Queens.

Take the case of king Vohárikatissa: "This king's younger brother, known as Abhayanága, who was the queen's lover being *discovered* (in his guilt) *took flight for fear of his brother*" (36.42). Why "discovered" if it was not an intrigue necessarily secret? And why the "flight for fear of his brother" if it did not arise from the consciousness of guilt and the fear of just punishment? Certainly then in the 3rd century A.D. it was not the practice for two brothers to live as associated husbands of one wife.

Neither was it in the period before Christ. We have the well-known story of Kelanitissa. Says the *Rájávaliya*: "Kelanitissa had a younger brother, who held forbidden intercourse with the queen. This came to the king's ears. The latter ordered a Rodiyá to come to him privately, and said to him: 'I shall summon my

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\* *Yadr̥go rájá tadr̥go janah* (*Mahábhárata*, XI., 8.32).

royal retainers and my younger brother; if I then ask thee, *Is there any one who is of lower caste than thou?* thou shalt answer, *The younger brother who lives in the same house (with the elder brother) is of lower caste than I.*' When the Rodiyá was asked in the midst of the royal company, he answered just as he had been instructed. The prince feeling the disgrace of these words left Kelani and went to dwell in Udugampola".

So, then, the younger brother who lives in the same house with the elder brother is worse than a Rodiyá. What sanction of ancient usage or custom is there for the immoral practice of our day? None at all. Only, the caste worse than the Rodiyás is still strong in numbers, I am told, stronger than is seemly in this year of grace 1918.

6. Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam said they were under obligation to Mr. Senaveratne for the scholarly and interesting paper he had read. There were some points he would like to see further elucidated. Mr. Senaveratne had quoted no authority for the statement that the rightful king of Lanka had to be of the *Kalinga* dynasty. Mr. C. E. Corea, who was rather well-informed on these matters, had contested that statement and a note by him would be read later by one of the Secretaries. In regard to the consecration of kings, Sir Ponnambalam said, the custom of Ganges water being poured on the king's head by a royal maiden was a Hindu one, and there was something analogous in the consecration ceremonies of English kings, in which case Jordan water was used instead. The parasol to which the author of the paper had referred was one of the most important symbols of Royalty and continued to be in use in India. Recently, when King George was at Delhi, in accordance with ancient Hindu custom this white parasol of pearls was held over the King and Queen even when driving round the city. In Ceylon this royal symbol was, with singular bad taste, being used of late at the funerals of some wealthy Sinhalese. It was important that the Queen's consecration should take place at the same time as the King's. This was essential to the regularity of the ceremony. In one of their old Epics they read that when King Rama was consecrated, the Queen being separated from him was not available for the purpose of the consecration. So they made a golden image of her and consecrated it side by side with the king. Not only in this instance but in almost all cases, no religious ceremony was deemed valid unless the wife took part. Mr. Senaveratne had quoted, with regard to royal occupations and duties, an account by Hopkins. The speaker wondered why he did not refer to a very much older work than Hopkins',—a work as old as Alexander the Great. At that time there was a great king, Chandragupta (Sandracottus of the Greek writer Megasthenes, who was ambassador at his Court) who had a minister, Chanakya,

who wrote a famous book, still extant in Sanskrit, on kingly duties and statecraft. Mr. Senaveratne had referred to instances of cruel and arbitrary conduct on the part of Sinhalese kings. The speaker thought it would convey a wrong impression if those were taken as the rule rather than the exception, which he believed they were. In a long line of kings, extending over 24 centuries, there must have been some arbitrary rulers. But, he thought, on the whole, the Sinhalese kings would, for justice and wisdom, compare very favourably with the kings of any other country in the world. Mr. Senaveratne mentioned that on one occasion the failure to make proper obeisance before Royalty cost a minister his life. Sir Ponnaiyalam remembered hearing, many years ago, from Sir Harry Dias, that the Chief Justice of his day was once travelling in a palanquin from Colombo to Galle and happened to pass a house where a Sinhalese was lying down on his verandah with his legs high up. The Chief Justice held this to be contempt of court and had him brought up to Galle and flogged. That could not be taken as characteristic of English Judges, no more than the act mentioned by Mr. Senaveratne was of Sinhalese kings.

7. Mr. A. de S. Kanakaratne read the following note:—

Mr. Senaveratne's paper is a valuable and interesting contribution and reflects credit on him. But I regret I cannot agree with him in several points, of which I should like to refer to a few.

