Aspects of Early Sri Lankan History, c. 3rd century BCE – 13th century CE

MA Lecture Course, 4 credits

MPhil Lecture Course, 2 credits

Mode of Evaluation: 2 tutorials + end semester examination

This course is offered as part of the basket of non-Indian history courses that students can opt for at the CHS. The aim of the course is to familiarize students with the historical processes occurring in the island country of Sri Lanka, from the early historic period until the early medieval period. Traditionally, the history of Sri Lanka has been understood by Indian scholars either in terms of the Indian colonization of the island or the European colonial presence here. In this course, students will be familiarized with the complex social formations that can be identified through the study of autochthonous forces of change, and the nature of socio-economic transformations and political structures that can be identified. Further, the evolution and growth of religious institutions can be seen as a concomitant to these transformations, as seen from the numerous Buddhist monuments that were constructed across the region. The significance of ideological apparatuses in the growth of state society can be seen in the nature of chronicling of the polity by Buddhist monks from the 5th century onwards. A facet of Sri Lankan history that is often obscured because of the telescoping of the present into the past and vice versa is the presence of state society in the northern part of Sri Lanka from the early medieval period, which appeared to maintain a close linkage with peninsular India. Many of the political and social structures prevalent here closely resemble that which is known for the same period particularly in the extreme south of India. The nature of religious institutions as well as the literary culture of the people in this part reflects a rich tradition of syncretism and in an apparent contradiction, a distinct identity. Finally, a theme that is considered problematic in Sri Lankan historiography relates to the Chola conquest of the region in the late 10th century CE, generally labeled as the 'dark ages', which needs to be revisited given the recent scholarship on the subject.

I. Sources for Early Sri Lankan History

In this theme, various sources are discussed in terms of their time of composition, questions of authorship and the nature of their content. The literary sources straddle a variety of texts and languages such as the *Mahavamsa* (c. 5^{th} century CE), *Dipavamsa* (c. $4^{th} - 5^{th}$ century CE) and *Culavamsa* (c. 12^{th} century, c. 14^{th} century, c. 18^{th} century) in Pali, the Sinhala *Mahabodhi Getapadaya* and *Jataka Atuva Getapadaya* (both 12^{th} century CE), and the Tamil *Sangam* and *Tevaram* poems. The earliest inscriptions found in Sri Lanka are in the Brahmi script, in the Indo-Aryan Prakrit and Tamil languages. Inscriptions are available from the early medieval period in proto-Sinhala, Sinhala and Tamil. The monuments built by the rulers of Anuradhapura, Polonaruva, Jaffna and Rohana are also an important source for studying Sri Lankan history.

- □ Berkwitz, Stephen C., 'Language and the Production of History', in *Buddhist History in the Vernacular: the power of the past in late medieval Sri Lanka*, Brill, Leiden, 2004, pp. 81-120.
- Coningham, R.A.E., F.R. Allchin, C.M. Batt and D. Lucy, 'Passage to India? Anuradhapura and the early use of the Brahmi script', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 1996, 6:1, pp. 73-97.
- Law, B.C., On the Chronicles of Ceylon, Calcutta, 1947.
- □ Hussein, Asiff, 'A survey of Sinhalese prose literature from ancient times to the modern period', <u>http://www.lankalibrary.com/books/sinhala7.htm</u>
- □ Gunasingam, Murugar, *Primary sources for history of the Sri Lankan Tamils: a worldwide search*, MV Publications for the South Asian Studies Centre, Sydney, 2005.
- □ Paranavitana, S., 'Introduction', in Inscriptions of Ceylon, Volume 1, 1970.
- Sirisoma, M.H., 'Brahmi Inscriptions of Sri Lanka frm 3rd century BC to 65 AD', in Wijesekara, Nandadeva (ed.), *Inscriptions*, Archaeological Department Centenary (1890-1990), Vol. 2, Commemorative Series, pp. 3-54.
- □ Hettiarachchi, A.S., 'Investigation of 2nd, 3rd, and 4th century inscriptions', in Wijesekara (ed.), *Inscriptions*, *ibid*, pp. 57-104.
- Rajan, K., 'Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions', in Indrapala, K. (ed.), *Early Historic Tamil Nadu*,
 c. 300 BCE 300 CE: Essays commemorating professor K. Kailasapathy on the 25th anniversary of his death, Kumaran Book House, Chennai, 2010.
- □ *The Yalpana Vaipava Malai or, the History of the Kingdom of Jaffna*, Asian Educational Services, 1879.

