



LOCATIONS of BUDDHISM

COLONIALISM & MODERNITY IN SRI LANKA

Anne M. Blackburn

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Colonialism and Modernity in Sri Lanka

ANNE M. BLACKBURN

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO AND LONDON

ANNE M. BLACKBURN is associate professor of South Asian and Buddhist studies at Cornell University. She is the author of *Buddhist Learning and Textual Practice in Eighteenth-Century Lankan Monastic Culture* (2001).

The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 60637

The University of Chicago Press, Ltd., London

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Printed in the United States of America

19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 1 2 3 4 5

ISBN-13: 978-0-226-05507-7 (cloth)

ISBN-10: 0-226-05507-8 (cloth)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Blackburn, Anne M., 1967–

Locations of Buddhism : colonialism and modernity in Sri Lanka / Anne M. Blackburn.

p. cm. — (Buddhism and modernity)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-226-05507-7 (cloth)

ISBN-10: 0-226-05507-8 (cloth)

1. Sumangala, Hikkaduve Sri, 1827–1911. 2. Buddhists—Sri Lanka—Biography. 3. Buddhism—Sri Lanka—History—19th century. 4. Buddhism—Relations—Sri Lanka—Christianity. 5. Christianity and other religions—Sri Lanka—Buddhism. 6. Buddhism and politics—Sri Lanka—History—19th century. I. Title. II. Series: Buddhism and modernity.

BQ988.U63B53 2010

294.5'657092—dc22

[B]

2009026160

Ⓢ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1992.



IN CELEBRATION OF

JOHN CLAYTON,

(1943–2003)

WHO BROUGHT STARTLING JOY

AND

THE STRANGE BEAUTY OF LAMENT

C O N T E N T S

Preface	ix
Acknowledgments	xvii
A Note on Translations, Sources, Dating, and Language	xxi
1. Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala at Adam's Peak	i
2. Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala at Vidyodaya Piriveṇa	34
3. Learning and Difference	69
4. Engaging the Adventurers	104
5. <i>Śāsana</i> and Empire	143
6. Horizons Not Washed Away	197
Bibliography	219
Index	233

P R E F A C E

In the 1820s, on the island off the coast of southern India that we now know as Sri Lanka, a well-connected, high-caste Buddhist family had a horoscope made for the newest addition to their family, a son. As was, and is, common in Sri Lanka, the parents sought to anticipate the contours of their child's future according to the astrological science of *jyotiś-śāstra*. *Jyotiś-śāstra* was used to identify patterns and periods of risk and promise, failure and success, dictated by the planetary alignments of a child's birth time. According to the stories handed down within the lineage of Buddhist monks who were later students of this boy, the child's horoscope worried his parents deeply. For, according to the science of the stars and planets, this was a fragile child. After repeated chartings of the horoscope, and consultation with other members of the family, the parents decided to ordain the boy as a Buddhist monk. In 1840 he was ordained in a Buddhist temple near the southern town of Hikkaduva, not far from the active port city of Galle. This childhood ordination was expected to bring him and his family the protective power of Buddhist merit making. He was established in a style of life that would support his strengths and guard against the dangers augured by astrologers. As do many young Buddhist boys, the child hesitated to enter the monastic life. At the eleventh hour, however, in obedience and honor to his parents, he entered the ritual enclosure to become a Buddhist monk, in the rite of *pabbajjā*, or novitiate ordination. For this young boy and his family, as for other Buddhists of his time in Laṅkā¹ and Southeast Asia,

1. "Laṅkā" is one of the terms commonly used in Sinhala and Pali writings from the nineteenth century (and earlier) to refer to the island we know as Sri Lanka, and known to the British as Ceylon. I do not use "Sri Lanka" when referring to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century contexts, in order to mark an important historical distance from the contemporary nation-state. No disrespect to present citizens of Sri Lanka is intended.

the monastic life was a merit-filled, prestigious, and socially influential vocation. Our young ordinand, known by his monastic name of Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala (the Very Auspicious One from Hikkaduva), entered a highly visible and powerful social network on the day of ordination. Like the colonial government service and administrative systems, in which members of his family including his father participated, monastic life offered a promising combination of challenge, security, and status. A Buddhist monk of good family, related by blood and marriage to other monks and prosperous lay temple supporters, could expect a solid education, steady livelihood, and the satisfaction of making a difference through ritual work and other forms of social service. For an unusually bright boy, like Hikkaḍuvē, a life of intellectual richness also beckoned. And, given the political and religious tenor of the times in nineteenth-century Lankā, special challenges and opportunities awaited.

The British had taken full colonial control of Lankā in 1815, after years of encroachment on the coasts, following Dutch power in the region. As the nineteenth century wore on, the British presence in South Asia grew stronger and stronger. By midcentury, around the time Hikkaḍuvē entered the monastic life, Lankā was a British colony held firmly in the grip of colonial administrative and economic power. The island was valuable for its location in the Indian Ocean sea lanes, but also for a host of natural products like cinnamon, coconut, and rubber, as well as precious gems and minerals. To colonial planters, the island's hill country was an enticing prospect, first for coffee plantations and then for tea. Although the British had pledged to support local religious institutions on the island when they removed the local king, and colonial administrators generally tried to keep a formal distance from Christian missionary work, the British colonial period further strengthened the Christian presence on the island, initiated earlier during the Portuguese colonial era. Hindus, Buddhists, and Muslims resident in Lankā experienced British colonial rule as a threat to ritual and educational practices oriented around Hindu and Buddhist temples and the mosques. Hikkaḍuvē entered the monastic order as Buddhist responses to Christianity were on the rise. Christian churches, schools, and printing presses attacked Buddhist texts and practice. Monks like those with whom the young Hikkaḍuvē trained became a powerful force of opposition.

There were also other pressing problems and opportunities for Buddhist monks at this time. As new colonial cities developed, Buddhist residents required new urban arenas for ritual practice. Monks therefore became involved in the development and expansion of Buddhist temples and schools. Migration to the British colonial capital city Colombo, from small towns

and rural areas throughout the island, might have threatened familial and regional ties. However, such ties were protected in part by monastic and temple networks that created a sense of “home away from home” for new urban dwellers. Such networks aided the flow of people and ideas, as well as contacts for commercial enterprise. Buddhist temples had long served as sites around which powerful historical memories clustered, including memories of royal patronage and high cultural attainments. In the absence of local kingship, and in the presence of the material and psychological pressures of colonial rule, this function of Buddhist temples became yet more important. They carried increasingly precious and glorious memories of times past; they were sites for the imagination of better futures. Monks like Hikkaḍuvē participated in this work of memory and anticipation. Such work included making connections to Buddhist temples and royal courts of Southeast Asia, which might serve as possible counterweights to British power in Laṅkā.

The pages that follow focus on Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala, looking closely at the institutions in which he worked, the intellectual projects he undertook, and the local and international networks in which he participated. Hikkaḍuvē is an interesting and important figure in nineteenth-century Lankan history: he was a major player in most of the high-level Buddhist activities that took place on the island in the last half of the century. He interacted with leading scholars from Europe and Asia as well as with the colonial governor and other high-ranking colonial officials in the island. The British saw him as an archbishop of Canterbury–like figure, whom they considered a spokesman for Buddhist opinion on the island. Local Lankan Buddhists turned to him as one of a small handful of highly eminent Buddhist monks who helped them through the tumultuous years of colonial rule, with its substantial social and economic change. A biography of Hikkaḍuvē in English is long overdue, but the aims of this book are not solely biographical. Rather, this study aims to address some of the most pressing problems in the study of religion under colonialism, and the study of the impact of colonialism on the thought and social worlds of colonized South Asians.

Since Sri Lanka, India, and Pakistan became independent states in the late 1940s after a long period of colonial rule, historians have written histories of colonial impact on the region from several political and methodological standpoints. In the 1980s, an influential body of scholarship on the history of South Asia emerged that owed a great deal to Michel Foucault’s work on histories of discourse and governmentality, and to Edward Said’s landmark study, *Orientalism*. This body of scholarship, including creative and important work by Indian scholars participating in the subaltern stud-

ies project, focused on how new ways of thinking about social, religious, and political identities developed in South Asia during the period of British colonial rule. Scholars argued that conceptual frameworks and ways of categorizing individuals and social groups that originated in Britain and Europe after the so-called Enlightenment period had remade patterns of thought and action in South Asia. This had occurred when these frameworks and taxonomies had been imported and used in colonial administration, education, print media, and so on. For some South Asian scholars writing during the 1980s and 1990s, this remaking was a significant and highly charged topic for historical study because the “invented traditions” of colonial rule in South Asia were understood as extremely influential (sometimes in dangerous ways) on postindependence South Asian politics. In other words, some of the tense communalist tendencies of twentieth- and twenty-first-century South Asian states, marked by strong rhetorical and political “religious” and “ethnic” divides, were attributed partly to new ways of identifying selves and others that had become familiar during the colonial period.

Although this historiographical trend developed first among scholars focused on India, it also shaped studies of Sri Lanka’s colonial history. And, in the context of scholarship on *Laṅkā*, it intersected with another influential line of historiographical thinking, dating to the 1970s and 1980s, that emphasized radical transformations of Buddhist practice on the island during British rule. Historians and historical anthropologists working in this vein argued that in the late nineteenth century Buddhists pushed back against colonial and Christian influences in *Laṅkā* by developing Buddhist “revivalist” activities that were, ironically, greatly influenced by Protestant Christianity and modern British forms of social organization. According to them, the British colonial period transformed “traditional” Buddhism to a “modern” Buddhism styled after Christian, and especially Protestant, forms of religious practice and education.

This study shows that neither of these influential perspectives on religion and society in colonized South Asia is adequate to the evidence we have from colonial-period *Laṅkā*. In fact, a closer look at this historical evidence indicates the need to reconsider our perspectives on South Asian colonial history more generally. Looking closely at the life and work of Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala, one of the most central figures in British-period Lankan Buddhism and the island’s wider society, we see that new imported discourses and forms of social identification did not always displace those which had existed previously, whether among residents of *Laṅkā* or in the wider southern Asian Buddhist region. Rather, in Hikkaḍuvē’s case, many deeply historical perceptions of affiliation and social responsibility, intellectual styles,

and ways of navigating the highly competitive world of monastic life held steady. Instead of a displacement of earlier conceptual frameworks and forms of identity by newer ones, we find that Hikkaḍuvē and his colleagues were more inclined to draw on novel elements in two ways. In specific contexts where it was virtually demanded by colonial oversight, they would express themselves according to the expectations of a colonial or European vision of religion, politics, or history. Where there was more distance from colonial government, novel elements were used in more piecemeal ways, usually in the service of modes of expression that had a longer history of thought and practice. So, for instance, when Hikkaḍuvē wrote Buddhist history for the British colonial governor in Laṅkā, he did so in a style that owed much to British historiographical expectations. When he and his colleagues wrote on monastic discipline, an area very distant from colonial supervision, they made occasional use of scattered evidence from European texts to strengthen arguments being made according to long-standing logics of Buddhist monastic debate. When they attempted to galvanize Southeast Asian support for Lankan Buddhist institutions, to criticize and compensate for colonial activities, they usually used long-standing Buddhist networks and made their claims according to visions of Buddhist community that had a long history in the region. On one occasion, however, they deployed elements of a newer “modernist” discourse deemed suitable for the king of Siam.

While scholars have argued that we find a massive transformation of Buddhist practice modeled on Protestant Christian practice and education, we find instead remarkable stability in the central religious activities of Hikkaḍuvē and the Buddhists among whom he worked. Instead of suffering a decline in monastic power, monks remained key advisers, ritual experts, and social brokers. Buddhist educational interests dating back to the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries retained their salience, sometimes being used as a counterweight to European and colonial texts and education. New print technology helped many older forms of textual practice retain their vitality. Far from shifting to rationalistic and deritualized Buddhism, lay-people and monastics were greatly preoccupied with the ritual demands of Buddhism.

In addition to documenting Hikkaḍuvē’s problems and concerns, and the ways in which he and his colleagues approached them, this study argues for a new way of studying the impact of colonialism on colonized societies. If we are to understand the degree to which, and the ways in which, British colonial rule influenced Laṅkā and wider South Asia, we need to look closely at the habits of thought and modes of affiliation that characterized

particular persons and smaller-scale social groups during this period. This is really the problem of trying to understand the local social logic and intellectual creativity of lives fashioned in the context of colonialism. Colonized people were affected by imported ideas and social forms in different ways, and to very different degrees, depending on their circumstances and inclinations. This book therefore focuses deeply on a single Buddhist monk and his networks for theoretical as well as purely archival reasons. The study of Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala is intended as an example of how to develop human-scale studies of modes of thought and practice in colonial times. We need a number of such studies of colonial-period southern Asia, focused on different historical moments and examining a variety of persons and networks. These cases should reflect different levels and kinds of education, languages used, class and institutional locations, and patterns of institutional memory. In an ideal world, this book would help to inspire such work, which could involve some of the most exciting dimensions of social and intellectual history and historical anthropology. This call for a new approach to colonial history is a political move as well as an intellectual one. Only by moving to a more human scale will we be able to restore a richer sense of local agency to the record of colonial-period South Asians. It is a disturbing irony that several generations of postcolonial and anticolonial scholarship have made less rather than more visible the worlds of thought and action actually inhabited by colonized persons. Their lives deserve our attention. We must look closely to recognize the urgency of thought and sentiment that drove them. Hikkaḍuvē served as a monk in a time of great anxiety and great social creativity. Looking at his complex affiliations, intellectual experiments, and potent memories helps us to see more clearly the force, and the limits, of colonial power in remaking local lives and social patterns.

Although the early chapters of the book are structured in accordance with these theoretical concerns, to reveal both the work of intellect and of social affiliation and strategy, the most sustained theoretical comments appear only in the final chapter. This is for methodological reasons. If we are to restore a greater sense of human and local agency to our studies of colonialism, it is necessary that we train our minds to recognize and find natural modes of reflection and patterns of social action that characterized the periods and people we wish to understand. Only then will we be able to recognize the deeply creative logic of their activities and the terms in which they chose to express themselves, terms that could owe much to long local and regional traditions, as well as to new styles of discourse and social structure imported with colonial rule. This study is therefore written in order to

provide a microhistorical immersion in the life of Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala. It offers access to Hikkaḍuvē's voice, and a sense of the personal relationships and social imperatives that dominated his life. By making considerable use of letters and other documents written by him and others close to him, this study attempts to alter the reader's cognitive landscape to a degree, pulling the reader into Hikkaḍuvē's world. Only then is it really possible to begin to understand properly the social, institutional, and discursive contexts within which a nineteenth-century Buddhist like Hikkaḍuvē made his life. Only then will we be able to discern the human choices, and the play of intellect and sentiment, that characterized one way of being Buddhist, on a seductively beautiful island under colonial rule.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The gracious interest taken in this research by the Ven. Tibboṭuvāvē Śrī Siddhartha Sumaṅgala Mahā Nāyaka Thera of the Malvatu Vihāraya and the Ven. Aggamahāpaṇḍita Ahungallē Vimalanandatissa Mahā Nāyaka Thera of the Amarapura Mahā Saṅgha Sabhā is remembered with gratitude. Without the generous welcome and good will of the late Ven. Akuraṭiyē Āmaravaṃsa Nāyaka Thera and subsequently Ven. Akuraṭiyē Nanda Nāyaka Thera at Vidyodaya Piriveṇa, this would be a weaker study. I am deeply grateful for the many kindnesses offered to me at Vidyodaya Piriveṇa by the Venerables Director, Principal, and Librarian. I have benefited also from conversation with the Ven. Dr. Vālaṃṭiyāvē Kusaladhamma Nāyaka Thera, Director and Principal of Vidyālaṅkāra Piriveṇa. I am grateful to the Ven. Director Kīrti Śrī Dharmarakṣita Mudduvē Paññāsekhara Nāyaka Thera at Pālmadullē Rūpārūna Piriveṇa, the Ven. B. Nānavisuddhi Mahā Thera of Vijayanānda Piriveṇa and Vijayanānda Mahā Vihāraya, and the Ven. Principal M. Vipulasāra Mahā Thera and Ven. Vice-Principal M. Dhammasāra Thera at Parama Dhamma Cetiya Piriveṇa. Special thanks are due to the late Ven. Dodanḍuvē Śrī Dharmasena Anunāyaka Thera, Ven. Vaskaḍuvē Mahindavaṃsa Nāyaka Thera, Ven. Dodanḍuvē Bodhisumana Thera, Ven. Gammāddēgoḍē Puññasāra Maha Thera, Ven. Piṭiduvē Siridhamma Thera, Ven. Vaskaḍuvē Dhammissara Thera, and Ven. Doḍampahaḷē Siri Suguna Thera for making possible access to temples and manuscripts, and for discussions of several historical questions relevant to this study. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Ven. Banagala Upatissa, Chief Saṅgha Nāyaka Thera of Japan, who allowed me to read typed copies of the Anagārika Dharmapāla's diaries held in the Maha Bodhi Society's Colombo headquarters.

Developing this project, I have stood on the shoulders of giants, espe-

cially Kitsiri Malalgoda, Gananath Obeyesekere, H. L. Seneviratne, and S. J. Tambiah.

Early and encouraging support for this project came from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the American Council of Learned Societies. Subsequently, I have greatly benefited from leave and research funding provided by the Department of Religious Studies at the University of South Carolina, the Department of Asian Studies, the Southeast Asia Program, the Society for the Humanities, and the Einaudi Center for International Studies at Cornell University, and the Harvard University Divinity School. I remember happily a period of writing and research at the Whitely Center of the Friday Harbor Laboratories, connected to the University of Washington, and several visits to the Barre Center for Buddhist Studies. My departmental chairmen at two universities—Carl Evans, Ed Gunn, and Keith Taylor—were steadily supportive of this work.

I am grateful to the staff at Cornell University's Kroch Asia and Olin Libraries, the British Library, the British Public Records Office, the University of London Senate House Library, Emory University Library, the Sri Lanka National Archive, Peradeniya University Library, Colombo University Library, and Sri Jayawardenapura University Library for their assistance. At the Sri Lanka National Archive, Mrs. D. Anthony made much less daunting the early stages of this work. I express thanks to the staff at the American Institute for Sri Lankan Studies Colombo office, especially Mr. M. de S. Weerasooriya, whose interest in this project was unstinting. I benefited also from research assistance offered by K. N. Guneratne, Sarath Jayamanne, Avanthi Perera, R. Pilihapitiya, Ranjit Samarasinghe, and Sachini Weerawardena.

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K. D. Paranavithana taught me a great deal about archival materials in Colombo. I would like to express a special appreciation for his guidance.

A. D. S. Gunawardhana made possible much of the richness of this book, working as a research assistant in Colombo. She undertook the preliminary reviews of some nineteenth-century newspapers held in the Sri Lankan National Archive, helped with the reproduction of materials, and provided an initial transcription of some manuscripts composed in a particularly diffi-

cult hand. In our conversations, I benefited continually from her enthusiasm for the project and her steady interest in historical puzzles.

Colleagues have been characteristically generous in offering commentary, access to materials, and guidance through unfamiliar areas. Long ago, Frank Reynolds was wise enough to see that this should not be a dissertation. Much later, H. L. Seneviratne, Steve Collins, and Liyanage Amara-keerthi offered precious counsel on difficult translations while also making valuable stylistic suggestions for the manuscript. The generous mentoring friendship offered by Steve Collins and H. L. Seneviratne has buoyed my spirits at important times. Jayadeva Uyangoda's unfailingly good conversation and sense of humor remain an inspiration. From the early days of this project, Tissa Kariyawasam shared generously his time, rich knowledge, and lively humor. His confidence in the work has helped me to complete it.

Craig Reynolds very kindly located and translated a crucial set of Thai materials for chapter 5. Jason Carbine and Christian Lammerts helped me navigate Burmese monastic names and biographies for the same chapter. Anne Hansen, Ian Harris, and David Chandler clarified references to Cambodia. Mark Frost, Alan Trevithick, and Tom Tweed generously shared work in progress. Tom Borchert, Jonathan Young, and Trais Pearson provided useful remarks on several framing sections of the book. Over several years I have benefited from conversations or correspondence with all of those colleagues just mentioned, and also Wimala Abayasundare, Praneeth Abayasundare, Darshan Ambalavaner, W. G. Balagalle, Bertram Bastiampillai, Brett de Bary, Neloufer de Mel, C. R. de Silva, Premakumara de Silva, George Bond, Lawrence Chua, Rohan Edirisinha, Janet Gyatso, Charles Hallisey, Elizabeth Harris, Bandara Herath, Engseng Ho, Richard Jaffe, Kumari Jayawardena, Tilak Kariyawasam, W. S. Karunatilake, Biff Keyes, Richard King, the late Ananda Kulasuriya, Kitsiri Malalgoda, Justin McDaniel, P. B. Meegaskumbura, Chris Minkowski, Ranjini Obeyesekere, Thomas Patton, Patrick Peebles, Stephen Prothero, Mahesh Rangarajan, John Rogers, Peter Skillington, Stanley Tambiah, Buzzy Teiser, Ashley Thompson, V. Vitharana, Mark Whitaker, the late G. D. Wijayawardhana, and Worrasit Tantini-pankul.

Friends and relations in many places offered good cheer and hospitality. In addition to friends already mentioned above, special thanks are due to Mrs. B. T. Abeywickrama, Shiyama Arambepola, Maurice and Anne Blackburn, Karen Brazell, Celia Brickman, Tom Carroll, Rosemary Churchie, Sarojini Dassanayaka, the late John Gallant, Peter Hawkins, Sarah Heilmann, Tissa and Lilani Jayatilaka, Sita Padmini Kariyawasam, Chamali Kariyawasam, Jessica Kross, Sahit and Sarita Liyanage, Chanika and Chandana Lokuge, Archana and Dilvan Lokuge, Sylvie Lomer, Jaylene Lovette,

Padmini Meegaskumbura, Ushadee Meepagale, Massimo Prelz Oltramonti, Lorraine Paterson, Walter Perera, Sutami Ratnavale, Antonia Ruppel, Nethra Samarawickrema, Deepak Sarma, Shyam Selvadurai, Nayan Shah, Chandra and Suneel de Silva, Gwen Spizz, Thamotharan Muttiah, Jeevaratnam Thamotharan, Thamotharan Prathab, Suzan Tiemroth-Zavala, Victor Rosenbaum, Don Swearer, Chandima Weerasuriya, and Cécile Willgoss. The late John Clayton saw merit in the *bīja* of this work.

I am deeply grateful to Donald Lopez and Alan Thomas for their early, and enduring, interest in this book. Alan Thomas offered valuable guidance throughout my preparations for publication. Also at the Press, Erik Carlson's rigorous yet gracious editorial contributions improved the work considerably. The comments of the anonymous readers for the University of Chicago Press helped make the book stronger, and the arguments more accessible.

A NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS, SOURCES,
DATING, AND LANGUAGE

All translations from Sinhala and Pali are my own. Sinhala and Pali documents are reproduced in transliterated form, since not all readers of Pali read Sinhala script, and some portions of the Sinhala will be intelligible for readers of Pali and Sanskrit. I have chosen to provide transliterated text for many of the translations quoted in this study, when the original sources are not easily accessible. They may prove useful to scholars working on related projects. Sinhala passages are transliterated following the practice outlined in Gair and Karunatilake (1976).

Since the majority of the sources used were originally in Sinhala from Sri Lanka, I have chosen to use Sinhala as the language of reference for several frequently used words such as *śāsana* and *jyotiś-śāstra* where the spelling differs from Pali and Sanskrit usage, and references rely primarily on Sinhala-language materials. However, I retained Pali spellings for technical terms related to monastic life and discipline. I have also used the Sinhala and Thai spellings for place-names such as temples (e.g., Malvatu Vihāraya), although I have retained common English spellings for many Sri Lankan cities (Colombo rather than Koḷaṃba, for instance). The names of locations incorporated into monastic titles are given diacriticals, but are generally otherwise referred to according to contemporary English usage without such marks, as are the names of languages. To simplify the text for nonspecialist readers, I have omitted monastic honorifics such as Śrī from the names of historical persons. No disrespect is intended.

Some of the Pali reproduced in Sinhala sources was written with uncommon compounds, or with unusual word breaks. In some cases, this was probably the condition of the originals. In other cases, this may have resulted from the transposition to Sinhala printing. I have made occasional (marked) emendations to help readers.

Many of the sources used are nineteenth-century letters written by Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala and other Buddhist monks in Laṅkā and elsewhere in Asia. Most of the letters by Hikkaḍuvē are taken from the collection reprinted in Prajñānanda (1947, vols. 1 and 2), containing correspondence held in Sri Lankan temples during the first half of the twentieth century. Some of those reprinted letters are also available as manuscript microfilms or photocopies held in other collections, but many of them remain otherwise unavailable. There is consistency of style, voice, and topics across the correspondence reprinted in Prajñānanda's work and correspondence for which manuscript copies are available. In many cases, topics discussed in the reprinted letters can be confirmed also through nineteenth-century printed newspapers, the diaries and printed recollections of the Anagārika Dharmapāla and Henry Steele Olcott, and/or correspondence reprinted in Thailand.

Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala's letters were frequently dated according to the Buddhist Era (Buddha Varṣaya, BV), using a conversion date of 543 BCE (as evident in letters dated in both AD and BV) (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:151). This is also the conversion date presumed by Prajñānanda (1947, 1:v). Pali letters were typically dated according to the Buddhist Era, and I have retained these dates indicating their equivalents in the Gregorian calendar. Sinhala letters were typically dated according to the Gregorian calendar.

Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala at Adam's Peak

In March 1868, an edited manuscript copy of the Vinaya (a collection of Pali texts on monastic life and discipline) was brought in state from the Sabaragamuva town of Pelmadulla downriver to Kalutara on the southern coast and, thence, through a series of southern towns and villages to the major port city of Galle. The manuscript reached Galle on 5 June 1868 in the company of one of its chief editors, Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala. After months based primarily at Pelmadulla (Tissa Kariyawasam 1973, 302; Prajñānanda 1947, 1:182), surrounded by manuscripts and immersed in editorial debate at this somewhat remote location, Hikkaḍuvē must have been glad to return to his own district, and a slightly less punishing schedule. Yet, then and later, he had ample reason to be grateful for the months spent involved in the editorial council and *sangīti* (recitation of authoritative texts) at Pelmadulla. It had confirmed his status as one of the leading scholarly monks of his generation, intensifying the pride and attachment felt for him by a widening circle of teachers, students, and *dāyakas* (lay patrons). The Vinaya procession along the southern coast “was a lengthy process, during which all the Buddhists living by the side of the high road witnessed not only the labours of a scholar but the recognition and reverence offered to the scholar himself. . . . The processions were organized by the villagers on the instructions of the chief incumbent of their temple” (Tissa Kariyawasam 1973, 307).¹

1. Although Siyam Nikāya and Amarapura Nikāya monks had collaborated in the Buddhist-Christian controversies, it is striking that they made arrangements for separate processions to honor the edited Vinaya manuscripts from Pelmadulla to the southern coast (Hikkaḍuvē to Vaskaḍuvē Subhuti, 18 March 1868, in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:182). Both monastic orders were keen to make separate use of the scholarly publicity and merit-making opportunities occasioned by the completion of the Pelmadulla project. On the origins of the Amarapura Nikāya, see A. Buddhadatta (1965, 44–47), Malalgoda (1976), and Paranavitana (1983, 135–36, 139–52).

This chapter explores the biographical events and social processes that brought Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala to the Pelmadulla council, and that carried him from it to the high rank of the incumbency of Śrī Pāda nāyaka thera (chief priest of Sri Pada, or Adam's Peak). In this chapter, we meet some of the key figures who inhabit subsequent phases of this narrative, beginning to understand the world of social relationships and obligations within which Hikkaḍuvē made his life. At the same time, this chapter introduces some central features of the Lankan Buddhist world during the last half of the nineteenth century. Crucial to this world was the movement of persons and influence between the southern maritime districts (especially Galle and Colombo), the middle highlands of Sabaragamuva, and the former capital city of Kandy. Buddhist-Buddhist and Buddhist-Christian debates together helped shape Buddhist scholarship and demonstrations of monastic prowess. Lay supporters competed for connection to high-status monks, while such monks developed their careers in part by selectively mobilizing the possibilities inherent in monastic lineages. By following Hikkaḍuvē to and from his participation in the Pelmadulla editorial council we gain a broader sense of the local setting in which he and other Buddhists—lay and monastic, male and female²—made their lives and begin to sense the intellectual vitality of their era. The period we consider in this and subsequent chapters was a time of emphatic British colonial presence on the island. Lankans also witnessed the deepening and widening of ties among Laṅkā, Southeast Asia, mainland South Asia, and East Asia.

Editing at Pelmadulla

Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala was one of nearly sixty (Tissa Kariyawasam 1973, 304) Buddhist monks invited to Pelmadulla to undertake what was initially conceived of as a massive project to edit the Pali texts contained within the *tipiṭaka* (Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma collections understood to be authoritative teachings of Gotama Buddha). The invitations were made by the highest-ranking and highest-caste persons in the Sabaragamuva region, the *radala* leaders among the Goyigama, including Iddamalgoḍa, Mahavala-tānna, Ālapāta, Maḍavannavala, Ellāvala, Eknāligoḍa, and Molamurē (Pañ-ñāsekhara 1965, 112).³ Within this group Iddamalgoḍa, Basnāyaka Nilame

2. There are few references to women in the pages that follow, which refer primarily to male-dominated social networks.

3. In my view, Young and Somaratna (1996, 224) overstate Hikkaḍuvē's role as the catalyst for the Pelmadulla project. Dharmabandhu (1973, 97) cites Bulatgama Siri Sumanatissa as an adviser to Iddamalgoḍa on the project.



Fig. 1. "Map of Ceylon" (1900). From *India, Burma, Ceylon, and South Africa: Information for Travellers and Residents* (London: Thomas Cook, 1909). Courtesy the Southeast Asia Visions Digital Collection, Cornell University Library.

(chief caretaker, since 1844) of the Mahā Saman Dēvāla (shrine to the deity Saman) in the town of Ratnapura, seems to have been the most active organizer of the Pelmadulla activities. Iddamalgoḍa had constructed a Dharmaśālāva (preaching hall) to be used for the preparation of Buddhist manuscripts and for major sermons. Indeed, he seems to have conceived of the Pelmadulla Dharmaśālāva as a site for the production of authoritative texts for use by Buddhists around the island (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:172–75).⁴ Symbolically, arranging an editorial council and a *sangīti* was a bold move: it placed the editorial project of Pelmadulla within the central life story of the *Buddha-śāsana* (the teachings of a Buddha and the practices and institutions that support them), in an eminent series reaching back across King Aśoka's own council to the first textual compilations made after the death of Gotama Buddha. It claimed for Iddamalgoḍa and his *radala* neighbors the power to sponsor monastic investigation and purification of the *tipiṭaka*. This form of patronage was previously held only by kings in Lankā.

Well-regarded scholar-monks from both of the island's monastic fraternities (the Siyam Nikāya and the Amarapura Nikāya),⁵ were invited to Pelmadulla.⁶ Sections of the Vinaya were divided among the participants, who first worked separately on their assigned sections, using for comparison Siamese and Burmese manuscripts, as well as an additional local copy. Each completed section was brought to the larger assembly for presentation and discussion, leading to consensus and preparation of the final edition. Doubt-

4. See Paññasekhara (1965, 251–54) for interesting comments by Iddamalgoḍa on the distribution of manuscripts from the Dharmaśālāva. See also Tissa Kariyawasam (1973, 302–3). The *Catalogue of Pali, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Ceylon Government Oriental Library*, published in 1876, lists Vinaya texts copied “from the revised edition of Pelmadulla under the supervision of the Ratnapura Committee” (*Catalogue of Pali, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Ceylon Government Oriental Library* 1876, 5).

5. On *nikāya* organization and segmentation, see Kemper (1980, 32–35) and below.

6. Leading monks attended with their students and associates. Lists of the monastic leaders vary slightly from source to source. According to Prajñānanda, for the Siyam Nikāya: Valānē Siddhartha, Uḍūgampolē Ratanapāla, Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala, Yātrāmullē Dharmārāma, and Pandit Baṭuvantuḍāvē (formerly associated with Valānē and ordained within the Siyam Nikāya). For the Amarapura Nikāya: Lankāgoḍē Dhīrānānda, Randōmbē Dharmālankāra, Vāligamē Sumaṅgala, Doḍandūvē Piyaṭatanatissa, and Vaskaḍuvē Subhuti (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:172). In 1874, Iddamalgoḍa referred to Puvakdaṇḍāvē Sumaṅgala, Vālitara Dharmālankāra, Kōḍagoḍē Paññasekhara, Mulleriyāvē Guṇaratana, and Bulatgama Dharmālankāra Sumanatissa, omitting Valānē Siddhartha, Uḍūgampola Ratanapāla, Yātrāmullē Dharmārāma, and Randōmbē Dharmālankāra (in Paññasekhara 1965, 251–54). Kariyawasam, writing on the basis of an unpublished monastic document, indicates that responsibility for the Vinaya texts was divided among Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala, Puvakdaṇḍāvē Sumaṅgala, Pandit Baṭuvantuḍāvē, Lankāgoḍē Dhīrānānda, Vālitara Dharmālankāra, Vaskaḍuvē Subhuti, Kōḍagoḍē Paññasekhara, Mulleriyāvē Guṇaratana, Vāligamē Sumaṅgala, Doḍandūvē Piyaṭatana, and Valānē Siddhartha (Tissa Kariyawasam 1973, 303).

ful passages were discussed with reference to Siamese and Burmese versions, Pali commentaries (*atthakathā*) and subcommentaries (*ṭīkā*), and Sinhala *sannayas* and *gāṭapadas* (two forms of Sinhala gloss-commentary).⁷ Tissa Kariyawasam writes: "After irksome work of five months these scholars finished the texts assigned to them and the final meeting was held at Sudarsana Hall [the Dharmaśālāva] at which nearly sixty bhikkhus [Buddhist monks with higher ordination] from both sects [monastic orders] were present. Ten bhikkhus from each sect [monastic order] were selected as the final arbiters of the text and they had to decide the final authoritative version of the texts after critical discussion" (1973, 304). The work was strenuous, and the conditions not ideal. As Hikkaḍuvē complained to a confidant, "Because Lord Puvakdaṇḍāvē is ill, the venerable Guru and I are doing that work. Because we are short-handed it's going to be a great obstacle. There's nothing to be done about it. . . . Almost all of us have caught cold. That's given me a cough. Because one of the young monks who'd come from Ratmalana has also developed a fever with a cold, and is somewhat unwell, he hasn't set off yet for Ratmalana and is still here" (Hikkaḍuvē to an unidentified teacher, 10 August 1867, in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:176).⁸ Iddamalgoḍa traveled to Kandy and the southern maritime districts in order to organize a group of scribes who would transcribe the edited Vinaya recited by the assembled editors (Hikkaḍuvē to an unidentified teacher, 29 November 1867, in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:177).

Why did Iddamalgoḍa and his fellow patrons undertake such an expensive and time-consuming project? Certainly, it was an act of extraordinary merit making as well as an expression of wealth and status. However, the Pelmadulla project related also to the politics of landholding in the Sabaragamuva region and to the recent history of Buddhist-Christian controversy on the island. As we shall see, the Pelmadulla project was one of several activities through which *radala* landholders reached beyond the monastic community of their locale, taking advantage of an increasingly decentralized and internally competitive monastic milieu. By the time the

7. On these forms of Sinhala commentary see Blackburn (2001). It does not appear the work on the entire *tipiṭaka* was ever finished, although there seem to have been some efforts made to coordinate work from separate temples (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:173–75). See also Tissa Kariyawasam (1973, 302). Prof. Balagalla notes that the working group invited by Iddamalgoḍa only finished editing the Vinaya (personal communication, 12 July 1999).