The statement that the rightful king of Lankā was and had to be of the Kālinga-Chakravarti-Kula is open to much doubt.

The "art" of governing and the "knowledge of the law and the tradition" were not simply the practice of the "dasa-rājā-dharma" and the "Catussangrahavastu" as stated. These were regal virtues which every good king ought to possess. When we say that the king exercised the ten regal virtues in reigning over the country, it may not mean anything except that he ruled justly. But the "art" of governing was quite different from these regal virtues.

In the first place a "kingdom" must consist of seven constituent parts called "Saptāṅga," viz: swami (శ్వామి) amāptya (అమాప్తా), mitra (మిత్ర), dhana (ధన), rata (రథ), bhala (బల), and sénā (శెనా); i.e., prohita, ministers, friends, riches, country, power or strength and army.

The king must possess a knowledge of the law and the tradition "rāja-nīti" and "loka-nīti" (రాజనీతి, లోకనీతి), and must possess the "trividha-sakti" (త్రివిధాక్షతి), i.e., the three kinds of regal power, viz: "pabhā, ussā, mantānan" (పాభా, ఉస్సా, మంతానా) meaning dignity, energy and deliberation or consultation. He must have a knowledge of "shadguna" (శిథిగున). i.e., the six measures of royal policy in foreign politics and must possess a knowledge of "chaturpāya" (చతురపాయ), viz: "bhēdō, dandō, sāma, dánā" (బహురంగం, ధండు, సామా, దానా). i.e., the four means of success employed by kings against enemies. They are dissension, punishment or open attack, conciliation or negotiation and gifts.

King Vohāratissa or Vyavahāratissa was a great lawyer. Originally he was known as Tissa; later, on account of his vast knowledge of the law and the tradition, he was named Vohāratissa. Vohāra is law.

It is worthy of note that there were three kinds of "abhishekā" or consecration ceremonies, viz: "abhishekā," "purnābhishékā" and "mahābhishékā" and the consecration of King

Devánampiyatissa appears to have fallen under the category of "mahábhishéka".

Mr. Senaveratne's surmise about the garments sent by Emperor Asóka can hardly be correct, because Maháwansa Tíka shews that they were made of such stuff as rendered it possible to cleanse by holding against fire.

The costly napkin sent by the same Emperor was not meant for wiping the King's head as stated. The original Páli Text shows it as "hattha puñchanin" (හත් ප්‍රශ්නනි), that is, a handkerchief. If it was used in wiping the head it might have been termed "Sisa puñchanin" (සිසා ප්‍රශ්නනි).

Powder of the leaves of the amble myrobalan was mixed with the anointing water, as will be seen in Rajéndralála Mitra's "Indo-Aryans." The two kinds of myrobalans mentioned were sent, no doubt, to be reduced to powder and mixed with the anointing water.

The medicinal pill given as "mahaggan amatosadhan" (මහැගැන අමත්‍සාධන) in the Páli Text of the *Maháwansa* as one of the presents sent by Emperor Asóka was, I think, to be taken by the king at the end of the consecration ceremony, according to the Indian rites. It was considered that the enjoyment of that medicine gave some peculiar energy to a "Kshatriya" who is inaugurated.

I cannot understand why Mr. Senaveratne has altogether omitted one of the most important items, viz: the "Royal Education." All the princes were given a good education. One of the accomplishments of a king-elect was a thorough knowledge of the 64 minor and 18 principal Arts and Sciences.

#### ROYALTY IN ANCIENT CEYLON

In Mr. Senaveratne's interesting paper on the above subject, he has somehow omitted to touch upon the education of Royalty.

The following is taken from Sanskrit books and will be of interest:—

About 500 years B.C. *Raja Neetiya*, *Danda Neetiya* and *Arthe Neetiya* were written by Brahmins to teach the Royalty of India. In later years it is said that these same sciences were turned into poetry by Kantiya to teach King Chandragupta. *Panchatantra* says that that book was written to teach the three sons of King Amarasakti. Hitopa Desa says that that book was written to teach the children of King Sudarsana.

Turn we now to Ceylon and we find in the *Maháwansa*, that King Pandukabhaya had his education under Brahman Pundube and his son Canda. But the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon did away with the Brahman as a teacher, for we find Prince Gamunu and his brother Tissa had their education in the Temple. Vide *Maháwansa*. There are also other instances in the *Maháwansa*, where it is said that the Buddhist monks were employed as teachers.