II. Material Culture, Political Structures and Social Transformations, c. 300 BCE - 600 CE

Although archaeological and literary evidence points to the possibilities of Indo-Aryan speaking communities living in Sri Lanka as early as the 5th century BCE, the sources are fragmentary and it is not possible to draw any major conclusions. Scholars have focused on the period from the 3rd century BC as the early historical period, on the basis of the Buddhist chronicles and the early Brahmi inscriptions numbering more than 1400 collected from over 270 sites in the island. It appears that the earliest phase (c.300-50 BCE) was marked by subsistence agriculture, with some pastoral activity and itinerant trade also visible. The significance of cistern sluices in providing irrigation for a primarily agrarian society from the second century CE is seen as marking the evolution of the state in Sri Lanka. The inscriptions refer to specific titles such as *raja, gamani/gamika, aya* reveal rudimentary political structures initially and a gradual accretion of meaning and status to these, as well as the use of newer terms reflecting political power and hierarchy. There is indication of agriculturists, traders, craft specialists and ritual specialists in the literary and inscriptional records, and the growth of the Buddhist monastic institutions. The various sources indicate the continued presence of polities across the island country, in the northern,

eastern and southern areas, despite the growth of a monarchical state in the area known as Raajarata by the 2nd century CE.

- Bandaranayake, Senake, 'The Settlement Pattern of the Protohistoric Early Historic Interface in Sri Lanka', in Gunawardana, R.A.L.H., S. Pathmanathan and M. Rohanadeera (eds.), *Reflections on a Heritage: Historical Scholarship on Premodern Sri Lanka*, Volume 1, part 1, Central Cultural Fund, Colombo, 1998, pp. 1-14.
- Bartholomeusz, Tessa J., Women under the Bo Tree: Buddhist Nuns in Sri Lanka, 'Introduction: The Tradition of Buddhist Female Renunciation in Sri Lanka', Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1994.
- □ Coningham, Robin A.E., 'Monks, Caves and Kings: A Reassessment of the Nature of Early Buddhism in Sri Lanka', *World Archaeology*, 27:2, 1995, pp. 222-242.
- Dias, Malini, *The growth of Buddhist monastic institutions in Sri Lanka from Brahmi inscriptions*, Archaeological Survey, 2001.
- □ Gunawardana, R.A.L.H., 'Prelude to the State: An Early Phase in the Evolution of Political Institutions in Ancient Sri Lanka', in Gunawardana, R.A.L.H., S. Pathmanathan and M. Rohanadeera (eds.), *Reflections on a Heritage: Historical Scholarship on Premodern Sri Lanka*, Volume 1, part 1, Central Cultural Fund, Colombo, 1998, pp. 83-122.
- □ Gunawardana, R.A.L.H., 'Social Function and Political Power: A case Study of State Formation in Irrigation Society', in Skalnik, Peter and H.J.M. Claessen (eds.), The Study of the State, Mouton, The Netherlands, 1981, pp. 133-.
- □ Hettiyarachi, Tilak, *History of Kingship in Ceylon up to the 4th century AD*, Lake House, 1972.
- □ Munasinghe, Indrani, *Sri Lankan Women in Antiquity (sixth century B.C. to fifteenth century A.C.)*, author, Colombo, 2004.
- □ Perera, Lakshman S., *The institutions of ancient Ceylon from inscriptions: From 3 century BC to 830 AD*, International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2001.
- Silva, Roland, 'Development of Ancient Cities in Sri Lanka with special reference to Anuradhapura', in Gunawardana, R.A.L.H., S. Pathmanathan and M. Rohanadeera (eds.), *Reflections on a Heritage: Historical Scholarship on Premodern Sri Lanka*, Volume 1, part 1, Central Cultural Fund, Colombo, 1998, pp. 49-82.
- □ Walpola, Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon: the Anuradhapura Period*, 3^{rd} century $BC 10^{th}$ century AC, Buddhist Cultural Centre, 1993 (1956), relevant chapters.