8. "puvaddaṇḍāvē [*sic*] sāmī asanīpayen nisā gurunnānsē mahatmayat mamat ē vāḍē karaṇavā, apata udav aḍu bāvin mahat pirihiṃmak veṇṭa yanavā. karaṇa deyak nā. . . . apata hāmaṭama vāgē pratiśyāva sādunā. eyin maṭa kāssa ipadī tibenavā. ratmalānen vāḍiya pumci unnānsē kenekutaṭ pratiśyāvaṭa ānga uṇa gāṇimen vāḍiya ṭikak asanīpa nisā tavama ratmalānaṭa yaṇṭa hāti nātuva innavā."

Pelmadulla editing project got underway, tensions between Buddhists and Christians on the island had been running high for two decades. From the late 1840s, and particularly after the 1848 publication of Daniel Gogerly's *Kristiyāni Prajñāpti* (*Christian Institutes*), the intensity of written and verbal controversies between Buddhists and Christians grew steadily. These controversies became an increasingly important part of broader Buddhist self-awareness on the island. An important feature of Gogerly's *Kristiyāni Prajñāpti*, and other work undertaken by him, was the use of ideas and passages taken from Buddhist authoritative Pali texts against Buddhist positions (Malalgoda 1976, 217–18; Young and Somaratna 1996, 45).⁹ In this context, it became important for Buddhists to defend the integrity of Pali texts, leaving their Christian interlocutors with the least possible room to identify ostensibly incoherent textual passages or evidence that the transmission of Buddhist manuscripts was unreliable. The development of an interreligious debate culture that placed emphasis on the quotation and critical evaluation of Pali texts heightened Buddhist concerns about the state of their authoritative texts contained within the *tipiṭaka*. This existed in manuscript form, was preserved partly through a variety of exegetical texts held in local temple libraries, and was transmitted through decentralized oral and scribal processes.¹⁰ Although the Pelmadulla plans were not fully realized—only the Vinaya was accomplished quickly—the enterprise responded to the needs and anxieties provoked by Buddhist-Christian engagement, while also gesturing eloquently to the status, wealth, and power of its patrons.

It is no surprise that the monastic editors began with the Vinaya, a fundamental guarantor of the tradition. The Vinaya (ideally) ensures the presence of monastics possessed of proper conduct (*paṭipatti*). Such monastics are understood as best placed to engage and protect the textual resources of the tradition (*pariyatti*) and to shape lay Buddhist culture. However, at the time of the Pelmadulla activities, Vinaya texts were even more than usually on the minds of Lankan Buddhists, for two reasons. On the one hand, a certain stream of Christian criticism had focused specifically on the integrity of Vinaya texts.¹¹ On the other, Lankan monks were ac-

9. On the contents of the *Kristiyāni Prajñāpti* see Young and Somaratna (1996, 84–88).

10. See also Blackburn (2001). Contrary to Young and Somaratna (1996, 79) it was never a question of choosing *between* the pressing questions of institutionalized monasticism and the challenges of preserving and interpreting authoritative Buddhist texts. Both spheres of activity had been vital in local Buddhist circles since the middle of the eighteenth century. See Malalgoda (1976), Blackburn (2001), and, further, below.

11. See Young and Somaratna (1996, 87–91), who suggest also that some of the arguments made by Buddhist debaters on the basis of Vinaya passages changed after the Pelmadulla editing project.

tively divided among themselves on a series of topics directly related to the Vinaya. They questioned the proper location for higher ordination rituals (*upasampadā*), as well as the authority to grant higher ordination. Monks quarreled over the proper calendar according to which one would undertake lunar (*uposatha*) observances, which included a form of monastic self-regulation involving collective recitation of monastic rules (*pāṭimokkha*). There was dissent within the monastic community over how to invite monks to donated meals in the most meritoriously efficacious manner, and about the proper calendar according to which one would begin and complete the rains retreat (*vassa*), several months of central importance to monastic discipline, Buddhist merit making, and education (lay and monastic).

From Hikkaduva to Pelmadulla

In the Pelmadulla Vinaya project, Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala had considerable authority, acting on behalf of his teacher Valānē Siddhartha. He was only forty-one years old, but already quite well known. His rise to such status and influence tells us much about the monastic world of his day. Sumaṅgala was born in January 1827, to a wealthy high-caste Goyigama family residing slightly north of Galle. The family traced its line to the Kurunegala region to the west of the Kandyan highlands, in which their relations reportedly held office and influence in the seventeenth century, during the time of King Rājasimha II, with hereditary lands and a *valavva* (an elite family home; a public sign of wealth and status). One branch of the family line is said to have reached the southern maritime districts in the late seventeenth century.¹² Generations later, in the nineteenth century, Hikkaḍuvē's father, Don Johanis da Silvā, was appointed as Mahaliyanāracci (head secretary)

12. "The Walakulupola family belongs to the Bandarawaliya or the Chiefs of the Bandara class. The first ancestor of the family was Yapa Bandara who had his mansion on the spot now known as Talwatta. The members of this family held high offices in the time of the Sinhalese Kings. There are at present three Walauwas in the village owned by three members of the family. . . . It would appear that in the reign of King Rajasinha II (1626–1678) when the maritime districts were held by the Dutch, Mudiyanse Bandhara, a member of the Walakulupola family, having incurred the displeasure of the King, fled from Sat Korale and escaped into Hewessa in Pasdun Korle in the Low-country and never returned to his native village. Tradition says that Mudiyanse Bandhara managed to effect his escape through the help of his elder brother, who at the time held the high office of Ratemohottala and was a favourite of the King. . . . Liyana Arachchi of Wellaboda Pattu an Oath-administering officer at the Sinigama Dewala, was the father of *Sri Sumangala Nayaka Thero*" (*Ceylon Independent*, 11 May 1911; original italics and spellings). See also Śrī Prajñāsara, in Sorata (1962, 208).

for Wellabada Pattuva, and received the appointment name Abhayavīra Guṇavardhana from the government.¹³ The family obviously commanded resources and status. One of Hikkaḍuvē's brothers received an English-language education and became the first Sinhala teacher at the Colombo Academy (later Royal College). He later received the government title of Muhandiram.¹⁴ Another received education in English and Sinhala before gaining the appointment of palātē (district) registrar and, eventually, the title Muhandiram. The youngest son trained as a doctor in both local and European medicine before traveling for a time to work for the king of Burma. Hikkaḍuvē's godfather, Don Nikulas Obēsēkara, was a wealthy and influential man of rank within the British system of local administration.¹⁵

We are told that Hikkaḍuvē's father intended originally to send the boy for an English education, with its natural advancements. However, family concerns about his horoscope carried Hikkaḍuvē into temple life (see the preface). The Obēsēkara connection facilitated Hikkaḍuvē's novitiate ordination with a monk from Tilakārāmaya, a temple to which Hikkaḍuvē's family was also attached through a relative's donations. After eight years of study as a lay acolyte, Hikkaḍuvē received novitiate ordination in November 1840 at the Toṭagamuvē Vihāraya near Hikkaduva, in a gathering of high-ranking monks, and was granted the monastic name Sumaṅgala. There is some disagreement about the identity of his preceptor, but not about the longer lineage connecting him through the eminent southern monk Vēhāllē Dhammadinna to Vāliviṭa Saraṇaṃkara Saṅgharāja, the mid-eighteenth-century founder of the Siyam Nikāya. Not long thereafter, Hikkaḍuvē had the first of many contacts with eminent Buddhists from Southeast Asia when five senior monks came to Laṅkā from Siam (Paññāsekhera 1965, 108; Dharmabandhu 1973, 107).¹⁶ During their time in Galle, Hikkaḍuvē is said to have drawn favorable notice as a speaker and translator of Pali (the language of authoritative Buddhist texts), frequently used as a bridge language in Buddhist South and Southeast Asia. As a result, his teachers were able to

13. Here and throughout I use the term "government" to refer to the British colonial administration for Laṅkā (Ceylon), following period usage.

14. On ranks and appointments, see Peebles (1995).

15. These details are taken from Prajñānanda (1947, 1:2–18). Buddhist persons of means and status were often baptized as preparation for government service. See also Peebles (1995, 100–101). According to Young and Somaratna, with the British arrival, "the system of inducements to baptism and nominal conversion [were] incrementally deconstructed" (1996, 40). Hikkaḍuvē's baptismal name was Don Nikulas Abēvīra Guṇavardhana. See also *Sarasavi Saṅgharāsa*, 2 May 1911 (reproduced in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:840), and *Siṃhala Bauddhyayā*, 6 May 1911 (reproduced in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:878).

16. See further chap. 5 below.

place the young man with Valānē Siddhartha, arguably the leading monastic educator of his day (at least in the southern region).¹⁷ In Valānē's company, Hikkaḍuvē was drawn into the vortex of mid-nineteenth-century Buddhist politics and into the privileges and pleasures of sophisticated education in Pali, Sanskrit, and Sinhala. After several years at Valānē's school, Parama Dhamma Cetiya, in Ratmalana, and some further studies for his higher ordination (*upasampadā*) at his home temple, Tilakārāmaya, Hikkaḍuvē received higher ordination in Kandy within the monastic ritual enclosure (*sīmā*) of the Malvatu Vihāraya at the Kandyan center of the Siyam Nikāya, Hikkaḍuvē's fraternity. Word about the young monk's highly successful ordination performance, which demonstrated his intellect, quickly spread. Hikkaḍuvē was well placed for further advancement.¹⁸

If we are to understand the development of Hikkaḍuvē's career from the time of his higher ordination until his arrival at Pelmadulla, and, indeed, the manner in which he continued from strength to strength after the Pelmadulla project, we must look at his participation in intramonastic debate as well as Buddhist-Christian controversy. We must also attend to some of the friends he made along the way. The period during which young Hikkaḍuvē was educated and ordained was an extremely volatile time in the monastic world. Fierce debate divided monks and their lay supporters: Who held the authority for higher ordination? What was the correct calendar for monastic ritual observance?

The ritual enclosures at the Malvatu and Asgiri *vihārayas* (monasteries) in Kandy were established as the sites for higher ordination when the Siyam Nikāya began in the eighteenth century and, for several generations, monks seeking higher ordination traveled to Kandy in order to achieve it. However, some monks and lay patrons in the southern maritime regions were critical of Kandy's monopoly on higher ordination. Tensions in this regard surfaced within the first generation of Siyam Nikāya monks and recurred throughout the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁹ Criticism was sometimes leveled on caste grounds. Non-Goyigama men were not ordained within the Kandyan ritual enclosures, and even Goyigama

17. According to M. Dhammasāro (personal communication, 2 July 1999), the monks who came to study with Valānē were attracted by his growing fame and also came via lineage connections to Valānē. Dhammasāro notes the importance of preaching to Valānē's vision of monastic service. On Valānē see further chap. 2 below and P. Buddhadatta (1950, 70–72), Āmaravaṃsa (1962, 116–17), Dharmabandhu (1973, 100–102), Paranavitana (1983, 127–28), and Wimalaratne (1994, 134). For a useful survey of nineteenth-century Buddhist scholars and their activities, see Tilak Kāriyawasam (1995).

18. The above details follow Prajñānanda (1947, 1:19–54).

19. See Malalgoda (1976) and Blackburn (2001).

men might be treated poorly by the highest, *radala*, elite among the up-country Goyigama monks (Roberts 1982, 134–35). Caste was, however, not the only trigger for discontent. The Siyam Nikāya was, from its inception, a multiregional order that attempted to encompass (and support) monks and lay patrons from outside the Kandyan highlands within administrative and ritual structures that favored Kandyan elites. The Siyam Nikāya was, from the perspective of its own early leadership, an appropriately centralizing force based on up-country family lines and a related sense of cultural unity. However, this could look quite different when one approached the Kandyan center from its peripheries, including the southern maritime districts. Southern monks and lay patrons had a long history of multiple allegiances: to Kandyan royalty, to some extent, but also to Portuguese and Dutch powers of various kinds. Moreover, they had long possessed a sense of regional distinction. This stemmed partly from southern claims to a rich literary heritage predating the intellectual and textual work of the early Siyam Nikāya (Hēvāvasam 1966). From southern districts, it was sometimes natural to view the Kandyan center with a certain skepticism and sense of competition. Non-Goyigama, low-country higher ordination had been performed in 1772 and 1798 (Roberts 1982, 135).

This puts into a somewhat deeper context the tumultuous world of monastic politics characteristic of the 1830s and 1840s in Laṅkā. Around 1831, the monk Bentara Atthadassi took a controversial stand on three points of crucial importance to the monastic community and its lay patrons.²⁰ He argued that *dāna* (in this context understood to be a meal offered to monastics by lay patrons) was not *saṅghika* (offered to a group of monks *representative*—in a technical sense—of the monastic community) if the monks invited for the meal were invited personally, as individuals, rather than as a collective whose members (the number required by the lay patron) were to be identified by the monk in charge (Malalgoda 1976, 128–29). This was a matter of some concern, since a *saṅghika dāna* was the most meritorious form of the ritual exchange involving a meal. It was natural to want to perform a *dāna* as appropriately *saṅghika*, but one might also want the privilege of inviting monks to whom one was particularly close, or whose status was high and would therefore reflect well upon oneself as a lay patron. Bentara argued that selective invitations were incompatible with the *saṅghika* status of the donation, and his views had profound social implications. In addition, with respect to two topics eventually grouped together

20. On Bentara see P. Buddhadatta (1950, 65–69), Dharmabandhu (1973, 104–5), Malalgoda (1976, esp. chaps. 3–4), Paranavitana (1983, 128), and Obēsēkara et al. (2005, vii–xix).

(at that time) as the Adhikamāsa Vādaya (Controversy on the Adhikamāsa), Bentara stated that an incorrect calendar was in use for the calculation of *uposatha*, a fortnightly occasion for the affirmation of monastic discipline and heightened lay Buddhist attendance at temples. He also questioned the calendar used for the observance of the rains retreat (*vassa*) period.²¹ The implications of this criticism were still more troubling than those about *saṅghika dāna*. If the full lunar observances were incorrectly calculated, any monks conducting the *uposatha* according to the wrong calendar were impure. If they were impure, their monastic status (and thus also their propriety as merit-making conduits for lay patrons) was compromised. Without monastic agreement about the calendar for *uposatha* and *vassa*, the unifying rituals binding together Buddhists on the island became impossible, leading to competing programs of ritual observance and merit making. Moreover, monks observing rituals according to a suspect calendar lacked authority. Their attractiveness as recipients of the massive merit making that marks the end of the rains retreat was therefore diminished, and their patrons' status was sorely threatened. Orally, and in writing, Lankan Buddhist monks became preoccupied with the consideration of Bentara's claims. The Adhikamāsa Controversy remained unresolved throughout Hikkaḍuvē's lifetime.²² Debate about the conditions for a *saṅghika dāna* continued throughout this period as well. But in the period that concerns us here, running through the 1830s to the late 1860s, there must have been a sense that these matters could, and would, be resolved. In this flurry of activity, Hikkaḍuvē played an important and publicly visible role. In doing so, he was forced to negotiate the very delicate terrain of monastic teacher-student relations, lay-monastic patronage, and monastic administration.

By 1850, the Adhikamāsa Controversy was at a fever pitch. Bentara had not received support from the higher administration of the Siyam Nikāya in Kandy, or from Siamese monks to whom he had turned in correspondence. Clearly, however, his ideas were compelling enough to galvanize continued attention among Lankan monks, and it is likely that at least some supporters were drawn to his ideas as a wedge against the authority of the Kandyan

21. "The mode of reckoning [lunar] months naturally had implications for the mode of reckoning seasons and years. Since the lunar month was shorter than the solar month, it was necessary, from time to time, to have an intercalary month (adhikamāsa) to bring the lunar year into harmony with the solar year. The exact point of intercalation depended on the mode of reckoning the months" (Malalgoda 1976, 131). See also Alwis (1856–58, 171–72) and *Overland Examiner*, 25 October 1876.

22. See, for instance, letters dated 21 June 1892, 29 August 1892, 1 July 1904, and 27 July 1906 (SJVP, 27–28, 31, 43–44, 47–49), which show continued interest in Burmese and Indian authorities for *adhikamāsa* calculations.

Siyam Nikāya center. Hikkaḍuvē and his close friend Baṭuvantuḍāvē²³ argued against Bentara in a public debate held in 1850. Baṭuvantuḍāvē squared off against Bentara the following year (Malalgoda 1976, 134). During his years as a student at Valānē's school in Ratmalana, where Baṭuvantuḍāvē taught (as Valānē's former student), the two men had become well acquainted. Their friendship and intellectual collaboration was to endure for many years. The two men stood against Bentara at this time, and, in doing so, they cast their lot with the central Kandyan administration of the Siyam Nikāya and with what appeared to be the position of leading Siamese monks in Bangkok. This put Hikkaḍuvē and Baṭuvantuḍāvē in direct conflict with their teacher Valānē, who had become a Bentara supporter by this time (Malalgoda 1976, 134–35), and it eventually put Baṭuvantuḍāvē at odds with his teacher Maligaspē Maṅgala (P. Buddhadatta 1950, 177). In a setting that prized highly a student's loyalty and deference to his teacher, and in which a student's professional ascension depended to a large extent upon lineage relationships and a teacher's support, Hikkaḍuvē's distance from Valānē on these issues is striking. On the one hand, it reveals Hikkaḍuvē's intellectual independence, and his enduring interest in astrological science and calendrical computation.²⁴ It also indicated Hikkaḍuvē's confidence that he had already, in the early years following his higher ordination, established enough authority to stand against his teacher on the matter. During this period, he had returned to teach at his home temple, Tilakārāmaya, where he taught lay and monastic students. From Tilakārāmaya Hikkaḍuvē had strong and easy ties (including a rains retreat) to Toṭagamuvē Vihāraya (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:56). His return to the Galle area from Ratmalana was thus not only a homecoming, but also a return to the stronger orbit of Kandyan influence, since Toṭagamuvē Vihāraya was a southern base for Malvatu Vihāraya monks originating from Telwatta, near Hikkaduva.²⁵

This Kandyan orientation was forcibly demonstrated when, in 1855,

23. Baṭuvantuḍāvē left monastic life in 1849 (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:46) or 1845 (Paññāsekhara 1965, 58–59) or 1855 (P. Buddhadatta 1950, 177). His lay name was Don Andrīs da Silvā Baṭuvantuḍāvē Śrī Devarakkhita. See further below, in chap. 3, and also P. Buddhadatta (1950, 177–80), Āmaravaṃsa (1962, 144–45), Dharmabandhu (1973, 107–18), and Wimalaratne (1994, 25–26).

24. On which, see further, chap. 2.

25. The Malvatu Vihāraya physically encompasses a series of monastic residences, inhabited by monks from Siyam Nikāya temples (in the Malvatu Vihāraya line) located outside Kandy, which have a privileged representation and residence at the Kandyan center. The southern villages Telwatta and Bentara were bound to Malvatu Vihāraya in this manner. See Prajñānanda (1947, 1:56) and Jayawardhana (1889, 41). Prajñānanda speculates that Hikkaḍuvē may have returned south in part to distance himself from Valānē's stand on the controversy ignited by Bentara (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:65).

Hikkaḍuvē helped represent the Malvatu Vihāraya position on the *adhikamāsa* against Bentara at the Malvatu Vihāraya itself. This meeting led to a formal Malvatu Vihāraya letter of instruction ordering Siyam Nikāya monks not to follow Bentara's calculations (Malalgoda 1976. 136). This, in turn, incited the Bentara faction to finalize its rupture with the Kandyan center by founding the secessionist Śrī Kalyāṇi Sāmagrīdharma Saṅgha Sabhā (The United Dharma Sangha Council of Kalāniya; hereafter, the Kalyāṇi Sabhā) in 1855 in order to grant independent higher ordination to Goyigama monks from the southern maritime districts (Vajirañāṇa 1992, 24). Hikkaḍuvē's teacher Valānē supported the Kalyāṇi Sabhā and helped to perform the first higher ordination (VSSMS 1992, 24). Despite that, in 1856, Hikkaḍuvē was so strongly opposed to the devolution of higher ordination from Kandy that he proposed to the Siyam Nikāya leadership at the Malvatu and Asgiri *vihārayas* that they hire legal counsel to draft a petition for a government injunction against the Kalyāṇi Sabhā, citing both local and English law (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:63–64).²⁶ In July 1859, Hikkaḍuvē wrote again to the Malvatu Vihāraya, this time to the Mahānāyaka (the highest-ranking monk), indicating the dates used in Siam for the commencement and completion of the rains retreat and recommending that they be explained to a collective gathering of Malvatu and Asgiri monks (Hikkaḍuvē to Parakuṃburē Saraṇaṅkāra Vipassī, 29 July 1859, in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:417).²⁷ Hikkaḍuvē's allegiance to the Kandyan center was, however, neither unreflective nor without exception, as we shall often have occasion to notice. At this early stage, despite his lack of monastic seniority, Hikkaḍuvē subtly criticized Kandy for its failure to consult with monks in the maritime region on the selection of the chief monk for the maritime districts (Pāta

26. On monastic uses of the law in colonial Laṅkā see Kemper (1984).

27. "mē avuruddē vas eḷaṃbīma mē raṭṭē dvaprakāravū nisā mē raṭavāsī ghipāvidi bohō dene-kugē sit kuhul vū bāvin siyamraṭa dharmmayuttika nikāyē mahānāyaka dhurandhara pavararaṃsī suriyabandhu mahā sthāvīrayan vahansēṭa ehi dharmmayuttika nikāyika mahāsaṅghayā vahansē vas eḷaṃbena dawas da adhikamāsaya ariṇa avurudda da niyama kara tibennē kelesa dā yi maṭa liyā evuva mānavā yi mā visin liyumak yāvū heyin ema mahā sthāvīrayan vahansē da phussadeva sāsana sobhaṇa sthāvīrayan vahansē da visin esē vas eḷaṃbīm ādiya ehi niyama koṭa tibena paridi liyā maṭa liyumak evanalaḍi. ē liyuma maṭa lābunē mē masa visi veni dina diya. ehi niyama koṭa tibennēt mehi apē niyamaya lesamayī. esēt mebaṇḍu liyumak apa visin onā kalet mē raṭṭē anik pakṣayaṭa prasiddhasthāvīrādī kīpadenā vahansē kenekugē ātulat vīma nisā samahara kenek adharmmaya dharmmayayī sitana bāvin desāntaravāsī apa depakṣayen piṭat samarttha prasiddha sthāvīrayanvahansēlāgē liyakiyaman lābīma dharmmavāḍiṇṭa balavat karuṇak heyini—cheyin eyin piṭapatak mē samaga evami—ē piṭapata ubhaya viḥāravāsī maha saṃghayā vahansē atarehi prakāsa koṭa vadāraṇa lesa illami." See also the Pali letter from a leading Siamese monk in Bangkok regarding *adhikamāsa* and Dhammayuttika Nikāya calculations (Pavararaṃsī to Hikkaḍuvē, BV 2402 Jetṭhamāsa [1859], reproduced in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:400–401).

Raṭa Nāyaka), reporting unhappiness among Malvatu Vihāraya-connected monks in the maritime region (Hikkaḍuvē to an unnamed recipient, presumably at Malvatu Vihāraya, 20 May 1858, SJVP, 1–3).

The Adhikamāsa troubles, and the ordination-related cleavage in the Siyam Nikāya that they catalyzed, may seem, at first glance, quite unrelated to Hikkaḍuvē's involvement in the Pelmadulla council. However, the two are closely linked, in that in the course of his many written and oral engagements on behalf of the anti-Bentara camp, Hikkaḍuvē came to be seen as an unusually talented scholar of the younger generation, with particular interest and competence in Vinaya. Despite his distance from Valānē on matters related to Bentara's ideas, this teacher-student relationship never completely foundered. Hikkaḍuvē maintained a publicly respectful position vis-à-vis his teacher, which was probably the product of genuine attachment as well as a matter of decorum. As he wrote to a high-ranking monastic colleague at the Malvatu Vihāraya after seeing something published by Bentara and associates, "There is an urgent need to publish a rebuttal related to that pamphlet. I intentionally don't do it, because Venerable Valānē's name is connected to that piece. However, I can craft a suitable reply" (Hikkaḍuvē to an unnamed recipient, 20 May 1858, SJVP, 1–3).²⁸ At Pelmadulla itself, Hikkaḍuvē effectively served as Valānē's second-in-command, and he remained in touch with him when his teacher had returned to Ratmalana. The continued connection to Valānē, and Hikkaḍuvē's acceptance within a circle of monks and lay patrons attached to the former, was crucial to the path taken by Hikkaḍuvē after the celebrated activities at Pelmadulla. We shall see this clearly in chapter 2.

In the 1850s Hikkaḍuvē gained notice for his teaching at Tilakārāmaya Vihāraya and, later, from 1858, at Gāllē Bōgahawattē Sudarśana Paramānanda Vihāraya (P. Buddhadatta 1950, 94). While working against Bentara's camp, he was also increasingly visible as an adviser and participant in the Buddhist-Christian controversies underway in the southern maritime districts.²⁹ We have already noted that intensifying Buddhist-Christian controversy influenced decisions to sponsor the editing project at Pelmadulla. Indeed, the years between Hikkaḍuvē's higher ordination and his arrival to edit at Pelmadulla were an active and highly charged period of religious inquiry and

28. "ē patraya gāna kāraṇā sahitava pratyuttara patrayak accugasvaṇṭa avaśyayenma yutuva tibenuya. ēka mā visin utsāha karalā nokarannē ē patrayaṭa valānē hānuduruvangē nāmaya ek karalā tibena nisāya. numut iṭa nisi uttara sāda denṭa puluvana."

29. In this sphere of activity, Hikkaḍuvē and Bentara had shared concerns and overlapping literary projects. See Young and Somaratna (1996, 100–101) and Obēsēkara et al. (2005, xii–xix).

intellectual combat.³⁰ Much has been written in Sinhala and English about this period, and about the debates that extended beyond it into the 1870s.³¹ In chapter 2 we enter further some of these currents, exploring the connections between Buddhist-Christian controversy and the activities undertaken by Hikkaḍuvē and his chief lay patrons from Colombo.

In July 1862, the island's second Buddhist printer—*Laṃkopakāra* (Lanka's Aid) Press—was established in Galle (the first was in Colombo) under the leadership of the well-regarded Amarapura Nikāya monk Bulatgama Dhammāṅkāra Sumanatissa, resident at Parāmānanda Vihāraya in Galle.³² Subsequently, Bulatgama received maintenance grants for the press from King Rama IV of Siam—with whom Bulatgama had a long association dating to the king's years in robes—and a wealthy up-country man of high rank (Malalgoda 1976, 219). Hikkaḍuvē, by then resident in Galle and a close friend of Bulatgama, became a leading author for the press, which published a variety of small printed works and periodicals, as well as the Sinhala newspaper *Laṃkālokaya* (*Light of Lanka/The World of Lanka*). Baṭuvantūḍāvē involved himself in commentarial and editorial work (Paññāsekhara 1965, 60).³³ As Kitsiri Malalgoda has observed, during the 1860s much Buddhist-Christian riposte and exchange occurred through a series of periodicals which staged an extended encounter. While Mohottivattē Guṇānanda published from Colombo, Hikkaḍuvē wrote from Galle for *Sudarśanaya* (*Right View*), *Bauddha Vāksāraya* (*Essence of Buddhist Speech*), *Sumati Saṅgrahaya* (*Compendium of Suitable Opinions*), and *Labdhi Tūlāva* (*Comparison of Views*) (Malalgoda 1976, 220–21), as well as *Āgamparīkṣāva* (*Review/Inves-*

30. Young and Somaratna's characterization is, however, unduly negative and representative of a somewhat patronizing tone that runs throughout their volume: "A state of virtually unrelenting and relentlessly reactionary hysteria prevailed, commencing with the arrival of the British missionaries" (1996, 40). As their own evidence makes clear, much material produced by Christians and Buddhists was both creative and logical. Moreover, Buddhists and Christians (local, as well as foreign) worked closely together in several arenas, not least commerce, law, and education.

31. See, for instance, Malalgoda (1976), Gombrich (2006), Young and Somaratne (1996), Obesekere et al. (2005), and Harris (2006).

32. On Bulatgama see P. Buddhadatta (1950, 73–78), Malalgoda (1976, 160–63), Āmaravamsa (1962, 111–12), and Dharmabandhu (1973, 94–97). Buddhadatta perceptively notes that Bulatgama's exceptionally wide circle of friends across monastic orders and regional lines was due to the combination of his up-country Goyigama birth and Amarapura Nikāya ordination (P. Buddhadatta 1950, 76).

33. Paññāsekhara notes the network of scholars and lay patrons most closely involved with *Laṃkopakāra* Press: in addition to Bulatgama and Hikkaḍuvē, Vāligamē Sumāṅgala, Dodantūḍē Piyaṭatana, Uḍuhāvara Abhayakōṇ, and Jayasundara Herat Baṇḍāra Mudali (Paññāsekhara 1965, 96).

tigation of Religions) (Young and Somaratna 1996, 119). While Lamkopakāra Press closed in 1865, Laṅkābhīnava Viśruta (New Fame of Laṅkā) Press—established in 1863—remained active through most of the century.³⁴

A letter composed by Hikkaḍuvē in March 1862 to an unnamed monk gives us a sense of the intellectual and organizational challenges of the period. Responding to an invitation to participate in a debate, Hikkaḍuvē emphasized that, given what his correspondent had in mind, a large number of pandits (publicly recognized scholars) would be needed. He went on to recommend that both his former teachers Valānē and Baṭuvantuḍāvē be invited to participate, and mentioned specifically Bentara's student Vāligamē Sumaṅgala as well.³⁵ Hikkaḍuvē's correspondent had inquired about whether he was writing anything that might be useful in relation to the debate, which appeared to concern geography and cosmology.³⁶ Hikkaḍuvē responded that, while he had written something about the Candra and Sūrya Paritta texts (protective recitation texts referring to the sun and the moon), he hesitated to interpret these particular texts (and the Saptasūryodgamana Sutta) in a practical manner, indicating that they should be read as parables. Hikkaḍuvē proposed another avenue for critical reflection and debate, linking his observations of lunar movements and work in *jyotiś-śāstra* with his understanding of scientific positions emanating from Europe. Hikkaḍuvē wrote at length about the apparent fixity of lunar features, including marks on the moon's surface visible from the earth that he interpreted as the absence of lunar and terrestrial rotation (Hikkaḍuvē to an unnamed monastic recipient, 7 March 1862, SLNA 5/63/17/335).³⁷ A year earlier, Hikkaḍuvē had written to his monastic colleague Aṃbagahavattē Saraṇaṃkara (then on a visit to Burma) about a closely related matter, in response to Gogerly's criticisms of the cosmological descriptions contained within Pali texts:

Further, presently a powerful obstacle to us in this country is a book produced by the priest Gogerly living at Kollupitiya [Colombo] very much more powerful than their earlier books, casting aspersions on Buddha's

34. See further chaps. 2 and 3.

35. As others (Malalgoda 1976; Young and Somaratna 1996) have noted, anti-Christian activity drew monks together across monastic fault lines of caste, *nikāya*, ritual controversy, and so on.

36. On cosmological arguments within Buddhist-Christian controversy, see Young and Somaratna (1996, esp. chaps. 2–3). Problems related to geography and cosmology were drawn more sharply into the debates by Gogerly's critique of Pali textual accounts of these topics.

37. A partial version of this letter is held in a collection of Vaskaḍuvē Subhuti's correspondence at his former temple of residence in Vaskaḍuva, so it was probably written to Vaskaḍuvē. I am grateful to Vaskaḍuvē Mahindavamsa Nāyaka Thera for access to the collection.

omniscience and denying Gotama Buddha's omniscience. Seven thousand copies of that book have been printed in a single printing, and distributing [them] and preaching from the book in various parts of the country it's in many ways a powerful strategy to destroy the *śāsana* of the Omniscient One. Now because the chief monk of Colombo and others have appointed me to write a reply to that book, I am writing now. . . . Of the contents of that book there is now difficulty in formulating a reply to one element: that is, about telling the time in the other countries known to the English. It is proved that there is a difference of thirteen hours and twenty minutes according to the Sinhalese hour system between the two, sunrise in Colombo, Laṅkā, and sunrise in London, Europe, and that day in America is night here. Someone asked whether those countries belong to Jambudvīpa [a continent on the flat Buddhist world system, according to which there should not be such differences]. Further, with respect to statements such as that in Norway the sun does not set for several days and that daylight there is continuous, we cannot say it is untrue since it said that there are people who visit those countries for commerce as well as our own. . . . Therefore, I entreat you to discuss this matter with the accomplished learned senior monks [*theras*] of that country [Burma] and quickly, without fail, tell us a way to understand it, or tell how to present the ideas of those senior [Burmese] monks. (In Prajñānanda 1947, 2:685–86)³⁸

38. “tavada mē raṭē vasana apaṭa dān pāmiṇa tibena balavatvū pirihiṃmak nam kollupitiyē vasana gōgarlī nam pādīlī visin sarvañjayan vahansēgē sarvañjatāñjanayaṭa doṣaroṇaya koṭa gautama sarvañjayanvahansēṭa sarvañjatāñjanayak tibunē nātāyi kiya issara karalā tibuna ovungē potvalaṭa vaḍa atīṣayin balavat lesa potak tanā ē pot hatdāhak ekaviṭa accugasvā raṭē bedā demīn ē ē tānvala poten deśanā karavamīn bohōsēma sarvañjaśāsanaya nasana piṇisa karaṇa lada dādi prayogayayi. dān ē potaṭa uttara liyaṇṭa koḷaṃba nāyaka hānuduruvan ādīn visin maṭa niyamakaḷa bāvin dān liyami. . . . ē potē pēna karuṇuvalin dān uttara livīma duskarava tibennē eka kāraṇayak gānaya: enam dān iṅgrīsīn atarē dānagaṇa tibena raṭavala kālaya pavatina vidhiya gānaya. laṅkāvē koḷaṃbaṭa ira udāvīmat ērōpē laṇḍan nuvaraṭa udāvīmat deka siṃhala pāyen dahatun pāyakut vinādi vissakaṭa venasva ekakaṭa ekak aḍuvādi vena bavāt amarikāvaṭa davāla mē raṭaṭa rā bavāt oppukaralā tibenevāya. itin ē raṭaval jambudvīpaṭa ayatdāyi ahalā tibennā: tavāt nōruvē nam raṭē dasas kipayak ira nobāsa dāvalava pavatinavāya yanādiya boruya kiyāṇṭa nopuluvan ē raṭavalaṭa veḷāṇḍamaṭa yana minisun mē raṭaṭat enavā yayi kiyana nisāya . . . mē nisā mē kāraṇaya gāṇa oya raṭē āgama ugāt samartha sthāvīrayan vahansēlā samaga kathākaraḷa hāṅgi yana hāṭiyak hevāt ē sthāvīrayan vahansēlāgē kalpanāva vadāraṇa hāṭiyak apaṭa puluvan kaḍinamin danvana lesa novalahā siṭaṭa gannā lesa bohōsē illami.”

