

සැල කරන්නෙකු කෙරෙහි ගෘහස්ත ජීවිතයට අනුරූපී ව තිබිය යුතු සංවර්තාවයන් විශේෂ වශයෙන් සලකනු ලැබුවාට සැකයක් නොමැත. එසේ වීමට ඇති සම්භාවිතාව අති විශාලය. එය අනෙකක් නිසා නොව මහා සංඝයා වහන්සේ හා රජ පවුල අතර පැවති දැඩි සම්බන්ධතාව නිසාමය. හික්ෂුන් වහන්සේ රජුන්ට පුරෝහිතකම් නොකළ ද කුලදේවතා යන අභිධානයෙන් පැසසුණු වහන්දැවරු රජුන්ගේ පූජනීය අනුශාසකයෝ වූහ. එහෙයින් ම ඒ යුගයන්හි දී නීතියේ පැවැත්මත් සංවර්ධනයත් උදෙසා බුදු දහමෙන් නොමද බලපෑම් ලැබෙන්නට ඇතැයි කල්පනා කිරීම යුක්ති සහගත වෙයි.

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Mādawala Vihāraya revisited

Professor Asoka de Zoysa

The Murals of the Mādawala Raja Mahā Vihāraya have been subjected to much scholarly research.

Foot Note 1 - The name of the Vihāraya is derived from the location, as the temple is situated in the village of Mādawala, 290 meters beyond the Mādawala Bazaar about 9 km from kandy. It can be approached from Kandy along the Katugastota-Ranavana Road.

The importance of the murals was evident. In 1964 the Art Series of the Archaeological department (of Sri Lanka) dedicated its 3rd volume to the temple and the Archaeological Survey of Sri Lanka in its series "Paintings of Sri Lanka" in 1990 published details of the murals and main alter GODAKUMBURA (1964) and CUTIWONGS-PREMATILLEKE-SILVA (1990a). Senake Bandaranayake's study "The Rock and Wall Paintings of Sri Lanka" (1986) followed by Marie Gratellier's monograph in two volumes "Peintures Murales du Sri Lanka" Ecole Kandyak XVIII-XIX siecles" (1991) and Gamini Jayasinghe's "Sri Lankan Buddhist Art. Post classical Revival" (2006) have discussed the style and subject mater of the murals in the context of early Kandyan Art in Buddhist temples.

This very valuable research has laid a solid foundation for futher research to identifying the images. Nevertheless, very little attention has been paid to question the choice of the images, relating their position in the limited space of the new type of "Tāmīta Viharaya" and allocation of space to deferent genres of images. The motivation behind the selected iconographic program in the limited space measuring 3.6 x 1.5 meters in this single room of the Tāmīta Vihāraya, will as such the key interest of this research paper.

Foot Note 2 - This type of single room very small image house emerges in the early Kandyan Era. It is a wooden superstructure surmounted on short stone pillars. The murals in the inner room or sanctum have a very rigid special arrangement. One can view the central seated image of the Buddha under a "Makara Arch" attended by fly whisk bearers and deities on entering through the doorway. The side wooden walls and ceiling have almost similar picture programs. The earliest example of a Tāmīta Vihāraya can be seen at Mādawala. Similar narrative cycles

have been followed by the murals in the Suriyagoda Raja Maha Viharaya, and Arattanana Raja Maha Viharaya etc. All these temples were built in the times of King *Kīrthi Srī Rājasimha*. The more well known Gadaladeniya Raja Maha Viharaya and Lankatilaka Raja Maha Viharaya in Pilimalalawa near Kandy and the Sri Wijesundararamaya Raja Maha Viharaya in Dambadeniya have vestibules in front of the sanctum and belong to previous periods.

The Copper plate grant of King *Kīrthi Srī Rājasimha* dated in the Saka Era 1677, has made it possible to date the *Mādawala* Murals to 1755 AD. This uncontested dating makes the temple unique, added by the fact that this could be one of the earliest temples that record the beginnings of "Kandyan Art" after the long "hiatus" of the post Polonnaruwa periods. This paper will also pinpoint some features of Sri Lankan murals seen in Madawala, which have been developed right up to present times.

Foot Note 3 - Bandaranayaka in this comprehensive work "The Rock and Wall Paintings of Sri Lanka", introduces the paintings of this era as: "The Kandyan Paintings of the central highlands and contiguous north central plains, i.e the area constituting the territory of the Kandyan Kingdom in the 18th and early 19th centuries" BANDARANAYAKE (1986:17).

The research of A.H.Mirando (1985) Loma Devaraja (1972) John C. Holt (1996) and Michael Roberts (2004) and have thrown much light to the political life of the King *Kīrthi Srī Rājasimha* the conflicts with in the Kandyan Kingdom and the military threat posed by the Dutch. This research will be the base of the historical evidence to this paper.