III. The Making of the Early Medieval, c. 600-1250 CE

The period from the seventh to the twelfth centuries saw a distinctive transformation of the economy and society in a large part of Sri Lanka, with land grants to monasteries becoming common, and enormous powers related to taxation, questions of law and order and jurisdiction of

monastic power were concerned. The renowned scholar R.A.L.H. Gunawardhana looks at the robe and the plough as distinctive features of this period. The extension and intensification of agriculture and the creation of large-scale irrigational networks across the dry zone can be seen during this period as well as the gradual shift towards the western rain-fed regions, which were the wet zones. There are a number of social groups that are known to us from various sources, indicating a complex social stratification. The political interface between peninsular India and Sri Lanka, which was known from earlier times, took on a new colour with rulers from both sides attempting to interfere in dynastic, trade and other affairs. The Chola presence for less than 100 years had an abiding impact in the form of the rise of the Jaffna kingdom, visible as a political entity from the 13th century. From the early historical period, the presence of Buddhism is attested to by the chronicles Dipavamsa and Mahavamsa. The Buddhist Sangha adapted itself to certain socio-economic transformations in the early medieval period, whereby different Nikayas at Mahavihara, Abhavagiri and Jetavana began acquiring property and wielding authority through privileges granted by the state. The Buddhist institutions have been understood as ideological apparatuses through which the state wielded its authority. While there has been little clarity on the part of historians about the characterization of the state in this period, terms such as feudalism, early medieval and medieval are randomly used to distinguish this social formation from the earlier one.

- □ Ariyapala, M.B., Society in Medieval Ceylon: the State of Society in Ceylon as depicted in the Sadharma-ratnavaliya and other literature of the thirteenth century, Dept. of Cultural Affairs, 1968.
- □ Gunawardana, R.A.L.H., *Robe and Plough: Monaasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1979.
- □ Indrapala, K., *The Evolution of an Ethnic Identity: The Tamils in Sri Lanka C. 300 Bce to C. 1200 CE*, M.V. Publications for the South Asian Studies Centre, Sydney, 2005.
- □ Indrapala, K. (ed.), *The Collepse of the Rajarata Civilization in Ceylon and the Drift to the South-West*, Ceylon Studies Seminar, University of Ceylon, Ceylon, 1971.
- □ Ismail, Marina, *Early Settlements in Northern Sri Lanka*, Navrang, 1991.
- □ Mahalakshmi, R., 'Negotiating Cultures, Transcending Boundaries: Brhmanical Iconography in Early Medieval South India and Sri Lanka', Anna L. Dallapiccola and Anila Verghese (eds.), *India and Southeast Asia: Cultural Discourses*, K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, Mumbai, 2018.
- Manatunga, Anura, 'Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia during the period of the Anuradhapura kingdom', in Kulke, Hermann, K. Kesavapany and Vijay Sakhuja (eds.), Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: Reflections on Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 2009, pp. 193-207.
- □ Pathmanathan, S., *The Kingdom of Jaffna*, Arul M Rajendran, 1978.
- Dillay, K.K., South India and Sri Lanka, University of Madras, Chennai, 2001.
- □ Raghupathy, Ponnampalam, *Early settlements in Jaffna: an archaeological survey*, Thillimalar Raghupathy, 1987.
- □ Rasanayagam, C., *Ancient Jaffna*, Asian Educational Services, 1993.
- □ Sankaranarayanan, K.C., *The Keralites and the Sinhalese*, University of Madras, Chennai, 1994.