Hikkaḍuvē retained a strong interest in problems of geography and cosmology even after the famous Buddhist-Christian debates of the mid-nineteenth century. Writing to an unnamed, nonmonastic correspondent in 1892, for instance, Hikkaḍuvē sought access to a new book. “That day [you] spoke with me about the preparation of a book by Mr. Vācissara, harmonizing the shape of the world with *Buddha-vacana*. I would like to look at it before it is published. I have a great desire to see it. There are many elements for me to publicize in various periodicals about this”

Again we see Hikkaḍuvē straining at the intersection of two cosmologies, here seeking advice from Buddhist intellectuals abroad about how the conceptual framework of the Buddhist world system articulated in Pali texts might be defended.

From Pelmadulla to Sri Pada

When Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala came to Pelmadulla not long after his participation in the famous Buddhist-Christian debate at Baddegama, he was well seasoned and remarkably well connected. He had, in the roughly twenty years since his higher ordination, displayed intellectual and organizational skills of value to the monastic world and to clusters of lay patrons associated with the dramas developing within the monastic community. He was a major player in monastic interactions with local and foreign Christians. Without irretrievably rupturing ties to his teacher Valānē and relationships oriented around the Ratmalana educational center, Hikkaḍuvē had become an important support to the Kandyan base of the Siyam Nikāya, especially to the monastic administrators of the Malvatu Vihāraya. This was a man capable of hard work, prepared to devote great energy to matters he held dear. These were often matters he thought threatened the security of Buddhist teachings and their institutional supports—the *śāsana*—in Laṅkā. Subsequent chapters reveal a range of intellectual and social interests to which Hikkaḍuvē devoted his attention. We will see both the forms of knowledge on which he drew and the intersecting spheres of belonging and responsibility that motivated and continued to drive his efforts. For now, having gained some sense of the debates and social processes that vitalized the Lankan Buddhist world of this period, we must simply recognize the naturalness of Hikkaḍuvē's invitation to Pelmadulla.

Hikkaḍuvē's ability to walk this delicate line between up-country and southern interests helps to explain why he was selected to occupy a monastic position of high rank in that region, one which also brought with it considerable influence throughout the island. In 1866 Hikkaḍuvē was selected

(SJVP, 55). He went on to discuss certain topics of particular interest: a *tipiṭaka* reference to the possibility of overturning the earth's surface in order to obtain nourishment, the mechanism producing the earth's quaking response to Māra as mentioned in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, Saṃyutta Nikāya references to changes in the earth's topography through several Buddha eras, differences between *jyotiś-śāstra* accounts of celestial objects and Vimānavatthu descriptions of celestial *vimānas*, and the distance traveled by the earth in orbit around the sun (SJVP, 55–66).

to serve as Śrī Pāda Nāyaka. That is, he was chosen to become the monk with controlling authority for the popular pilgrimage site of Sri Pada (Adam's Peak), near Ratnapura, and for the lands and labor associated with that location. Thus, the Pelmadulla editorial council intersected with another highly publicized chain of events in Sabaragamuva, involving Hikkaḍuvē and Iddamalgoḍa. Let us now examine Hikkaḍuvē's appointment as Śrī Pāda Nāyaka, and the furor it created. In doing so, we will deepen our understanding of the social and economic networks characteristic of Lankan Buddhism in this period, while charting Hikkaḍuvē's ascension to a position that was to be deeply formative for his subsequent activities on the island, and in relation to foreigners from Europe, America, and Asia. Looking closely at the troubles surrounding Hikkaḍuvē's appointment, and the manner in which they were resolved through legal proceedings reaching to the Supreme Court of Ceylon, shows how Hikkaḍuvē and his lay patrons worked strategically at the intersection of their own local interests and government concerns. In doing so, they drew on a doubled repertoire of ideas and authorities related to monastic rights and responsibilities, one rooted in both local and colonial conversations and forms of discourse.

On 10 June 1866,³⁹ a group of monks resident in Sabaragamuva and connected to the Kandy Malvatu Vihāraya met and agreed to remove the incumbent Śrī Pāda Nāyaka, Galagamē Atthadassi. They also agreed to invite Hikkaḍuvē to take up the appointment. The decision of this group was communicated to the assistant government agent of Ratnapura since, at that time, it was government policy to provide official recognition of appointments made by local electors.⁴⁰ Government recognition of Hikkaḍuvē's appointment was received on 8 June 1867, by which time he was editing manuscripts at Pelmadulla (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:77). A celebratory procession was held in July of the same year, with the participation of Amarapura Nikāya monks (*Lakrivikiraṇa*, 26 July 1867). On 28 April 1869, ousted Galagamē brought legal suit against Hikkaḍuvē. It came to trial on 29 May 1870 at the

39. Prajñānanda (1947, 1:81) gives the year as 1867, but this does not match the legal documents and newspaper coverage.

40. Government involvement in Buddhist monastic appointments had a long and vexed history on the island. Early undertakings by the British to adopt powers held by the former Kandyan royalty with respect to Buddhist practice gave way to greater distance from monastic administration as the government came under pressure from some influential Christians (including missionaries) who questioned the propriety of a "Christian Government" "acting as head of the Buddhist church" (Hayley 1923, 535). An 1853 dispatch instructed the governor of Ceylon to cease making appointments, but certificates of recognition were issued to those elected by local electors (Hayley 1923, 534–36). See also Malalgoda (1976, 121–25).

Ratnapura District Court, resulting in a favorable judgment for the plaintiff on 3 June 1870.⁴¹ Although the content and tone of Judge Saunders's ruling was generally unfavorable to Galagamē (in ways we shall examine shortly), he determined that "plaintiff [Galagamē] is the legal Chief Priest of the Adam's Peak establishment, and [decreed] that he be placed and quieted in possession of the emoluments and endowments attaching thereto" (*Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 25 June 1870).

Saunders's ruling came after a stormy period (overlapping with the final months of the Pelmadulla editing project) in the district following Galagamē's ouster. As a major English newspaper reported, "The Nayaka contest between Gallagama and Sipkaduwa [Hikkaḍuvē] has given rise to J.P. [Justice of the Peace] proceedings against the Unnanses [monks] of either party, a riot having resulted among the partisans of the latter" (*Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 16 May 1868). "The Pilgrimage season to the Sreepada (Adam's Peak) having commenced, the Nayaka priest [Hikkaḍuvē] has applied to the Government and got a Police man to protect the offerings [made by pilgrims], fearing that the vanquished Galagamites will renew their attacks as they did last year. But there is no fear of such a recurrence, as the Galagamites are advised to institute legal proceedings against the Sipkaduwites for recovering possession of the Sreepada. The case will be a heavy one" (*Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 9 March 1869).

Hikkaḍuvē thus edited Vinaya manuscripts at Pelmadulla, on the invitation of Iddamalgoḍa and his *radala* colleagues, amid considerable tension and upheaval. His cough, of which he complained to his teacher, was probably the least of his worries. To make matters very much worse, Valānē died suddenly at the conclusion of the editing work, after returning to Ratmalana on business. Hikkaḍuvē received the news in mid-February, just after the merit-making ritual held at the Iddamalgoḍa family estate [*valavva*] to celebrate the *sangīti*'s conclusion (Hikkaḍuvē to an unnamed teacher, 18 March 1868, in *Prajñānanda* 1947, 1:178). Valānē's death sparked unpleasant gossip on the island, which would have added to the strain on Hikkaḍuvē. As Hikkaḍuvē reported to one of his colleagues:

This month on the sixteenth, as we were finishing eating the meal given at the home of Honorable [lit. Chief Minister] Iddamalgoḍa in honor of [the completion of the editorial work], like taking *halāhala* poison after drinking ambrosia, I received the sad news of the death of my teacher Venerable Valānē. Grieving on account of that, without tidying up the

41. Vanderstraaten (1872, 215–16); *Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 5 April 1870.

manuscripts, etc. here, I turned that business over to the young one, Māboṭuvana, and, having those who accompanied me remain here, I left for Ratmalane on the seventeenth and returned to Pelmadulla on the twenty-eighth after doing one *pinkama* [for Valānē, a death ritual] and having discussed the business there related to [the death].

... And we've learned that a rumor has arisen in Galle saying that our Venerable Valānē's death was hastened by coming to Sabaragamuva for the editorial work. That baseless story has arisen; it's absolutely untrue. (Hikkaḍuvē to an unnamed teacher, 18 March 1868, in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:178)⁴²

It's been said privately by Āpā Appuhāmi [whom we meet again in chap. 2], who had examined the horoscope, that it indicated he would die at that time. (178)⁴³

Hikkaḍuvē's appointment as chief monk (*nāyaka*) had been made by a group of Sabaragamuva monks, acting in concert with Iddamalgoḍa and other *radala* colleagues (who had earlier shared in the preparations for the council at Pelmadulla).⁴⁴ The Pelmadulla editing project was thus the second of two ambitious projects led by Iddamalgoḍa at this time and involving Hikkaḍuvē. Why was Iddamalgoḍa keen to alter the temple leadership at Sri Pada? Control over the Sri Pada temple and pilgrimage site brought money, land, and Buddhist authority, as Premakumara de Silva has shown.

This temple was/is the largest recipient of offerings made by pilgrims, among other popular pilgrimage sites in the island⁴⁵ and it claimed di-

42. "ema masa 16 veni dina ē gāna iddamalgoḍa matiṇḍugē valavuvē dun dānaya vaḷaṇḍā avasanvenakoṭa amṛta pānāvasānayaṭa halāhala viṣa lābunāk men magē ācāryavū valānē hāmuruvan vahansē kālayātrā kalāya yana duk hasuna lābunā. eyin hr̥vedanāvaṭa pāmiṇi mama mehi pot pat āḍiyavat as nokoṭa ē kaṭayutu māboṭuvana kuḍā tānaṭa bhāraḱoṭa mā samaga ā udaviya mehi siṭiddi ma 17 veni dina piṭatvī ratmalānaṭa gos ehi ē gāna kaṭayutu kathā bas koṭa ek pinkamakut karalā nāvata 28 veni dina pālmadullaṭa āmi. . . . apē valānē hāmuruvangē kālayātrāva ikman vunē pot śuddhiya piṇisa sabaragamuvaṭa vāḍiya nisā yayi galle kathāvak ipaḍi tibene bava apaṭat sālayi. eṣē nikaruṇe ē kathāva upan namut atisayinma ē asatyayi."

43. "ē vakavānuvaṭa kālayātrāva viya yutu bava kēndraya bālū āpā appuhāmi visin rahasē kiyā tibunā."

44. According to Prajñānanda, Iddamalgoḍa's efforts to have Hikkaḍuvē appointed were made in cooperation with the following Sabaragamuva *radala* colleagues: Mahavalatānna, Ālapāta, Maḍuvannavala, Ellāvala, Eknāligoḍa, and Molamurē, to whom he was related (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:81, 172).

45. According to the 22 April 1867 *Report of the AGA, Ratnapura*, ten to twelve thousand pilgrims used the primary road to the peak between November and May (evidence of "the Mo-

rect control by the monks of the Malvatte Chapter (*pārshava*) of Siyam Nikaya in the province of Sabaragamuva. The Sri Pāda temple's annual income was always far ahead in comparison to other main pilgrimage sites in the island such as the Temple of the Tooth Relic in Kandy, the shrine of god Kataragama, and the Bo Tree temple in Anuradhapura. (D. de Silva 2005, 71–72)⁴⁶

The incumbency of Sri Pāda was assumed only second to the posts of Asgiriya and Malvatte Mahanayakas (Chief Monks) and like the Mahanayakas of the both [*sic*] Nikayas [i.e., divisions within the Siyam Nikāya], the chief priest of Sri Pāda temple has the equal voting power when appointing the *atamasthana adhipati* [incumbent monk of an important pilgrimage temple] at Anuradhapura. (72 n. 72)

Moreover, the lands held by the temple were considerable. Approximately 165 *amunu* (~ 412.5 acres) of rice paddy land and more than 300 *amunu* (more than 750 acres) of land for dry cultivation were under the control of the Śrī Pāda Nāyaka and his appointed managers. (87)

The value of this acreage increased from the middle of the 19th century as the plantation economy took hold on the island. (84)

Allegiances of caste, class, and region also distanced Iddamalgoḍa and his wealthy *radala* associates from monks like Galagamē whose antecedents lay with the less elite Goyigama families rooted in the deep southern maritime districts rather than the up-country territories (D. de Silva 2005, 84). Disputes over the incumbency of the Sri Pada temple went back to the first generation of Siyam Nikāya monks and were articulated throughout the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries in terms of struggles between monastic lineages based in Kandy and the southern districts (D. de Silva

hatti Muhandiram of Uḍa Pattu" during an "Enquiry into the complaints to the state of the Peak road and the halting stations [for pilgrims]." "Punchi Mahatmaya Lekam of Mahapattu Kuruwita Korle" estimated the total annual number of pilgrims at thirty thousand, while "Nugegodage Juanis Silva" put the number at seventy-five thousand (SLNA 45/14).

46. During the inquiry organized by the government in response to reports (from Eknāligoḍa among others) that facilities were in disrepair owing to the unsettled state of the Śrī Pāda Nāyaka appointment, pilgrim revenues were estimated near two thousand pounds sterling. According to Nugegodage Juanis Silva, "They consist of rice, cotton cloth, cocoanuts, iron rods, tin ware, iron pots, perfumes, [unclear item, 'razors'?] and many other objects. I believe that these things are mostly sent to the Perahera at Ratnapura to be sold" (SLNA 45/14).

2005, 74; Malalgoda 1976, 84–86). However, tensions with respect to incumbency and land control were rising during the 1860s, a period in which lay patrons associated with the Sri Pada site stood to gain and lose more dramatically from one monastic appointment or another. Concurrently with rising values for temple lands in the context of an emergent plantation economy, the government sought to check revenue losses by examining temple land claims and deciding temple land boundaries through a commission established in 1857 and active through the 1860s. The aim was to eliminate tax exemption for lands fraudulently claimed as temple lands through the collusion of landowners, temple incumbents, and local administrators (Balasingham 1968, 118–19; Rogers 1987, 353). Moreover, government interest in the management of temple revenue and property was increasing, expressed in part through a Service Tenures Commission established to gather information on *dēvāla* [deity shrines] and Buddhist temple lands for which service was due from tenants to landholders (Rogers 1987, 352).⁴⁷ While the

47. As Rogers has noted, by the time Governor Gregory reached the island in early 1872, discussion was already underway about the administration of temple lands (1987, 352). In a letter drafted in 1872 but not sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies until 1876, Gregory wrote: "It is said that if the Buddhists see their Temples and sacred places falling into ruin by the neglect and fraudulent conduct of their priests they will conceive a contempt for their religion and become Christians. Apart from the immorality of this argument (if it be our duty to intervene) I deny on the most competent authority the correctness of this assertion—Devil dancing not Christianity is the alternative. . . . Although it is highly desirable that Buddhists should become Christians, still it is not desirable that they should exchange a singularly pure religion for either entire disbelief in any religion whatsoever, or for the barbarous rites of devil dancing" (sent as an enclosure with a letter dated 26 September 1876, CO 54/503). Gregory appointed a commission to investigate the administration of temple lands, and to seek local opinion on the government's proposed innovations (*Governor Gregory's Address to the Legislative Council*, 26 May 1875). Iddamalgaḍa and Hikkaḍuvē were among the Lankans examined by the commission, which wanted to hear Iddamalgaḍa's account of revenues obtained from Sri Pada. He was under criticism by some locals and members of the government for alleged abuse of *dēvāle* labor and management of revenues from Sri Pada (*Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Administration of the Buddhist Temporalities*, CO 54/527). See also Rogers (1987), *Overland Ceylon Observer*, 16 June 1874, and *Overland Examiner*, 4, 5, and 9 November 1874 and 12 January 1875. In response to the commission's questions about appropriate Buddhist management committees, Hikkaḍuvē's answers (submitted in writing from Vidyodaya Pirivena) did not pose a threat to Iddamalgaḍa's position. "To manage these matters committees consisting of the Bas-nāyaka Nilames, and headmen of the district should be appointed. Each committee should have a paid president, who should be a man of consequence conversant with the ancient usages and customs of the Buddhist religion. Such committees should annually submit a Report to the Government Agent of the Province, shewing the yearly income, and its expenditure. Such committees should consult persons learned in Buddhism. Should the Government Agent find any thing wrong in such reports, he should make enquiries thereon" (*Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Administration of the Buddhist Temporalities*, CO 54/527). Gregory's proposals were made near the end of his tenure as governor (CO 54/507).

government needed to retain a distance from involvement in the “religious” affairs of Lankan Buddhists, government administrators on the island began to reflect on temple establishments as charitable trusts with obligations to local residents. As government interest in matters related to temple lands and labor became more pronounced, the pressure grew on local landholders to cultivate close, symbiotic relations with the monastic incumbents of land-rich temples. Divided loyalties risked diminished access to valuable land and labor. Iddamalgoḍa had already struggled with Galagamē on such matters, through a legal case about lands at Kuttapitiya.

Strained relations between Iddamalgoḍa and Galagamē were the subject of much gossip on the island as what the English papers called “the Peak Case” came dramatically into public view through disturbances at Sri Pada, Galagamē’s lawsuit, and Hikkaḍuvē’s subsequent appeal. In his report to superiors, the assistant government agent (AGA) noted that “about 30,000 pilgrims by all the roads go to the Peak each year. Their contributions must be worth at least [pounds sterling] 2000. Not a farthing has been spent on the road to the Peak or on the poor pilgrims. The contributions are simply appropriated by the High Priest [Galagamē] to his own use” (20 April 1867 *Report of the AGA, Ratnapura*). According to the influential English-language newspaper the *Bi-Monthly Examiner*, Iddamalgoḍa had pushed for Galagamē’s deposition from the position of chief priest (29 June 1867). Earlier, the newspaper had drawn attention to an alleged dispute between Iddamalgoḍa and Galagamē over a loan to the former made from temple funds: “It is clear that money is the root of these revolutions in the Buddhist departments, and that the Chiefs disappointed from going in for a share are the prime movers thereof. The fact of Iddamalgoḍa Basnaike having been refused by the Chief Priest the loan of £200 just before the commencement of the movement for deposition, argues a good deal in favour of the plaintiff [Galagamē] who is only a poor victim in the hands of these rapacious mandarins” (*Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 25 June 1870). Money and land control were undoubtedly concerns central to Iddamalgoḍa’s efforts, though we might now hesitate in the face of the last racist insult, recognizing the rather widespread urge to wealth, power, and extraction characteristic of that time and our own. However, matters were still more complex, in the sense that efforts to displace Galagamē required cooperation from the Kandyan Malvatu Vihāraya center of the Siyam Nikāya. Hikkaḍuvē’s ability to command the confidence of both Kandyan and southern (non-Kalyāṇi Sabhā) Siyam Nikāya leaders, as well as his scholarly reputation, made him a replacement candidate on whom Iddamalgoḍa and Kandyan Siyam Nikāya authorities could agree. The Kandyan center of the Siyam Nikāya, already surely

alarmed by Amarapura Nikāya gains in the Sabaragamuva region,⁴⁸ had been placed on the defensive by Bentara's claims, which, as we have seen, resulted in a secessionist ordination movement (the Kalyāṇi Sabhā) in the 1850s. By virtue of caste and regional alliances, the Sabaragamuva *radala* and the Kandyan senior administration of the Siyam Nikāya were natural allies. Such sympathies were enhanced by Kandyan Malvatu Vihāraya recognition that Hikkaḍuvē—a southern Goyigama monk with proven loyalties to Kandy—was an ideal protection against threats to Kandyan authority originating from the southern maritime districts.⁴⁹ “In the disputes of the late nineteenth century, the Kandyan monks of Malvatta (the supreme council of the Malvatta establishment) took the side of the Colombo monks [Hikkaḍuvē and his pupils, according to de Silva] and strengthened their position in Ratnapura (Sabaragamuva) by appointing Colombo monks to the highest official positions of the Malvatta establishment in the Province” (D. de Silva 2005, 75 and n. 84).⁵⁰ While the Kandyan Malvatu Vihāraya was able to make common cause with Sabaragamuva *radala* on the Sri Pada appointment, Iddamalgoḍa supported Amarapura Nikāya monks in the region as well. The Dharmasāḷāva at which the Vinaya project took place had been given to the Amarapura Nikāya (*Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 25 June 1870; Vanderstraaten 1872, 223).

We cannot know how much Hikkaḍuvē knew about the micropolitics related to the Sri Pada incumbency. As a monk who had come of age amid

48. A letter apparently dating to 1845, included within a letter to the press published in 1867 (although written from a Christian, pro–Amarapura Nikāya, perspective) gives some sense of these tensions: “The Inhabitants of Saffragam [Sabaragamuva], at the capture of Kandy by the British, as other Kandyans, were Buddhists of the sect [*nikāya*] called Siamese, the form of Buddhistical faith, that had been established long ago by their kings: but of late a change has taken place, in the religion of the people of this District. The doctrines of the sect [*nikāya*] called Amarapura . . . have made rapid progress in the Kandyan provinces, more particularly in Saffragam. . . . most of the Siamese priests, to retain their lands have not changed their faith [*sic*], fearing that a change might be attended with the loss of temple lands in their possession, given to them by the late kings of Kandy” (*Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 15 June 1867 and 29 June 1867).

49. See also D. de Silva (2005, 83). There were strong monastic ties between the southern maritime districts and Sabaragamuva, since at least the start of the Siyam Nikāya. See Vajirañāna (1992) and Hēvāvasam (1966). I am grateful to the late Prof. A. Kulasuriya for a discussion of these topics. He noted that the eminent monk Karatoṭa drew monks from Matara District as well as Sabaragamuva (personal communication, 19 July 1999). By the time of Hikkaḍuvē's death, in 1911, new “traditions” that effaced from view many contentious aspects of the Sri Pada case had begun to circulate, though monastic memories were undoubtedly more tenacious: “The appointment of Hikkaduwa was made on the ground that he was at the time the most prominent priest amongst the Buddhists and the high priesthood of Adam's Peak was invariably conferred on the most prominent Buddhist priest available” (*Ceylon Independent*, 25 May 1911).

50. On the place of Kandy in nineteenth-century Buddhist activities, see also Rogers (1987).

Buddhist-Christian controversy and the monastic troubles catalyzed by Bentara's claims, he was presumably not easily surprised by much in the monastic community or outside it. It seems unlikely that a monk with strong intellectual and organizational interests would have hesitated long in the face of the opportunity to gain such an important professional platform.⁵¹ He would have recognized also the possibility of devolving a certain amount of administration to lay and monastic colleagues.⁵² In any event, according to a document reproduced by Prajñānanda, on 6 June 1866 (four days prior to the Sabaragamuva monastic meeting that deposed Galagamē and approved Hikkaḍuvē as his replacement) Hikkaḍuvē wrote a formal letter outlining his suitability for the post of Śrī Pāda Nāyaka. In addition to noting his learning and status, and making appropriate pledges for the future, Hikkaḍuvē explained the propriety of his appointment in terms of selective, doubled, biregional monastic lineage and in terms of recognition received from Southeast Asia. He declared himself first a monk in the lineage of Vāliṇṇa Saraṇaṃkara, the eighteenth-century Kandyan founder of the Siyam Nikāya who administered that order as Saṅgharāja (supreme leader of the monastic community) from Kandy's Malvatu Vihāraya.⁵³ Second, however, in a revealing and well-considered move, Hikkaḍuvē announced that he stood in the lineage of Karatoṭa Dharmārāma (a student of Attaragama Rājaguru, himself a student of Vāliṇṇa Saraṇaṃkara, and former Sabaragamuva district chief monk [*disāva nāyaka*]) (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:30; Vajirañāṇa 1992, 8).⁵⁴ In doing so, Hikkaḍuvē referred with indirectness to his student ties to Valānē (who also stood within the Karatoṭa line via studies with Induruvē Sumaṅgala Medhaṅkara) (Vajirañāṇa 1992, 12), leaping across the vexed figure of Valānē, as well as Valānē's teacher's teacher (Gallē Medhaṅkara) (Vajirañāṇa 1992, 11), whose own appointment to the Śrī Pāda

51. According to Prajñānanda, the Sabaragamuva *radala* made overtures to Hikkaḍuvē through (Goyigama, Amarapura Nikāya) Bulatgama in Galle (1947, 1:79).

52. According to de Silva, after Hikkaḍuvē's appointment to the Sri Pada temple incumbency, Iddamalgoḍa was appointed to the highest lay position connected to the temple, namely, that of lay custodian (*vidāna*) responsible for management of the temple lands (D. de Silva 2005, 87). Rogers suggests that in subsequent Sabaragamuva agitation about the administration of labor owed to *dēvālas*, Hikkaḍuvē facilitated monastic support for Iddamalgoḍa in the district (1987, 359–60). See also Malalagoḍa (1976, 170 n 170), who notes the close ties between Iddamalgoḍa and Hikkaḍuvē.

53. Notably omitting the fact that this connection to Vāliṇṇa Saṅgharāja came through his preceptor from a line stemming from Vēhāllē Dhammadinna, who had initiated a number of teacher-student lines in the late eighteenth century, including those of Valānē and Bentara, as well as some of the Sabaragamuva monks (like Galagamē) to whom Kandy was opposed (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:30; D. de Silva 2005, 74; Vanderstraaten 1872).

54. See also Hēvāṇsam (1966, 43, 85).

Nāyaka incumbency had been opposed by Kandy earlier in the nineteenth century (D. de Silva 2005, 78).⁵⁵ Apparently reaching for signs of royal Buddhist imprimatur at a time when Lanka had no Buddhist king, Hikkaḍuvē also made much of the fact that, just two years after his higher ordination, he had received a formal letter of thanks and praise for his scholarly work from Siamese Saṅgharāja Vajirañāṇa (later King Rama IV) as well as a portion of the offerings made to the monastic community during Vajirañāṇa's coronation festival.

This document shows us the skill with which Hikkaḍuvē was able to articulate a pointed yet flexible vision of monastic inheritance and eligibility, drawing on a local monastic idiom of claiming the future through arguments of past inheritance. It also offers an early example of Hikkaḍuvē's instinctive turn toward Siam. Siam held the promise of royal Buddhist authority which Hikkaḍuvē thought, persistently—for more than four decades—should be used to assure monastic decorum and the vitality of the *śāsana*. However, Hikkaḍuvē's eventual confirmation as Śrī Pāda Nāyaka occurred not because of power emanating from Kandy or Bangkok, or because of his ability to work subtly within the idiom of monastic lineage. In the end, his position depended on the ability of his allies to develop a legal case that suited government views on local electors, Buddhist trusts, and social order. The case report filed at the District Court of Ratnapura recorded the arguments initially developed by each party to the case:

At the Ratnapura District Court, plaintiff Galagamē argued that the Sri Pada temple incumbency had been held according to a system of pupillary succession stretching back to the beginning of the Siyam Nikāya, within which he had been properly selected. He claimed that he had been improperly deposed from the position since the Sabaragamuva monks connected to the Malvatu Vihāraya possessed the right to appoint, but not to depose (which lay in the hands of the law) and that, in any case, the manner of the deposition was “illegally exercised” for reasons including “Undue interference of chiefs who had no business there” and “Coercion of electors by Idemalgoda.” Galagamē argued that Governor Robinson's recognition of Hikkaḍuvē was invalid since he recognized an appointment improperly made for a vacancy that did not exist and

55. For a list of Sri Pada temple incumbents, see Prajñānanda (1947, 1:79). Kemper perceptively discusses the strategic use of lineage identification: “Harking back to either a proximal ancestor or a remote one is essential for the functioning of what anthropologists call ‘segmentary social systems,’ and this segmentary principle operates within [three levels of monastic organization]” (1980, 33).

that, in any case, acts of recognition by Government were no longer required. Hikkaḍuvē's eminent representative, Queen's Advocate J. Oorloff,⁵⁶ countered that the incumbency had not been transmitted continuously through pupillary succession in the Vēhāllē Dhammadinna lineage and that Galagamē had neglected duties agreed to in writing at the time of his appointment, as a result of which the "majority of the beneficed Priests" [the monks with rights in the matter as Sabaragamuva monks connected to the Malvatu Vihāraya] had formally removed Galagamē and elected Hikkaḍuvē in the proper manner requiring no resort to law. He claimed that Hikkaḍuvē was entitled to the appointment after election and recognition, and that the right of the deposing parties to remove Galagamē did not in any case depend on the violation of a written agreement of responsibilities. Participating witnesses indicated the strength of Sabaragamuva *radala* interest in the matter. Galagamē brought three monks as witnesses. Hikkaḍuvē's witnesses were Ellāvalla Ratemahatmaya, Eknāligoḍa Ratemahatmaya, Wellenewattē bhikkhu, Mārambe Koralē, Wijesinha Mudaliyar, Pandit Baṭuvantuḍāvē, and Iddamalgoḍa Basnāyaka Nilame. (Report, District Court of Ratnapura, no. 9,345, in *Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 25 June 1870)

Although Judge Saunders ruled in favor of Galagamē in 1870, his ruling made it clear that he wished it otherwise, and provided clear direction for a possible appeal:

Whatever may have been the conduct of plaintiff, or in whatever way I regard the acts and proceedings of these persons who without the authority of a Court, assumed the power to depose him, I am forced to the conclusion that they had no such power, and that the plaintiff is at the present moment, the lawful High Priest of the Adam's Peak establishment; but, it may be asked, how then is the plaintiff to be controlled or got rid of, if he is guilty of neglect and malversation of trust. Although perhaps, strictly speaking, the Court is not bound now to express an opinion, yet when a dispute like the present arises regarding a public trust, over which the Court holds it has jurisdiction, I think it only right that the Court should state its views of the Law, and at the same time respectfully express a hope that the Appellate Court will, when reviewing the

56. Saunders's judgment noted that Orloof appeared as "the private Counsel of the defendant," not "as the Advocate of Her Majesty the Queen" (*Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 25 June 1870).

judgment decide beyond doubt the manner in which these Trust Funds should hereafter be administered, and the High Priest be removed. . . .

I am bound to say that not *one single distinct act of malversation has been proved*, but it has been clearly shown that the plaintiff, a decrepit old man, is personally quite incapable of managing the Trust; that he has taken no steps to appoint a suitable surrogate; that he has rendered himself obnoxious to almost every priest and lay chief in the district; and in consequence that the Trust will greatly suffer by remaining in his hands. . . .

I have as I said before, great poubts [*sic*: doubts], whether I ought *not*, at once to make an order regarding the administration of the Trust, and not compel a second action—but I defer to the opinion concurrently expressed by the learned Counsel on both sides, that in the present action, the Court can only decide who is the legal Chief Priest and place him in office; and I merely record that if I were convinced I had the power (and the Hon'ble the Supreme Court will doubtless decide this) I should decree that the plaintiff, from old age and natural incapacity, not from any legally *proved* fraud, is incapable of suitably performing the Trust, and I would remove him, placing the administration of the Trust in the hands of the defendant (who by position, learning, and general high character is eminently qualified to undertake it) until some person is regularly elected to fil [*sic*] the post.

Desiring as I do to keep within, rather than to exceed, my powers, I now only adjudge that the plaintiff is the legal Chief Priest of the Adam's Peak establishment. (Report, District Court of Ratnapura, no. 9,345, in *Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 25 June 1870; original italics)

Hikkaḍuvē seems to have hesitated before moving ahead with the appeal, even though it was so clearly invited by the district court judge. Writing to his monastic colleague Aṃbagahavattē⁵⁷ from Ratnapura, Hikkaḍuvē spoke of his troubled mind and inclination against proceeding with appeal, perhaps making a strategic point of his disinterest: “But my mind is troubled these days. That is—It went against me in the district court through the proceedings against me by my enemies. . . . Because [of the judgment] everyone on my side thinks that sending the case to the supreme court will result in a victory, according to the evidence. But I'm opposed to this. That is: having

57. A close colleague from Galle days with Bulatgama, whom we meet again in subsequent chapters. On Aṃbagahavattē, see Malalgoda (1976, esp. chap. 4) and P. Buddhadatta (1950, 20–27).

endured the journey thus far, giving up freely what must be relinquished, one should take the opportunity to perform [one's] religious responsibility. We're still debating" (Hikkaḍuvē to Aṃbagahavattē, 23 June 1870, in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:101).⁵⁸ However, he took legal advice from more than one expert and was encouraged to appeal (Hikkaḍuvē to Aṃbagahavattē, 10 August 1870, in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:103).⁵⁹ As Hikkaḍuvē's advisers had noted, the district court judgment explicitly invited appeal and signaled the hope that a supreme court decision would result in a ruling to serve as a precedent for the administration of temple lands in terms of trust responsibilities. The eventual appeal by Hikkaḍuvē's counsel appears to have pursued two lines of argument: that the Sabaragamuva Malvatu Vihāraya monks were acting on the basis of local legal precedent dating to the days of the pre-British Kandyan Kingdom in their deposition of Galagamē and election of Hikkaḍuvē, and that Galagamē had been guilty of misuse of a position intended for a public good. The supreme court was required to negotiate a delicate position: to resolve a matter of great interest to Buddhists on the island without appearing to support Buddhist religious activities, and without abandoning government power to intervene in matters related to the wealth produced by Buddhist temple lands and pilgrimage.

It is striking that although, at the district court, witnesses did not agree on the authority of a Kandyan document outlining monastic rules and procedures (a *katikāvaṭa*),⁶⁰ the subsequent appeal before the supreme court was argued with reference to this very document, in order to prove pre-British "ecclesiastical" procedures for the monastic community's in-

58. "maṭa siṭaṭa mē kālē karadara pāmiṇa tibenavā hābāyi. enam—magē saturan visin maṭa ediriva karaṇalada pāmiṇillen distrik naḍuśālāvē maṭa avāsi vunā. [fragmentary sentence about the judgment] . . . ē nisā magē pakṣayē siyallangēma adahasa supṛim usāviyaṭa naḍuva yavalā oppuvimē prakāra vāsi labāgantayī. namut magē adahasa iṭa viruddhayī. enam—mē pāmiṇi pamaṇa viṇḍa darāgena geviyayutu deya gevā nidahasva āgamē kaṭayuttak karaṇṭa avakāsa gantayī. tavama apa atarē vivādayen pasuvenava."

59. Eventually, Hikkaḍuvē helped to coordinate the monastic witnesses in support of the appeal, as we see from a letter written from Pelmadulla in May 1870: "Please write specifically to our fellow Suriyagoḍa indicating how to take care of the duties that need doing to gather together and bring the people required as witnesses from Kandy including Venerable Lord Dōpē Anunāyaka. If Venerable Lord Uḍugampala can't make the journey, please ask Venerable Pāpiliyānē to come" (mahanuvarin mē gamanaṭa dōpē anunāyaka hamuduruvaṇ ātuluva sāḁṣiyaṭa ṇā āttan ekatu karaṇa eṇṭa apē sūriyagoḍa tānaṭa udakma ṇāḁkamin kaṭayutu karaṇalesa liyā yavaṇṭa illami. mē gamanaṭa uḍugampala sāmīduruvaṇṭa bāri nam pāpiliyānē hāmuduruvaṇṭavat vaḍiṇṭa kathākaragannā lesa illami) (Hikkaḍuvē to Morapiṭiyē Atthadassi, 6 May 1870, in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:690).