Iconographic Program

The main alter of the image house is adorned by the Buddha seated under the Makara Torana. 1) A Bo tree is visible above the Kirthi Mukha at its apex. The image seen in Madawala today is not the original statue but has been replaced by a white marble image from Myanmar. Most likely this was a Samadhi Buddha like seen in temples of the same era like the Suriyagoda Raja Maha Viharaya. Four Gods venerate him: Sakka (Indra) with elephant's head on the right, Brahma with Hamsa head on the left, Visnu with no Vahana and Siva to left. His Vahana, Nandi is peeping from behind. They have three arms. Two Brahmans stand closest to the Kirthi mukha. Beyond this group are four deities, who could be identified as the Guardians of the World (*Lokapalas*). They have only two arms, which shows a lower hierarchy. The entire alter seems to be made out of stone, plastered and painted over.

As such, it is detachable from the wooden structure of the Tampitaviharaya.

The Picture program in the interior of the *Mādawala Vihāraya* is dominated by two "*Jatakas*" (Previous birth stories of the Buddha Sakyamuni) shown in horizontal strips. The "*Vessantara Jātakaya*" which is one of the most popular "Previous Births" of the Buddha is shown in a short version of nine scenes on the southern/ left wall. Adjacent to this, the "*Uruga Jātakaya*", which is very seldom seen in murals of Sri Lanka, appears in a series of six scenes on the eastern wall. The "*Satsatiya*", the Seven Weeks prior to the enlightenment.

Foot Note 4 - There seems to be two text traditions in placing the "Sat-satiya" (Seven Weeks) before or after the enlightenment in the life of the Buddha. In Sri Lanka 5th scene shows the futile seduction of "Maras Three daughters" dancing around the meditating figure which makes art historians identify the Seven Weeks as a depiction before enlightenment. Bandaranayaka places the seven weeks after the enlightenment BANDARANAYAKE (1986: 117). In Myanmar the 5th week has no dancing female figures.

The right side wall when facing the main alter, is occupied by the "*Solosmasthanaya*", Showing the sixteen places in Sri Lanka, which according to Vamsakathā-narrations have been visited by the living Buddha. The "*Uruga Jātakaya*" is seen on the left wall. The lowest horizontal register on both walls left and right show "*Arhats*", some of the eighty Buddhist monks (*Asū-maha-srāvakayo*), who have reached a higher order of wisdom by extinguishing craving totally. They pay homage to the Buddha seated under the *Makara Torana* in the main alter. The three-quarter Profile faces are turned towards the Buddha. The *Arhats* on the right hand side wall hold a flower between their fingers.

They use the right hand for this purpose, where as the *Arhats* on the left hand side wall hold the flower on their left hand- which is very untypical. The reason may be the use of the same stencil/matrix to make the line drawings for the *Arhats*. Here in Madawala one may also record the earlier efforts to depict the two chief *Arhats* (*Agra-srāvakas*): "Sāriputta" and "Moggalyāna". They are portrayed closest to the Buddha and pay homage in the *Anjali-Mudra* by clasping both hands at the breast in obeisance. None of the other *Arhats* are shown in that manner. The skin colour for the figure on the left hand side is blue. According to the iconographic tradition the chief monk Moggalyāna, who was bestowed with super natural powers is shown with a blue skin colour. This makes to differentiate the two *Agra-srāvakas* from one another.

The two vertical registers closest to the doorway are adorned with images of two Buddhist Monks and a Kandyan chief attended by servants carrying offerings in a woven basket.

A closer analysis of the iconographic program on the northern wall reveals that a large space has been devoted to the images of *Arhats*. The southern wall too accommodates the *Arhats* and *Bhikkus* (Buddhist monks). The "Donor" or "*Dāyaka*" figure on the eastern wall and the two Buddhist monks on the western wall are larger in size than the *Arhats* on either wall. Bandaranayake has given a provisional identification for this donor: He is "probably representing *Dunivila Mudali*, the nobleman, who carried out the royal commission to construct the shrine" BANDARANAYAKE (1986:120). Even their attendants carrying offerings on their heads are larger in size than the *Arhats*. Allocation of such amount of space to the two monks and the donor in the limited wall space of the *Tāmpita Vihāraya* indicates that it was considered more important to show contemporary personalities connected to the temple with much detail than the idealized figures of the *Arhats* shown in a unified manner. One may also observe that the donor is almost a portrait. Much attention has been paid to his lower garment called "*Thunpottiya*", the ornamentation on the upper garment "*Hāttaya*" and the frilled collar "*Mantaya*" as well as on the belt.

The stubble on the cheek of the two monks also indicate that there was less idealization on depicting the monks. Like the *Arhats* they do not have halos around their heads, nor hold a flower in hand. These iconographic features point to a comparative "lower status of hierarchy". Another feature that is common to the monks, the donor and servants is, that they all are shown in profile, facing the central image of the seated Buddha. It seems that the "donor" was interested to show his image largest. In the same manner the two contemporary monks gain similar proportions, under whose guidance he built the temple. This type of portrayal appears in Mādawala in a manner, never depicted before.