Mr. C. H. Collins read a note sent by Mr. C. E. Corea.

#### MR. C. E. COREA'S CRITICISM

The following is a note sent in by Mr. C. E. Corea on the paper "Royalty in Ancient Ceylon," read by Mr. John M. Senaveratne at the meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch):—

Mr. Senaveratne begins with a wholly unsound proposition, for which there is no historical foundation, namely, that "the

rightful king of Lanka had to be of the 'Kalinga-Chakravarti-Kula'.....any Sovereign who was not of the Kalingavansa was a usurper." The only dynasty recognised under the ancient constitution was the "Mahasammata-raja-wansa": that is to say, the line of elected kings. The Sinhalese constitution was founded on the Aryan tradition, which insisted that the Sovereign authority was derived from the "Sammata" of the people. No divine or hereditary right was dreamt of in the original Aryan political philosophy. Of the kings of Lanka, the *Rajavaliya* says: "Be it known that from the beginning all Royal princes are of the Maha Sammata race." Both the *Rajavaliya* and the *Mahawansa* mention the Maha Sammata succession, and while many *sannas* etc., connect the king with the Maha Sammata *paramparava*, I have not met with the term Kalinga-Chakravarti-Kula in any ancient document. The Sammata *paramparava* or succession has no reference to anything hereditary or dynastic, but is analogous to the Apostolic succession claimed by a section of the Christian hierarchy. The *Nikaya Sangrahava* defines it: "The line (of kings) who had been called to the Royal state." If Mr. Senaveratne's rule governed, some of the most "popular" kings in Sinhalese history, whose legitimacy was the least questioned, were not rightful kings, but usurpers. For instance, Sri Prakrama Balu VI. belonged to Malaiman dynasty of Conjeveran, called in Sinhalese *Giriwansa*. Mr. Senaveratne's *ipse dixit* that the answer given by "the best informed Candian priest" in 1769 to the question as to how the succession of kings was regulated "was not correct" is very bold. He tries to explain away the preference of Devanampiyatissa to his elder brother by a series of may-have-beens and he will have to penetrate further into the realm of wild conjecture to find a reason why Asela, "the ninth among his brothers" (*Mahawansa*, XXI., 12) was allowed to supersede the sixth, seventh and eighth of the brothers. Again, on the death of Kasappa III., leaving three sons, "the Prince Mahinda, although the youngest of them, had the kingdom conferred on him" (*Mahawansa*, XLVIII.). The words "had the kingdom conferred" are of the greatest significance, and differentiate rightful succession by the will of the people of "the foremost in virtue and intelligence" irrespective of age or seniority from usurpation by force of arms irrespective of the popular choice, as in the case of Lankatissa. Mr. Senaveratne unconsciously concedes the point when he says "the eldest son's right.....was generally observed." It was a general observance, but not an imperative rule. The custom of "calling to the throne" a scion of the Royal race nearest in kin to a deceased monarch will be found to have been "generally observed" in all elective monarchies. It is understandable and but natural that the first choice should be given to members of the Royal family. Thus, in England, while the Aryan tradition, upon which the political constitutions not only of Ceylon and India but of most of the European kingdoms were founded, yet prevailed and the Government was an elective monarchy, that is to say, in the period just preceding the cataclysm of the Norman conquest which precipitated absolutism, rulers were always chosen from among the Athelings. The rule "generally observed" is clearly stated by Rev. Franck Bright, M.A., in his *History of England*: "The Witan.....could elect and discrown a king and practically did elect him, though usually among the nearest relations of the late king.....It seems to have been regarded as necessary that he