60. Presumably the Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha or Rājādhi Rājasimha Katikāvaṭa, although this is not expressly stated. See Blackburn (2001).

ternal regulation of its appointments.⁶¹ Within two years, therefore, the *katikāvaṭa* had been reclaimed as “ancient ecclesiastical law” (Vanderstraaten 1872, 217), after the district court case had brought forward the text as a possible suitable source of precedent for what had occurred in Sabaragamuva.⁶² At the same time, however, evidence was brought forward in terms of Galagamē's malversations of trust through the misuse of funds associated with the Sri Pada temple incumbency. According to the Supreme Court decision,

It is perfectly clear that the plaintiff [the original plaintiff, Galagamē], when he became High Priest, grossly and systematically neglected to perform the trusts attached to his office. The annual value of the offerings made by the Pilgrims appears to have been about £200. There appears also to have been lands which must have yielded some profit. The plaintiff did not apply these or the requisite part of them, to the repairing and keeping in order of the Vihares, Pansalas and Rest Houses [for pilgrims] connected with the Peak, which was the condition on which he held the High Priesthood. . . . It seems to us quite clear that he appropriated to his own use the revenues of the High Priesthood. . . . And undoubtedly the receipt and the misappropriation of any one distinct sum has not been traced and established. But it has been proved that he was a pauper when he came to the High Priesthood; and that during this Priesthood he became wealthy. . . . every reasonable man must feel convinced that this plaintiff when High Priest was guilty of gross and systematic malversations, in other words, that he practiced habitual peculation and embezzlement. The discontent created by his conduct became general and vehement in the district. (Vanderstraaten 1872, 222–23)

The terms of the supreme court decision reserved considerable power for the government to intervene in future cases relating to Buddhist temple lands, which was imperative in order to protect government interests with respect to this substantial wealth. Government aims were achieved by de-

61. According to the district court report, “A paper copy of a set of Rules called Katika Vata, without signature, date or reference, is handed in by a learned Pundit as being the Law, but of these Rules the majority of the witnesses (although plaintiff admits them) either express ignorance or deny the authority. They certainly are not acted upon, and I cannot consider them as proving any right in the electors, as *priests*, to depose a Chief Priest from his office” (*Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 25 June 1870; original italics).

62. On the arguments brought forward, see further *Lakrivikiraṇa*, 8 July 1871.

veloping an argument related to social order and responsible trust, divorced from matters of religion, as the final ruling indicates:

But though we hold that the Crown has given up its power of appointment to this High Priesthood, it by no means follows that we are to hold that the Crown has given up the power of removal. . . . Nor is the possession of such a power of removal by the Crown open to the same religious objections which had been raised respecting the Crown's right of appointment, and which produced the abandonment of the Crown's right of appointment. It may often happen *for political causes, and for reasons connected with the social good order of the Island*, and of this District in particular, that the Government may desire to remove a mischievous or dishonest or incapable person from an office *which puts him in the command of monies contributed by the public, and which gives him also considerable influence*. If the Government dismisses such a person, and leaves it to his co-religionists to choose another, it does not exhibit anything like the spectacle which appears to have shocked the Christian Memorialists of 1852, the spectacle of a Christian Queen creating a Heathen High Priest. It is not probable that the Government would use the power of dismissal for reasons merely connected with the Buddhist creed or ritual; questions as to a High Priest's Buddhist orthodoxy might be left to the Buddhist Ecclesiastics. (Vanderstraaten 1872, 220–21; italics added)

The *Bi-Monthly Examiner*, in its extensive coverage of this high-profile case, underscored the court's careful manner. "The act of recognition therefore is distinct from the act of appointment, and Government having abandoned the right to appoint once, cannot assume it again; but the power of removal, which had been exercised by the Kandyan Kings and which vested in Government, having never been given up, still remains to the Government" (*Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 22 July 1871).⁶³

Tracing Hikkaḍuvē's path to the Pelmadulla editorial council, and beyond it to legal confirmation of his appointment at Adam's Peak, has set the scale of examination for subsequent chapters. By looking closely at Hikkaḍuvē and his networks, in the context of the local currents that helped propel him to prominence, and whose swells he learned to ride, we see the considerable human complexity of his environment. Social identification, obligation, and alliance were driven by ties of blood and caste, by local con-

63. On the case see also Rajaratnam (1914).

nections, by regional memory, and by intellectual conviction. Among Buddhist monks, the institutional bonds of fraternity shaped possibilities for action but did not determine them. Such ties were expressed with flexibility as personal expressions of lineage, as manifestations of loyalty, and in collaborations of convenience. Within these webs of human relation, to which we owe a sympathetic recognition as humans similarly bound, historical memories (local and translocal) of the eighteenth century and even earlier periods shaped suspicion, antagonism, and possibilities for cooperation. As a Buddhist monk like Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala made his way in the world, it was obvious that colonial administration, economy, and religion were sources of constraint and of possibility. Colonial legal discourse and practice could, for instance, be drawn into local contests for status, power, and access to wealth, while also altering to some extent the terms of argument within legal space. The Christian presence and racial hierarchies triggered profound anxiety and antagonism, while also prompting local collaborations with effects that extended well beyond the sphere of interreligious controversy. Hikkaḍuvē and his associates, lay and monastic, moved regularly through a variety of social settings and institutional contexts. These were sometimes more and sometimes less marked by colonial authority, or by patterns of knowledge and argument rooted in British and European forms of life. Even in those contexts most obviously marked by the authority of the government and novel discourse, engagement with such institutional practices and modes of argument formed only a small piece of intricate social relations and negotiations. May of these proceeded according to more local Lankan, and regionally Buddhist, logics of memory, strategy, and belonging.

To see all this more clearly, we must follow Hikkaḍuvē again—this time, to Colombo.

Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala at Vidyodaya Piriveṇa

Toward Vidyodaya

In August 1870 Hikkaḍuvē reported to his monastic colleague Aṁbagahavattē from Koṭahēnē Paramānanda Purāna Vihāraya—then just slightly beyond the urban heart of Colombo to the north—that he was residing there for the rains retreat with four recently higher ordained monks (*bhikkhus*) and four novice monks (*sāmañeras*) at the invitation of Don Pilip da Silva Āpā Appuhāmi. The *bhikkhus* had been studying with Hikkaḍuvē for about a year (Hikkaḍuvē to Aṁbagahavattē, 10 August 1870, in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:103). Āpā Appuhāmi and his Colombo-area associates had sought out Hikkaḍuvē to provide the sermons and intensive merit-making opportunities that laypeople expected of Buddhist monks during the period of the rains retreat (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:185).¹ Rains retreat invitations provided opportunities for well-regarded monks to travel beyond their locale, creating or deepening social ties to lay patrons. This retreat period might also attract monks from near and far, seeking to study with a famous monastic teacher. The period of more intense contact between monks and laypeople made possible by these rains retreat invitations sometimes led to monastic

1. Dickson's account suggests the elaborate character of rains retreat practice of the time, describing a rains period spent at a location outside a monastery: "They prepare a lodging for the priest, with a refectory, a chamber for the image of the Buddha, the relic casket, the sacred books, and a preaching hall. On the first day of the *was* season, the villagers turn out in a holiday attire and go with music, and dancers, and singers, and flags, to the monastery where the priest resides, and they conduct him thence, in procession, to the lodging prepared for him. . . . Under a canopy is borne on a litter, or on an elephant, a relic-casket or an image of the Buddha; next are borne in the same way the sacred books which the priest requires, and then comes the priest, carried in a palanquin with the sides open. . . . The women, with their children, await the arrival of the procession at the place prepared for the priest, who, on his arrival, arranges the relic-casket, the image of Buddha, and the sacred books, in the temporary chamber which is to serve the purpose of a chapel: and on it all the assembled people make their offerings of flowers and perfumes" (Dickson 1884, 207–8; original spellings).

professional advancement. Such visits also provided monastic manpower for lay Buddhist projects related to publishing and interreligious debate.² The *vassa* retreats were also times of sociability, with greater leisure for conversation among monks, and between monks and their lay patrons. In this chapter we explore the logics of intellectual and institutional life that drove Āpā Appuhāmi to invite Hikkaḍuvē as a monastic adviser to patrons at Paramānanda Purāna Vihāraya (established in the early nineteenth century), as well as the subsequent appointment of Hikkaḍuvē as principal-chief incumbent (*ādhipati*) of Vidyodaya Piriveṇa, an educational center founded subsequently (in 1873) in Colombo. Doing so, we immerse ourselves still further in nineteenth-century Lankan Buddhist lives and social networks, gaining an understanding of the hopes and values that coalesced around monastic learning and precolonial forms of knowledge.

Āpā Appuhāmi and Hikkaḍuvē were well acquainted by this time. Āpā had been for some years one of three key supporters for Valānē's educational center in Ratmalana,³ so monk and layman had overlapped there during Hikkaḍuvē's years as a teacher and student. It is likely that Āpā had played a central role in securing for Hikkaḍuvē the post of principal at Ratmalana when the Ratmalana patrons were forced to move quickly to stabilize the school after Valānē's death at an unfortunately early age of fifty-seven.⁴ Āpā, whose great devotion to, and affection for, Valānē was made clear by the praise poem *Sidat-vata* published soon after the latter's death (in 1869), found Hikkaḍuvē's intellect and stature attractive despite Hikkaḍuvē's marked differences with Valānē on the matter of the Kalyāṇi Sabhā's low-country ordination. Hikkaḍuvē's appointment to the post of Śrī Pāda Nāyaka would have made him an especially promising candidate for the school at Ratmalana (despite the difficulties with Galagamē) since

2. Prajñānanda (1947, 1:185–86).

3. Along with Don Joranimus Seneviratna and Jayasūriya Ārracigē Tedonis Prēra Appuhāmi (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:47).

4. It must have been an awkward time. According to Prajñānanda, Morapiṭiyē Atthadassi, Valānē's chief student, was passed over for the post by the Ratmalana patrons, who preferred Hikkaḍuvē instead (1947, 1:183). Kariyawasam comments at length, and with reason, on the fact that Ratmalānē Dharmāloka, a senior student of Valānē (connected to him longer than Hikkaḍuvē), whose home temple was Ratmalānē Purāna Vihāraya, was not appointed to succeed Valānē (Tissa Kariyawasam 1973, 308–13). Reckoning by higher ordination dates, Hikkaḍuvē was Ratmalānē's senior, by some years, and had achieved widespread recognition even before Ratmalānē's own higher ordination. Buddhadatta's striking silence on Ratmalānē's activities between 1864 and 1874 (the period of Hikkaḍuvē's Sri Pada appointment, Valānē's death, and Hikkaḍuvē's teaching appointments at Ratmalana, Kotahena, and Colombo) suggests a history of awkwardness (P. Buddhadatta 1950, 89–90), as do the rivalries between Vidyodaya and Vidyā-lankāra expressed through debate and publication (on which, see chap. 3).

a Sri Pada incumbent was of visibly high status, with access to Sri Pada temple establishment funds.⁵ As an associate of Bulatgama, Hikkaḍuvē was well regarded for his work in Buddhist publishing. And, as we shall see below, Hikkaḍuvē and Āpā were bound by their shared passionate interest in *jyotiś-* and *vaidya-śāstra* (astrological and medical science).⁶ After the Sri Pada appointment, Hikkaḍuvē resided at Ratmalana, traveling periodically to Pelmadulla on Sri Pada business (Prajñānda 1947 1:184).⁷

Ratmalana is now effectively part of Colombo, in the near southern suburbs, but in those days it was less accessible, and a considerable distance (approximately twelve miles) from the administrative, legal, and commercial centers of nineteenth-century Colombo clustered in Colombo Fort, Pettah, and Hultsdorp. Āpā and his fellow lay patrons at the Koṭahēnē Paramānanda Purāna Vihāraya wanted to develop a Buddhist presence nearer the heart of the city that, at a time when it was growing rapidly as an administrative and commercial center, was dominated by non-Buddhist devotional space.⁸ There were only two Buddhist temples near the city center at this time (Koṭahēnē Paramānanda Purāna Vihāraya and Koṭahēnē Dīpadūttārāmaya).⁹ For the growing population of Buddhists in Colombo involved in commerce and the professions, who migrated to Colombo (temporarily or permanently) from other parts of the island, Buddhist space for rituals, sermons, publishing, and informal networking was at a premium.¹⁰ Hikkaḍuvē's rains retreat

5. According to the Sabaragamuva District Report for 1886, a portion of the Sri Pada offerings was used to educate two monks at Vidyodaya or another approved temple, each for a five-year period. "The offerings are collected by the priest daily, and entered in a book, which is checked by one of the laymen at Kuṭṭāpiṭiya. The collection is handed over to the high priest, who disburses it under direction of a committee of the Chiefs, priests, and basnāyaka nilamēs of Sabaragamuva. I believe this system was introduced by Iddamalgoḍa basnāyaka nilamē some twenty-five or thirty years ago" (*Sabaragamuva District Report for 1886*, government agent diary entry for 18 March 1886).

6. One of Hikkaḍuvē's relations subsequently married into Āpā's family (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:11).

7. According to later obituaries, Hikkaḍuvē did not reside more permanently again at Ratmalana as a teacher until 1870 (*Sinhala Baudhyayā*, 6 May 1911; *Dinamiṇa*, 3 May 1911).

8. See Young and Somaratna (1996, 130). In 1878, with the development of the Colombo harbor breakwater (begun in 1873), much international traffic shifted from Galle to Colombo (Somaratna 1991, 391), though vessels from Southeast Asia typically continued to dock at Galle. There was a substantial Salagama caste population in Kotahena (Young and Somaratna 1996, 206 n. 468).

9. Kotahena was the site of the Catholic cathedral (St. Lucia's) dating to the eighteenth century, a major Dutch Reform church, and the biggest mosque of that era (Somaratna 1991, 393). At slightly greater distance were well-established temples at Kelaniya and Kotte (Young and Somaratna 1996, 131). On Dīpadūttārāmaya see further Somaratna (1991, 394–97).

10. In 1870, the population of Colombo was 57,220, nearly equally divided between men and women. By 1876 it had risen to 98,435, including a "Sinhala" population of 43,050. By 1881 the

in Kotahena was intended to support the teaching and publishing work underway at Paramānanda Purāna Vihāraya. It was also a trial run, testing Hikkaḍuvē's suitability for a central role in the Colombo patrons' further institutional ambitions.

That Hikkaḍuvē accepted the *vassa* invitation was partly due to his long-standing ties to Āpā Appuhāmi and partly because he had a history of close collaboration with Mohoṭṭivattē Guṇānanda (residing at Paramānanda Purāna Vihāraya while developing the *Dīpadūttārāmaya*) in the Buddhist-Christian controversies (Tissa Kariyawasam 1973, 314).¹¹ Perhaps it seemed also a promising change of pace after the difficult months just past, characterized by the strains of the Sri Pada district court case, strains reflected in a letter written to one of his close monastic colleagues:

Looked at according to the planetary movements of the sun, etc., one says it's a matter of karma, the arising and the result. In that way, in this period I've got to suffer the undesirable result of mental and physical suffering—I can't undergo this suffering without getting into something like this! Even though I got involved with the intention of developing the *śāsana* through this [the Śrī Pāda Nāyaka post], because it's a time for me to suffer, I'm suffering. The suffering in *samsāra* is truly like that. When one considers statements like "who is to accomplish what is desired or undesired except according to the master-scheme?," etc, from the words of a foreign pandit, a result of previous karma is confirmed. Reflecting on matters like this, I'm trying to free myself at this point. But until that time of great suffering is over, it's difficult to become free of it. (Hikkaḍuvē to Aṁbagahavattē, 23 June 1870, in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:102)¹²

population of Colombo was reckoned at 104,547. By 1909, Colombo town population was listed at 180,262 (*Western Province Revenue Administration Reports for 1870, 1876, and 1881; Municipality of Colombo Report for 1909*). According to the 1881 census, the Colombo Municipality was inhabited by 28,804 Buddhists, among whom 3,550 were "Tamil" (reproduced in Somaratna 1991, 377–78).

11. Hikkaḍuvē joined Siyam Nikāya and Amarapura Nikāya monks in the 1890 death and memorial events for Mohoṭṭivattē (Vijeyasundara 1923, 10). Andris Perērā Dharmagunavardhana Muhandiram (see below) had served as a leading lay donor at *Dīpadūttārāmaya* since the late 1840s (Young and Somaratna 1996, 219).

12. "sūryādi grahanakṣatrayaṅgē kramaya balā kiyana utpāda phala karma piḷibaṇḍayi. ē le-sin maṭa mē kālē kāyacitta piḍā vimaṭa yutu aphaḷayak tibenavā—ē aphaḷaya lābenṭa mehema ekakaṭa nobāṇḍunā nam nupuluvani—mama meyin śāsanayaṭa abhivṛddhiyak sidukarannemi yana sitin bāṇḍuna namut maṭa duk lābenṭa yutu kālaya tibuna nisā duk lābenavā. samsārē duk mehema tamayi. bāhira paṇḍita vākyavalin 'kartumiṣṭamaniṣṭam vā kaḥ prabhurvidhinā vinā' yanādiya śālakuvāma purvakarmavipākayama oppuvenavā. mē ādi karūṇu salakāḅṇayi mama

Whatever his internal struggles, Hikkaḍuvē's rains retreat at Kotahena was successful. Additional monastic students joined Hikkaḍuvē's group during the *vassa*, and again later, in order to study with Hikkaḍuvē (Tissa Kariyawasam 1973, 314, *Dinamiṇa*, 3 May 1911), and he became a *dharma* adviser for the Subhācārodaya Sabhāva (Society for the Awakening of Good Conduct), a lay Buddhist organization (H. Sumaṅgala 1871).¹³ This work included the preparation of study materials for the society's members.¹⁴ As Hikkaḍuvē's connections with the Kotahena patrons deepened, Āpā Appuhāmi and his lay colleagues intensified their efforts to establish an additional Buddhist site in the city.¹⁵ In 1871, the year the supreme court found in Hikkaḍuvē's favor, these patrons agreed upon land at Maligakanda (in Maradana, Colombo) (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:189).¹⁶ In 1871 thirteen lay patrons signed a legal document instantiating the Vidyādhāra Sabhāva (Society for the Support of Learning) in order to establish a Buddhist educational center (*piriveṇa*) for monks and laymen. It was to provide instruction in *śāstra* (South Asian technical sciences related to language, literature, medicine, and protective technologies) in a manner congruent with the teachings of the Buddha (*buddhāgama*). Members of the society agreed to a system of monthly dues and collective decision making. Although they

metekin nidahas venṭa vāyam karannē. ēt duk bahulakālaya gevenaturu eyin nidahas vīma duṣkarayi."

13. See also Medhaṅkara (1889, 3).

14. Hikkaḍuvē prepared a brief introduction to Buddhist teachings, *Satyasaṅgrahaya* (*Compendium of Truth*), for use by the society's members, which was printed in 1871. Five hundred copies were printed for free distribution, and another thousand printed thereafter for purchase (S. Sumaṅgala 1871). On the society, and Hikkaḍuvē's attractiveness to its members, see also Paññasekhera (1965, 113–14), Prajñānanda (1947, 1:185), and *Sarasavi Saṅḍarāsa*, 6 May 1911. After about a year at Kotahena, Hikkaḍuvē returned to Galle. He and Bulatgama were celebrated by Colombo-area Buddhists in a farewell procession (*Lakrivikirāṇa*, 15 July 1871).

15. Tissa Kariyawasam suggests that Hikkaḍuvē's inclination to make Colombo the center of his work was related to anxieties about his rights to the Ratmalānē Purāṇa Vihāraya (the base for educational work in Ratmalana after Valānē's death), intensified by the legal battle over the Sri Pada incumbency (1973, 315–16). It is certainly possible that Hikkaḍuvē recognized that other students might argue for the incumbency of the temple at Ratmalana on grounds of pupillary succession. This would have made somewhat more difficult a position as principal or head teacher at Ratmalana. However, there seems little reason to think that Hikkaḍuvē would have felt intense anxiety about the matter in the short term, since he was on excellent terms with the Ratmalana lay supporter Āpā, who brought him to Kotahena.

16. Ratanasāra makes the compelling suggestion that Vidyodaya's founders (and those of the later Vidyāṅkāra Piriveṇa) chose new land, rather than existing temple sites, "so that there would be no disputes as to the ownership of such properties under the law of pupillary succession" (1965, 193). Of course, there were very few temple sites to choose from in the Colombo area, in any case.

specified that society membership would not be inherited within families upon the death of a society member, over time significant power was retained by the intermarried families of Hēvāvitāraṇa Don Karōlis and Andris Perērā Dharmaguṇavardhana, as well as relations of Lansagē Sēdris Prērā (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:189).¹⁷ Further shared interests bound clusters of the first generation of society members and other famous patrons.¹⁸ Appointment of the chief incumbent principal lay in their hands, along with teacher hiring; they reserved the right to dismiss teachers.¹⁹ Of the society's members, Andris Perērā Dharmaguṇavardhana was the key benefactor. He provided land (purchased in 1871) at Maligakanda, anticipating repayment. The society's foundational agreement valued the land and associated start-up expenses at Rs 6,000 (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:189–90, 197). In 1873, nearly Rs 4,000 remained to be paid toward the Maligakanda property. At that time, Andris Perērā Dharmaguṇavardhana paid the balance. He and the society members donated the land and existing buildings to the chief incumbent principal (Hikkaḍuvē) and his successors as a meritorious donation (195–97).²⁰ The enlarged society²¹ refined further the rights and obliga-

17. In this regard, see further in chap. 4 below. See also *Dinamiṇa* (11 May 1911) on Hēvāvitāraṇa involvement with the succession at Vidyodaya after Hikkaḍuvē's death.

18. Andris Perērā Dharmaguṇavardhana was father-in-law to Hēvāvitāraṇa Don Karōlis. The former was a timber merchant; the latter a successful furniture manufacturer for local and foreign markets. Āpā and Don Kornēlis da Silvā coowned Laṅkābhinaṇa Viśruta Press. Āpā was related to D. S. Virakkoḍi, editor of the successful newspaper *Lakrivikiraṇa*, and also to Thomas Karuṇāratna (involved in publishing and *vaidya*), whom we meet again in chaps. 3 and 4. See Malalgoda (1976, 241) and Paññāsekhara (1968, 188–89). Don Pālis, editor of the satiric newspaper *Kavaṭa Katikayā* from 1872 to 1912, had studied *jyotiś-śāstra* with Āpā (Paññāsekhara 1965, 259–60, 267–68).

19. These details are taken from document no. 925, notarized by William Perera Raṇasinha, and reproduced in Prajñānanda (1947, 1:189–92). The signatories are Don Pilip da Silvā Āpā Appuhāmi, Lansagē Andris Perērā Appuhāmi, Kalansūriya Ārachchigē Don Kornēlis da Silvā Appuhāmi, Gurunnānsēlāgē Don Pālis Appuhāmi, Bulatsimhalagē Kornēlis Kurē Appuhāmi, Don Tomas Virakkoḍi Appuhāmi, Villōra Ārachchigē Kornēlis Perērā Appuhāmi, Paṭṭiyavattēgē Hendrik Perērā Appuhāmi, Sayimon Silvā Appuhāmi, Hēvāvitāraṇagē Don Karōlis Appuhāmi, Vettasimhagē Don Kornēlis da Silvā Appuhāmi, Maradānē Padimci Rājapaksa Kumārannāhālāgē Johonis Alponsu, Sanjośap Vidiyē Padimci Lansagē Sayimon Perērā Appuhāmi, and Pāmankaḍa Padimci Samarasiṃha Ārachchigē Don Harmānis Appuhāmi (189). I have retained ge names, caste honorifics, and residential indicators.

20. See also Tissa Kariyawasam (1973, 318).

21. The 1876 signatories were Andris Perērā Dharmaguṇavardhana Muhandiram, Don Pilip da Silvā Āpā, Lansagē Andris Perērā, Kalansūriya Ārachchigē Don Kornēlis da Silvā, Bulatsimhalagē Kornēlis Kurē, Villōra Ārachchigē Kornēlis Perērā, Hēvāvitāraṇagē Don Karōlis, Paṭṭiyavattēgē Hendrik Perērā, Vettasimhagē Don Kornēlis da Silvā, Maradānē Padimci Rājapaksa Kumārannāhālāgē Johonis Alponsu, Sanjośap Vidiyē Padimci Gurunnānsēlāgē Don Pālis, Don Tomas Virakkoḍi, Piṭakoṭuvē Padimci Kahaveduvagē Janchi Piris, Piṭakoṭuvē Padimci Pilō Prānāndō Vijesekara Ārachchi, Lansagē Sayimon Perērā, and Maradānē Padimci Don Manuel. The

tions of the society and the principal, granting more internal autonomy to the monastic leadership.²² Members of the society had reason to be grateful for Hikkaḍuvē, who was well able to attract financial support from Sabaragamuva and the southern maritime districts, and who contributed funds from the Sri Pada temple complex as well toward the activities of Vidyodaya and support for its students (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:207–8; *Diary*, 21 October 1905). Gradually, Vidyodaya Piriveṇa grew to include a larger space for teaching and a library, a relic monument (*caitya*), a bodhi tree, and a pavilion (*viḥāra mandira*).²³ The founding members of the Vidyādhara Sabhāva all signed as first-class Goyigamas (Hayley 1923, 99), using the *appuhāmi* designation (Peebles 1995, 50).²⁴

The possibility of establishing an educational center of this kind was broached even before Hikkaḍuvē was drawn into events at Pelmadulla and Adam's Peak. On 14 December 1864, a lengthy letter by Āpā Appuhāmi and several of his associates was published in the newspaper *Lakmiṇipahaṇa*. After recalling the past history of royally supported Buddhist temple-based education on the island, they observed that discerning people recognized that there was now a threat not just to Buddhism (*buddhāgama*) but also to the useful *śāstras*. In the absence of royal patronage for education, since the larger population was unaccustomed to supporting Buddhism, learning was at risk. "It's not just that Buddhism declines through this deterioration of study about the teachings of Buddha; there's also an evident deterioration of sciences useful to absolutely every resident of Laṅkā. Why is that? Because in Laṅkā the study of all the sciences existed along with the teachings of Buddha. The unbroken existence of that learning in this country until the time of Vīdāgama Thera and others at Toṭagamuva [fifteenth century] is

document was notarized by W. P. Ranasinha and included the eminent witness James d'Alwis (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:194–99). I have retained ge names, and residential indicators.

22. The society gave the principal and his successors the power to establish regulations at the school and to expel a student who disregarded them. While the society retained the right to fire a principal if a principal were to disregard measures established to safeguard the *piriveṇa*, the society recognized that it had no authority to instantiate any law or regulation with respect to the internal affairs of the *piriveṇa*, or to obstruct the preferred methods of the monks appointed as principal (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:198).

23. For instance, January and February 1880 saw twenty-two days of preaching in honor of the occasion of installing a relic casket and *tipiṭaka* in the *piriveṇa* library (Hikkaḍuvē to Guṇaratana Mudaliyar, 23 December 1879, in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:208).

24. Involvement at Vidyodaya served the cause of upward mobility within caste hierarchies. Andris Perērā Dharmagunavardhana is understood to have been of Durava caste (Patrick Peebles, personal communication; Tissa Kariyawasam, personal communication, 24 February 2002).

made clear through various texts" (in Paññāsekhara 1965, 156).²⁵ Āpā and his associates told a tale of the subsequent decline in learning, with only a brief respite during the days of Kandyan king Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha (in the mid-eighteenth century). They called on all Sinhala, not just Buddhists, to reverse this trajectory for *śāstra* education. "Everyone should unite toward the restoration of learning," they asserted, announcing their institutional vision. "Our idea in this regard is the establishment of a school accessible to everyone in Laṅkā, in the service of Buddhism, for the study of the Buddhist *tipiṭaka* along with Pali, Sinhala and Sanskrit grammar, and the *śāstras* such as astrological mathematics, astrological science, medicine, logic, and ancient history" (157).²⁶ Already the planning was advanced and practical. Āpā and his associates discussed the budget (noting funds already assured and the prospect of a bank loan or government support), location, size, salaries for lay teachers and requisite support for monastic teachers, and the day-to-day needs of monastic students who could not be expected to arrange their food and residence. They planned for older students, between the ages of fifteen and thirty years, assumed that three or four teachers would be required, and specified that students would not make gifts or payments to the teachers. An annual prize giving was anticipated (157–58; Malalgoda 1976, 239–40).

The *Lakmiṇipahaṇa* letter records local reflections on the forms of knowledge and learned technologies deemed important by leading local intellectuals in the second half of nineteenth-century Laṅkā. Āpā Appuhāmi and his associates were deeply invested in the South Asian technical sciences, which they viewed as historically, and productively, integrated with Buddhist learning on the island. In their view, this integration did not make the world of *śāstra* a specifically Buddhist form of learning, or learning relevant only to Buddhists. The study of *Abhidhamma*, part of the authoritative Buddhist *tipiṭaka*, which they called "the science of the mind," was held to complement *śāstra* study (in Paññāsekhara 1965, 156). The sciences were, however, associated by Āpā and his colleagues specifically with the

25. "mesē buddhāgamē igeṇa gāṇuṃ pirihi men buddhāgama pirihiyanavā pamanak nova laṅkāvēsi siyallaṇṭama prayōjana śāstrat pirihi yana bava da pratyakṣayi—ē mak nisāda laṅkāvē siyaluma śāstra igeṇa gāṇma pāvatunē buddhāgama samagaya—ē igeṇa gāṇuma totagamuvē vidāgama sthāviraṇa vahansēlā vādisiṭi kālaya dakvā mē raṭē nopirihi pāvati bava noyek pot-patvalin peneyi." On the significance of Totagamuva to their vision, see further below in this chapter.

26. "ē apē kalpanāva nam buddhāgamē trīpiṭakaya saha māgadha siṃhala saṃskṛta vyākaraṇaḍa, purāṇa itihāsa tarka vaidya jyotiṣ śāstra gaṇitādi śāstrada iḡānvīma piṇisa buddhāgama venuven laṅkāvē siyallaṇṭa sādharmaṇavū pāthaśālāvak tābimaya."

needs and desires of Lankans, whom they understood as Sinhala. In the letter, “inhabitants of Laṅkā” (*laṅkāvēsī*) bled quickly into a discussion of “those born Sinhala” (*siṃhala janmayāta*).²⁷ The specification of medicine and astrological mathematics in the letter comes as no surprise, given Āpā’s leadership. After receiving a Buddhist temple education, he had ventured from the south coast to Colombo against parental wishes in the early 1830s, where he made a living as a medical practitioner. A strong interest in astrology developed during these years, during which he studied *jyotiś* with a brahmin priest resident at a Ganeṣa *koṭil* (temple) in Colombo. In 1854 Āpā became a household name as the first to prepare a printed astrological almanac.²⁸ This became an island institution. And, as we shall see, the study of medicine and astrology became crucial to the mission of Vidyodaya Piriveṇa, and to the social and intellectual networks forged around that location.²⁹

Indeed, regard for the civilizational power of *vaidya* was part of what drew together Āpā, his lay associates, and Hikkaḍuvē. An evocative letter sent a few years later by Hikkaḍuvē to one of his key patrons, E. R. Guṇaratna Mudaliyar of Galle, reveals the connections made by Hikkaḍuvē among medicine, Sinhala civilization, and morality:

There’s an effort underway by some inclined to the Sinhala side, including myself, to establish a school for Eastern medicine, raising money in the name of the Prince of Wales [who was expected shortly on the island]. But for a long time prior to this, you, Sir, have been informed by trouble-making Burgher³⁰ doctors that Sinhala medical science is no good. Now the grave digging to bury Sinhala medical science is done. But a few of us who struggle to protect Sinhala civilization, and the wel-

27. See further Rogers (1995) on racial identities in colonial Sri Lanka.

28. The almanac was prepared in collaboration with a teacher from southern Ahungalla, and a Jaffna brahmin resident in Colombo (Paññāsekhera 1965, 150). See also Young and Somaratna (1996, 174) and Śrī Prajñāsāra (in Sorata and Abēsekara 1962, 4).

29. In addition to Āpā, several others among the early patrons of Vidyodaya were deeply interested in *jyotiś-śāstra*. Don Karōlis Hēvāvitāraṇa, who had received a temple education at the Matara Rāja Vihāraya, was expert in astrological mathematics, having studied brahmanic and Buddhist literatures. He supported the printing of the first astronomical almanac prepared by Āpā (Wright 1907, 478). Don Pālis, well regarded as a *śāstric* scholar, was born in Telaṅgapāta village, associated with famous intellectuals of the Kottē Period. He had also studied *jyotiś-śāstra* with Āpā.

30. Lankans of at least partial Dutch descent; the term is also sometimes used more broadly to refer to Lankans with some European ancestry.

fare of the wider population, are trying not to hand it [*vaidya*] over to the grave. For this we need the aid of the Mudaliyars. To that end, one need at this time is to send quickly to me, or to Vīrakkoḍi or Raṇasiṃha, real evidence of illnesses cured by Sinhala doctors that could not be cured by English doctors in the southern region, taken from signed letters of trustworthy people. (Hikkaḍuvē to E. R. Guṇaratna, 25 September 1875, in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:711)³¹

The term “civilization” used by Hikkaḍuvē (*śīlācāratvaya*) evokes not only a historical accumulation of what we might call culture, but also its rootedness in practical morality. In his view, the discipline (*śīlā*) and etiquette (*ācāra*) of Sinhalas, and the cultural attainments that follow from such a mode of life, are to be protected in part through medical practice, by regulating physical health and vitality. This medical practice, though historically part of a broader South Asian *śāstric* milieu, is specifically—and selectively—indigenized in Hikkaḍuvē’s thinking, as we see in his repeated references to *siṃhala vaidya śāstra* and his self-positioning within reference to the Sinhala sector (*pakṣaya*, translated above as “side”) of the population. Writing some years later, in an 1897 editorial for the magazine *Sa-maya Saṅgrahaya*, partly a reader’s digest for *śāstra*, Hikkaḍuvē expressed forcefully closely related views about Sanskrit as the foundation required to develop *śāstra* as practice for life.