In the *Mādawala Viharaya* the choice and allotment of space for the two *Jātakas* too is noteworthy. The most popular *Vessantara Jātakaya* narrates how the future Buddha was born as prince *Vessantara* perfects the virtue of giving ("*Dana Paramitā* ") by donating all his wealth, his two children and his wife. This seems to be the most popular of the *Jātaka* stories and is seen in many temples all over the Buddhist world. The other *Jā taka* is the "*Uraga Jā taka*" Which is very rarely seen in any image house prior to its appearance in Mādawala.

Vessantara Jā takaya

At Mādawala the *Vessantara Jātakaya* is compressed into nine scenes. The excerpt chosen concentrates on the life spent in banishment in the forests of the *Himālaya* where Prince *Vessantara*, his wife Princess *Madrī/Mandrī* the two children *Jāliaya/Jāli* and *Krisnajiṇā / Kanhājiṇā* live. Because he gifted the valuable white elephant, who had the power to cause rain to mendicants arriving from a province hit by severe drought, he was banished by his father King *Sañjaya*.

The narration begins on the left hand side of the northern wall showing, Princess *Madrī/Mandrī* lost in the forest of the "Mountain with curved pathways" (*Vaṅgagiriya*) on her morning sojourn to find edible fruit for the family. As she now leads the life of an ascetic, she is shown wearing a coarse lower garment and has no upper garment. The forest is shown symbolically by the three trees and the *Vaṅgagiriya* with the help of the maze-like pattern. The curtained room right to this scene shows that the two children are asleep, while the mother is away gathering fruit for their meal in the forest. The next scene shows the family: *Madrī* and the two children are listening to the father giving instructions. The identification of this scene is unclear. Maybe the artist had mixed up the locations of the first and the second scene. The next scene shows gifting of the two children to the mendicant *Jutaka/ Jujaka*, who wishes to take the two children home as domestics to help his wicked wife.

Foot Note 5 - This may be the scene where *Madrī* is relating the family of the bad dream, which was a premonition for the loss of her children. Richard F. Gombrich in his analysis of the *Petikada* (Painting on cloth) kept in the Arattana Raja Mahā Vihāraya in Hanguranketa "A Sinhalese Cloth Painting of *Vessantara Jātakaya*" has pointed the close affinity of the *Vessantara Jātakaya* seen at Mādawala and on the *Petikada*. The one before the last horizontal line of the *Petikada* corresponds to the "excerpt" in Mādawala. The scene on the far right side of the Arattana *Petikada* shows the mother *Madrī* in *Vaṅgagiriya*. Moving left on the same register we see a room with a curtain drawn. Moving left from there on is the famous scene, where *Madrī* is relating of her bad dream to the seated prince *Vessantara*, which was a premonition for the loss of her children. Moving left there on, we see her sleeping in the room- a child is lying by her-here the curtain has been drawn up to show the act of sleeping (JAYASINGHE 2006:87)

In the next scene *Jutaka*, ties up the two children and leads them away. At nightfall the children are tied up to the trunk of a tree while *Jutaka* sleeps on the top of the tree. Followed by this scene, one notices that *Jutaka* is being accosted by a minister of the King *Sañjaya*, who

recognizes the Children as the grand children of the King. This scene takes place at the entrance to the city, which is denoted by a doorway on a oedestal. The next scene shows the children being "bought back" by the grand-parents. *Jutaka* is receiving gold of the weight of *Jāliya* from a female servant while the child is being weighed on the scales behind. The final scene in Mādawela shows the grand parents King *Sañjaya* and Queen *Pusatī* in a two storied pavilion. The King is dispatching a messenger to bring back his son from the banishment. The Mādawela cycle does not show the peak of the *Jātaka*, when Prince *Vessantara* donates his wife to Sakka, who comes as a mendicant to test the utmost generosity of the King. It only shows the loss and recovery of the two children and the recovery of the "banished son"

Foot Note 6 - There are two *Jātakas* known by the name "*Uraga Jātakaya*" Denoted by *Jātaka* no 154 and no 354 in Vol II and III of "The *Jataka*, Vol.II, tr.by W.H.D.Rouse. (1895), at sacred-texts.com" in the *Jātaka the Vahanse*. Rev. *Pandita Nāvulle Dhammānanda* and Rev. *Devinuvara Ratanajoti* (Eds.) it is given the number 343. JPV Vol II p. 669-671

Uraga Jātakaya

On the left hand side also deals with the loss of a child. Here the *Uraga Jatakaya* which is very seldom depicted in Buddhist temples appears for the first time. Once again only an excerpt is shown in the limited space: It is the story of the *Bodhisatta*, who was once born as a Brahmin. As he and members of his family always meditated on the impermanence of life, they did not cry or mourn when his only son died a sudden death. One day, when the Brahmin and his son were working in the field, the son was bitten by a snake and died. The first scene shows three women in a house. Two women who wear an upper garments are seated. The colour of their skin is yellow. The older woman is shown seated in conversation with the visitor. She wears no ear ornament. The younger woman is shown only partially emerging above the door of an inner room. This indicates that she is listening to the conversation, but not taking part in the discussion. The third woman with a darker skin colour (reddish-pink) is standing beside, clad only in a lower garment. One may assume that the seated women are the Brahmin's wife and daughter-in-law, who are attended by a female servant. The man standing outside the house is the messenger, who is informing the wife of the Brahmin that they should come to the field bringing perfumes and flowers, when they bring the mid-day meal. The women sensing that the message meant that the Brahmin's son is dead, prepare themselves for the funeral in holding back their great sorrow. The next scene shows the three women being