should be an Atheling (or born in legitimate wedlock). With this limit, and with a certain preference to the eldest son, and to the one whom the dying king nominated, choice of the Witan was free, and, practically, the prince of the royal house best fitted for the immediate circumstances of the kingdom was chosen. Thus the king's brother was sometimes chosen instead of his son, who, in his turn, might succeed his uncle, to the exclusion of the uncle's children." Substituting "chiefs of the people" for the word Witan, and "born of the Solar race that came from the Maha Summata line" (*Devundara Sannas*) in place of an Atheling, the above exposition of the rule of succession of English kings applies in every particular to the royal *paramparava* in ancient Ceylon. The most pertinent statement of the learned priests who were consulted by Governor Falk's Commission in 1769 is the following, and it is absolutely correct: "The king when he dies may, with the concurrence of the chiefs, deliver over the kingdom to his son: or, at the king's decease, the chiefs appoint to the sovereignty any person of the *Rajawamsa*, whom they may be able to find in Ceylon. In case, however, this source is exhausted it has from ancient times been the custom of the Great City (Kandy) to send presents to any prince and princess of the race of the Sun, who may be residing at Madura, or in any of the countries adjacent and to place them on the throne. If this is not done, a person is selected from amongst the nobles of the Empire, and invested with the regal power." Mr. Senaveratne is unfortunate in his choice of Lankatissa to illustrate his theory of the hereditary right of the eldest son. Perhaps he has been misled by Turnour's wrong translation of the narrative in the *Mahāwamsa*, which really is very careful to show that the younger brother Thulathana was the lawfully inaugurated and consecrated king, and that the elder Lankatissa rebelled against the law and usurped the sovereignty, and not as Turnour has it "assumed possession of his rightful sovereignty." The correct translation by Professor Geiger shows that Lankatissa was guilty of a crime, and did atonement for it. "When Saddhatissa died all the Counsellors assembled, and when they had summoned together the whole brotherhood of *bhikkus*, they, with the consent of the brotherhood, consecrated the Prince Thulathana as king. When Lankatissa heard this he came hither, overpowered him and took the Government upon himself.....Afterwards the king built in atonement three stone terraces to the Great Cetiya." This is not the only instance where a "rightful king of Lanka" was "overpowered" by violence and wrongful usurpation, and the usurper afterwards purchased reconciliation with the most influential section of what may be called the Electoral Committee, namely, the "Brotherhood," by gifts to the Religion.

9. Mr. Hartley proposed a vote of thanks to Messrs. Joseph and Senaveratne. This was seconded by Dr. Andreas Nell.

#### HIS EXCELLENCY'S REMARKS

10. His Excellency then said: Ladies and gentlemen.—It is proposed that a hearty vote of thanks be passed to the lecturers, and I think the proposer of the vote of thanks meant to include the seconder's vote of thanks to Mr. W. M. Fernando, for the admirable work he has done in taking a record of these pictures. I have been in Polonnaruwa and I noticed what was obviously the deterioration of these paintings. It is unavoidable: You see the same thing in every archaeological excavation. I mean you must

cover up the frescoes almost as soon as they are uncovered, or allow them to deteriorate, so that one generation at least may get the benefit of them. With the assistance of Mr. Bell and the P.W.D. I am doing what I can to preserve them from unnecessary damage, and to shore up the walls which are in danger of falling down. And I hope we may arrest the decay. The only other observation I have to make is forestalled by Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam. That is with regard to Mr. Senaveratne's note on the benefit of them. With the assistance of Mr. Bell and the would put it even more strongly than Mr. Hartley and say, that the very fact that these little instances were mentioned is an index that they were really exceptional. If one king was in the habit of boiling his High Priests in oil, it was an exception and therefore worth while mentioning. So the occasion of mentioning these striking instances is an index that the general character of the Sinhalese kings commended itself to their subjects. The only point in the paper which has been attacked is as regards the race to which the rightful king of Lanka belonged. And I look forward with interest to what Mr. Senaveratne has to say in answer to Mr. Corea.

11. Sir P. Arunáchalam proposed a hearty vote of thanks to His Excellency for his presence.

Mr. John M. Senaveratne's reply.

#### THE SINHALESE THRONE

As His Excellency remarked at the close of the discussion on my paper, the only material point on which there was a difference of opinion was as regards my statement that "the rightful king of Ancient Lanka was and had to be of the Kalinga-Chakravarti-kula, *i.e.*, of the dynasty founded by Vijaya."

The dissentients are Mr. C. E. Corea and Sir P. Arunáchalam, the former of whom bases his dissent on an ancient theory which, in this country at least, never obtained in practice and which he defends with reasons which appear to me to be entirely unconvincing and inadequate. To talk, as Mr. Corea does, of the "Maha Sammata Paramparáwa" and the "original Aryan political philosophy" is to drag a red herring across the trail, to confuse the issue, which is simply this: "Did the kingdom *originally* belong to the Kalinga-Chakravarti-kula or did it not"? Let us see:

Firstly, was Vijaya, the founder of the Sinhalese dynasty, of the Kalinga-Chakravarti-kula? Mr. Corea says he has "not met with the term *Kálinga-Chakravarti-kula* in any ancient document." But there is, for instance, that famous "document in stone," the Galpota Inscription,\* which speaks of "Kálinga-Chakravarttin-vahansé-kulen à Vijaya-rájayan" = "King Vijaya descended from the family of Kálinga Chakravarttin, etc."