- □ Smith, Bardwell, *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Sri Lanka*, Anima Books, Pennsylvania, 1978.
- □ Younger, Paul, '
- □ Weerasinghe, S.G.M., *A History of the Cultural Relations Between Sri Lanka and China*, Central Cultural Fund, Colombo, 1995.
- □ Wijetunga, W.M.K., *Sri Lanka and the Cholas*, Sarvodaya Vishva lekha Publications, Ratmalana, 2003.

IV. Religions in Sri Lanka: Monuments, Art, Pantheons and Mythologies

The question of religious institutions conspicuously occupying a public space in economic and social transactions has been raised in the previous theme, particularly in the context of Buddhism. This is also a time when a number of brahmanical temples are visible, particularly in the latter half of the period. The Tamil Saiva hymns of the 7th to 9th centuries CE mention the temple of Tirukettisvaram at Mahatittha in north-western Sri Lanka, while the temples of Polonaruva point to Chola and local patrons of Saivism. There are also a number of Kali temples that came up across the island, perhaps because of the patronage of the mercenary groups from south India who were employed by Sri Lankan rulers. In this section, the Buddhist monuments of Anuradhapura and Polonaruva, the temples of Tirukettisvaram and Tirukonimalai, the tooth relic temples and the shrine for the Bodhi tree, and other specific examples will be taken up for detailed study. Lastly, the mythologies of yakkhas and nagas along with those of deities belonging to the Buddhist and Brahmanical pantheon will be discussed.

- □ Agrawal, Om Prakash and Nanda Amara Wickramasinghe, *Material and Techniques of Ancient Wall Paintings of Sri Lanka*, Sundeep Prakashan, New Delhi, 2002.
- □ Holt, John Clifford, *Buddha in the Crown: Avalokitesvara in the Buddhist Traditions of Sri Lanka*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1991.
- □ Holt, John Clifford, *The Buddhist Visnu: Religious Transformation, Politics and Culture*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 2008 (2005).
- □ Mahalakshmi, R., 'Beyond the Politics of Conquest: Brahmanical Iconography in Polonnaruva', in Sujatha Meegama (ed.), *Sri Lanka: Connected Art Histories*, Marg, Mumbai, 2018.
- □ Obeyesekere, Gananath, *The Cult of the Goddess Pattini*, University of Chicago press, Chicago, 1984.
- □ Paranavitana, S., *Art and Architecture of Ceylon: the Polonaruva period*, Arts Council of Ceylon, 1954.
- □ Pathmanathan, S, *Hindu Temples of Sri Lanka*, Kumaran Book House, 2006.
- □ Seneviratna, Anuradha, *Ancient Anuradhapura*, Archaeological Survey Department, Colombo, 1994.
- □ Seneviratna, Anuradha, *Ancient Polonaruva*, Archaeological Survey Department, Colombo, 1998.
- □ Seneviratna, Anuradha and Benjamin Polk, *Buddhist Monastic Architecture in Sri Lanka: The Woodland Shrine,* Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1992.

- □ SinhaRaja, Tammita-Delagoda, *Eloquence in Stone: the Lithic Saga of Sri Lanka*, Studio Times Ltd., 2008.
- Smith, Bardwell, 'The Pursuit of Equilibrium: Polonnaruva as a Ceremonial Center', in Smith, Bardwell and Holly Baker Reynolds (eds.), The City as a Sacred Center: Essays on Six Asian Contexts, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1987, pp. 60-87.
- □ Walpola, Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon: the Anuradhapura Period*, 3rd century BC 10th century AC, Buddhist Cultural Centre, 1993 (1956), relevant chapters.
- □ Wickramaratne, Ananda, 'Shifting Metaphors of Sacrality: The Mythic Dimensions of Anuradhapura', in Smith, Bardwell and Holly Baker Reynolds (eds.), The City as a Sacred Center: Essays on Six Asian Contexts, E.J. Brill, leiden, 1987, pp. 45-59.
- □ Wickremeratne, Swarna, *Buddha in Sri Lanka*, State University of New York, New York, 2006.