conducted to the site of the tragedy by the messenger. The servant is carrying the meal or utensils for the last rights for her dead master on her head. The rectangular space with horizontal lines in the following scene denotes the field, that the Brahmin is plowing. Seeing the three women arriving, he turns back his head. To denote that he is working his lower garment has been tucked up to the knees.

In a miniature scene bottom right, one may see the tragic death of the son, being bitten by a snake, when he is cutting a tree. His dead body is shown on the corner. Because this is a "flash back", the death is shown in a scene much smaller than the figures in the narrative.

In the next scene he is attending the funeral pyre of the dead son. The scene is framed by two trees and flames of the pyre are shown.

The penultimate scene shows a man in discussion with the members of the family of the deceased.

He expresses his surprise that no one appears to be sad at this funeral. He questioned the Brahmin, his daughter-in-law and servant separately, why they do not mourn the dead to provoke them he asks, if they did not love the deceased. Each answers this question in a verse. The stranger at the funeral thus convinced that the Brahmin and the three women took up the death in a befitting manner due to the practice of the thought of death, he reveals his true identity. He is none other than the *Sakka/Indra*: By virtue of the piety of the Brahmin family, his throne was heated and he appeared to them in disguise. The final scene shows the Lord of the Gods *Sakra/Sakka/Indra* in his true guise. In the final scene at Mādawala, the Brahmin is worshipping him at the end of the discourse.

Both *Jātakas* deal with loss of children or a child. In the *Vessantara Jātakaya* the children are recovered. The *Uraga Jātakaya* extols the futility of grieving and lament on the death of a son. This may point to a special wish of the donor. My hypothesis is that the donor was seeking solace from the loss of a child or children and had these two *Jātakas* painted in the middle registers on the left and right walls.

The two *Jātakas* depicted in the murals have a recorded oral tradition that goes back to the Kandyan period. Margret Cone and Richard Gombrich in their study on the *Vessantara Jātakaya* - "The Perfect generosity of Prince Vessantara" have shown its immense popularity as a narrated text (CONE and GOMBRICH 54: 1977). The Palm Leaf Manuscripts at the National Museum in Colombo show a wide range of prose and verse versions of the *Vessantara Jātakaya*. Ranjini Obeysekara too has pointed that the *Vilāpa* (Laments) of *Mardrī Devi*

was recited at Buddhist funerals. The text is Commonly known as "*Yasodara Vatha*". Even the less popular "*Uruga Jātakaya*" is available in verse and prose narrations.

Foot Note 7 - Jataka No. 155. see De SILVA (1938:102)

One may then safely assume that both *Jātakas* were well known and most probably sung. On visiting the image house at Mādawala both narrations may have been called up from the Aural Memory of the devotee. Confronted with two stories centered around the loss of children and grieving for them.

Solosmasthanaya and the Satsatiya

Among the horizontal bands, more space than the *Jātakas* has been allocated for the depiction of the "Sixteen Great Sites" - "*Solosmasthanaya*" and the "Seven Weeks"- "*Satsatiya*". In practically all image houses built subsequently in the Kandyan Period, both these cycles can be seen occupying a similar amount of wall space.

Right upto modern times the "Sixteen Great Sites" and "Seven Weeks" are venerated during almost every *Buddha Pūja* at many a Buddhist temple and a Sinhala *Budhu Geya* or Shrine rooms in private houses. I quote the following two *Gāthās*, or verse recited in Pali:

"Solosmasthanā Vandana Gāthāva"

*"Mahiyāṅaṇaṃ Nagadīpaṃ Kalyāṇaṃ Padalañchaṇaṃ
Divāguhaṃ Dīghavāpi Chētiyaṃ Mutiyāṅaṇaṃ
Tissamahā Vihārañcha Bōdhiṃ Mariccavattiyāṃ
Soṇṇamāli Mahāchetiyaṃ Thūpārāma Bhayāgirim
Jevānaṃ Selachetiyaṃ tathā Kācaragāmakam
Soḷasethāni thānāni ahaṃ vandāmi muddhanā"* BA (2007:135)

Satsati Vandana Gāthāva

*PaTamam bodhi pallam kam
Dutiyaṃ ca animmisam
tatiyaṃ camkamānaṃ setthaam
Cathutham ratanāgharam
pañchamam ajapālañca
mucalindena Jhatthamam
Sattamam rajāyatanam
Vande tam munisevitam* . BA (2007:157)

These *Gāthās* have been popularized in recent times through the "*Buddha Adahilla*" compiled by Ven.Kiriālle Gñānawimala which was a conscious effort to compile a new Buddhist Litany which was first printed in 1955. Since then, this *Gāthā* has been firmly established into the daily practices of worship (*Vandanā Gāthā*) of Buddhists in Sri Lanka.