It may be urged, however, that Vijaya's Kálinga connection was on his mother's side, not his father's. Even so, how does all this talk of the "Maha Sammata Paramparáwa" affect or disprove the correctness of my statement that "the rightful king of Lanka was and had to be.....of the dynasty founded by Vijaya"?

The question is simply this: Did Vijaya dispose of *as he chose* (*i.e.*, confined to his family) the kingdom which he had founded; or (as Mr. Corea urges) did *the people* insist on electing the king

\* *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II., No. 17, p. 104.

of *their own choice*? Obviously, it was the former, for we read: "The Great King Vijaya, being in the last year of his life, be-thought him: 'I am old and there lives no son of mine. The kingdom peopled with such great difficulty may come to naught after my death; therefore would I fain have my brother Sumitta brought here that I may give the government into his hands.'" (*Mah.* VIII., 1-2). Vijaya's brother is too old to accept the invitation. Instead, he sends his youngest son Panduvásudeva. The latter duly arrives and the ministers "entrusted Panduvásudeva with the sovereignty of Lanka" (*Mah.* VIII., 17). Panduvásudeva's son Abhaya succeeds him. Abhaya is eventually constrained to abdicate in favour of a regent and the regency is soon terminated by the accession of Abhaya's sister's son, Pandukábhaya. Pandukábhaya's son, Mutasiva, succeeds him and Mutasiva is in turn succeeded by his son Devánampiyatissa. After Devánampiyatissa's death his younger brother, *since there was no son*, the prince known by the name Uttiya, held sway piously as king" (*Mah.* XX., 29).

Unprejudiced study of subsequent history still further demonstrates what is clear from the above and proves the correctness of my statement, that "the rule as to the succession was that the eldest son, provided he lay under no disability, physical or otherwise, succeeded the father. If there was any such disability, he gave place to the younger brother just next to him, though the popular preference might be for the prince—if there were several—who was distinguished by the possession of the most amiable qualities. Where there was no son, the brother succeeded, his selection being governed apparently by the same rule of primogeniture."

What becomes, then, of Mr. Corea's contention that anybody was rightful king who was chosen or accepted by the people? Mr. Corea is great on the authority of the *Nikáya Sangrahawa* and of the *Rájávaliya*. If his contention were correct, how is it that the ruler whom the *Nikáya Sangrahawa* refers to as "the great King Golu Abha" (p. 13), whom the people accepted as king for full 18 years, is described by the *Rájávaliya* (p. 50) as having "usurped the kingdom?" Can a king, accepted by the people as rightful king, be a usurper? And were Anula's five husbands rightful kings of Lanka, viz: (1) the infamous Coranága, (2) the gate-watchman Siva, (3) Vatuka, the Tamil city-carpenter, (4) the wood-carrier Tissa, and (5) the palace-priest, the Brahman Niliya? If not, why not?

The fact is that this ancient theory—it was no more than a theory—which Mr. Corea resuscitates at this day, never obtained in practice in Ceylon, if anywhere else; and any argument founded upon it scarcely merits the serious consideration which, out of courtesy to Mr. Corea, I have given it.

Mr. Corea's references to Kásyapa III. and Parákrama Báhu VI. are irrelevant, since these kings do not belong to the period to which my paper restricted itself.

#### ROYAL JUSTICE

In regard to certain of my remarks on the subject of "Royal Justice" I am bound frankly to admit that Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam's criticism, or rather reproach, is deserved. Reading my remarks over again, it is unfortunately true that my words do give the impression that the Sinhalese kings of the *Mahávansa* were generally arbitrary and cruel.

This is not correct, and I gladly avail myself of this opportunity of reply explicitly to say, in the interests of historical truth, that the Sinhalese kings were, as a rule, not one whit more cruel or more arbitrary than their contemporaries in any other part of the world. On the contrary, most of them were just and humane to a fault, and not a few of them were demonstrably in advance of their age in the possession and exercise of those sentiments of benevolence, charity and good-will towards all men, which in our day we usually associate with Christianity and European civilisation.