V. The Past in the Present and the Present in the Past

In this theme, some of the dominant historiographical misconceptions that persist in the study of premodern Sri Lanka will be taken up for scrutiny. The Vaddas who appear to be among the earliest inhabitants of the island country barely find representation in early historical sources. Mythologies of colonization by Vijaya and his comrades from western India, and issues related to how the dispersal of the Brahmi script occurred are markers of conflation of the historical wth the historiographical. From the colonial engagements with race and ethnicity to more contemporary identity politics, the historical past is not merely a resource but is actively represented in the present. Some of the significant work on this theme will be discussed to allow students a window into historiographical claims and contestations that do not necessarily stem from academic concerns and in fact often project myths and contemporary concerns as historical consciousness.

- □ Gunawardana, R.A.L.H., 'The People of the Lion: The Sinhala Identity and Ideology in History and Historiography', in J. Spencer (ed.), *Sri Lanka: History and the roots of the conflict*, Routledge, London, 1990.
- □ Gombrich, Richard and Gananath Obeyesekere, *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1990.
- De Silva, Bandu, "Ethnicization" of History Writing in South Asia/ Sri Lanka', Sri Lanka Guardian, 19th, 21st and 22nd February, 2011, available at <u>http://www.srilankaguardian.org/2011/02/ethnicisation-of-history-writing-in 22.html</u>
- □ Gunawardhana, Ranavira, *Historiography in a time of ethnic conflict*, Social Scientists' Association, 1995.
- Kiribamune, Sirima, 'The Mahavamsa: A study of the ancient historiography of Sri Lanka', in L. Prematilake, K. Indrapala and J.E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw (eds.), Senarat Paranavitana Commemoration Volume, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1978, pp. 125-136.

- □ Seneviratne, H.L. (ed.), *The Anthropologist and the Native: Essays in Honour of Professor Gananath Obeyesekere*, Anthem press, London, 2011.
- □ Seneviratne, H.L. (ed.), *Identity, consciousness and the past: forging caste and community in India and Sri Lanka*, OUP, 1997.

General Readings:

- □ *Ancient Ceylon*, Journal of the Archeological Survey Department of Ceylon, Vols. 1and 2. Commissioner of Archeology, Colombo.
- De Silva, Chandra Richard, Sri Lanka: A History, Sangam, 1987.
- De Silva, K.M., A History of Sri Lanka, Penguin, Delhi, 2005.
- □ *History of Ceylon*, University of Ceylon, relevant volumes.
- □ *History of Sri Lanka*, University of Peradeniya, relevant volumes.
- Deebles, Patrick, *The History of Sri Lanka*, Greenwood Press, London, 2006.
- □ Holt, John Clifford, *The Sri Lanka Reader, History, Culture, Politics,* Duke University Press, 2011.
- □ Liyanagamage, Amaradasa, *Society, State and Religion in Premodern Sri Lanka*, University of Kelaniya, 2001.
- □ Raghavan, MD, *Tamil Culture in Ceylon: A general introduction*, Kalai Nilayam, 1971.
- □ Schalk, Peter, *Buddhism among Tamils in Pre-colonial Tamilakam and Ilam*, parts 1 and 2, Uppsala University library, 2002.
- □ Tikkoo, Mohan, *Sri Lanka*, NBT, Delhi, 2008.
- □ Wickremasinghe and Don Martino De Zilva, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, 4 Vols., Asian Educational Services, 1905.