Similar types of "*Vandanā Gāthā*", (printed in the 20s and 30s of the 20th century) can be found in leaflets and booklets having titles "*Buddha Vandana*" found in the National Archives. In an attempt to trace the origins of this *Gāthā*, I have searched the Palm Leaf Manuscripts at the Library of the National Museum and the National Archives. Many Manuscripts give the name "*Vandanā Gāthā*" (verses of Worshipping) and almost all have a similar sequence and the two *Gāthās*- "*Solosmasthanā Vandana Gāthāva*" and "*Satsati Vandana Gāthāva*" - always appearing as a twin pair printed one Following the Other. Leaflets and booklets too printed in the early decades of the 20th century have a similar sequence. They may be a copies of manuscripts with verses written on Pali used for worship, and one may assume that the "*Vandanā Gāthās*" go back to earlier times. But as the bulk of palm leaf manuscripts in Sri Lanka do not go beyond the 18th century, and the colophons seldom give a date, the search to find the original source of the *Gāthās* may be futile. However, the compiler of the "*Buddha Adahilla*", Rev. Kiriālle Gñānawimala in his forward mentions that the original text dates back to times of the Kandyan King *Kīrthi Śri Rājasīṅha* (1747-1782). As such, we may safely assume that the "*Solosmasthanā Vandana Gāthāva*" as well as "*Satsati Vandana Gāthāva*" date back at least to the time of King *Kīrthi Śri Rājasīṅha*, when Buddhist practice in Sri Lanka received much inspiration from Thailand. As such, the interior of the Tāmpita Viharaya is a visual representation of the Buddhist Liturgy that may have been popularized in the Times of *Kīrthi Śri Rājasīṅha*.

Emergence of the concept of "*Solosmasthanaya*"

The question that remains to be answered would be the reason for the emergence of the "Sixteen great Places" (*Solosmasthanaya*) for the first time in Mādawala and in many viharas to follow. A further question would be "why did the artist choose the visited by the Buddha on this three visits to the island here?" and "Why did the series of sixteen places set of images gain so much popularity in the late kandyan times?" Scholars in recent times claim that textual evidence to the Buddha's visit to sixteen sites around Sri Lanka (*Solosmasthanaya*) is derived from the *Vamsakathā* Narratives. Holt and Tammita-Delgoda blindly following him believe that the evidence can be found in the Mahāvamsa

HOLT (1996:57) and TAMMITA-DELGODA (2006:87). Reading the *Mahāvamsa*, shows that this hypothesis is not true.

The Buddha's three visits to the island have been first recorded in the *Dīpavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa* which date back to the 4th and 5th century.

Foot Note 8 - There seems to be no controversy regarding the dating of these most ancient narratives, "*Vamsakathās*" of Sri Lanka GURUGE (1993:13)

The "*Dīpavamsa*" narrates the visits of the Buddha *Siddhārtha* Gautama in the very first chapter. It is commonly accepted as an earlier work than the "*Mahāvamsa*" and would be the oldest narration available for research. Western and Sri Lankan scholars both firmly believe that this narration was less influenced by the politics of the most powerful monks of the *Mahāvihāraya* Monastery in Anuradhapura. As such, the "*Dīpavamsa*" has a collection of older and unbiased narratives, older than the 5th century AD.

The locations visited by the Buddha mentioned in the *Dīpavamsa* are as follows:

On the first visit: 1. "*Mahiya Pokkala*"

On the second visit: 2. "Between the islands of the *Nāgas*"

On the third visit: 3. "At the mouth of the *Kalyāni* river" 4. "The Place of *Dīghavāpi Chaitiya*" and the 5. "*Mahāmegha vana*" "*Mahāmeghavanārama*," "where the Bodhi tree stands".

It is very noticeable that the "*Dīpavamsa*" does not mention visit to the *Samanthakūta* (Adam's Peak) where the Buddha set his foot print. The veneration of the mountain has according to this narration, had not entered the cannon of places to be worshiped. As such, the *Dīpavamsa* cannot be taken as the source to identify the places visited by the Buddha. Many art historians claim that the evidence for the Buddha's three visits to Sri Lanka is given in the "Great Narration" *Mahāvamsa*. Consulting the very first chapter of the *Mahāvamsa*. One arrives at only nine or ten sites.

The locations visited by the Buddha mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* are as follows:

on the first visit: 1. "*Mahānāgavana*" (*Mahānāga* Garden)

on the second visit: 2. "*Nāgadīpa*" (Island of the *Nāgas*)

on the third visit: 3. "Kalyāṇidesa- *Kalyāṇi* country)

4. "*Sumana kūta*" (Mountain top called *Sumana*),"
5. "*Dīghavāpi*" (the long tank).
6. The Bodhi tree
7. *Thūpārāma*
8. *Mahāthūpa* (*Ruwanveliseya*)
9. *Selachaitya* (Locations 6-9 are places in the *Mahāvihāra* Monastery in Anuradhapura)

Here the mountain with the foot print seen in the series of the *Mādawala Vihāraya* is mentioned as "*Sumana Kūta*", But the next location "*Divāguhāva*" (the cave of "noon time rest") does not appear in the "*Mahāvamsa*". The 78th verse of the first chapter gives the information as: "At the foot of this mountain "*Tasmimpabbata pādami*" where the Buddha takes a noontime rest "*Divavihāra*".