Such acts of cruelty or high-handedness on the part of a few Sinhalese kings as I quoted—and they are the only ones of which we have any record—do not afford sufficient ground for generalisation. As His Excellency Mr. Stubbs remarked, “those little incidents were selected for mention in the *Mahāvāsa* and other documents as indicating that *they were exceptional*.” To have ignored them would be to have laid myself open to the charge of *suppressio veri*, of taking a partial and distorted view of history.

#### REGAL VIRTUES AND DUTIES

Mr. Kanakaratne's statements and assumptions are interesting but lack authority, or rather relevance, at least as regards the period covered by my paper. I could have quoted, with equal irrelevance, many passages from works dealing with these special sciences of polity which, starting with rules (*nayah*) such as taught by Brihaspati and Ucanas, were afterward to develop into “that Machiavellian state-polity that in later times governed the policy of the Hindus.”\* But *cui bono*? In my Foreword I stated that I had “studiously refrained.....from letting my knowledge of later conditions and things colour my survey of the period under review.” Mr. Kanakaratne might, with advantage, have exercised a similar restraint in his criticisms.

In regard to Sirināga's son and successor, Mr. Kanakaratne is incorrect in saying that it was “on account of his vast knowledge of the law and the tradition he was named Vohāratissa.” The “vastness” of the latter's knowledge is an assumption for which there is no warrant. He was certainly not the only king of the *Mahāvāsa* who ruled the country with “knowledge of the law and the tradition.” But why not accept as true what we are told so definitely and so explicitly: “Because he first in this country made a law that set aside bodily injury as penalty, he received the name King Vohārikatissa” (*Mah.* VI., 28).

#### THE PRINCES

My omission—deliberate, not accidental—to refer to the subject of “Royal Education” was due to the very good reason that, in the absence of any information whatsoever on the point, I had determined to avoid just that very thing which Mr. Kanakaratne complacently “rushes” into, viz: speculation. To say, as Mr. Kanakaratne does, that “all the princes were given a good education” is to state exactly that which *requires to be proved*. We want something more than Mr. Kanakaratne's *ipse dixit*, and that something is still wanting.

I knew of course—who does not?—that the later Sinhalese princes were expected to be proficient in “the 64 minor and 18 principal arts and sciences,” but I refrained from the foolishness

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\* *Hopkins*, p. 129.

of arguing from this that the earliest Sinhalese princes, too, were likewise proficient, or were even expected to be so. Criticism becomes irresponsible, even mischievous, not only when it is declamatory without proof or warrant, but also when it refuses to bear in mind the limitations which the person criticised had deliberately imposed upon himself.

A real omission in regard to the earliest Sinhalese princes was my failure to say that, when they came of age, their marriages were generally arranged for them by their parents, as is so largely the practice to-day among all classes of the Sinhalese. Royal birth was, apparently, not a *sine qua non* for a maiden to become the wife of a Sinhalese prince. The lowliest Sinhalese maid, provided she was beautiful and accomplished, might aspire to become the wife of royalty. To illustrate:

"How did King Vasabha, when his son Vankanásikatissa had come to (full) age, seek a fitting wife for him? When those people who understood the (auspicious) signs in women saw the maiden in the brick-worker's village they told the king; the king thereon was about to send for her. And now the brick-worker told him that she was a king's daughter, but that she was the daughter of Subharája he showed by the mantle and so forth. Rejoiced the king gave her (in marriage) to his son when all had been duly provided"\*\* (*Mah. XXXV.*, 108-11).

The princes who had attained their majority had also their separate establishments, separate servants and separate Treasury. Note that when Dutthegámani rewards Suranimila with a 1,000 pieces of money, "the other servitors of the prince grew envious, then ordered he to honour the youth with 10,000 pieces. And when (according to his charge) they had cut his hair and bathed him in the river, and had put on him a pair of *Punnavaaddhana* garments and a beautiful fragrant wreath, and had wound a silken turban about his head, they brought him to the prince, and the latter commanded that food from his own stores be given him. Moreover, the prince bade them give his own bed, worth ten thousand pieces (of money), to the warrior as a couch" (*Mah. XXIII.*, 36-39).

The prince had, evidently, a large amount of ready money to draw upon at will. The "bed worth 10,000 pieces of money" indicates how luxurious the prince's home life must have been.

JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

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\* Skt. *krtamangala* means (says Geiger) a person over whom prayers have been pronounced or who is arrayed with the auspicious things for some undertaking; the Pali *katamaggala* must be taken in the same sense.