It is evident that too few Sinhalas have achieved success by means of *śāstra*. The reason for that is that there isn’t enough use of the language in which *śāstra* is written. All *śāstra* is written in Sanskrit. Therefore, for someone learned in Sanskrit it is easy to take up various books connected to *śāstra* and study. . . . It is because we want to study a *śāstra* that we want to learn a language. . . . If doubt arises with reference to something, it can be got rid of it through the relevant *śāstra*. . . . Therefore, everyone should examine the writings related to *śāstra*, accessible

31. “vēlshi kumārayānamin sammādamak karavā eyin prācīna vaidya pāthaśālāvak tabbavannaṭa apa ātulu siṃhala pakṣayaṭa hitavū kipadenekugē utsāhayak tibenavā. namut miṭa bohoma kalakaṭa matten paṭan siṃhala vaidya śāstraya hoṇḍa ekak noveyi kiya utumānaṭa danvaṇṭa vehesa dārū bargar jātiyē dostar [varun] visin siṃhala vaidya śāstraya vaḷalannaṭa dān vaḷa kapālāt avasānaya. numut ēka vaḷaṭa nodennaṭa lokarthaya hā siṃhala śīlācāratvaya ārak-śākaranta utsāha karaṇa api kīpadenēk utsāha karamu. ē gāṇa mātītumanlāgen upakāra apaṭa lābenṭa oṇā. iṭa dān kaṭayutu ekak nam dakuṇu palātē iṅgrīsi dostar varun visin suvakaraṇu no hākiva siṃhala vedun visin suvaḷa rogaḷa niyama pravṛtti viśvāsa kaṭayuttangē atsan āti liyumvalin maṭa hō vīrakkoḍi raṇasiṃha dennāgen kenekuṭa hō kal noyavā evīmayi.”

here [in the magazine], and try to put them to use for the sake of worldly success. (In Paññāsekhara 1965, 295–96; emphasis added)³²

Hikkaḍuvē's interest in astrology and astronomical mathematics was well known after the highly publicized Adhikamāsa controversies of the 1840s and 1850s (see chap. 1). It was impossible to participate at a sophisticated level in the *adhikamāsa* debates without superior skills in *jyotiś-śāstra* , of the sort demonstrated by Hikkaḍuvē's composition *Māsartulakṣanaya Hevat Pakṣa Māsaṛtu Lakṣana Hā Adhimāsa Dānagānīma Piṇisa* (*The Characteristics of the Months and the Seasons; or, The Characteristics of the Phases of the Moon and Seasons for Understanding the Adhimāsa*), originally prepared near 1859 and published in Colombo in 1874.³³ The founding patrons of Vidyodaya had obvious confidence in Hikkaḍuvē's capacity to draw beginners into the *jyotiś-śāstra* world, as we see from the publication of *Sandhi Granthaya* in 1866. Printing of the text, an introduction to the rules of phonological change in Sanskrit, was paid for by later Vidyodaya patrons Don Harmānis (an ayurvedic physician) and Āpā, after Hikkaḍuvē composed the text at Don Harmānis's request.³⁴ According to the preface, which appears to be Hikkaḍuvē's work,

32. "śāstramārgayen diyuṇuvī siṭina siṃhalayan vaḍā nomātibava peṇē. iṭa hetuva śāstra liyā tibena bhāṣāvyavahāraya nomātivimayi. saṃskṛta bhāṣāven siyaluma śāstra liyā tibē. ebāvin saṃskṛta ugatekuṭa ē ē śāstra sambāṇḍa pot rāgeṇa balā iḡeṇīma pahasuṇi. . . . bhāṣāvak dānagaṇṭa vuvamanāvanṇē śāstrayak hādārīma piṇisayi . . . yamak piḷibaṇḍava sākak upannenam eya ē sambāṇḍa śāstrayen vinodanaya kaṭa hākiyi. . . . ebāvin lokārthasiddhiya saṇḍahā mehi ātulaṭ karaṇu labana śāstrasambaṇḍa liyaviḷi kiyavā balā in prayōjana gānīmaṭa kāvisinut utsāha kaṭayutuyi."

On *Samaya Saṅgrahaya* see further Prajñānanda (1947, 1:321–24). Hikkaḍuvē participated in the second annual celebration of the Vaidyādhāra Sabhāva (Society for the Support of Vaidya) held in 1894 (*Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa*, 23 March 1894). His support for *vaidya* and the importance of *vaidya* study to his students received special mention in a collection of writings composed for Hikkaḍuvē's birthday in 1901 (Gihi Pāvīdi Sabhāva 1901, 1). See also *Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa*, 4 January 1901 (reproduced in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:265). Thomas Karuṇāratna (a past student of Āpā and Hikkaḍuvē), eventually editor of *Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa*, was the president of the Vaidyādhāra Sabhāva (Paññāsekhara 1965, 352).

33. See also Prajñānanda (1947, 1:304). The publisher described the text as a popular text that had been circulating in hand-written copies since the late 1850s, a compendium of details from the Vinaya and *jyotiś śāstra* works of various kinds. It would, he said, "be particularly useful to monks conducting full-moon days, and observing the start of the rains retreat" as well as those learned in the *śāstra*. He advertised the Sanskrit materials it made accessible: "It includes several footnotes from *Sūryasiddhānta*, its sub-commentary, etc., as well as an advisory section based on *Sīromani Siddhānta*, its sub-commentary, etc." (S. Sumaṅgala 1874).

34. The published text was recommended by Valāṇē and Baṭuvantudāvē.

Those various *śāstras* that are used by Sinhala people, the foundational texts for all of them are in Sanskrit. If one wants to understand one among the following—medicine, astrological science, mathematics, logic, prosody, technical word lists, *nyāya-vaiśeṣika* philosophy, etc.—easy access to all of them is through Sanskrit works. Thus, whatever has been written in Pali or Sinhala, the foundation of those *śāstras* is in Sanskrit. . . . Therefore, all the Sinhala people with intellectual ambitions need to try to study Sanskrit in addition to their mother tongue. . . . (S. Sumaṅgala 1866)³⁵

Writing to *Lakmiṇipahaṇa*, Āpā Appuhāmi and his fellows responded not only to their sense that local forms of knowledge were under threat but, also, to the recognition that the time was ripe to venture toward new forms of educational institutional activity. Theirs was a characteristically shrewd and well-informed assessment of the trajectory of the government's policy on education for Ceylon. The 1850s was a period of budgetary constriction, and of considerable debate about the government's approach to education. Among the central issues were conditions for grant-in-aid support from the government (in relation to missionary administration of recipient schools and the character of religious instruction, if any), the relative merits of English-language and vernacular³⁶ education, and the weight to be accorded to practical and technical education (Balasingham 1968, 77–87). By the 1860s, the government was moving toward a policy of grant-in-aid support for private schools, with funding linked to examination results (Godage 1969, 409–10; Rajaindran 1969, 437–46; de Silva 1969, 463–71), and toward the encouragement of rural and vernacular education. A shift in direction supported the establishment of government schools in rural rather than urban areas, with grant-in-aid support used to support private schools in urban areas and in rural areas where a strong missionary presence could be counted on to provide schooling. Vernacular education became increasingly central to government aims for government schools and their nongovernment grant-in-aid recipients. Trends in Ceylon followed those already underway in Britain and

35. “siṃhala manuṣyayan visin prayojanagannāvū yam yam śāstra ādda ē siyallēma mulvūpot saṃskṛta bhāṣāven karaṇa laddāhuya—āyurvēda jyotiś śāstra gaṇita tarkālaṅkāra chando nighaṇṭu nyāya vaiśeṣikādin aturen yamak danagaṇukāmatida ē siyalla saṃskṛta potvalin sulabhaya—meyin yamak yamak māgadha siṃhala bhāṣāvalin liyātibunet ē śāstrayangē mūlotpattipot saṃskṛta bhāṣāven veti. . . . Ēheyin paṇḍitatvaya patannāvū siyalu siṃhala manuṣyayan visin janmabhāṣāvaṭa vāḍikoṭa saṃskṛta bhāṣāva iḡeṇagaṇṭa utsāha kaṭayutuyi. . . .”

36. “Vernacular” was the term used, meaning, in the case of Ceylon, Tamil and Sinhala.

India (Bastiampillai 1968, 131–32). Plans for the revised grant-in-aid program, and the establishment of a Department of Public Instruction staffed by school inspectors, were completed during the tenure of Governor Hercules Robinson (1865–72) and implemented by his successor Governor William Gregory (1873). Religious schools (which came to include Hindu and Buddhist schools, as well as Christian ones) were eligible for grant-in-aid support, provided they met hourly requirements for instruction in secular subjects (134–35). The *Lakṣmīnipahāṇa* letter specified that government approval of the proposed school should be sought, so that it would be eligible for government support of Sinhala instruction in the event that local private patronage was insufficient to meet expenses (Paññāsekhara 1965, 158). And, as we shall see later in this chapter, the formal establishment of Vidyodaya Piriveṇa was perfectly timed to exploit the interest in “Oriental literature” that began to develop during the tenure of Governor Robinson, reaching a fever pitch during the era of Governor Gregory (1873–77).

Education at Vidyodaya

According to an 1877 newspaper report, instruction at Vidyodaya began in August 1873 (*Overland Examiner*, 18 January 1877).³⁷ The first annual prize-giving ceremony for Vidyodaya Piriveṇa was held in 1875. Book prizes were awarded to students who had achieved the highest 1874 examination marks in the subjects of Vinaya, Pali grammar, Pali reading, Sanskrit, Sinhala, medicine, and mathematics (*śāstric*, not European). In his remarks, advocate James d’Alwis, the guest of honor responsible for the delivery of prizes, referred first to Sanskrit, before proceeding to a discussion of Pali and Sinhala.³⁸ We do not have a list of texts used in the first year of Vidyodaya’s operations, but the books awarded as prizes give some indication of what patrons of the institution considered suitable reading in the relevant subjects. *Parivāra-paṭṭha* and *Khuddakasikkhā* were awarded to a monastic student as the prize for Vinaya; another monastic student received *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, the subcommentary to the *Rūpasiddhi*, and a grammar by Kaccāyana (perhaps d’Alwis’s 1863 introduction to the grammar of Kaccāyana) as the prize for Pali gram-

37. A retrospective article in *Lakṣmīnipahāṇa*, 31 August 1901, asserts that teaching began in December 1873. A brief discussion of these topics appears also in Blackburn (2009b).

38. D’Alwis’s comments on the utility of the languages are perhaps worthy of note: He lauded Sanskrit as a noble language, also helpful to the study of Pali, and Pali as a language useful even to Christians who wished to combat Buddhism, but especially as an aid to the study of Sinhala; the study of Sinhala was required to obtain respect in society (*Overland Examiner*, 21 January 1875).



Fig. 2. "Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala Teaching at Vidyodaya Piriveṇa." From J. C. Willis's *Ceylon: A Handbook for the Resident and Traveller* (Colombo: Colombo Apothecaries' Co., 1907).

mar, while his slightly more advanced fellow was awarded *Khuddakasikkhā* and *Saddhammopāyana* for Pali reading. The monastic prize winner in Sanskrit received *Kumārasambhava*, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, and (naturally, under the circumstances) *The Miscellaneous Works of Mr. Alwis*. The lay victor in Sinhalese took away *Sidat Saṅgarā* and Alwis's *Contributions to Oriental Literature*, while another layman received *Chakradatta* in devanagari script for his attainments in medicine. Thomas Karuṇāratna carried off the mathematics prize, a copy of *Sūryasiddhānta* inscribed by Āpā Appuhāmi.

By 1876, the year for which we next have a substantial newspaper account,³⁹ the curriculum comprised Pali grammar, Pali reading, Sanskrit grammar, Sanskrit reading, Sinhalese grammar, Sinhalese reading, medicine, and mathematics (*śāstric* rather than European).⁴⁰ The following titles

39. Apparently, owing to cholera in the neighborhood of Vidyodaya, no examinations were held in 1875, and thus no prize giving in 1876 (*Overland Examiner*, 18 January 1877).

40. "It is in contemplation to introduce the books of Abhidharma and Logic as the students advance higher in their knowledge; a few now read them privately with the principal" (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1877*, reproduced in *Overland Examiner*, 18 January 1877).

are listed in the 1877 prize-giving report, although the list was probably not intended to be exhaustive. Pali grammar: *Bālāvatāra*, *Kaccāyana*, and *Balāppabodhanam*. Pali reading: *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, *Aṅguttara*-and *Majjhima-nikāya*, *Bhikkhu Pātimokkha*, *Vinayavinicchaya*, *Parivāra Pāli*, *Pālimuttakavinaya* (vinicchaya). Sanskrit grammar: *Sārasvata*, *Mugdhabodha*, *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī*, and *Aśubodha*. Sanskrit reading: *Hitopadeśa*, *Raghuvamśa*, and *Meghadūta*. Sinhala grammar: *Sidat Saṅgarā*. Sinhala reading: *Sidatsaṅgarā Pradīpikā*, *Guttala Jātaka*, *Sāvul Saṅdeśaya*, *Siyabasalakara*, and *Muvadevdāvata*. Medicine: *Suśruta*, *Bhaiṣajyakalpa*, and *Chakradatta*. Mathematics: *Līlāvatī* (*Overland Examiner*, 18 January 1877).⁴¹ Kariyawasam, in his study of social and intellectual forces that affected the development of Sinhala poetics during the nineteenth century, has asserted that Vidyodaya Piriveṇa gave primacy to the study of Pali, with relatively less attention to Sinhala and Sanskrit (Tissa Kariyawasam 1973, 323). If, however, we conceive of the study of Sanskrit as being not merely the study of Sanskrit literature and prosody, but also the wider range of *śāstras* for which Sanskrit works were considered foundational, the picture appears somewhat different. It is likely that the classic texts for all languages referred to in the lists above were supplemented by introductory pedagogical materials, like Hikkaḍuvē's compositions *Sandhi Granthaya* (see above), *Pāli Nāma Varanāgilla Saha Ehi Gāthā Sannayada Ākhyāta Varanāgillada* (*Declension and Conjugation of Pāli Words with an Explanation of Conjugations*) (1873), and *Siṃhala Vyākaraṇa Sahita Varṇṇārītiya* (*Sinhala Grammar and Meter*) (1878).⁴²

The 1877 prize-giving report, with its more comprehensive distinctions between “grammar” and “reading” for all three languages, reveals the standardization of subjects within the curriculum in a manner suitable for examination within a system of reporting linked to the colonial Department of Public Instruction. Supporters of the *piriveṇa* sought government recog-

41. According to Prajñānanda (1947, 1:204–5), the following works were used in teaching during the years 1890 and 1891. (Note that they are listed by *language* rather than by *subject*.) In 1890: Pali: *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, *Cullavagga*, *Mahāvagga*, *Pātimokkha*, *Samyutta-nikāya*, *Majjhima-nikāya*, *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, *Dhammapada*, *Kaccāyana*, *Bālāvatāra*, *Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa*, *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*. Sanskrit: *Raghuvamśa*, *Vṛttaratnākara*, *Suśruta*, *Mugdhabodha*, *Sārasvata*, *Hitopadeśa*. Sinhala: *Sidat Saṅgarā*, *Sālalīhiṇi Saṅdeśaya*, *Dhampiyā[-gathā] Sannaya*. In 1891: Pali: *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, *Parivāra*, *Cullavagga*, *Mahāvagga*, *Pārāṇika-kaṇḍa*, *Pātimokkha*, *Majjhima-nikāya*, *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, *Kaccāyana*, *Moggallāyana*, *Bālāvatāra*, *Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa*, *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*. Sanskrit: *Kāvya-darśa* (with commentary), *Raghuvamśa*, *Suśruta*, *Mugdhabodha*, *Sārasvata*, *Hitopadeśa*. Sinhala: *Sidat Saṅgarā*, *Sālalīhiṇi Saṅdeśaya*.

42. See also Prajñānanda (1947, 1:306).

nition of the school, which was granted by Governor Gregory in 1877. Examinations were held even before Vidyodaya was recognized by the government and came within the reporting mandate of the Department of Public Instruction. The *piriveṇa* used external examiners but the external examiners were often closely connected to the institution, which was almost inevitable given the small community of experts available. Examinations were usually held privately, with a public prize giving to follow, although in at least one year the examinations and prize giving appear to have been held in close conjunction with all or part of the examinations given before an audience. An 1875 account mentions “examination papers,” but there are also references to oral examination, even after examinations came under review by the Department of Public Instruction (*Overland Examiner*, 21 January 1875; *Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1878*; *Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1898*).⁴³

Student enrollment at Vidyodaya grew rather quickly. The institution began with eleven pupils. By 1877 seventy were enrolled (*Annual Report of Vidyodaya Piriveṇa*, reproduced in *Overland Examiner*, 18 January 1877). We do not know the relative numbers of lay and monastic students in the first years of the *piriveṇa*, but by 1880 the student population comprised fifty-eight monks and eighteen laymen (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1880*). By 1881, enrollment had risen yet again, to sixty-eight monks and twenty-six laymen (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1881*). One hundred and forty-seven students were enrolled in 1893, with an average (presumably daily) attendance of eighty-eight (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1893*).⁴⁴

Examination reports give further evidence of the institution’s vitality and help us to understand the different courses of study undertaken by lay and monastic students. For instance, the report of 1878 recorded that

the Widyodaya college (Māligākanda) was examined in April, 1878, by Messrs. H. Perera and D. A. D. Silva Baṭuwantūḍāwe Paṇḍit in Sanscrit and Pāli literature. Out of 62 priests examined, 41 passed the examination creditably. Their Pāli reading was very fair. When they were questioned minutely on the meanings of words and sentences they shewed by their answers that a good deal of attention had been paid to their

43. Wilhelm Geiger reports attending what appears to have been an oral Pali examination at a school in Mt. Lavinia (near Colombo) supervised by Hikkaḍuvē (Bechert 1977, 51).

44. These numbers are considerably more modest than those listed in Ratanasāra (1965, 263).

instruction in these subjects. Besides the seven classes composed of the sixty-two priests there were also examined three classes consisting of nineteen lay persons. Of these the first and second classes were examined principally in Sanscrit medical works, such as Susruta and Cakrudatta, and on the whole exhibited an intelligent understanding of them. Most of these persons are preparing themselves to practise hereafter as vedarālas [medical practitioners of the *śāstric vaidya*], and some few of them are already in practise, and attend the Widyodaya college for the purpose of acquainting themselves with such scientific knowledge of medicine as is to be obtained from the Sanscrit works above referred to. A third class, consisting of two laymen only, was examined *viva voce* in classical Sinhalese, and they answered very creditably. The general management and discipline of the classes appeared to the examiners to be good throughout. (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1878*, 16C; original spellings and italics)⁴⁵

Although notes on medicine disappeared from the examination record, absorbed within more general commentary on Sanskrit, it remained important to the institution's vision. Ratanasāra (1965, 267) has argued that the development of the curriculum reveals conflicting ideas on the place of "secular" subjects in studies at Vidyodaya. While that is perhaps true of later years beyond the scope of this study, during the first forty years of the institution there is little sign of such conflict among the lay and monastic leaders of Vidyodaya. As indicated earlier, the study of Buddhist teachings and a wider array of *śāstras* was understood to combine naturally, and productively. To be sure, as we shall see below, the Department of Public Instruction regularly lobbied Vidyodaya to alter its curriculum with respect to mathematics and geography. Yet, importantly, the *pirivena* was steadily resistant to such changes.

In 1902, the Department of Public Instruction developed a standardized system of Oriental studies examinations administered by the Committee on Oriental Studies.⁴⁶ These examinations, forerunners to the present ones

45. A cumulative report prepared by the Department of Public Instruction in 1898 listed the number of students examined for Sanskrit, Pali and Sinhala respectively during each year between 1888 and 1896. In 1888, 39 sat for Sanskrit exams, 88 for exams in Pali, and 31 for Sinhala. In 1892, 61 sat for Sanskrit exams, 100 for Pali, and 37 for Sinhala. In 1896, 58 students sat for Sanskrit exams, 96 for Pali, and 56 for Sinhala (CO 57/135).

46. According to the rather self-congratulatory account of Burrows, then director of the Department of Public Instruction, "I was interested to find in the course of my travels that at many centres 'pirivenas' has been started or had been for some time in existence; *i.e.*, classes of adults held by Buddhist priests for the study of Sanskrit, Pali, and higher Sinhalese. But it seemed that

used to award *Pracīnabāṣopakara* degrees, were described as follows in the inaugural year report:

Signs of a revival of Oriental learning being visible throughout the Island, my predecessor Mr. S. M. Burrows, with the cooperation of eminent native scholars, instituted the Committee on Oriental Studies in July, 1902. . . . The object of the Committee is to centralize and bring to a system the work of the various institutions devoted to the purpose by supplying them with a common curriculum on which yearly examinations will be held. It is proposed to have three examinations: a Preliminary, an Intermediate, and a Final; the last to be approximately equal to the degree of a B.A. (in languages) of a University, entitling a successful candidate to the Committee's diploma. The first preliminary exam was held in October, 1903, and 23 candidates passed. The subjects of examination were Sanskrit, Pali, Sinhalese, and the History and Archaeology of Ceylon. The Director of Public Instruction is the Chairman of the Committee. (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1903*, D5)

However, the number of students, island-wide, examined by the committee grew slowly during the period with which we are concerned, and Vidyodaya Piriveṇa continued its own system of examinations.⁴⁷ One reason for

many of them were working without any very definite plan, and that only a little organisation was required to turn this movement to good account, and, while zealously safe-guarding its indigenous and independent character, to make it more progressive, attractive, and useful. I called a general meeting to consider the question. It was excellently attended both by the priesthood and the laity, and there seemed a unanimous desire to adopt the scheme I proposed, which was certainly not to turn these piriwenas into Government or subsidized high schools, but to start a course of yearly examinations, at first of an unambitious kind, generally rising to higher flights, and possibly to a degree, if the movement was well responded to. A very representative general committee was accordingly adopted, and from it was selected a sub-committee to draft an examination schedule, which was duly passed, and the date of the first examinations fixed for 1903. Co-operation has also been solicited from and promised by the Tamils of the North, whose sangams are doing a work similar to the Sinhalese pirivenas, having Sanskrit for a common subject of study" (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1902*, D4; original spellings). See also Tissa Kariyawasam (1973, 336, 505) and Ratanasāra (1965, 272, 280). Hikkaḍuve and his leading student-colleagues at Vidyodaya (Heyiyantuḍuvē and Mahagoḍē) were present at the first meeting of the *Prācīna Bhāṣopakāra Samitiya*, as were Ratmalānē Dharmārāma and Vaskaḍuvē (Mutumāla 1957, 5–6).

47. Unfortunately, the *Reports* do not mention the number of students tested in the Vidyodaya examinations in 1905–6. Thirty students sat for the committee's preliminary exam in 1905, of whom 15 passed. No committee exams were held in 1906. In 1907, 3 students passed the committee's preliminary exam in Sanskrit, Pali, and Sinhala, while 9 passed the other preliminary exam allowing Sanskrit or Pali plus Sinhala. Two succeeded at the intermediate level for San-

the slow growth in the popularity of the committee examinations, at least among monks, is suggested by a strongly worded letter sent to Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala in 1902 by a monastic teacher at a site under Hikkaḍuvē's supervision. According to the correspondent, Bentara Saranaṅkara, some teachers sought permission to withhold their students from the committee examinations, since the examination was deemed biased against them and favorable to students schooled in the curriculum of Vidyodaya's then-rival Vidyālaṅkāra Piriveṇa.⁴⁸ After seeing the information provided by Burrows for the first examination, Bentara wrote:

By employing the spelling that we don't like, it's evident to us that the authors [of the exam] are people who studied with another side [Vidyālaṅkāra] or that another side is in charge of it. It is our understanding and teaching that the use of the retroflex ḷ letter in instances like "ḷapaṭilaya-ḷaṅgavīma," and of the dental ṇ in instances like like "karaṇa-gena," is inconsistent with our views. . . . Therefore I hereby beg to inform you that it's a matter worthy of reflection as to whether there should be a departure from the society, agreeing not to send students to this society's examination, at least among the students led by Your Lordship. (Bentara to Hikkaḍuvē, 28 October 1902, in *Prajñānanda* 1947, 2:666)⁴⁹

skrit, Pali and Sinhala, while 1 passed the intermediate exam for Sanskrit and Sinhala. Compare these island-wide committee figures with the number of students examined at Vidyodaya in the same year: 112 in Sinhala, 174 in Pali, and 126 in Sanskrit (students could, of course, be examined in more than one language). In 1908 the committee administered no examinations, and Vidyodaya examined 69 in Sinhala, 92 in Pali, and 70 in Sanskrit. The 1909 report provides the first more substantial analysis of committee examination results and specifically indicates participation of Vidyodaya students. In 1909, 36 students entered the committee's preliminary exams, 4 undertook the intermediate exams, and 5 attempted the advanced examinations. Of these, 2 of the intermediates were from Vidyodaya (1 layman and 1 monk). Two from Vidyodaya sat and passed the preliminary examinations. Two from Vidyālaṅkāra did likewise. We see signs of growing *piriveṇa* participation in the committee system by 1910 (reports of the Department of Public Instruction for 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, and 1911). Beginning in 1909, Sinhala was listed as "Eḷu" in the reports; what was meant was "classical" or "literary" Sinhala. According to Ratnasāra, the "general attitude of the Vidyalaṅkāra Piriveṇa towards the examinations of the Oriental Studies Society was passive. Students who followed the regular classes at the Piriveṇa could take up the examinations of the Society. But there was no special preparation of students for such examinations" (1965, 274).

48. See also Tissa Kariyawasam (1973, 336). I am grateful to Ven. Vālamaṭṭiyāvē Kusaladhamma for a discussion of differences of opinion between monks of Vidyodaya and Vidyālaṅkāra Piriveṇas during the nineteenth century (8 July 1999). On the alphabet debate, see also I. Kanangara (1997, 25–26, 43–44).

49. "eya apa nurusnā akṣara vinyāsādiya yedīmen an pakṣayak ehi pradhānatvaya usulana bava hō ehi lipikaruvan an pakṣyaka iḡeṇīma āttan bava hō apaṭa vāṭahena karuṇuyi. 'karana—

Participation in the committee's examinations was seen by some as a threat to status rather than as a supportive opportunity. The new examinations introduced by the government were not interpreted as a neutral practice, but within the context of existing monastic institutional tensions related to lineage politics and other matters.

In their 1864 letter, Āpā Appuhāmi and his associates had urged Buddhist and non-Buddhist Sinhalese alike to involve themselves with the cause of advanced education. According to newspaper reports from the early years of Vidyodaya's operations, Christians did join its student ranks, although this reportage shows that the multireligious presence was a sufficiently delicate matter to warrant special note.

It is also very gratifying to know, that a College for instructing all who are desirous of studying Singhalese, Sanskrit, Pali, &c, has been established in Dematagoda, with the learned and well known Hikkaduwe Sumangala Tera as its Principal. It is not strange that one educated as this High Priest is, should place this College open to all classes of people without any regard to class, color, or creed.

I think it desirable that, if possible, the Christians too should have an Institution similar to this, for the benefit of those who may have scruples to join the Buddhist College, which, it is said, is at present attended by Christians also. (Anonymous letter to the *Overland Examiner*, 8 October 1873; original spellings)

The institution's annual report for 1876 read by proctor Ranasinha at the 1877 prize giving stated that the students "are from different parts of the Island and from all sects and societies. . . . It may be here mentioned that according to the principles laid down in the 'deed of dedication' this institution is unsectarian, and is open to all denominations of religionists. Pupils are also free to discard any branch of study which may be displeasing to them. But such a dislike has not been felt by any, including the Christian portion, of the pupils now receiving instruction" (*Overland Examiner*, 18 January 1877). Although, given Hikkaḍuvē's Siyam Nikāya membership, monastic

gena' yanādi tanhi dantaja nakāraya hā 'lapaṭi—laya—laṅgāvīma' yanādi tanhi mūrdhaja laḱārayat apa pakṣayē iḡānnum novana bava apē vātahīma hā iḡānvīmayi. . . . ema nisā mē samītiyē vibhāgayāta śiṣyayan noyavanaleśa sammata karageṇa samītiyen ahakvīma nāyaka hā muduruvan vahansē ātulu śiṣyayan ataravat kaṭayutuda yānu sitābalāvadālayutu karuṇak bava meyin sāla-karami." A letter by Hikkaḍuvē to Vaskaḍuvē shortly thereafter, in 1903, refers positively to a monk's undertaking the examination (SLNA 5/63/17/346).

students at Vidyodaya were naturally drawn from Siyam Nikāya circles, Amarapura Nikāya monks also studied at Vidyodaya (*Lakrivikiraṇa*, 16 January 1897), while senior monks from that order (Vaskaḍuvē and Vāligamē) regularly examined (*Reports of the Department of Public Instruction* cited above).⁵⁰ In addition, some Siyam Nikāya monks who eventually turned to the Ramañña Nikāya studied at Vidyodaya, including Ilukvattē.

Government Funding

We have already seen that Āpā and his associates included financial support from the government in their original plans for an institution of higher education dedicated to the study of Buddhist teachings and the *śāstras*. As Ratanasāra rightly observed, “Apparently the founder members of the Vidyodaya had expected to receive Government aid. Thus the documents governing the Pirivena were drafted with the best advice available at the time” (1965, 241–42). When arrangements were made for Vidyodaya’s inaugural prize-giving ceremony, the Vidyādhara Sabhāva sought the presence of Governor Gregory as chief guest. The governor declined, on the grounds that the institution was insufficiently established, but seems to have made favorable noises about his interest in the institution.⁵¹ In his stead arrived James d’Alwis, Sinhala member for the Legislative Council. D’Alwis, and M. Coomaraswamy, Tamil member for the Legislative Council, were both staunch supporters of Vidyodaya Piriveṇa’s early activities, and it is possible that one of them authored a supportive letter to the editor of the *Overland Examiner* in 1875, advising Vidyodaya’s leadership to capitalize on the government’s obvious interest in “Oriental” learning and the Prince of Wales’s plans to acknowledge eminent local scholars during his visit to the island.⁵²

50. A 1901 letter in *Lakmiṇipahaṇa* complained about the absence of Amarapura Nikāya teachers at the *piriveṇa*, even while noting the large number (approximately five hundred) of Amarapura Nikāya monks trained at the site (31 August 1901). The author of this letter asserted that Ramañña Nikāya monks never attended Vidyodaya because of monastic disputes. This may have been true in the latter part of the nineteenth century, as Ramañña Nikāya educational centers formed separately, and Hikkaḍuvē became increasingly attentive to the threat posed by the Ramañña Nikāya to the Siyam Nikāya on the island. Jinavaravaṃsa (see chap. 5) asked Vaskaḍuvē to have student monks brought from Vidyodaya to reside at Dīpādūtārama Vihāraya. This suggests the presence of Amarapura Nikāya monks studying at Vidyodaya during this period (Jinavaravaṃsa to Vaskaḍuvē, 14 May 1906, in Guruge [1984, 202]. According to one of the longer obituaries for Hikkaḍuvē, students from both Amarapura and Siyam Nikāyas studied at Vidyodaya during his principalship (*Dinamiṇa*, 3 May 1911).

51. See *Overland Examiner*, 18 January 1877.

52. “The existence of an Oriental College such as the ‘Widyodaya’ in Colombo, and the presence of such men as the High Priest Hikkaduwe Sumangala and the Pundit Batuwantudawe . . .

In 1877, preparing the way for Governor Gregory to recommend grant-in-aid support of the Vidyodaya Piriveṇa, Coomaraswamy asked that rules relating to grant-in-aid funding be presented to the councillors, and specifically asked “if any aid will be rendered by Government to the Sanskrit and Pali College at Maligakande, and moved for papers.” He was seconded by James d’Alwis (CO 57/70). By this time, as we shall see further in chapter 3, Gregory was well informed of Hikkaḍuvē’s scholarly work and had engaged him in government-sponsored translation and editing work. Gregory’s departure from the island in 1877, after a wave of successes with certain (especially high-caste) local populations on projects related to “classical” literature and the preservation of ancient Buddhist sites (Blackburn n.d.), was a suitable moment to *fête* simultaneously his accomplishments and those of the Vidyodya Piriveṇa. An exceedingly eminent organizing committee⁵³ made arrangements for the elaborate festivities held at the *piriveṇa* in January 1877. A Colombo newspaper’s reporting evokes the scene:

At the turn to Maligakande an arch was erected and the two sides of the road as far as the gates of the Institution were decorated with cocoanut leaves, areca-nuts etc. etc. At the gates of the Institution was another and a better arch gaily trimmed and bearing the words “Welcome Sir Gregory.” At the entrance to the building were written the name of the College—“Widdioyadda College”—and the date of its establishment (1873 or the Buddhist Year 1241 [sic]) and within was the motto “Nil desperandum.” The decorations within were superb and the building was full to overflowing with priests, natives, high-combed Mudliyors and visitors. On the left of the platform erected for the occasion were assembled the Students of the College—on the right were the seats for

must exercise a great deal of influence on this section of the literary world. But it is much to be regretted that we have not heard of any support by our present liberal Government having as yet been held out to the above named institution, great and noble as its object is. It may be that, in the opinion of Government, the College has not yet gained sufficient publicity so as to merit its recognition as a useful Public Institution. If so, it is high time that its Directors of the Committee of management should take steps to ensure for it that publicity which is indeed indispensable to its success” (*Overland Examiner*, 27 September 1875). See also *Overland Examiner*, 23 December 1875. Coomaraswamy had a learned interest in Pali as well as Sanskrit and had translated from Pali into English a devotional verse history of the Buddhist Tooth Relic (CO 57/67).

53. Including James d’Alwis, C. P. Dayas Baṇḍāranāyaka Mahā Mudaliyar, J. P. Ubēsēkara, Sir S. C. Ubēsēkara, T. B. Pānābokkē, Iddamalgoḍa, Wiliyam Ellāwala, S. D. Mahawalatānna, J. W. Māḍuvannavala, Wiliyam Dunūvila, T. B. Kobbākaḍuva, L. C. Vijēsīṃha, Sāmsan Rājapakṣa, Bartolomiyus Guṇasēkara, P. Ramanāthan, P. Aruṇācalan, Batuvantuḍavē Śrī Devarakṣita, and V. P. Ranasīṃha (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:209).

the Governor and his Suite—and in the back ground were some of the distinguished visitors. (*Overland Examiner*, 18 January 1877; original spellings)

The governor performed as expected, with both Legislative Council members Coomaraswamy and d'Alwis present. Governor Gregory's address acknowledged the importance he accorded to Vidyodaya Piriveṇa, stressing its potential contribution to "classical studies":

I am most gratified at coming here to-day, and to have heard, of the account that was read concerning the flourishing conditions of the Institution. It is most gratifying to me to hear that there are students coming here from all parts of the Island, and I trust that those students, when they return to their own districts, will diffuse the knowledge that they acquired within these walls. I consider that an institution of this kind is one deserving of the greatest praise and also of the greatest encouragement from your countrymen. The lamp of classical literature seemed almost to be expiring when you (addressing the High Priest [Hikkaḍuvē]) came forward and fed it, and it is again springing into light. And I certainly think considering that this institution is founded for the encouragement of the classical study of classical languages of the East, and of the classical languages of this country that it is not only deserving of encouragement from the people of this island, but also from the Government. I will take an early opportunity of speaking to the High Priest and president of this college, about the state of this Institution and learn from him to what extent it requires the assistance of Government. I am encouraged to do this by the statement that this college is purely unsectarian, and I am encouraged, too, by the fact that some of the recipients of the prizes, are laymen. (*Overland Examiner*, 18 January 1877; original spellings)

Gregory approached Vidyodaya partly on the basis of the government's expectations that grant-in-aid schools would help train teachers, diffusing knowledge acquired in the cities to rural areas. The governor's passionate interest in "classical" learning and aesthetics (Blackburn n.d.) was, however, the ground on which he most easily came to terms with the new institution, seen less as an institution of monastic learning or contemporary sciences than as part of a preservationist enterprise. He granted Vidyodaya Piriveṇa an annual allowance of Rs 600 expected to continue "so long as the institution is efficiently conducted" (*Governor's Address to the Legislative*

Council, 7 May 1877).⁵⁴ This grant was later increased to Rs 1,000 by 1883, during the tenure of Governor Charles Arthur Hamilton-Gordon, and to Rs 2,000 in the late 1910s (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1883*, 33D; Ratanasāra 1965, 260).

Competing Intellectual Visions

Despite the fact that Vidyodaya became a recipient of government grant-in-aid support, its curriculum—and the visions of intellectual attainment that guided the school—remained remarkably resistant to government intervention and to the influence of broader European-oriented discourses on desirable learning. We see this quite clearly by looking at the history of mathematics and medicine at Vidyodaya. Moreover, we find a clear disjunction between two visions of educational service articulated during the first decades of the institution by Vidyodaya's local leadership and the Department of Public Instruction.