*"Tasmim pabbata padami sahasaṅgho yathasukham
Divavihāram katvā na Dīghavāpimupāgami"* (MV 178)

Although the *Mahāvamsa* narrates of the visit to the mountain "*Sumana Kūta*" by the Buddha, it is not given the prominence for a future stupa or chaitya. It may be due the fact that the Buddha did not perform any miracle or preach or rest in "*the Samadhi Statue*" on the two sites connected with the "*Sumana Kūta*." As already mentioned, these two sites are not recalled by the narrator of the "*Dīpavamsa*". In the verse cited above, one reads of the next location visited by the Buddha on the third visit. "After having rested in the cave at the foot of the mountain, the Buddha proceeds to *Dīghavāpi*."

The next three sites visited by the Buddha are to be places with in the future city of Anuradhapura, which at the time the *Mahāvamsa* was composed in the 5th century was the seat of government and the *Mahāvihāra* Monastic Complex, the epicenter of Buddhist studies. According to the narrator of the "*Mahāvamsa*", these sites are chosen by the Buddha as fit to be visited. This statement seals the possibility of any other locations outside the *Mahāvihāra* claiming the status of a "fit place" worthy of the Buddha's visit. One may also not forget that the monks of the *Mahāvihāra* were responsible for writing these lines. In the verses 81 and 82 of the first chapter of the "*Mahāvamsa*" one reads of narrations that the Buddha visited the spots where in the future the Sri Maha Bodhi tree will be planted, the stupas *Thūpārāma*, *Mahāthūpa* (*Ruwanveliseya*) and *Selachaitya* would be built. All these locations have

been identified as important temples with in the monastic complex of the *Mahāvihāra*. In the "*Mahāvamsa*" the narration of these visits of the Buddha are not only very brief but also become routine devoid of details:

"*Mahābodhihitattane nisīditvā sasā vako
Samadhim appayī natho Mahathapatthite tatha*" (MV 181)

"*Thaparammhi thapassa thitattihane tatheva ca
Samadhito 'tha vutthāya silāchetiyathānago*" (MV 182)

The translation would be as follows: The Buddha visits the places; "like wise there where the *Great Stupa* stood"....."and like wise there the Great Thups stood and there also where afterwards the Thupa in the *Thūpārāmayā* stood"....."Then he rose up from meditation and went to the place of the *Selachaiya*" GELGER (1912:9). As the 4th century *Dīpavamsa* did not mention them, one may question if these sites were added on later. Nevertheless the "*Mahāvamsa*" brings out two points.

1. The verses 33 to 43 of the first chapter narrate how the Buddha offered "a handful of hairs" to the God *Mahāsumana*, who requested from the Buddha "Something worthy of worshipping". The God enshrines the hair relics in a stupa of sapphire. At the death of the Buddha a monk named *Sarabhu* procures the "Collar bone" from the funeral pyre and enshrines the relics on the same spot covering the original sapphire stupa with a stupa "twelve cubits height". A line of later kings build stupas over the existing stupa: King *Uddā-cu-l-ābhaya*, son of the King *Devānampiyatissa*, covers the original stupa and makes it "thirty cubits" high. Finally king *Duttāgāmiṇī* builds a mantle over it making it "eighty cubits" high GEIGER (1912:5). The very first stupa seen in *Mādawala* series shows these four "*kañchuka Stūpas*" or "Jacket Stupas". The "stupa within a stupa" design appearing in the first stupa can be explained in this manner.
2. Art historians describing the *Mādawala* murals oversee the importance of the tree stranding between the second and the third stupa. The verses 52-57 of the same chapter of the "*Mahāvamsa*" narrates of the "*Rājāyatana* Tree" brought by the God named "*Samiddhisumana*" uprooted from the Jetavana monastery, where the Buddha was residing at this time. It was held like a parasol over the Buddha's head on his second visit to the island. On departure from *Nagadīpa*, the tree is planted there and as such becomes the first *Pāribhogika Chaitya* (Relic of Utility) to be installed in Sri Lanka, predating the *Srī Mahabodhi* Tree. One sees the *Rājāyatana* Tree exactly between the second and the third stupas, which would denote the spots "*Nāgadīpa*" and "*Kalyāni*".

Due to the fact that the *Mahāvamsa* only enumerates ten sites and not sixteen, the first chapter of the "*Mahāvamsa*" narrating the three visits of the Buddha to the island, is not the exact source for the Kandyan artist, painting the murals for the *Mādawala Vihāraya*.

The *Mahāvamsa*, as we have already seen, stands testimony to only ten sites, although the *Buddhaādahilla Gāthā* describes sixteen:

"1) *Mahiyaṅgaṇaṃ* 2) *Nāgadīpaṃ* 3) *Kalyāṇaṃ* 4) *Padalāñchanam*
5) *Divāguhaṃ* 6) *Dīghavāpi Chetiyaṃ* 7) *Mutiyaṅgaṇaṃ*
8) *Tissamahā Vihārañcha* 9) *Bōdhiṃ* 10) *Mariccavattiyaṃ*
11) *Sonnamāli Mahāchetiyaṃ* 12) *Thupārāna* 13) *Bhayāgiriṃ*
14) *Jevavanaṃ* 15) *Selachetiyaṃ tathā* 16) *Kācaragāmakam*

In Order to find narration that would give "sixteen sites" I have searched the following Pali and Sinhala texts.

Pāli Texts narrating the visits of the Buddha:

- a. The Pāli narration "*Dīpavamsa*" of the 4th century.
- b. The Pāli narration "*Māhavamsa*" of the 5th century.
- c. The Pāli commentary written for the "*Māhavamsa*" known as the "*Vāmsatthappākasinī*" of the 8th or 9th century.
- d. The Pali narration "*Datavamsa*" narrating the story of the Tooth relic which is ascribed to the 12th or 13th century.
- e. The Pāli narration "*Samathaktavannaṇā*" written to elaborate the visit of the Buddha to *Samanthakūta* (Adam's peak) also of the 13th century.

Sinhala Texts

- f. **Daḷada Siritha** - Written during the reign of Parakramabahu IV of Kurunegala. 1244-1325 (13th Century)
- g. **Pūjāvaliya** - written during the reign of Parākramabāhu II about 1266-75 AD (13th Century)
- h. **Saddharmarathnākaraṇa**- written in the Kotte period - about 1410 to 1597 Ad (15th Century)

For the sake of clarity, let me the places visited by the Buddha according to the sources. The results have been given in table No 1. (see Table no .1)

The embarrassing absence is the *Mirisavātīya*, which the *Māhavamsa* devotes Chapter XXVI to its building and enshrinement of relics. Geiger in his analysis the "*Dīpavamsa*" and "*Māhavamsa*" has pointed out that chapters XXII to XXXIII are later additions to the "*Māhavamsa*" which may have come from a "*Volksepos*" (Epic of the folk-tradition) which narrated the heroic deeds of Duttagamini.

The stupas at *Tissamahārāmaya*, *Mutiyaṅganaya*, *Katharagama*, *Abhayagiriya* and *Jetavanārāmaya* too do not appear in any lists, as having been visited by the Buddha. According to the later Sinhala texts, namely the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* and *Pūjāvaliya*, the concentration is more on the sites in Anurādhapura. Mihintale is added as visited by the Buddha, which today enjoys the status as the place where Buddhism was first preached in Sri Lanka.

The list of places visited by the Buddha seems to vary increasing in number through the centuries. The *Pūjāvaliya* - written during the reign of King *Parakramabāhu* II. (13th Century) and the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* written in the Kotte Period- (15th Century)- reveal the same sites.

The list in chapter 32 of the *Pūjāvaliya* includes the following locations making a total of 14 sites. I quote the Sinhalese names given:

1. *Mahāvāluka gaṅgāva samipayehi Mahānāgavanaudyānaye*,
2. *Manināgadivayina*
3. *Kālanimahāsāyapihita tāna*,
4. *Samantakūṭa Parvataya*
5. *Bhagavatlena*
6. *Dakunu mahaseya pihitana shānaye*
7. *Mahāmaunāyanmāda*,
8. *Śrīmahābodhi pihitana shānaye*
9. *Lovamahāpaya pihitana shānaye*,
10. *Piritlāgeya pihitana shānaye*,
11. *Dantādara pokuna pihitana shānaye*,
12. *Ruwanmālimahāseya pihiti tāna*,
13. *Mihintalehi Mahāsālasā pihititāna*,
14. *Ruhunīdigānaka pihiti tāna*

Foot Note - The same list appears in the *Pūjāvaliya* Pu (2007 753-756). See also *Saddharmaratnākaraya* SR(1967: 297-308).

After Polonnaruwa was abandoned as the capital city and before the center of power moved to the *Kanda-uda-pasrata* (Kandy), there seems to be a unity in the tradition, what was regarded at the "sixteen highest sites of veneration." These sites are identical with sites actually visited by the pilgrims of the 17th and 18th century. Similar types of "*Vāḍana Gatha*" (verses of veneration composed in Pāli) printed in the 20s and 30s of the 20th century can be found in the National Archives.