When Vidyodaya Piriveṇa began to receive government aid, it became subject to government evaluation of its pedagogical success. Such evaluation was based on the results of annual examinations arranged by the institution under the supervision of the Department of Public Instruction, and upon reports on instructional methods and student marks made by the examiners in their reports to the department. Because of Vidyodaya's unusual profile—it was then the only institution for higher learning in the so-called Oriental languages and literatures supported by government, and had received the governor's personal vote of confidence—the *piriveṇa* was evaluated by the Department of Public Instruction as an institution among the small class of "superior" institutions including the Colombo Academy. Until the Committee on Oriental Studies was established in 1902, the Department of Public Instruction claimed no authority to arrange or administer examinations in most of the subjects taught at Vidyodaya. Therefore, examinations for the *śāstric* subjects apart from mathematics were arranged

54. Support for Vidyodaya figured prominently in Gregory's summation of accomplishments sent to Lord Carnarvon, secretary of state for the colonies: "It gratifies me to be able to state, that the encouragement given by the Government to *the study of ancient literature and to the investigation of the monuments* has already borne fruit, and a College for the teaching of Pali and Sanskrit has been established by the Buddhist High Priest Sumangala with considerable success. It was only this year formally opened [*sic*], it is free to persons of all denominations, and there are already 70 students ecclesiastics and lay men attending the lectures—An annual vote so long as it is satisfactorily conducted of 600 Rupees has been proposed to and agreed to by the Legislative Council in aid of this institution" (Gregory to Carnarvon, 1 August 1877, CO 54/511; emphasis added).

according to the wishes of Hikkaḍuvē and his teaching colleagues, with the approval of the department (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1883*, 33D). The department, however, had firm ideas about instruction in mathematics and confidence in its ability to examine students in that subject. As the department's annual reports indicate, Vidyodaya students were examined in mathematics by a representative of the department, usually a subinspector of schools. It is evident from the persistently negative accounts of student results in arithmetic found in the departmental reports that the department examined the students in mathematics according to a British model of curriculum and pedagogy as manifested locally, while Vidyodaya students learned arithmetic as suitable for successful work in the field of *jyotiś-śāstra*. We might say that, while they studied *ganita* (*śāstric* computation), they were examined in maths. The 1878 report prepared by the Department of Public Instruction set the tone for years of government unhappiness with—and the striking failure to alter—Vidyodaya's mathematical curriculum:

The general management and discipline of the classes appeared to the examiners to be good throughout. They report, however, that no attention is paid to arithmetic or geography, which might, they think, be introduced with advantage, into the lay classes at least, if not throughout all the classes of the institution. (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1878*, 16C)

The laymen were also examined in arithmetic, but their knowledge did not extend beyond a fair knowledge of the most elementary rules. (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1880*, 13C)

The laymen were examined in arithmetic by H. Perera, Esq., of the Normal school, but the results were most discreditable, six only obtaining good marks out of the 20 students examined. The recommendations of Mr. Bruce with regard to teaching arithmetic, and the adoption of a system of organization more in accordance with modern approved methods, were entirely ignored—facts which are to be very much regretted. (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1882*, 27D)

Moreover, no great progress is made in arithmetic and modern subjects, whereas I had hoped that, while not neglecting Oriental languages, modern subjects would have received considerable attention. (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1887*, 38D)

The results of the examination generally were satisfactory, and tend to show that good work has been done during the year. The weak point is, as in former years, arithmetic; but the learned President [principal] is, I am glad to say, taking steps to secure more efficient and systematic teaching in the subject. (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1892*, D12)

In arithmetic the examiner reports that no satisfactory progress has been made on the position of last year's work. (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1893*, D19)

Negative comments on instruction in mathematics continued steadily through the last decade of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth.⁵⁵ The department failed to recognize (or at least to acknowledge) that the study of mathematics was in fact proceeding apace, but according to *śāstric* expectations rather than its own.⁵⁶ While the department complained about Vidyodaya's mathematical limitations, Hikkaḍuvē and his students continued to feed local hunger for access to *jyotiś-śāstra* experts and publications that required training in astronomic computation as well as Sanskrit language. In 1889, for instance, *Chandrābharaṇa*, an astrological treatise, was published in Colombo with a paraphrase composed by J. S. Rājasundara Āraci, one of Hikkaḍuvē's students. Hikkaḍuvē had reviewed and revised the text, which was commended to readers by Āpā (*Chandrābharaṇa* 1889).

One of the substantial social contributions made by Vidyodaya Piriveṇa and, later, Vidyālaṅkāra Piriveṇa, was the provision of training in medicine to lay students who returned to their home territories as medical practitioners, teachers, and organizers of ayurvedic dispensaries (Ratanasāra 1965, 285).⁵⁷ Āpā had long thought *vaidya śāstra* essential for inclusion in the curriculum of an institution like Vidyodaya. He had a natural ally in Hikkaḍuvē, whose strongly favorable views on *vaidya* we have already explored.⁵⁸ By 1875, two years after Vidyodaya's establishment, there were signs that demand for medical training outstripped what could be provided

55. Reports of the Department of Public Instruction for 1894–1900. There are no comments on mathematics in the reports for years 1901–6.

56. Describing Hikkaḍuvē's students at Vidyodaya, Āmaravaṃsa writes that they included those knowledgeable about *jyotiś-śāstra* and those skilled at determining auspicious times (1995, v. 61).

57. See also *Dinamiṇa*, 3 May 1911, and Āmaravaṃsa (1995, v. 60).

58. Hikkaḍuvē, founder-editor of the magazine *Samaya*, included articles and letters on *vaidya*- and *jyotiś-śāstra*. The magazine ran from January 1873 into the 1890s, though intermittently, published from several presses (Paññāsekara 1965, 285–93).

by Vidyodaya and through apprenticeships. As preparations were made for the arrival of the Prince of Wales on an imperial tour, local scholars and benefactors contemplated projects that might be brought forward for royal imprimatur and government support to augment local charitable patronage. Talk of a new and distinct medical college began to circulate.

On 3 November 1875, the *Overland Examiner* contained a long article taken from one of the Sinhala newspapers, describing the intent to establish a medical college in which the study of “Oriental languages” would be linked to instruction in “Sinhalese medicine.” Key Vidyodaya Pirivena supporters (James D’Alwis, D. C. Vīrakkōḍi, and W. P. Ranasinha) were listed among supporters of the scheme. The project did not threaten Vidyodaya’s stature since the study of Sanskrit, Pali, and Sinhala was conceived of in modest terms. “The above languages are, as it were, the keys to these sciences [including medicine]. Therefore I think it is not essential to give a very high education in these languages, or to make that alone the object of the College. But it will be necessary to give such an education as will enable the pupils to understand the sciences, which are written in these languages” (W. P. Ranasinha as quoted in *Overland Examiner*, 11 November 1875). As Hikkaḍuvē’s long letter to E. R. Guṇaratna (quoted above) indicated clearly, the venture had the full support of Vidyodaya’s principal (Hikkaḍuvē to E. R. Guṇaratna, 25 September 1875, in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:711). Amid rumors that the proposed college would be biased toward Buddhists or Buddhism, “A Sinhalese” addressed the editor in order to stress that the proposed medical college would be “a place where Oriental Literature, Medical Science, and Surgery will be taught and that no religious instruction whatever will be allowed to be imparted therein. . . . The names of the majority of the Committee members, who are Christians, will be a sufficient guarantee against such needless misgivings” (*Overland Examiner*, 6 November 1875). Although proctor W. P. Ranasinha, at least, vaunted the possibility that “the European system of medicine” would be included in the college’s curriculum (*Overland Examiner*, 11 November 1875), the eventual proposal favored *vaidya*.⁵⁹ Governor Gregory, however, was unconvinced, as a local newspaper correspondent reported in detail.⁶⁰

59. Although Ranasinha spoke sympathetically about “the European system of medicine” he also discussed local medical practice and training at length, and spoke of *vaidya*-trained practitioners as the most realistic answer to the island’s pressing need for medical expertise. It may be that his comments on training beyond *vaidya* were strategic; Hikkaḍuvē’s letter to Guṇaratna (see above and below) supports this view.

60. On this meeting, see also *Overland Ceylon Observer*, 4 November 1875; and *Lakri-vikiraṇa*, 23 October 1875.

The deputation waited on the Governor yesterday with regard to this College. There were present the Hon'ble James Alwis, M.L.C., the Maha Mudliyar, Don Domingo Wyjesinghe Mudliyar, Munarasinghe Mudliyar, Andrew Fernando Mudliyar, Simon Perera Mudliyar, A. Perera Merchant, D. C. Werrakody, proprietor of the *Kirana* [an influential Sinhala newspaper], and a Goonetilleke Mudliyar.

Mr. Alwis stated that the deputation had been asked, by a large meeting of Singhalese held in Colombo some weeks ago, to wait on the Governor and to submit certain resolutions passed by this meeting, by which it was desired that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales should be asked to allow his name to be used for the Oriental College about to be established and that H.E. the Governor should be patron of the institution. The object of the present scheme was to establish a College wherein Sanskrit, Pali, and the Elu [Sinhala] languages could be taught and Native Medical Science as well. It was the wish of the Singhalese throughout the whole of the Island that such an institution should be established, and there was a confidence, from the amount of assistance that had already been promised, that there would be [avail]able £5,000 and £6,000 for the purpose. It was the hon. gentleman also stated, the intention of the promoters of the Oriental College that some of the students should be sent to the Government Medical School to study Anatomy.

The Governor said he went fully with the meeting of Singhalese, as its purpose was stated by the deputation, so far as it proposed the establishment of an Oriental College for teaching the languages named,—Sanskrit, Elu and Pali. . . . But with regard to the proposal that this College should also be used for the teaching of Native Medical Science he did not see his way to giving his approval to the scheme, or helping them to carry out that part of it. As long as he was Governor he would devote himself to increasing as far as was practicable the number of English Medical Students in Ceylon. (*Overland Examiner*, 6 December 1875; original spellings)⁶¹

Ironically, the governor's manner of indicating his distaste for *vaidya* confirmed to Vidyodaya's leadership his likely support for the institution's work in other areas regarded by him as suitably Orientalist.

As we shall see at much greater length in chapter 3, the early decades

61. On Gregory's support for training local doctors in "English" medicine, see Bastiampilai (1968, 145–46). See also Gregory's comments reported in *Overland Examiner*, 3 November 1875.

of Vidyodaya coincided with the growing popularity—in Britain and Europe, and in the colonies—of Orientalist pursuits. Lankans, visitors from abroad, and colonial administrators were drawn into the study and preservation of languages and literatures, sites and objects, according to an emergent conversation about the cultural past of the colonies, often understood as a period of rich (but regrettably temporary) “classical” brilliance. Given the power that is often attributed to the encroachment of taxonomies and hierarchies of value brought from the colonial metropole, we might expect the *śāstric* orientation of Vidyodaya’s first principal and early patrons to have given way fairly quickly before imported ideas of desirable knowledge. On the contrary, however, the early leadership of the institution proceeded with considerable resilience. While welcoming, and indeed seeking, government patronage for the institution at the intersection of shared institutional and government interest in the advanced study of Sanskrit, Pali, and Sinhala, Hikkaḍuvē (and his lay-intellectual patrons) maintained their own ideas about the proper forms and uses of such studies. We shall explore at greater length in chapter 3 some of the striking juxtapositions between government-supported and locally popular manifestations of Orientalism. For now, it is enough to observe that the early history of Sanskrit-related activities at Vidyodaya Pirivena examined here reveals the simultaneous presence of different functions and meanings attributed to the language by the government and by the *pirivena*’s leaders. Sanskrit at Vidyodaya was supported in part by a government grant for its work toward the preservation of “literature” (including instruction and the preparation of textual editions) according to a canon of taste and value developing in European and British universities, libraries, and international congresses. Sanskrit at Vidyodaya was also supported by lay donors and monastic teachers who understood it as the foundation for a civilized education that would protect from harm (physically, morally, and intellectually) local residents (sometimes understood as Sinhala, and sometimes as Lankan) in the face of destructive foreign pressures, some of which emanated from the very founders and patrons of Orientalism. Vidyodaya’s teachers, lay supporters, and students of Sanskrit earned status according to two standards of value simultaneously—foreign Orientalist and local *śāstric*. However, when it came to educational practice, *śāstric* expectations carried the day. Vidyodaya continued to produce practitioners of *vaidya*- and *jyotiś-śāstra* despite the government’s regret that they were letting down the team.

Government administrators and Vidyodaya’s leadership were agreed in celebration of Laṅkā’s literary past, but they differed somewhat on what,

precisely, should be celebrated. They were agreed also that present-day educational practice required reform. However, their reformist dreams were greatly distant from one another, in part because Vidyodaya's founders conceptualized reformed educational practice partly as the renaissance of "medieval" cosmopolitanism. There were thus two contemporary and juxtaposed visions of Vidyodaya's mission. The government hoped it would serve as a school feeding educated monks to vernacular-language rural temple schools, while supporting classical studies. Vidyodaya's leading monks and patrons understood it as the site at which to renew the elite *śāstric* attainments of the monk Toṭagamuvē Śrī Rāhula and, in doing so, to protect key elements of local "civilization."

In the latter half of the 1880s, in part because of financial pressures on the colony's budget, the government became increasingly keen to use non-government schools to provide vernacular education in rural areas. This aim intersected with an emergent view in the government that a successful Buddhist temple was one that performed the useful work of education. In this context, the directors of the Department of Public Instruction began to discuss the merits of Vidyodaya Piriveṇa in terms of how well the institution was preparing its monastic students to serve later as teachers in temple schools. This was reflected in annual reports of the department prepared for higher levels of the colonial administration.

I cannot say that it is altogether fulfilling our hopes, but perhaps it is premature to judge.

Apart from the possible production of future Orientalists of eminence, the college *ought* to be most valuable for the training of ordinary Buddhist priests in modern subjects of school routine, so that when they go to their pansalas [temples] they may make their pansala schools really useful institutions for the boys whom they there educate.

The manager [principal] has promised attention to this point, but I must say I am disappointed so far. (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1886*, 83–84D; original italics)

Moreover, no great progress is made in arithmetic and modern subjects, whereas I had hoped that, while not neglecting Oriental languages, modern subjects would have received considerable attention, so that, when the numerous Buddhist priests trained at the Vidyodaya College go forth to their Pansalas, the teaching of ordinary subjects in Pansala schools might receive better attention. (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1887*, 38D)

With the number of trained students passing yearly from the College, competent to teach, it should be possible to conceive a strangely altered state of things in so-called “pansala” schools gradually asserting itself. (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1892*, D12)

The Department of Public Instruction hoped that monastic students at Vidyodaya would study “secular” subjects including mathematics as preparation to teach in Buddhist temple schools according to government notions of appropriate curriculum. During this period, the department’s director attempted to link an estimation of Vidyodaya’s successful performance to its provision of teacher-training services. A degree of frustration with the institution’s curriculum and pedagogy was evident, although the reports suggest that other powers in the government protected financial support to Vidyodaya on Orientalist grounds during Hikkaḍuvē’s lifetime. There was no decisive action taken against Vidyodaya despite measured grumblings from the director.⁶²

The vision of Vidyodaya’s utility emanating from the Department of Public Instruction stands in contrast to a deepening set of local associations between Vidyodaya Piriveṇa and Vijayabāhu Piriveṇa of the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries, and between Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala and the former monastic leader Toṭagamuvē Rāhula. According to these associations, Vidyodaya and Hikkaḍuvē were engaged in an important work of cultural reclamation, restoring the sophisticated intellectual attainments from a time just prior to colonial encroachment. As we saw in chapter 1, Hikkaḍuvē received his first ordination, and spent parts of his formative years in the monastic community, at Toṭagamuvē Vihāraya, near Hikka-duva north of Galle. There, if not earlier, he became aware of the prestigious pedigree attached to the monastery. Rehabilitation of the site (destroyed by the Portuguese in the late sixteenth century and subsequently abandoned until the establishment of the Siyam Nikāya in the middle of the eighteenth century) was underway. A southern monk in the Siyam Nikāya is said to have inaugurated reclamation of the site during the late eighteenth century, with eventual support from King Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha. Restoration work continued, at least intermittently, with lay and monastic

62. The unusually pointed criticisms offered by director Cull during the first year of his appointment (1890) found no evident support; he reverted quickly to the tone of his predecessors in the following year (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1890*; *Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1891*).

support from the southern maritime districts, including Valleboda Pattu, where Hikkaḍuvē's father held his post (Vitharana 1986, 8–13). According to the late Akuraṭiyē Āmaravaṃsa, Hikkaḍuvē's educational vision was influenced by what he learned of Toṭagamuvē Rāhula while at Toṭagamuvē Vihāraya, and by reading fifteenth-century works by, and about, this powerful monk. As he learned about the intellectual world and educational practices of the Kottē Period, according to Akuraṭiyē, Hikkaḍuvē began to perceive inadequacies in the educational system that had originated in eighteenth-century Kandy. The image of Toṭagamuvē Rāhula encouraged Hikkaḍuvē's interest in the study of Sanskrit and other Indian languages, to complement the Pali and *tipiṭaka* emphases of the eighteenth-century Kandyan Siyam Nikāya (Akuraṭiyē Āmaravaṃsa, personal communication, 4 and 7 July 1999). Although an awareness of Toṭagamuvē Vihāraya was present in at least parts of the southern coast, and especially among those (like Hikkaḍuvē) with access to the Sinhala *saṇḍeśa* poetry that contained images of the monastery and Toṭagamuvē Rāhula from his day, it is likely that stories of the intellectual world of Totagamuva were not then part of a wider shared popular historical memory on the island. This is suggested by the fact that the edition of *Kāvyasekhara* (a celebrated poem composed by Toṭagamuvē Rāhula) published in Kotahena in 1872 contained a ten-page biography of its monastic author. This edition was prepared by Mohoṭṭivattē Guṇānanda after conversations with Hikkaḍuvē, and paid for by patrons of the Sarvajñāśāsanābhivṛddhi Sabhāva (Society for the Development of Buddha-Śāsana). The poem was published with a paraphrastic gloss in Sinhala composed by Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala, who also prepared the biography. The publication date suggests that the work was prepared in 1871 when Hikkaḍuvē and Mohoṭṭivattē resided together in Kotahena during the rains retreat organized by Āpā and the eager patrons of Paramānanda Purāna Vihāraya.

The biography drew from *Girā Saṇḍeśa* to develop a picture of Toṭagamuvē Vihāraya in its heyday—an institution inhabited by experts in Buddhist preaching, monastic discipline, astrological mathematics, and science, where the study of Buddhist and Hindu traditions coexisted in a spirit of debate (Guṇānanda 1872, iv–v).⁶³

By the time a second edition of *Kāvyasekhara* was printed fifteen years later in 1887, this time by the Laṅkābhinava Viśruta Press closely associated

63. Cf. *Girā Saṇḍeśaya* (1925, vv. 220–25). On the *vihāraya* and its educational work, see also Vitharana (1986, 4–6) and Kuruppu (1969, 182).

with Vidyodaya Piriveṇa and owned by its patrons, the lengthy biography had been removed.⁶⁴ In 1889, the Gallē Vāllabaḍapattuvē Mudaliyar, with the assistance of Hikkaḍuvē, published an ancient history of Toṭagamuvē Vihāraya, also at Laṅkābhinava Viśruta Press. Deferring explicitly to the 1872 biography of Toṭagamuvē Rāhula and to Hikkaḍuvē on the life of the eminent scholar monk, *Toṭagamuvihāraya Piḷibaṇḍa Purāṇakathāva* [*The Ancient History of Toṭagamuvē Vihāraya*] included a lengthy section on the character of Toṭagamuvē Vihāraya and the Vijayabāhu Piriveṇa in Toṭagamuvē's lifetime, drawing on *Girā Saṇḍeśaya* and *Mahāvam̐sa* and associating Hikkaḍuvē with the site (Jayawardhana 1889). By century's end, even Anglophone bureaucrats were aware of Toṭagamuvē Rāhula and his inspiring *piriveṇa*, seen as a model for Vidyodaya and Vidyālaṅkāra. The director of the Department of Public Instruction noted casually: "Similar collegiate institutions, I am informed, existed many years ago, but disappeared in the low-country districts with the advent of the Portuguese and the Dutch. The most famous one was that at Totagamuwa in the Southern Province, presided over by Sri Rahula, a scholar of considerable renown, whose works are now accepted as classics" (*Report of the Department of Public Instruction for 1897*, D15). Death notices for Hikkaḍuvē, in Sinhala and in English, assimilated him thoroughly to Toṭagamuvē Rāhula: "In intellect and high moral character it may safely be said that he has had no equal since his predecessor in the famous Wijebahu Parivena, Totagamuve Sri Rahula who cast his glorious intellectual mantle over the decaying literature. . . . As the incumbent of Totagamuwe Vihare [Hikkaḍuvē] spent ten years. This Vihare contained the ancient Wijebahu Parivena renowned by the association of the great name of Sri Rahula" (*JMBS* 19, no. 5 [1911]: 155–56).⁶⁵ At Hikkaḍuvē's cremation, Randoṃbē Sudarśana's oration "referred to the late Sri Sumangala as a reincarnation of the great Totagamuwa Sri Rahula of long ago" (*Ceylon Independent*, 4 May 1911). *Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa* (6 May 1911) spoke of the intellectual renaissance achieved by Hikkaḍuvē after the decline in learning that followed the death of Toṭagamuvē Rāhula.⁶⁶

64. The editors, Hikkaḍuvē and Baṭuvantudāvē, made other changes to the chapter organization and enumeration of verses from the text.

65. Once made, the associations were durable and particularly important to monastic self-understanding as evident in the work of Prajñānanda. He describes Hikkaḍuvē, in passing, as the best son of Sri Lanka after Toṭagamuvē Rāhula (1947, 1:12).

66. Shortly before his death, Hikkaḍuvē had received the title "Tripiṭaka Vāgīśvarācāryā" from Kandy's Malvatu Vihāraya, entitling him to serve as a preceptor at higher ordination ceremonies there. At that time, the Sinhala press celebrated the appointment as a connection to Toṭagamuvē Rāhula, said to have held that title in the fifteenth century (*Sihala Samaya*, September 1908, in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:15).

Hikkaḍuvē and the founding patrons of Vidyodaya Piriveṇa sought to re-introduce the term *piriveṇa* to nineteenth-century Lankā as a term suitable to describe an institution offering higher studies in Buddhist teachings as well as the useful sciences rooted in Sanskrit intellectual traditions.⁶⁷ Educational institutions connected to the early Siyam Nikāya were not termed *piriveṇas*; as sites associated with Buddhist temples, they were simply referred to as seats of learning (*vidyāsthānas*) (Blackburn 2001).⁶⁸ It is not surprising, however, that Hikkaḍuvē and Vidyodaya's early patrons (most of whom hailed from the south coast) sought to forge an inspiring connection to the learned traditions of the Kottē Period and, especially, to the Vijayabāhu Piriveṇa led by Toṭagamuvē Rāhula at the temple near Galle in the fifteenth century.⁶⁹ This was a natural expression of regional pride and memory. Although we cannot be certain, it seems likely that this evocation of an ancient educational and intellectual heritage was also a manner of expressing anti-Christian and anticolonial sentiment. Vijayabāhu Piriveṇa was associated with sophisticated achievements in learning *and* with the southern maritime experience of Portuguese Christian aggression and destruction.⁷⁰ To establish a *piriveṇa*—conceived of as a rightful successor to Vijayabāhu Piriveṇa—in Kotahena, site of the Catholic cathedral, in the colonial administrative capital of the island, was a resonant act: Vidyodaya Piriveṇa looked to a past, and to a future, of Buddhist vitality.⁷¹

These were powerful and inspiring models in the nineteenth century, as Colombo-based Buddhists sought ways to protect and renew Buddhist teachings and *śāstric* learning. As we shall see, under Hikkaḍuvē's leadership Vidyodaya Piriveṇa did, indeed, become a crucial carrefour, a crossroads of importance in Lankā, as well as in a wider Asian region. Vidyodaya became a place at which lay patrons made donations, listened to sermons, and sought the private counsel of Hikkaḍuvē and his fellow monks on a host of matters, familial and otherwise. Lankans, and foreigners, entered the gates of Vidyodaya, climbing the slight rise of Maligakanda Road, on all manner of business related to monastic politics, lay associations, printing and jour-

67. I am grateful to Prof. Balagalla for his comments on this point (personal communication, 12 July 1999).

68. According to Paññāsekhara, Valānē's educational center at Ratmalana was designated specifically as a *piriveṇa* only in 1887, when it was established as the first branch *piriveṇa* of Vidyodaya (1965, 748).

69. On the earlier history of *piriveṇas* in Lankā see, for instance, Kuruppu (1969, 175–84).

70. See Vitharana (1986).

71. For a later account of Toṭagamuvē Rāhula, stemming from this nineteenth-century tradition, see Puññasāra (1978). As an example of Vidyālaṅkāra drawing on his legacy, see Prajñākīrti (1937, 13).

nalism, religious debate, colonial policymaking, and Buddhist institutions across Asia.⁷² In this context—at one of the central nodes of the nineteenth-century Buddhist world—Hikkaḍuvē wrote in response to a range of social imperatives, including race, caste, and a perceived threat to the integrity of Buddhist teachings and institutions. As he wrote, and negotiated the complex demands posed by his own centrality, Hikkaḍuvē manifested his *locative pluralism*, simultaneously involved with a variety of collectives. Oriented by several notions of collective belonging and expressions of social responsibility, Hikkaḍuvē drew his intellect, his status, and his powerful energies into more than one competitive articulation of social difference. In doing so he often worked at any instant in the service of intersecting projects and concerns related to monastic order (*nikāya*), caste, and *śāsana*, as well as important local relationships. Subsequent chapters demonstrate further the copresence of these concerns, and the ways in which Hikkaḍuvē responded to them in several spheres of activity. Some spheres were characterized by distinctive strategies and forms of self-expression with a deep local and regional history.

72. Young and Somaratna state that Hikkaḍuvē became more detached “from the exigencies of the Buddhist-Christian Controversy” after 1868 (1996, 153). This is misleading. Buddhist-Christian arguments continued, but increasingly through new print media and pamphlets. Hikkaḍuvē was a close adviser to several influential publishers of his day (see above).

Learning and Difference

Vidyodaya Piriveṇa was a site at which government interest in and support for the study of an “Oriental” past intersected with local Lankan commitments to a different but related heritage of *śāstric* learning. At that intersection Vidyodaya benefited from the government’s financial support. It also accumulated prestige through its association with foreign scholars. In this sense, Vidyodaya and Hikkaḍuvē participated in an Orientalist economy. However, as we have seen, Hikkaḍuvē and his colleagues at Vidyodaya exercised considerable autonomy in intellectual life, inspired by historical memories, and a vision of scholarly service, that the government and foreign Orientalists did not share.

Vidyodaya’s grant-in-aid funding, and the pandit commissions received from the government, show that the colonial administration perceived the institution as a valuable source of expertise through which to feed rapidly growing interest in Oriental studies in the metropolitan centers of Britain and Europe. It was easy enough for representatives of the government to assume they made common cause with Hikkaḍuvē and his associates at Vidyodaya on matters related to the study of history, language, and literature. After all, they shared an interest in the study of Lankan and regional history, and in the investigation of authoritative Buddhist texts from the Pali *tipiṭaka*. They all respected erudition in Sanskrit, Pali, and Sinhala. However, despite such connections, Hikkaḍuvē and his associates often developed their scholarly engagement with problems of history, textual interpretation, and the study of language toward ends different from those embraced by government and metropolitan Orientalists. Distinctive conceptions of collective belonging and different social imperatives drove much of Hikkaḍuvē’s work. Therefore, even when working with textual materials that were also of interest to Orientalists from abroad, he often did so from

his own perspective, developing intertextual readings and uses of texts that made sense in relation to local contexts of alliance and concern. In this chapter we enter more deeply into a world of nineteenth-century Buddhist scholarly practice under British rule, looking at three of the most important intellectual projects on which Hikkaḍuvē left his mark. The emergent expectations of colonial historiographies and ethnologies, as well as Buddhological studies, were all a part of Hikkaḍuvē's milieu. However, they entered Hikkaḍuvē's projects in several different ways, often to serve social concerns and strategies quite distant from those of the local colonial government or the Raj. At times, the growing body of Orientalist knowledge was cannibalized for local aims and arguments.

Mahāvamsa

There were already signs of deepening government interest in the history of the island's linguistic and literary past during the tenure of Governor Robinson (1865–72). In his farewell address to the Legislative Council in October 1871, summarizing his achievements, Robinson noted that provision had been made in 1870 to establish an Oriental library in Colombo for “valuable Pāli, Sanscrit, and Siṅhalese M.S.” (*Governor's Address to the Legislative Council*, 4 October 1871). His successor, William Gregory (1872–77), had been, in the years prior to his arrival in Laṅkā, intensely involved with museum patronage and various societies dedicated to art, aesthetics, and cultural preservation (Blackburn n.d.). It is, therefore, no surprise that he arrived in the island full of enthusiasm to create in Colombo and Kandy spaces for the preservation, display, and use of various historical artifacts, including texts and archaeological remains. The flourishing state of the colony's economy during his tenure made it easier to secure Colonial Office approval for such projects (Bastiampillai 1968, 8).¹ In his 1872 inaugural address to the Legislative Council, Gregory proposed that a vote be taken to establish a Museum of Natural History and Antiquities, which he linked both to the museum established in Calcutta and to European scholarly interests. Members of the Legislative Council offered their support, as expected, making appropriate note of the governor's past work on such projects at home.² Between 1872 and 1877 Gregory pursued with great avid-

1. See Gregory's comments on surplus in his addresses to the Legislative Council made on 3 February and 30 July 1873 and 13 September 1876. Gregory had the good fortune to administer the island before the coffee blight began to wreak havoc, in 1877 (Peebles 1995, 126).

2. “A museum has been a long-felt want in the Island, and the Council consider it a subject of gratulation, that in organizing one here for the first time they can count upon the experience

ity a series of preservation projects, doing so in close communication with Orientalists in Britain and Europe and with Britain's top archaeological expert in India (Bastiampillai 1968, chap. 7; Blackburn n.d.). These projects involved clearing jungle in the island's dry zone and supporting excavations in Anuradhapura and Pollonaruva. Colonial funds were also used to copy inscriptions from those sites and to prepare photographs of archaeological finds and inscriptions. Gregory also supervised construction of the Colombo Museum and the installation of an Oriental Library at the museum site. He installed an Oriental Library in the Temple of the Tooth Complex in Kandy and restored Kandyan buildings and the lake-way promenade.³ His years on the island saw preparation of a catalog of Buddhist temple manuscripts, while manuscripts were copied for inclusion in the Colombo Oriental Library and editors were hired to work on selected local manuscripts. In Lankā, Gregory exercised his long-standing historical and artistic passions with a relatively free hand and, in doing so, found considerable enjoyment during a period of personal difficulty.⁴

Gregory's attention turned to *Mahāvamsa* early on. Addressing the Legislative Council in July 1873, Gregory noted that the transliteration of "the second part of the great Sinhalese historical poem, the Mahawansa, by the learned Priest Hikkaḍuwa Sumangala and the Paṇḍit Baṭwantuḍāwa, and the expected translation of it by De Zoysa Mudaliyār, are proofs that intellectual is not neglected for material advancement" (*Governor's Address to the Legislative Council*, 30 July 1873; original spellings).⁵ Gregory's patronage of *Mahāvamsa* followed that of Robinson, who had commissioned Hikkaḍuvē and Baṭuvantuḍāvē to "bring the *Mahāvamsa* up to the point of conquest" and made the original commission to translate the *Mahāvamsa* into Sinhala (Kemper 1991, 95). During Gregory's tenure, Hikkaḍuvē and Baṭuvantuḍāvē prepared a Pali edition of chapters 37–101 in Sinhala script, which was also to serve as the basis for an English translation to be prepared and published separately⁶ as a complement to George Turnour's transla-

of a Governor specially qualified to advise on the subject" (*Legislative Council Reply to the Governor's Address of 25 September–2 October 1872*). For correspondence between Gregory and the secretary of state for the colonies on the matter of the museum, see CO 54/487.

3. Robert Childers was one of Gregory's key advisers on the Oriental Library. See, for instance, Childers to Gregory, 20 July 1874, Gregory Family Papers, Emory University, 25/32 and 16 September 1874, Gregory Family Papers, Emory University, 25/34.

4. On Gregory's "aesthetic sympathy" see Blackburn (n.d.).

5. Childers encouraged the *Mahāvamsa* project from afar, with particular interest in the way that the text might be used to help identify island sites under investigation by archaeologists. See Childers to Gregory, 30 October 1873, Gregory Family Papers, Emory University, 25/28.

6. See *Overland Ceylon Examiner*, 27 November 1873.

tion of chapters 1–37 (Kemper 1991, 86).⁷ In addition, they were expected to translate into Sinhala the entire text and to edit *Mahāvamsa Tīkā*, a Pali commentary also known as *Vamsātthappakāsinī*.⁸ Gregory appears to have thought highly of Hikkaḍuvē as a scholar and source of expert opinion in matters related to monastic affairs. In addition to hired work on *Mahāvamsa*, there were signs of more personal regard. In 1876 Hikkaḍuvē served as one among several expert witnesses before the Buddhist Temporalities Commission.⁹ This, undoubtedly, helped foster the governor's support for Vidyodaya Pirivena.

In 1877, chapters 37–101 of *Mahāvamsa*, “revised and edited, under orders of the Ceylon Government,” were published in Pali by the Government Printer in Colombo. The editors, Hikkaḍuvē and Baṭuvantuḍāvē, dedicated their work to the governor, Sir William Gregory, “under whose orders this work has been revised, collated and published; and whose administration has been so highly conducive to elevate the natives, and to improve their literature” (H. Sumaṅgala and Baṭuvantuḍāvē, 1877a). Both the foreword and the concluding praise verses, titled “Mahāvamsathomanā” (Praise to the *Mahāvamsa*) are revealing. After briefly introducing the text and the translation history of the first thirty-six chapters, Hikkaḍuvē and Baṭuvantuḍāvē discussed their editing procedures at some length. They explicitly related their editorial commission to foreigners’ wish to understand ancient history in Laṅkā and in Jambudvīpa (a continental designation, according to Buddhist cosmology, including what we know as mainland South Asia) (vii–ix). The concluding twenty-three verses of praise, structurally equivalent to the colophonic wishes of scribes expressed at the close of a manuscript, articulated the value of *Mahāvamsa* in terms of its contributions to the nineteenth-century work of retrieving South Asian chronology and royal history, mentioning foreign scholarly interest in Indian history (1877a, 435, vv. 4–10). Hikkaḍuvē and Baṭuvantuḍāvē thus set their Pali edition squarely within the frame of reference used by scholars who sought to create an empirically rich, chronologized event history of South Asia, set within the secular (or, at least, naturalized Christian) timeline that was taking shape

7. See also Turnour (1837) and Rogers (1993).

8. In the latter task, Mahagoḍē Nānissara, one of the senior teachers at Vidyodaya, played a major role. See Paññāsekhara (1965, 60), and also further below.

9. See chap. 1. Hikkaḍuvē's views on Buddhist temporalities legislation were sought again by the government in 1894 when amendment to the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance 3 of 1889 was considered (correspondence between the Colonial Secretary's Office and Hikkaḍuvē, September 1894, reproduced in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:769–70).

within the British and European academies.¹⁰ According to that perspective, narratives of the past were to be winnowed for trustworthy evidence, discarding suspicious supernaturalism.