The constant need to document what happened in the past in narratives, reworking them into new narratives has brought about a vast

number of textual evidences for the places visited by the Buddha. The list never reached sixteen sites in the narrations up to the 16th century. In the time of *Kīrthi Śrī* the Sixteen Places become a compulsory cycle of images. Through the iconographic program within the image house the devotee was able to actually see the images he or she is actually worshipping in the image house when reciting the verse. The same applies to the seven images narrating the seven weeks before/after the enlightenment: The "Sat Satiya" The series of "Sixteen Great Places" appear along with the *Satsatiya* in the murals of the Early Kandy Period (Māḍavala, Degaldoruwa, Ridi Viharaya) and continue to temples built later (Talava Rajamahaviharaya, Telvatta, Dove and Kelaniya Rajamahaviharaya).

As such, we may safely assume that the "*Solosmasthanā Vandana Gāthāva*" dates back at least to the time of king *Kīrthi Śrī Rājasingha*. The hiatus left in the quest of textual evidence for the practice of the worship of the Sixteen Great places now is reduced from the 16th century *Saddharmaratnākaraya*, written in the Kotte period (about 1410 to 1597) ending in the 18th century, the rule of King *Kīrthi Śrī Rājasingha* (1747 - 1782).

Conclusions:

Thanks to the Copper Plate Inscription the Māḍavala Viharaya enjoys a unique position due to the fact that the murals can be dated to about 1755 AD. These murals are the earliest example of Kandyan Art which flourished in the 18th and 19th century. This research aimed at a close reading of the iconographic program of the murals revealing the following facts:

1. At Māḍavala, we have a new constellation of gods flanking the Buddha imager: Brahma and Sakka (Indra), who are mentioned in the Tripitakaya. They are seen flanking the Buddha in early sculptures from India. Here they appear with a two gods with later iconographic traditions: Visnu and Siva have not appeared venerating the Buddha in Sri Lanka before Māḍavala. This may be the result of interaction with South Indian Dynasties in the 16th and 17th centuries.
2. Buddha's chief disciples Sariputta and Moggallāna seem to be introduced here for the first time in Kandyan Art. Almost hidden in the corner of the image house, they are the first to lead the hosts of Arhats paying respects to the Buddha, In later temples they gain in prominence becoming free standing figures.
3. Uraga Jatakaya appears for the first time in Sri Lanka occupying the similar amount of space as the Vessantara Jatakaya. As both Jatakas

have the loss of children as the central motive, it may have been the wish of the donor who was seeking solace from a similar sad experience.

4. Portraits were never seen in Sri Lankan murals before. At Mādawela two contemporary figures are seen occupying more space than the other figures painted on the walls such as Arhats. This shows a turning point in Sri Lankan art, where a contemporary figure is depicted. Many image houses following this show a figure, that could be KSR on the walls closest to the entrance.
5. Illustrations from the *Vandanagathas* appear for the first time as a "twin pair" The *Solosmasthanaya* and the *Satsatiya* occupy a prominent place within the limited space of the *Viharageya*.

Thanks to the efforts of Bandaranayake and Jayasingha and the series "Paintings of Sri Lanka" we are able to study Kandyan Art more comprehensively. Very few images have been dated by researches and no attention has been given even to establish a relative chronology paintings. Although most images and murals have been convincingly identified, no research as viewed the iconographic program special to each temple and its location within the social and political changes. Hopefully this research paves the way to establish a relative chronology for Kandyan Art and bring fourth closer and more careful readings on iconography and relating the position of the images within the sacred space.

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10

THE IDEA OF VERBAL COMMUNICATION IN EARLY BUDDHISM

Professor Wimal Dissanayake

Three reasons have impelled me to select the present theme. First, the University of Kelaniya grew out of the foundations of the Vidyalankara Pirivena which was an accepted center of Buddhist learning. Second, I was instrumental in establishing the Department of Mass Communication at this University and I was its first Head of the Department. Third, I am recognized as an international authority on Asian theories of communication. These three reasons, then, instigated me to settle on my chosen theme for today's talk.

Buddhism is one of the great religions of the world that has had a profound impact on mankind. It has influenced religious, philosophical, moral, ethical, cultural and ethical thinking in very significant ways. For a religion to have that kind of impact, it must possess very interesting approaches to the issue of human communication. The Buddha was a communicator par excellence; he was a supremely influential teacher, and that influence is largely attributable to his success as a communicator. The Buddha preached to the people in a language that was readily understandable. He paid great care and attention to the psychological background and perceivable disposition of his potential audiences. He structured his messages in a way that would readily appeal to the lay persons. From a communications viewpoint, the rhetorical strategies adopted by the Buddha in his teachings are multi-faceted and most fascinating and merit close study. The way he used parables, allegories, tropes, wit, humor, innovative narrative strategies, parallelisms, deserve a separate study.

Just to cite a few examples, let us first consider his use of parables. Once a woman who was deeply distraught by the death of her son came to the Buddha and implored his to restore his son to life. Realizing that she could be taught the truth of existence, the Buddha asked her to go back to the city, make the rounds of the total city, and to locate a house in which no one had ever died, and fetch tiny grains of mustard city from that house. The mother, with great expectations, went from house to house, but could not locate a house in which someone had not died. Before long, she realized the lesson that the Buddha intended to teach her. Saying that