In the same year, Hikkaḍuvē and Baṭuvantuḍāvē published a Sinhala translation of the first thirty-six chapters of *Mahāvam̃sa* (H. Sumaṅgala and Baṭuvantuḍāvē 1883, 1912) and another of the remaining chapters (H. Sumaṅgala and Baṭuvantuḍāvē 1877b). Both were published originally by the Government Printer in Colombo. Like the Pali edition, both volumes of the Sinhala translation were dedicated to Sir William Gregory on an English-language page in terms nearly identical to their dedication in the Pali edition. Dedication aside, the framing comments to both volumes of the Sinhala translation differed radically from those accompanying the Pali edition. Where the Pali edition was introduced and lauded with respect to its usefulness vis-à-vis the construction of a non-Buddhist history construed according to foreign Orientalist conceptions of historical investigation and narration, the Sinhala translators framed the text of the first volume with comments on *Buddha-śāsana* and royal lineage, in which the former was given pride of place. “In this narrative the account of the *śāsana* is foremost, and then the account of royal lineage” (H. Sumaṅgala and Baṭuvantuḍāvē 1883, iii). “By presenting the existence of these two [*śāsana* and royal lineage] in the island of Laṅkā, it [the text] is understood to have three aspects. It is shown here that the account of the *śāsana* is the instruction of Buddha, and the royal lineage existing in the island of Laṅkā characterized by the existence of that *śāsana*, and the existence of a time in the island of Laṅkā when support was given to that established *śāsana* by those kings, royal ministers, etc.” (iii). The last point was an implicit criticism of the government, since Her Majesty and her government were not supporters of the *śāsana*.¹¹ In the preface to the first volume of the Sinhala translation, the translators then proceeded to devote slightly more than one-fifth of the preface to a large-scale biography of Sakyamuni Buddha presented in terms of the twenty-four previous Buddhas and their predictions with respect to the achievements of Sakyamuni Buddha, “*apamaha bōsatānō*” (our great bodhisattva). After a brief account of Sakyamuni Buddha’s own lifetime, they went on to discuss, at considerable length (sixteen and a half pages), the three councils held to confirm, or to reaffirm, the contents of

10. See also Kemper (1991, 87–88).

11. The absence of royal Buddhist support for the *śāsana* was a matter of intense and enduring concern for Hikkaḍuvē, as we shall see further in chap. 5.

the *tipiṭaka*. This included a rather detailed account of the contents of the *tipiṭaka* itself. Four additional pages of the preface were devoted to an investigation of the lineage of senior monks involved in the three councils, in order to affirm the plausibility of the transmission of traditions from the second council by Siggava to Moggalliputtatissa at the third council in the time of King Asoka. Doing so, they intervened critically in Orientalist chronologies, distinguishing their account of dates and lineage from an account given by H. Kern in 1865. He had, they charged, neglected the possibility of reckoning Moggalliputtatissa's recorded age at the time of the third council from his higher ordination rather than his birth. Moreover, he had failed to consider that enlightened beings (*arahants*) during and shortly after Sakyamuni Buddha's time frequently lived more than one hundred years because of their proper conduct, disciplined sense faculties, and so on (xxv).¹² "It's no surprise to us to hear the remarks of European scholars who criticize others with scholarly self-regard while not making adequate investigations. This is a practice resulting from the over-commitments of those Europeans" (xxv). Their ironic dissatisfaction with Kern's interpretation accompanied a strongly worded and substantial disagreement with the famous Indologist Hermann Oldenberg. "That pointing out at various places errors where none exist exhibiting ignorance as knowledge, characteristic custom of European scholars, is also apparent in the activities of Mr. Dr. H. Oldenberg, who is presently editing Buddhist Pali books for printing in English characters" (xxv).¹³ Hikkaḍuvē and Baṭuvantuḍāvē minced no words in their sarcastic response to Oldenberg's manner of reading Vinaya in relation to the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta:

That is [according to Oldenberg]: the author of the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra didn't know anything about the first council. In support of this is presented a statement by Mahākasyapa at the end of the Cullavagga [Vinaya]. There is the statement that, when many monks with defilements were weeping at the news of Buddha's expiry (*parinirvāṇa*), an old renouncer named Subhadra said that it was unsuitable. They say that was not included in the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra because the author of the *sūtra* didn't know the story. There is no distinctive person to refer to as the author of the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra. For that *sūtra* is taught by

12. Hendrik Kern (1833–1917) wrote extensively on the history of religions in South and Southeast Asia.

13. The first of Oldenberg's edited Vinaya volumes was published in 1879 (von Hinüber 1997, 8). Hikkaḍuvē and Baṭuvantuḍāvē appear to have seen drafts of the work or heard reports of it, perhaps via Vaskaḍuvē Subhuti (Guruge 1984, bk. 1).

the Tathāgata [Buddha], the giant of *dharma*. The *nidāna* [framing introduction], etc. were established by the senior monks who conducted the council. The story of Subhadra the elderly renouncer was presented in order to make evident matters related to conducting the first council. It fits the story of the council. It's not a teaching suitable for inclusion in the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra. The senior monks who conducted the council matched various stories with suitable places. The statement by Dr. Oldenberg, who doesn't know anything about what's reasonable, isn't worthy of consideration. What's the use of saying it over and over? (xxvi; original spellings)

In other words, in their view, Oldenberg had failed to understand the basic conventions according to which these texts from Sutta and Vinaya were transmitted and, in doing so, found fault with Buddhist textual transmission on the basis of a fundamentally flawed comparison of texts.¹⁴ Moreover, they charged that Oldenberg misrepresented authorship of the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra, attributing it to monastic invention rather than to Buddha's enlightened discourse. Hikkaḍuvē was not alone in his criticism of European scholars of Buddhism, as Judith Snodgrass has shown (2007, 194–97). Her discussion of the Burmese scholar Shwe Zan Aung (1871–1932) and his contact with Caroline Rhys Davids is striking. Aung wrote, at one point, that Buddhist exegetists “have their own rules of criticism which they rigorously apply” (quoted in Snodgrass 2007, 197).¹⁵ The preface to the first volume of the Sinhala *Mahāvamsa* concluded with a very brief account of Turnour's text and its production, and chapter summaries for each of the thirty-six chapters.

14. Hikkaḍuvē was also uneasy about the manners shown by scholars connected to the Pali Text Society. In a letter to E. R. Gunaratna composed on 20 June 1883 after receiving a set of Pali Text Society publications from the latter, Hikkaḍuvē noted printing problems visible in the first volume of the *Āṅuttara Nikāya* (1883), as well as insufficient gratitude to Lankan scholars (Prajñānanda 1947, 2:719; Guruge 1984, 71, 91). Peebles offers a preliminary account of Lankan interest in the Pali Text Society, noting the rather rapid decline in Lankan rates of membership. He also points to early references in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society* that indicate Lankan scholarly disagreement with some of the society's editorial practices (Peebles n.d., 13–15). See further *Journal of the Pali Text Society* (1883, xi–xii). Hikkaḍuvē's name appears in the list of Lankan members of the society during the first three years of the journal's publication but disappears by 1885, when a number of other Lankan monks remained listed. By 1888 there were no Lankan monks listed in the membership list. Such a list appeared only intermittently in the journals published after 1889.

15. See also Trainor (2009, 25–26), who quotes Hikkaḍuvē: “We have a proverb which says:—‘Among small shrubs the castor-plant passes for a great tree’—something equivalent, I suppose, to the English saying:—‘Among the blind the one-eyed man is king’: and I think some of the European Sanskrit and Pali scholars must be estimated on this principle” (25).

The preface to the second volume of the translation, made from their own Pali edition, further reveals the independence with which Hikkaḍuvē and Baṭuvantuḍāvē engaged the text.¹⁶ Where their framing comments to the Pali edition had emphasized the usefulness of the text for foreigners' reconstructions of South Asian history, most of the preface to volume 2 (sixteen of nineteen pages) is devoted to a detailed account of the reports of individual reigns provided in the text and a comparison of *Mahāvamsa* accounts to those found in Sinhala texts like *Rājavāliya* where the *Mahāvamsa* reports appeared unexpectedly brief, or were missing altogether.¹⁷ Their historiographical approach to the text resolutely favored a local rather than a sub-continental perspective, investigating gaps in the text's account of Lankan royal lineage rather than the ways in which the text might be used to reconstruct a regional history oriented toward India. Strikingly, the preface also gave sustained attention to the question of authorship and the interpolation of verses, identifying textual breaks and changes in authorial identity primarily on the basis of meter. They concluded the preface to volume 2 with a brief discussion (three pages) of the history of the project in relation to Turnour's work¹⁸ and the government commission, discussing in some detail (H. Sumaṅgala and Baṭuvantuḍāvē 1877b, xvii–xviii) their editorial collaboration and recourse to other manuscripts obtained from Lankan temples.¹⁹ This section of the preface reveals their recognition of a growing Sinhala readership interested in works on local and Buddhist histories, and

16. See also Kemper (1991, 89).

17. While the preface to the first translation volume is written in the plural (H. Sumaṅgala and Baṭuvantuḍāvē 1877a, xxv), it is difficult to gauge the degree of Hikkaḍuvē's involvement in the composition of the preface to the second volume. His expertise would have naturally informed statements made about compositional style and authorship. The final section of the preface, discussing the history of the government commission, is written from Baṭuvantuḍāvē's perspective, discussing his accession to the governor's invitation and the way in which Baṭuvantuḍāvē sought Hikkaḍuvē's involvement (xvii–xviii). See also Kemper (1991, 90 n. 30).

18. On Turnour's translation of the early chapters of *Mahāvamsa* see Rogers (1993, 103) and Kemper (1991, 82–83, 85–88).

19. The preface mentions manuscripts obtained from locations including "Satkōralayē Ridi Vihāraya, Semkaḍagala Nuvara [Kandy], Gīrivāyē Mulgiriya, Mātara, Gālla, Bentota, Pānaduraya, and Salpiṭikōralaya" (H. Sumaṅgala and Baṭuvantuḍāvē 1877b, xviii). The *Catalogue of Pali, Sinhala, and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Ceylon Government Oriental Library* indicates several *Mahāvamsa*-related manuscripts available there by 1876: a copy of *Mahāvamsa* and *Dīpavamsa* in Burmese script presented by the King of Burma, a copy of *Mahāvamsa* in Sinhala script copied by a Galle manuscript committee, a *Mahāvamsa* in "Siamese characters" presented by L. de Zoysa Mudaliyar, a copy of *Mahāvamsa-Ṭīkā* in Burmese script presented by the King of Burma, a copy of *Mahāvamsa-Ṭīkā* in Sinhala script copied by a Galle manuscript committee, a copy of *Dīpavamsa* in Burmese script (this may refer again to the royal gift), and a copy of *Dīpavamsa* in Sinhala script copied by a Galle manuscript committee (*Catalogue of Pali, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Ceylon Government Oriental Library* 1876, 16, 18).

attentive to problems of textual composition and transmission. No Sinhala translation or rendition of the Pali “Mahāvamsathomanā” was included in either volume of the Sinhala translation (H. Sumaṅgala and Baṭuvantuḍāvē 1877b, 1883, 1912).²⁰ The Sinhala translation bore far less the weight of colonial patron-pandit relations and expectations.

Among Hikkaḍuvē’s textual and scholarly projects, it was in working on the *Mahāvamsa* edition and translation that he entered the sphere of European and British Orientalist activity in the most sustained manner. He and Baṭuvantuḍāvē provided local pandit service. We see from the framing comments to all three volumes that they provided this service with considerable awareness of work on South Asian history and Buddhist texts being conducted by scholars abroad. They were well accustomed to the expectations of European and British historiography; they pitched their Pali *Mahāvamsa* correctly to Orientalist ears. Concluding verses drew the praise tradition of Pali poetry into the service of sturdy British history of South Asia, while their dedicatory comments offered back to the government expected colonial expressions of gratitude for the opportunity to participate in benevolent civility. However, as the prefaces to both volumes of the Sinhala translation made evident, Hikkaḍuvē and Baṭuvantuḍāvē engaged *Mahāvamsa* simultaneously from other more local and regional perspectives. Volume 1 of their Sinhala *Mahāvamsa* participated in Lankan and Southeast Asian understandings of Buddha biography, enveloping the history of the Lankan *śāsana* within the history of many eons of Buddhist dispensation, and attempts made outside Laṅkā to secure the teachings of Sakyamuni Buddha. The narrative completeness they sought to affirm in volume 2 of the Sinhala translation was Lankan and royal, alert also to monastic lineage (H. Sumaṅgala and Baṭuvantuḍāvē 1877b, xv–xvi). In their work on *Mahāvamsa*, Hikkaḍuvē and Baṭuvantuḍāvē seem to have assumed the opacity of the Sinhala translation to British and European readers. Sinhala was the language for frank speaking, in which a critical commentary on the learned attainments and civility of “Europeans” was safely possible. Writing in Sinhala, they used the authority of European scholarship with economy and independence within interpretive moves and modes of textual

20. The edition of *Mahāvamsa-Ṭīkā* (*Vamsātthappakāsinī*) was published only in 1895, also by the Government Printer. According to the title page, it was revised and edited by Pandit Baṭuvantuḍāvē and M. Nāṇissara Bhikshu. Hikkaḍuvē wrote the very brief preface, explaining government’s commission to prepare the text as well as the fact that Hikkaḍuvē’s student Nāṇissara (later successor principal at Vidyodaya) had done Hikkaḍuvē’s share of the work under his supervision, as age and a surfeit of other obligations kept Hikkaḍuvē from the project (Baṭuvantuḍāvē and Nāṇissara 1895, iii–iv).

criticism developed out of prior, local and Buddhist-regional, forms of commentary and study. At the same time, however, they presumed a new type of local readership, toward which a certain transparency in redaction and editing was now in order. Their Sinhala *Mahāvamsa* evinced sophisticated scholarship more local than foreign, careful reasoning in more than one historiographical mode, and a nearly pedagogical concern not to produce a text beyond the capabilities of a wide audience. It also communicated frustration with the racialized and inegalitarian character of British rule, and European Orientalism.

Caste

Hikkaḍuvē possessed the agility needed to navigate the delicate world of monastic politics and to work closely with powerful lay patrons on matters related to Buddhist-Christian struggles, Buddhist text production, and education. The energy and resilience with which he undertook such work over many decades bespeak more than personal concerns for status and self-advancement. Only a strong awareness of social turmoil and the fragility of the *śāsana* could have mobilized activities of such intensity and duration. In his anti-Christian activities, Hikkaḍuvē worked across the social boundaries of caste and monastic order (*nikāya*), cooperating with non-Goyigama (caste) people, including some from the Amarapura Nikāya.²¹ And, as chapter 5 makes clear, Hikkaḍuvē deemed certain problems within the Lankan monastic community so serious that he was prepared to work across caste lines and even, sometimes, against the autonomy of his own Siyam Nikāya, to explore possible solutions. However, Hikkaḍuvē was a Goyigama member of the Siyam Nikāya, a caste-exclusive fraternity.²² The patrons who supported him most staunchly, through Pelmadulla to Ratmalana, and on to Kotahena and Maligakanda, were generally Goyigamas. By virtue of birth and patronage relations, therefore, Hikkaḍuvē was sometimes centrally oriented by the social vision and rules of engagement that came with Goyigama caste membership. This vision assumed the superiority of the Goyigama

21. The H. C. P. Bell Collection at the National Museum Library in Colombo (24/F2, classified among rare manuscripts) contains a valuable collection of caste pamphlets annotated by Bell. His annotations include attributions of authorship in the case of noms de plume. Bell was active on the island in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and well known for work in archaeology and the Royal Asiatic Society (Colombo). For a list of caste publications from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including those contained in the Bell Collection, see Roberts (1982, 336–38).

22. On which see Malalgoda (1976) and Blackburn (2001), as well as chap. 1 above.

caste to other castes within the Lankan hierarchy. The rules of engagement included periodic attempts to assert this superiority at the expense of other castes through social networking and arguments made in print.

The nineteenth century was a time of growing social mobility in Laṅkā. More varied, and more remunerative, forms of landholding emerged with the growth of the plantation economy based on coffee, tea, coconut, and rubber. The deepening British presence on the island brought new, or modified, forms of village, city, and district administration to which a greater number of local elites were appointed. Limited access to English-language education on the island, and to professional studies in Britain, gradually created a local class of medical (practicing “European” medicine) and legal professionals. Bi- and trilingual Lankans in limited numbers joined government service. The emergence of Colombo as a major port city and site of colonial administration—at a time of increasingly rapid global transport and commerce—opened up new entrepreneurial possibilities, as did better local roads and the new railway. There was new money to be made in Laṅkā. Among those Sinhala who made it big, not all were Goyigamas.²³ Indeed, from a Goyigama standpoint, an alarming number were not. Still more worrying, from the perspective of many Goyigama persons, was the fact that non-Goyigamas were prepared to jockey for status, as well as wealth, in public.²⁴ It was a restless time. “To the Goyigama aristocracy the developing clouds in the mid-nineteenth century must have been ominous” (Roberts 1982, 155). From the other side, however, Goyigama interests continued to be perceived as threatening. “Although the British government had abandoned the recognition of caste for economic and administrative purposes its continued adherence to the traditional status system in the appointment of Ceylonese officials came into conflict with the aspirations of those from lower castes who were making rapid advances in wealth and education. Besides, the numerical strength of the dominant caste, the *Goyigama*, formed a powerful obstacle to their vertical movement” (Jayasekera 1970, 35–36).²⁵

In July 1868, E. R. Guṇaratna, son of the Mohottiar of Galle (a high-ranking government appointee), whom we met briefly earlier in this chap-

23. See, for instance, Frost (2002), Jayasekera (1970), Jayawardena (2000), A. Kannangara (1993), Malalgoda (1976), Roberts (1982), Peebles (1995), and Rogers (1995).

24. “The intense academic controversies on the relative status of caste were intended primarily, as the *Karawas* and *Salagamas* admitted, to convince the government that the *Goyigama* were not socially superior to justify their claim to enjoy the highest government positions and honours” (Jayasekera 1970, 41; original emphasis).

25. Jayasekera estimates the Goyigama as 60 percent of the population and the *Karava* as 10 percent. See also Peebles (1995) and M. de Silva (2005).

ter, noted in his diary that he had several visits with Hikkaḍuvē in Galle while the latter was in town. Hikkaḍuvē had remained in the Galle area for several weeks after returning in procession from Pelmadulla with the Vinaya manuscripts (see chap. 1) and was a frequent caller at Guṇaratna's residence. This was not unusual. Hikkaḍuvē tutored Guṇaratna in Sinhala and Pali literature (including *Mahāvamsa*) after the young man had returned from St. Thomas' College in Galkisse (Mt. Lavinia) in 1861 to take up work in government service to the assistant government agent. Guṇaratna's family, despite their attendance at a Christian church, were among the lay donors supporting Hikkaḍuvē and Bulatgama. Guṇaratna recounted in his diary preparations to receive Hikkaḍuvē and others in celebration of the completed work at Pelmadulla.

JUNE 7. Hikkaduva priest received by a procession on return at Gintota. . . . There were some dressed after the Kandyan style and one respectable man, Warigama, the uncle of Iddamalgoda.

JUNE 9. Preparations were being made for the Dane to the priests; Bulatgama sent me word to day that Warigama, the Chief who had accompanied them down to Galle, will come and see me in the evening. . . .

JUNE 10. There was great confusion in the place, everyone busy, after all the Dane was prepared about 9 o'clock, and sent it to Bogahawatta. (In Pieris n.d., 42)

After this excitement of early June, Hikkaḍuvē and Guṇaratna were in consultation about matters of caste. The months of May, June, and July 1868 saw a flurry of caste-related letters to the press, prompted by word that a non-Goyigama Mudaliyar of Galle would receive the highly-sought-after rank of Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate.²⁶ The person in question was understood to be a Karava. Strongly worded arguments for and against Karava and Goyigama status were made in the papers and Guṇaratna's diary noted his collaboration with Hikkaḍuvē in preparation of his own contribution on caste.

JULY 7. Hikkaduwe priest called. Took some notes from him to write an article on Caste Distinctions.

JULY 16. My article on Caste Distinctions was printed in the Examiner (of yesterday). Sent it to the priest for perusal. (Note: the priest had come twice to give further information). (In Pieris n.d., 42, original note)

26. See also Dharmaratna (1890, 16). Guṇaratna himself eventually held this rank.

Goyigama attacks on Karavas were often accompanied by the assertion of Goyigama caste primacy on the grounds that they were the highest-ranking group remaining from the four major castes found in mainland South Asia—that they were pure agriculturalists falling within the Indic *vaiśya* caste category. Karava attacks on Goyigamas typically involved a different account of the Indic caste system, according to which the Karava were *kśatriyas* who had arrived in Laṅkā in the founding years of its ancient civilization while the Goyigamas were *śūdras*.²⁷ As “Warrior Caste’s Karawe” put it, writing to the press:

Our tradition regarding it, is then, that . . . after our leader’s death [the death of Vijaya, portrayed in some circles as the founding father of Laṅkā], however, unfortunately for us, we were not engaged in active service, and we thus gradually degenerated thereby, as not to be able to keep up the respectability of the Warrior Caste. The Court being held always very far away from us, and our services not being wanted, as there was peace throughout the country for a long time, and as poverty stepping in the meantime with the increase in our families, because, the tradition adds, our ancestors followed the example of their chief with respect to the fair sex, the poorest of them commenced to fish, forgetful of their martial caste, for their support and maintenance. If this be true, Sir, we are yet superior to Goyas (Cultivators) in descent. (*Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 27 June 1868)

It is not surprising that Hikkaḍuvē should have served as an adviser to a writer on caste. Indeed, he seems to have encouraged Guṇaratna’s endeavor. Arguments made for and against caste status drew on a wide range of literary and nonliterary textual materials that could be construed as evidence for historical patterns of livelihood and status in Laṅkā and the Indian mainland. The most accomplished writers of caste polemic used earlier works composed (locally and regionally) in Pali, Sanskrit, and Sinhala, as well as digests on caste prepared by those associated with the Raj. We get some sense of how this was done from the Goyigama side by looking at passages from lengthy articles written by “Simon Pure” and “Handuruva” for the local press:

One of your correspondents, in a defence of the Karayar [Karava] caste, calls it the Warrior-caste. This cannot be proved by any authority, if the

27. In addition to letters to the *Bi-Monthly Examiner* between 21 May and 19 July 1868, see Roberts (1982), A. Kannangara (1993), and Jayasekera (1970), as well as Dharmaratna (1890).

term is to be understood in the ordinary sense of waging war with men [implied: "as opposed to fish"]. The *Kshestriyas* are the only race of warriors admitted both by the Hindus and the Sinhalese; and I defy your correspondents to prove, by any written authority or any indisputable fact, that *Karawe* is synonymous with *Kshettriyas*. The *Karawe* or *Karayar* is a separate and distinct caste, belonging to the Suddra Division, both in India and Ceylon. . . .

Your correspondent *Sooria Wansa* only shows his ignorance of the language and customs of the country, when he gives an incorrect explanation of the respectable epithet *Handuruwa*, which he unjustifiably changes into *Hamdoerua*, and *Hamduruwa* to serve his own purpose. The word is derived from *Santha* gentle, *Daruwa* child or man, and exactly corresponds in signification with the literal meaning of the English word *Gentleman*. The learned author of the "Ceylon Gazetter" translates the word *Handuruwa* as gentleman. All unbiased Pundits give this meaning to the word. (*Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 11 July 1868)

SIR,—*Oldest Custom* in your issue of the 24th Ultimo, has resorted to Sanscrit, Pali, and Singhalese quotations to prove (and he thinks he has succeeded) the inferiority of the *Goiwanse* to all the castes and denominations. . . . Had it been simply to expose the ignorance of these languages, on the part of this champion of the so called *Karawe* rights and privileges, I would scarcely have intruded into your columns; but as one has a feeling akin to respect for these branches of Oriental Literature, I think it is my duty to step in and question your correspondent's right thus to pervert the meaning of expressions, and to misapply their construction to suit his own purposes.

I must state, before I proceed any further, that the books referred to by him are not so much Vocabularies, as "Books of Synonyms," intended to show all the different names, by which any particular object is known in these languages.

My object in writing to you, is to remove any erroneous impression which this misapplication and misconstruction of words by "*Oldest Custom*," may have made on the minds of the public. He starts with giving the *Goiwanse* the Sanscrit epithet *Ksestra Palaka*. I admit the propriety of the application of this term, but when he proceeds to apply the name *Suduru* and *Sudu*, in Singhalese, and *Suddouthewann* in Pali, to the said Caste, I beg to differ from him. If your correspondent will take the trouble to refer to stanza 447 in the *Abhidanappradipika* [a Pali

lexicon], he will find under the head *Goviyan*, the word *Keththa jeewo*, which means a husbandman; and if he turns to stanza 210 in the *Namawaliya* [a Sinhala lexicon], he will find under the same head (*Gowiya*) the word *Kethpalu*, which also means a husbandman. On a comparison of these two expressions with the Sanscrit term *Kshestra Palaka*, he will find that the signification of the words *Keththa jeewo* and *Keth palu*, used in Pali and Singhalese respectively for the *Goiwanse*, is quite in keeping with the meaning of the Sanscrit word *Kshestra Palaka* . . .

The word *Kshestra Palaka* is never applied to *Suddras* (low Caste) in the *Amarakosa* [a Sanskrit lexicon], nor are the words *Suduru* and *Sudu* (low Caste) in Singhalese, and *Suddhonthewanno Wasalo* (low Caste) in Pali, ever applied to the Caste known as *Kshestra Palaka* (high Caste) in Sanscrit. (*Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 11 July 1868)

A well-trained Buddhist monk carried in his memory, or his manuscripts, a large repertoire of textual material (including dictionaries and glosses, as well as stories of the past) that could be drawn into competitive historical accounts of status, status referents, and occupation. Such knowledge, as well as experience in rhetoric (see chap. 1), was useful to fellow caste members, even across religious lines.²⁸ As Kannangara has observed:

All available sources were grist to the mill of the Sinhalese controversialist. If he lacked sufficient knowledge of the language of any sources, there were fellow caste-men happy to help in trawling them. Inscriptions and religious and secular works in Pali, Sinhalese and, later, Sanskrit, were closely studied, as were the writings of Europeans, official government records, and the modern literature on caste in South India. Caste propagandists frequently referred to these latter works or appended impressive lists of them to their own writings, as if to intimidate their adversaries [A. Kannangara 1993, 133–34].

28. Buddhists and Christians alike were involved in caste debate. Kannangara notes that “the most prominent men in the public controversies which first arose in the 1860s and 1870s were Buddhist monks, chiefly perhaps the Goyigama, Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala, and the Karava, Veligama Sri Sumangala, both of them internationally famous scholars. An ex-monk, Matara Dharmaratne, also a Buddhist scholar, and an outstanding figure in Sinhalese journalism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, advocated the claims of the Durava caste to which he belonged. While these men were educated in Sinhalese, and wrote in that language, there were others who had had an English-language education. Several were lawyers. . . . Behind the new type of caste spokesmen stood rich patrons who subsidized their newspapers and pamphlets, and helped them in other ways” (A. Kannangara 1993, 114–15).

It is possible that Hikkaḍuvē himself wrote to the papers during the 1868 debate. One of the closing voices to that episode was that of “Vijnyana Bhicshu,” who gave his address as “Adam’s Peak,” arguing in favor of the “undoubted superiority of the ‘Grahapati’ or ‘Goiwanse’ over the ‘Carawe,’ as a Caste” and asserting that Karawas were Śūdras on grounds of their “mixed race.” Hikkaḍuvē was, at that point, two years into his appointment as Śrī Pāda Nāyaka. He had received recognition of the Adam’s Peak appointment from the government, though trouble was stirring amid the supporters of Galagamē. An opponent of Hikkaḍuvē’s camp (who would also have been a Goyigama, in that context) may have written to the *Examiner* using a name and address suggestive of Hikkaḍuvē. The intention would have been to discredit Hikkaḍuvē’s monastic credentials by associating him with caste involvements. Although monks were active in caste debate, they were more inclined to use more opaque pseudonyms to preserve the polite facade of monastic distance from everyday life and politics. Moreover, Hikkaḍuvē’s English-language skills were not strong; he was far more comfortable in Sinhala than in English.²⁹ On balance, it seems unlikely that Hikkaḍuvē wrote as “Vijnyana Bhicshu,” even though he did, undoubtedly, have a strong stake in the 1860s caste debate, as we see from his interactions with Guṇaratna. The letter’s closing created the persona of a monk, with an air of irony:

Although, I do not believe, (with our great Teacher Buddha) that, there is any real difference between man and man, in a religious point of view, yet I beg to assure my European readers, that these Caste distinctions were and have been observed in Ceylon and India from time immemorial, and their origin dates as far back as the commencement of Oriental History.

Hoping our friends will live in amity and peace, and wishing all the races and classes of Ceylon, prosperity on this earth and Nirwana hereafter, I remain, dear Sir, Your’s ever obedient Servant, VIJNYANA BHICSHU. (*Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 25 July 1868)³⁰

29. Although Hikkaḍuvē received some English-language education, wrote (or perhaps dictated) brief letters in English, and conversed with some visitors in English, his substantial correspondence was undertaken in Sinhala and in Pali, with periodic reference to Sanskrit. Reports of his interactions with Colonel Olcott of the Theosophical Society (see chap. 4) indicate the frequent presence of a translator.

30. The letter refers to “Colebrooke’s Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus,” asserting that Colebrooke “goes for his information to the ‘Veda’ itself, the fountain Head of all Hindoo knowledge.” The letter writer draws ingeniously on Darwin also: “Unless, we go to adopt the Devolepment [*sic*] Theory of Dr. Darwin, and affirm, that the sad havoc, our ‘Carawe’ friends have made on the innocent fishes of the Ocean for successive ages, from time immemorial have

After a lull, caste controversy entered a heated phase in the late 1870s, after publication of *Itihāsaya*, published by Arnold Dias, a Karava Christian of considerable means in 1876 (Jayasekera 1970, 56).³¹ *Itihāsaya (History)* was composed by Vāligamē Sumaṅgala, a well-known scholar-monk from the Amarapura Nikāya who, like Hikkaḍuvē, hailed from the southern maritime districts (Roberts 1982, 159).³² Vāligamē wrote in support of the Karava caste group, claiming *kṣatriya* caste status for the Karavas on the grounds that they were descended from the warrior Kurus who left mainland South Asia after the battle of Kurukshetra described in *Mahābhārata*.³³ Goyigamas did not leave the claims of *Itihāsaya* unanswered. In the following year “Don Arnolis” published *Kēvaṭṭa Vamsya; or, The True History of the Kareiyas and Paravas Disproving the Statements Made in the Itihasa*. Written in Sinhala, with some substantial extracts from an English-language classification of Tamil castes, this thirty-seven-page pamphlet was the most thorough of the first responses to *Itihāsaya*.³⁴ H. C. P. Bell’s annotations on *Kēvaṭṭa Vamsya* identify Hikkaḍuvē as the author of the work. This attribution is widely accepted (see, e.g., Roberts 1982, 159; A. Kannangara 1993, 120 n. 19).³⁵ There seems

intensified their propensities of ‘Destruction and combativeness and excited the sentiment of self esteem’ to such a degree, as to lead them to believe, they are a race of ‘warriors’—I say that unless, we adopt such a theory, it is simply absurd to assert that the ‘Carawe’ people are derived from the ancient and noble ‘Cshatriyas.’”

31. The growing popularity of the Oriental Library at the Colombo Museum was probably linked to the caste debates of the 1870s and 1880s. The report on the library of the Colombo Museum for 1887 noted: “This year there were 416 readers. The yearly average from 1878 to 1886 was 229, and the highest number for any single year during the period was 397, in 1879. . . . Persons desiring to be admitted as readers have merely to send to the Committee of the Museum an application recommended by two persons of respectability, and thereupon, if sanctioned by the Committee, a ‘Reader’s Ticket’ is issued to him or her. . . . The greater facilities now afforded to readers have caused a considerable increase, I am pleased to say, in the number of Buddhist priests and other Sinhalese-speaking students who make use of the Library.” Beginning in 1885 it was required that a copy of each book printed from Ceylon and registered with the government be deposited in the library.

32. On Vāligamē see also Paranavitana (1983, 130).

33. See further A. Kannangara (1993, 124).

34. The claims of *Itihāsaya* were taken up again in a third phase of intensified caste debate in the 1880s. See A. Kannangara (1993), Roberts (1982), Jayasekera (1970), and Dharmaratna (1890).

35. However, Jayasekera (1970, 56) attributes the work to Battaramullē Subhuti, another monk in Hikkaḍuvē’s Siyam Nikāya. Jayasekera’s attribution is based on the *Kara-Goi Contest*, a collection of pro-Karava arguments published in 1890. However, that work does not specify an author for the work (Dharmaratna 1890, 16–17). Although Battaramullē is known as an author of caste publications, he was most active in the 1880s. Jayasekera may have referred to Battaramullē Subhuti in this connection since he seems to have written another, later, response to *Itihāsaya*, *Itihāsa Mūlochediniya* (published in 1885) and, according to Bell, cowrote another caste publication with Hikkaḍuvē in 1885.

little reason to doubt Bell's attribution of *Kēvaṭṭa Vaṃsaya* to Hikkaḍuvē. As we see from a letter composed by Hikkaḍuvē's student Vālivitiyē Dhammaratana from Vidyodaya on 2 January 1894, contained within the Bell Collection, Bell and his colleagues were in correspondence with Vidyodaya on matters of caste. It is reasonably certain that they had reliable access to Goyigama accounts of the authorship of pro-Goyigama printed works. Moreover, we see from Hikkaḍuvē's own letters that he was involved in contentious matters within the local press. Writing on 29 October 1876, Hikkaḍuvē indicated that he was involved in a debate taking place through the press, and that he was writing anonymous letters (SLNA 5/63/17/337). In a 1 November 1878 letter to another unknown monk, with whom he apparently had strained relations over the possibility that his correspondent had been writing in his name to the press about the activities of Aṃbagahavattē, Hikkaḍuvē acknowledged (with professed surprise) rumors that he had been involved in writings against Vāligamē's *Itihāsaya* (SLNA 5/63/17/344).

Hikkaḍuvē had contributed to caste politics in the 1860s, and his own student (Vālivitiyē) and colleague (Battaramullē) articulated pro-Goyigama and anti-Karava positions. Some of his closest lay patrons and associates were apparently involved in caste publications from the Goyigama side.³⁶ In this context, and given that Hikkaḍuvē's own correspondence from the 1870s points to caste involvements, it is fair to say that *Kēvaṭṭa Vaṃsaya* was produced within a milieu associated with Vidyodaya Piriveṇa and Hikkaḍuvē, at a time when Hikkaḍuvē was the senior scholar and monastic adviser. His ideas, and his research, must have informed *Kēvaṭṭa Vaṃsaya* even if he was not its immediate author.³⁷

The opening page of *Kēvaṭṭa Vaṃsaya* attempts to establish an authorial voice of measured scholarly engagement, according to which the text aims to show the errors of *Itihāsaya* and the places where it lacks evidence, with particular reference to the first chapter of Vāligamē's text. "Having had a chance to read the book *Itihāsaya* compiled by Vāligama Śrī Sumaṃgala Thera, since we've noticed that, of the many acceptable elements adduced

36. A. Kannangara (1993, 115) notes the involvement of W. P. Ranasimha, whom we met in chap. 2. According to the Bell Collection, G. D. Pālis, a founding member of Vidyodaya's Vidyādhāra Sabhāva (see chap. 2), wrote two 1885 publications for the Goyigamas, *Jāti Vāda Mardhanaya* and *Jāti Vāda Mardhana Varnanāva*. In this regard see also Roberts (1982, 160–61). Roberts notes that "one could . . . argue that most of the *dāyaka sabhas* (or lay associates who supervise the affairs of the temple) in each neighborhood served as caste associations" (171). It would have been natural for members of Vidyodaya Piriveṇa's Vidyādhāra Sabhāva (whose founding members were all Goyigama, or Goyigama aspirants) to pursue overlapping interests in caste and education in their association with the institution.

37. The work is, itself, composed in the first-person plural.

there, some of the ‘facts’ aren’t believable, lacking any evidence in favor of their acceptance, we write this booklet in order to inform people what’s true, and what’s not” (Don Arnolis 1877, 1).³⁸ The author strikes a suitably anticaste attitude, congruent with the government’s public position against caste-based appointments,³⁹ asserting an intolerance of caste divisions and caste debates, and no wish to revitalize such activities. Thus, according to the author of *Kēvaṭṭa Vaṃsaya*, the pamphlet is written purely in the interests of scholarly investigation: “We authors of this book find caste division and caste ideology distasteful. . . . Thus, we shouldn’t nourish and build up again caste division that is on the wane; we shouldn’t even think of it. Therefore, our dear reader shouldn’t think that this book was written in order to fortify a caste division. Here the intention is just pointing out bad scholarship—it’s just a matter of freeing people from such delusion” (2–3).⁴⁰

In 1868, responding to a pro-Karava letter written by “Old Customs Revived,” who argued that the term “fisher” was an inappropriate term of address for the Karava, “No Matter Who” asserted that “Old Customs Revived” had failed to give a proper translation for the term “Karava” and called upon him “to give us a proper translation of this word, as well as the other terms by which the Fisher Caste is known, Kevul, Kewatta and Kiwarta” (in *Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 27 June 1868). The latter part of *Kēvaṭṭa Vaṃsaya* addressed this question, from a Goyigama perspective, using references to Sinhala, Pali, Sanskrit, and Hindi in order to assert and defend the association of these terms with fishing, the ocean, and salt water (Don Arnolis 1877, 35).⁴¹

38. “vāligama śrī sumamgalābhidhāna terunnānsē visin sampādanaya karaṇalada itihāsayanam pota apaṭa lābī kiyavā balukala ehi piḷigatayutu bohōkāraṇa maddhayeyhi piligata yutu sāksināti ādahiya yutunovana samahara kāraṇa dakinṭa lābuna bāvin ātta mēyayi nātta mēyayi lokaya dānagannā piṇisa mē kuḍāpota livīmu.”

39. “What happened to the quasi-biological status groups that were found in early modern Sri Lanka? Most of them were labeled castes, and were removed from official discourse after 1833, when the government decided to largely ignore caste distinctions. . . . Although the government often took caste into account when making administrative appointments, this practice was not alluded to directly, at least in public. Caste was not tabulated in the decennial censuses that began in 1871, and, by the late nineteenth century, many prominent Sinhalese contrasted the backwardness of caste with the modernity of race and nation. . . . None the less, caste remained an important factor in elite and local politics in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries” (Rogers 1995, 162).

40. “mē pota liyana api, kulabhedaya, kulavādaya, nurussamha. . . . meṣe hīnavēgaṇa yana kulabhedaya nāvata puṣṭimat kara nāguṭuvāgānma apavisin nokaḷayutu sītenvat nositiya yutu vādaki, eheyin kulabhedayak tarakara gānma saṇḍahā mē pota livuvāyayi mē kiyavana mitrayā nositiya yutuyi. mehi adahasanam vāradigurukam mē mē yayi penvāḍimat eyin lōkāyā muḷāvimen mudāgānmat pamaṇayi.”

41. See also Roberts (1982, 56).

In fact, a striking feature of *Kēvaṭṭa Vamsaya* is the priority given to linguistic arguments. It begins by examining purportedly incorrect conversions between Sanskrit and Sinhala, in order to undermine *Itihāsaya*'s associations between the Kurus of *Mahābharata* and the Karavas of Laṅkā (Don Arnolis 1877, 4–6). Arguing for connections between the maritime Karavas of Laṅkā and coastal dwellers of southern mainland South Asia, *Kēvaṭṭa Vamsaya* argues that these southerners arrived in Laṅkā as mercenaries. Thus, in the first eighteen pages, the *Kēvaṭṭa Vamsaya* attempts to replace the favorable Karava associations set forth by *Itihāsaya* with an unfavorable history of the Karavas' late arrival in Laṅkā as non-*kṣatriya* soldiers for hire. It thus worked to shift the Karava frame of reference from one of antique northern glory (implicitly associated with the whiter, Aryan world of northeastern India) to one of medieval southern migration associated with the doubly negative implication of mercenary activity and fishing culture. It was at this stage common for persons writing or speaking against Karavas to identify them as a fishing caste. This was tendentious, since it evoked certain local Buddhist arguments that criticized fishing as unethical, because it involved taking the life of fish.⁴² *Kēvaṭṭa Vamsaya* continued in this vein: "This proves that the *karā gotraya* is not a *kṣatriya* lineage that came here from Kurukshetra which lies in the northern part of India 1,500 miles away, but that they are a group of people speaking Tamil brought over to fight here from very close to Laṅkā, such as Kilakkare and Kaveripattanam. Because they like to live on the coast and because many of them from that day until this very day make a living by fishing, it's evident that they don't belong to a royal lineage but are really people descended from a lineage of living by fishing" (Don Arnolis 1877, 14).⁴³ After the first set of arguments, made primarily on the basis of popular history and linguistic comparisons across Sanskrit, Sinhala, and Tamil, the author(s) of *Kēvaṭṭa Vamsaya* introduced a lengthy reproduction of an Indian classification of Tamil castes, in English, charging that *Itihāsaya* had not made public all the details (19). According to *Kēvaṭṭa Vamsaya*, this scheme classified the "paravas" and "kreiyas"

42. On references to caste occupations, see A. Kannangara (1993, 129–31). See also Kemper (1980, 39) on aspersions against fishers.

43. "meyin oppuvennē karāgotraya hātāpma ekdās pansiyayak pamaṇa ēpiṭa indiyāvē utu-rudesa pihiṭi kurukṣetrayen mehi ā kṣatriyavamsayak nova mē laṃkāvaṭa itā kiṭṭu, kilakkarē, kāveri paṭṭanam ādiyen mehi yuddhapinisa genmū demaḷa bhāṣāva kathākāḷa janasamūhayak bavayi. ovun mūdu baḍa vasaṇṭa priyavīmenda ovun ēdā paṭan ada dakvāma vāḍidenā mūdē mas māriṃen rākena bāvinda oppuvennē rājavamsayakaṭa ayitibavak nova mūdē mas māriṃenma jīvīkāva paramparāṇugatava labāgat aya bavayi."

as fisher and boat people under a *śudra* heading, while describing *vaiśyas* as “the nobility of the land” (20–24).

Much of the last portion of the pamphlet returns to arguments made through the analysis of language, charging that Vāligamē and his *Itihāsa* are fundamentally at fault on grounds of linguistic errors made in Sinhala, Sanskrit, Pali, and Hindi. At this stage, *Kēvaṭṭa Vamsaya* also deploys *Mahāvamsa* (on which Hikkaḍuvē was working at this time) as evidence in support of the Goyigama position and against *Itihāsa*’s vision of a Karava lineage, quoting a passage on the Duṭṭagāmuṇi era mentioning those called *kevaṭṭā*, and citing the Pali lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā* to defend the association between Karavas and fishery work (35). In a well-judged (if disingenuous) rhetorical move to cast aspersions on the propriety of Karava and Amarapura Nikāya monasticism (having already criticized Vāligamē’s scholarly judgment for thirty-five pages), the author(s) concluded by criticizing the *Itihāsa*’s author for engaging caste matters instead of attending to the proper concerns of the *śāsana*. “There’s no doubt that Vāligama Thera knows Buddhist preaching much better than we do. What’s to be done if he—ordained in the *Buddha-śāsana* and wearing a robe—gets into trouble boasting about caste, which is criticized in the Buddhist teachings?” (36).⁴⁴

Kēvaṭṭa Vamsaya reveals how the study of Lankan and regional history and language at Vidyodaya served local struggles for social primacy and control in the world of caste politics.⁴⁵ As in Hikkaḍuvē’s work on *Mahāvamsa*, languages and texts dear to Orientalist concerns were used in local social criticism, asserting privilege and marking difference. In an important paper, Rogers (2007) has noted that in the 1868 debates, a combination of “non-modern” and “modern” elements were in play. One might reflect similarly on the debates of the late 1870s, in which *Kēvaṭṭa Vamsaya* played a major role. Caste polemic drew on notions of status, and ways of portraying the past, that had a precolonial and pre-British history. At the same time, however, Lankan caste discourse in the latter part of the nineteenth century reflected a growing self-consciousness about caste, and wider competitive articulations of caste status, indebted to colonial and Orientalist reifications of caste identities. Buddhist monks played an important role in caste

44. “vāligama terunnānsē apaṭa vaḍā hondaṭa budu baṇa dannā kenekvāta anumāna nā. mē unnānsē buddha śāsanayehi pāvidiva sivurak peravā geṇa budu baṇē nindākara tibena vamsa kabal gāmakāṭa gos ata pulussā gattāta kavurumakkaradda?”

45. Ironically, one of the subsequent enthusiasms of Colonel Olcott (see chap. 4) was the Buddhization of outcaste Indians. He arranged an encouraging meeting for some of their leaders with Hikkaḍuvē in 1898 (*Theosophist* 28, no. 1 [1906]).

politics because their learning could be mobilized for debate in the rapidly expanding world of print media. Well-known monks were already directive and influential players in the world of print, owing to their leadership in print-based Buddhist-Christian debates. In addition, the long-standing role of monastic teachers and temple incumbents as fulcrums within local political, economic, and status dynamics found a natural new home in colonial-period caste competition.

Wearing Robes

In the early 1880s, Hikkaḍuvē stirred the waters of the Lankan monastic world by insisting that monks in the Siyam Nikāya should wear their monastic robes covering both shoulders when outside the temple. In doing so, he called into question the manner of dress followed by some other Siyam Nikāya monks in the Colombo area and the south, including many associated with Vidyālaṅkāra Piriveṇa an educational institution then under the leadership of Ratmalānē Dharmāloka and Dharmārāma. Hikkaḍuvē's views sparked vigorous, sometimes violent, debate and struggle within the Siyam Nikāya that endured throughout the century and, indeed, throughout Hikkaḍuvē's lifetime. The Pārupana Vādaya (The Controversy on Wearing Robes) drew Hikkaḍuvē, and his supporters and opponents, into intense scrutiny of Vinaya and Vinaya-related textual compendiums and commentary. It also incited a new series of consultations with the Kandyan center of the Siyam Nikāya, raising questions of Kandyan authority and influence afresh (see chap. 1). Simultaneously, the debate intensified communication between Lankan Buddhist monks and their Southeast Asian brothers about monastic sartorial etiquette.

The Lankan monastic debates and Buddhist-Christian controversies of the mid-nineteenth century had encouraged the editorial project at Pelmadulla. In turn, edited manuscripts produced at Pelmadulla helped to feed the Orientalist hunger for *tipiṭaka* texts, serving as authoritative textual models for the Pali Buddhist manuscripts copied and housed in the government's Oriental Library in Colombo. The development of this library and the local and foreign scholarly projects it might serve received periodic attention in the local press, as we see in the *Overland Examiner's* Vinaya reporting.

The critical examination of the Pali texts, which are said to be the oldest in the world, next to portions of the Vedas, has also been proceeded with, with the object of showing what has never been shown before, "the authenticity of the Southern Buddhist Code [Vinaya] as a whole

and its correspondence with the Northern version, except upon those points on which a departure was anciently made by the seceders mentioned in the Mahavamsa and the earlier historical work named the Dipavamsa." A copy of the Tripitaka has been received as a gift of the King of Burmah, without however the commentaries on the text; but efforts are, we believe, about to be, if not already made to secure complete copies of the Buddhist works extant in Siam and of the Buddhist code in force at Nepaul, the latter being expected "to furnish important dates for the elucidation and adjustment of historical and chronological facts connected with India and Ceylon." With a sum of Rs. 1,000 voted by the Government, a portion of the Ceylon Buddhist Code, as revised by a Committee of eminent Priests at Pelmadulla, has been transcribed and added to the [Oriental] Library [in Colombo]. (*Overland Examiner*, 16 September 1873)

The monastic scholars involved in Pelmadulla had engaged Vinaya texts line by line for months. Critical familiarity with Vinaya deepened during these Pelmadulla days and helped to shape subsequent lines of argument within the monastic community on many matters, even as Orientalists used the Pelmadulla texts in metropolitan debates.

The most basic question stemmed from the monastic disciplinary rule "parimaṇḍalam pārupitabbam ubho kanne samam katvā," according to which the robes should provide full coverage by being worn evenly at both corners. This left a great deal of room for interpretation, since full coverage might be construed as requiring the robes to encircle both shoulders, or as requiring coverage of only one shoulder provided the robes were properly fastened. There was also opportunity to debate what a proper style of draping and fastening might be. "Both the upper and lower robes should be wrapped even all around, and one should be well covered when entering inhabited areas. These rules provide room for a wide variety of ways of wearing the robe" (Thanissaro 2007, 27–28).

According to Prajñānanda, Hikkaḍuvē began to question the propriety of low-country one-shoulder dressing at age forty (in 1867), having seen a Burmese photograph sent back by his brother, who was a medical doctor in service to the Burmese royal court. However, he did not make the final decision to convert to two-shoulder dressing until 1884, after starting to engage other monks in debate on the question (Prajñānanda 1947, 2:566; also Hāgoḍa 1963, 116–20). Why did the question of monastic dress become so central in the early 1880s, especially since another form of two-shoulder dressing was already in evidence among up-country monks in the Kandyan

region? We have to remember that, given the superficially identical “uniform” of monastics in Lankā and Southeast Asia (robes of some yellowish-orange color for ordained men, and a bowl, plus [at times] a fan and an umbrella, and, perhaps, sandals), the devil was in the details. There was a rather small visual code through which distinction and identification could be made manifest, and a great deal of creative attention to the manner in which that code was used. The exact color of the robes, the manner of dressing them, the type of umbrella and fan carried (if any), the material out of which an alms bowl is made and how it is carried (if at all), and the type of shoes (if any) worn, serve as elements in visual arguments made for status in terms of purity, discipline, and lineage.⁴⁶ Through the elements of dress, monks did (and do) identify their fellows and those with whom they might presume to find distance or disagreement. In response to elements of dress, lay patrons identify the monks with whom they are likely to find common cause on the basis of caste and/or perceived attainments in discipline.

Given his close youthful association with Bulatgama (the influential elder Goyigama monk in the Amarapura Nikāya) and some of Bulatgama’s students including Aṃbaghavattē (a founding member of the Ramañña Nikāya in the mid-1860s),⁴⁷ Hikkaḍuvē’s vision of desirable monasticism was formed at the intersection of Siyam Nikāya and non-Siyam Nikāya influences. Monks from the Amarapura Nikāya and, later, the Ramañña Nikāya, wore their robes covering both shoulders (Hāgoḍa 1963, 116). The move to press publicly on the question of monastic dress in the early 1880s was due in part to the growing need to protect the disciplinary reputation of Hikkaḍuvē’s Siyam Nikāya monks in the face of Amarapura and Ramañña Nikāya pressures. At the same time, however, the robe debate was an ideal forum through which to cultivate a publicly critical distance from Vidyālaṅkāra Piriveṇa and its leading monks, Ratmalānē Dharmāloka and Ratmalānē Dharmārāma.

46. See Vajirañānavarorasa (1969, frontispiece; 1973, 18–36), Wijayaratna (1990, chap. 3), and Bizot (1993, 18–19, 75–95). Vajirañānavarorasa and Bizot include useful drawings and photographs.

47. Hikkaḍuvē’s collegial relationship with Aṃbaghavattē was in many ways close, and of long standing. In the early years of the latter’s monastic investigations and travels, Hikkaḍuvē followed attentively Aṃbaghavattē’s activities and the news of monastic life he brought from Burma. Despite this interest, and the fact that Aṃbaghavattē helped to shape Hikkaḍuvē’s early understanding of Burmese monasticism, the two monks grew apart in the course of some of the important debates of the 1870s and 1880s, including those on Buddhist images and ritual offerings, as well as ritual enclosures (*śīmā*). An interesting set of letters on these matters may be found in Prajñānanda (1947, 2:692–714). On the *śīmā* rules under debate, see also Kieffer-Pülz (1997).



Fig. 3. "Portrait of Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala." From J. C. Willis's *Ceylon: A Handbook for the Resident and Traveller* (Colombo: Colombo Apothecaries' Co., 1907).



Fig. 4. "Portrait of Ratmalānē Dharmārāma." From Baṁbarāṇḍē Silavimala's *Śrī Dharmārāma Sādhū Caritam* (Pāliyaḡa: Vidyālankāra Oriental College, 1931).

In the history of Lankan and Southeast Asian Buddhism, we find a close connection between monastic dispute on matters of dress and competition between monastic orders or lineages. The introduction of a new monastic lineage to a region and/or the competitive politics of patronage have typically galvanized intensified attention to dress as monks and lay patrons argue for and against the purity of “their” monastics on grounds of physical comportment.⁴⁸ Although we take for granted today in Sri Lanka a diversity of monastic orders, it is important to remember that in the 1880s such diversity was still a rather new phenomenon to the island. The Siyam Nikāya dated to 1753. What became known as the Amarapura Nikāya (a congeries of ordination lines bound by shared orientation to Burma and resistance to Goyigama caste hegemony) formed through a series of higher ordinations held with Burmese support starting in 1802. The Siyam Nikāya itself had divided to develop a low-country secessionist wing in 1855 (see chap. 1). In Hikkaḍuvē’s day, the most recent addition to the monastic environment was the Ramañña Nikāya. It began to function as a unit in 1864.⁴⁹

In the southern region, where the Amarapura and Ramañña Nikāya presence was particularly strong, since the heartland for both orders was the south coast, Siyam Nikāya monks faced some difficult decisions about monastic dress. If they wished to signal a distance from Kandy, as some did (see chap. 1), one-shoulder dressing outside the temple was an attractive option. That would also clearly mark distance from Amarapura and Ramañña monks. However, both the Amarapura and Ramañña Nikāyas defended their origins, and their superiority, through variations on the theme of reform and purification. Monks connected to the Ramañña Nikāya played the dress card particularly well, with what we might think of as an aggressively restrained style. As Ramañña Nikāya monks became more numerous and thus more visible, and as all the orders jockeyed for acceptance and authority, the terms of engagement on matters of dress within southern Lankan monasticism began to shift. This was in part because, as a result of growing monastic diversity and the competitive rhetoric of monasticism, lay patrons began to make a stronger set of associations between sartorial modesty and monastic discipline, and to criticize monks they found wanting

48. See, for instance, A. Buddhadatta (1965), Buddhadatta (to W. Geiger, 14 March 1932, reproduced in Guruge 1984, 326–30), Bizot (1993), Reynolds (1972, 97–105), Pranke (2004, 1–12), Charney (2006, chap. 3), and Hansen (2007, 99–100, 107).

49. On these *nikāyas*, see further Malalgoda (1976), Kemper (1980), Roberts (1982), and Blackburn (2001).

(Malalgoda 1976, 172).⁵⁰ Moreover, after Colonel Henry Steele Olcott's arrival in 1880 and the start of activities related to the Theosophical Society, Ramañña Nikāya monks became still more visible, given the close associations between Olcott and members of that order.⁵¹ Thus, by the early 1880s, although a Siyam Nikāya monk separated himself from some colleagues if he dressed in the one-shoulder style, this was less and less an obviously positive distinction.

Contemporary historians of Lankan monasticism and education date the formal beginnings of Vidyālaṅkāra Piriveṇa to 1875, under the combined leadership of Ratmalānē Dharmāloka and his student Ratmalānē Dharmārāma. However, as even Ratanasāra (1965) admits, the early history of Vidyālaṅkāra is somewhat obscure, given the absence of early documents comparable to those of Vidyodaya Vidyādhāra Sabhāva.⁵² Nonetheless, it appears that in the middle 1870s, lay patrons in Peliyagoda, near Kelaniya, invited Dharmāloka and his well-known scholar-student Ratmalānē Dharmārāma to establish an educational center (Tissa Kariyawasam 1973, 315–20). The Vidyālaṅkāra Śāstra Śālāva began in 1875 (Tissa Kariyawasam 1973, 320, Prajñākīrti 1937, 14–16, I. Kannangara 1997, 34–36, 39). The institution did not receive (and apparently did not seek) government support comparable to the grant-in-aid funding made to Vidyodaya beginning in 1877. Indeed, judging from the annual reports, Vidyālaṅkāra was not even on the distant horizon of the Department of Public Instruction until 1890.⁵³

50. A series of controversies in the latter part of the nineteenth century occurred as a result of competition among monastic orders and Buddhist self-scrutiny on matters of discipline and purity. These included renewed arguments on *sīmā*, continued arguments on the *adhikamāsa*, and disputes about the propriety of certain forms of ritual involving deities (see further below). For useful summaries see A. Buddhadatta (1965, 48–49) and Malalgoda (1976, 154–61, 169–72). On Hikkaḍuvē's *Sīmā Vibhāgaya*, prepared in the mid-1880s, see Prajñānanda 1947, 1:319). These debates were of such broad interest that, for instance, a layman prepared a book containing documents on the Pārupana Vādaya (Karahampitigoda 1900). I am grateful to H. L. Seneviratne for providing me a copy of this work.

51. See further below, in chap. 4, on the rise of the Ramañña Nikāya and the pressure this appears to have placed on other fraternities on the island; see also Tissa Kariyawasam (1976, esp. 20–29).

52. See also Tissa Kariyawasam (1973, 323).

53. In 1883 and 1885 the department's annual report specifically mentioned that only Vidyodaya was engaged in specialized instruction with respect to "Oriental literature." Although the 1886 and 1887 reports mentioned the Prince of Wales College at Moratuwa in connection with Oriental literature, there was no note of Vidyālaṅkāra's activities. By 1891, however, the report listed Vidyālaṅkāra in a small list of institutions undertaking work like Vidyodaya and, by 1893, Vidyālaṅkāra and Vidyodaya Piriveṇas emerged as a routinely mentioned pair in the department's discussions of Oriental literature (*Reports of the Department of Public Instruction for 1883, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1890, 1891*). By 1907, the *piriveṇas* were described as an exemplary pair, in *Twentieth-Century Impressions of Ceylon* (in Wright 1907, 224).

While it took time for Vidyālaṅkāra to reach the attention of the government, the first generation of leaders and patrons at Vidyālaṅkāra and Vidyodaya Piriveṇas were very well aware of one another. In the rather small world of the Colombo-Kelaniya area, any two Buddhist educational centers for advanced studies in Sanskrit, Pali, and Sinhala might well have been competitors. In the case of Vidyālaṅkāra and Vidyodaya, such structural pressure toward competition was exacerbated by prior monastic rivalries. Vidyālaṅkāra's ties to the Kalyāṇi Rājamahāvihāraya were evident (I. Kannangara 1997, 33–34), and there were tensions between Hikkaḍuvē and the Kelaniya temple dating back to the low-country ordination debates of the 1850s.⁵⁴ Moreover, Hikkaḍuvē and Ratmalānē Dharmāloka shared ties to Valānē and had both spent time at Valānē's Ratmalana temple school during their younger days. It is likely that Hikkaḍuvē's close collaboration with Valānē in the Pelmadulla editorial project, and his appointment to replace Valānē at the Ratmalana school on Valānē's death, led to bad blood between the monks. At stake were status, donor networks, and control of property. According to Tissa Kariyawasam, "the animosity between these two seats of learning is glaringly evident if one examines carefully the existing materials in the newspapers and other journals at that time" (1973, 324). He notes a series of apparently competitive publications produced by Hikkaḍuvē and Dharmāloka and Dharmārāma over several decades, from the 1870s into the 1890s. Disparaging comments were made about Dharmārāma's scholarship in the newspaper *Lakrivikiraṇa* edited by one of Hikkaḍuvē's students, while *Satya Samuccaya*, associated with Vidyālaṅkāra, criticized work by Hikkaḍuvē (326–33, 335–38).⁵⁵

In a famous public debate on robes (at which more than one hundred and fifty monks were present) held in October 1883 at Kalyāṇi Rājamahāvihāraya, Hikkaḍuvē led the two-shoulder dressers while Ratmalānē Dharmāloka was the leader of the opposition. A transcript of their debate was made and for-

54. See chap. 1, but also I. Kannangara (1997, 34) for a different perspective.

55. Hikkaḍuvē complained about criticisms of his work emanating from Vidyālaṅkāra. "There are indications that what is being written against that Subhodhikā Ṭikā [a work by Hikkaḍuvē] is coming from Pāliyaḡoḡa [site of Vidyālaṅkāra]. It's a shame that there's nothing worth accepting in the things written. . . . I don't know whether they are writing in opposition out of animosity, or whether they are writing out of ignorance. If you were to write something about that I will be pleased" (ara subodhikā ṭikāvaṭa viruddhava liyannē pāliyaḡoḡin bava dānagannaṭa karuṇu pāmiṇa tibē. liyana ēvāyin ekakvat gata yutuva nātiheyin kanagāṭuyi. . . . duṣṭa kamen viruddhava liyanavāda nodāna liyanavāda dannē nā. ē gāna tamusē yamak liyatot mata prasannayi) (Hikkaḍuvē to an unnamed nonmonastic recipient, 11 November 1893, SJVP, 45–46). "It would be good if you wrote something further about the ṭikā. I've learned that it wasn't Dharmārāma who wrote about it to *Siri Laka Situmiṇa*" (ṭikāva gāna tamusē tava yamak liyatot hondayi—ē gāna siri laka situmiṇaṭa liyannā dharmārāma novē yayi dāna ganṭa lābunā) (Hikkaḍuvē to an unnamed nonmonastic recipient, 3 January 1894, SJVP, 32–33).

warded to the Kāraka Saṅgha Sabhāva (Administrative Council) of the Kandyan Malvatu Vihāraya with request for a ruling from Kandy (Prajñānanda 1947, 2:574–76).⁵⁶ However, the Kandy leadership maintained a distance on the matter, although the Mahānāyaka of Malvatu Vihāraya, Hippola Dhammarakkhita Sobhita, wrote to Hikkaḍuvē on 21 November 1883 in response to some of the points raised at Kalyāṇi Rājamahāvihāraya, offering limited support for Hikkaḍuvē's position (Prajñānanda 1947, 2:597–623).⁵⁷ He also included an account of conclusions reached by Kandyan monks in 1882 during an up-country discussion about robe etiquette. However, no formal ruling from Kandy was forthcoming in response to the petition signed by Hikkaḍuvē, Dharmāloka, and their supporters (Prajñānanda 1947, 2:568), and Hikkaḍuvē was concerned about the negative repercussions for him (Hikkaḍuvē to E. R. Gunaratna, 26 October 1883, in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:720). As late as December 1886, Hikkaḍuvē wrote to Kandy again, urg-

56. Signatories in support of Hikkaḍuvē were Mulhiriyaṇvē Guṇaratana, Talāhēnē Amaramoli, Ratmalānē Sumanatissa, Koṭavēgoḍa Nānānanda, Heyiyantuḍuvē Devamitta, Polvattē Somānanda, Koskandavala Sunanda, and Valānē Dhammānanda. In support of Dharmāloka: Potuvila Indajoti, Ratmalānē Dharmārāma, Mātara Revata, Kālaṇiyē Saṅgharakkhita, Jaltara Sumana, Bādigama Ratanapāla, Battaramullē Subhuti, and Boralāsgamuvē Atthadassi (Prajñānanda 1947, 2:574–76).

57. "It says [in Dharmāloka's points from the 1883 dispute] that monks dwelling in the low country among the group existing in our land within that [Upali-vamsa = Siyam Nikāya] appear to have given up fastening the outer robe on top. But we don't think that's accurate. When the monks of the Kandy monastic community perform higher ordination or other monastic functions such as reciting protective verses in the space for ritual observance, they fasten it in that manner. And among the monks in the low-country, the senior monks who perform higher ordination at Kelaniya River fasten it that way. One should reflect that low-country monks don't fasten it in this manner when performing ritual obligations at the Temple of the Tooth [in Kandy] because there is no low-country Temple of the Tooth!

It's clear that in Ayodhya [Ayutthaya, Siam], at that time [in the eighteenth century] they dressed both shoulders with full coverage because they taught that to the Lankan monks" ('ē paramparāven aparāṭa pāvatena saṅghayāvahansē ataren pātarāṭa vasana bhikṣun vahansēlā dān sangala sivura matte paṭibhāṇḍima hāradamā tibennā vāgē' kiyāt tibē. namut eya satya yayi api nositamu. mahanuvara saṅghayā vahansēlā upasampadā karmaya karaṇaṇiṭa da pohō geyi piriktīm ādi vat karaṇaṇiṭa da ē lesa paṭibhāṇḍiti: pātarāṭa saṅghayāvahansēlā aturen kālaṇiṅgaṅgē upasampadā karmaya karana sthavīryan vahansēlā da ēsēma paṭibhāṇḍiti. daḷadā māligāvē vatāvāt karaṇa ṇiṭa paṭibhāṇḍina pariddhen pātarāṭa bhikṣūnvahansēlā nokara tibennē pātarāṭa daḷadā māligāvak nāthieyindō hōyi sitiya yutuyi.

ayodhyayē supaticchantapārūpanaya ubhayāṃśaya vasā karaṇa kramaya ē kālē tibunabava lankāvē bhikṣūnvahansēlāta igāṇnu bāvin prakāśaveyi) (Prajñānanda 1947, 2:618–69). But see Bizot (1993).

From Vidyālaṅkāra, the matter looked different: "The long standing practice of wearing robes by the bhikkhus of the Siamese sect was covering only one shoulder. The first Principal of the Vidyodaya Pirivena changed the older practice and continued to wear the robes covering both shoulders. . . . This change may have attracted many bhikkhu students of the Amarapura and Ramanna sects in which bhikkhus were used to cover both shoulders" (Ratanasāra 1965, 252).

ing a ruling and reminding the Kandy leadership that, “since a ruling on this matter has not been received even up till now, there is no resolution to the unrest in the land” (Prajñānanda 1947, 2:627).⁵⁸ Moreover, Hikkaḍuvē was receiving criticism on the matter of robes from a high-ranking monk in Bangkok and thought this posed serious problems for the future of the Siyam Nikāya (627).

However, the Malvatu Vihāraya Mahānāyaka still declined to rule. His second-in-command eventually reported that the Kandy monks had been unable to reach a clear decision on the matter (23 December 1886, in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:627–28).⁵⁹ The robe dispute led to new strains, and new alliances, in the southern part of the island, where monks and lay supporters took sides on the matter of monastic dress. In 1886, one of Hikkaḍuvē’s senior students, a teacher at Vidyodaya, reported on his rains retreat stay at Bogahavattē Vihāraya in Galle.

... I suggest that Reverend Sir be kind enough to give advice so that there could be proper dressing of robes, etc. in that district. During the debate undertaken by laypeople in Galle Fort about the manner of wearing robes, the response given by the full-coverage side [the two-shoulder dressers] wasn’t bad at all. Not only that, it was clear that the one-shoulder side had a really tough time of it. I note that just now we are very pleased to learn how Reverend Sir is keeping, and so on, and about the information on that land [obtained through] the people who have returned from Siam. (Heyiyantuḍuvē Devamitta to Hikkaḍuvē, 19 July 1886, in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:634)⁶⁰

58. “ehi viniścayak mētākma nolābuna heyin eyin meratē vu kālambuṃ tavama samsindunē nāti bava.”

59. Although the Malvatu Vihāraya leadership declined to back Hikkaḍuvē fully and publicly on the Pārupana Vādaya, they made clear their support for him, appointing him in February 1890 to the post of chief monk for Colombo and the Western Province, and chief monk of Navakōralē in May of the same year (*Lakrivikiraṇa*, 2 May 1890). The Kārakamahā Saṅgha Sabhāva of the Malvatu Vihāraya expressed their thanks to Hikkaḍuvē at a celebration timed to coincide with birthday celebrations, noting his prior useful undertakings on behalf of the *Buddha-śāsana* in Laṅkā, on behalf of the development of *śāstra*, and on behalf of the Siyam Nikāya, especially the Malvatu sector (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:109–11). They had earlier (in 1880) appointed him chief monk for Galle District at the death of Mahagoḍē Dhammadassi (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:105).

60. “. . . ē palātē cīvāra pārupanādiya yahapat lesa pavatvana hātiyaṭa karuṇā peradāriva avavādayak hāmoduruvanvahansē diyayutu bava matakkarami. cīvāra pārupanaya pīlibaṇḍava gāllē koṭuvē gihiyan visin kaḷa vādayēdī supaticchanta pakṣayen dīla tibēṇa uttara madi nā. epamaṇakut noveyi ekāṃśika pakṣayaṭa bohoma amārut kaḷa bava dānagannaṭa tibē. hāmoduruvanvahansēgē suvaḍuk ādikōṭa siyam gos ā ayagen ē ratē toraturut dānagannaṭa apaṭa dānata mahat satutaḷak tibēnabava matak karami.”

Even years later, the controversy sometimes sparked violence and dramatic confrontations. A former Vidyodaya student wrote to Hikkaḍuvē from Galle district:

Many laypeople and monks including Uyanvattē *thera* say this: “Thus, living in this temple don’t go for alms with both shoulders covered. This space doesn’t belong to those people, if they do it like that. Why? Because Reverend Dumbara who resides here is a member of the one-shoulder party.” This was said because the novice monks who follow my views go for alms with both shoulders covered. And after fights broke out with me over various matters, like saying that we go to merit-making events in the company of monks who cover both shoulders, and that we go to the Baṭadūvē ritual enclosure (*sīmā*) without undertaking ritual observances at the *bānda sīmā* in Tuvakkugalavatta, this month on the afternoon of the thirteenth, when about fifty or sixty rough thugs gathered together and got ready to strip us, we fled that place. We informed [E. R.] Guṇaratna Gate Mudaliyar of this. We should respectfully inform you that we are now helpless, living from place to place. (Gallē Dhammapāla to Hikkaḍuvē, 15 May 1902, in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:676)⁶¹

It was not always such high drama. Hikkaḍuvē’s preoccupations with monastic dress—stemming from a sensitivity to Buddhist textual authority as well as to local and regional Buddhist opinion—drew him into subtle and detailed textual arguments rooted in the Vinaya and Vinaya-related texts taught and studied at Vidyodaya:

I’ve read the letter sent to me; it’s fine to come this way when it’s convenient. We didn’t start any sort of debate about wearing robes. Two-shoulder dressing with a side fastening was transmitted [across the generations] in this country and among the monks of both monasteries [Asgiri and Malvatu *viḥārayas*] in Kandy when going into villages. In the very recent past, little by little, some of the low-country monks in the

61. “uyanvattē terun ādī gihipāvidi bohōdena mesē kiyati: enam mē pansalē siṭagena piṇḍapā-tetavāt devura vasanta epāya. esē karaṇavā nam ē āttaṇṇa mē idaṃ ayiti nāta: makṇisāda? mehi vāḍasiṭi dumbara hāmoduruvō ekāṃsa pakṣe kenek nisāya. mesē kiyanta hētuva mā venuven siṭina sāmaṇera namaḷā devuru vasāgeṇa piṇḍapātē yāma nisā da devuru vasana unnānsēlā samaga pinkamvalaṭa yanavayi kiyāda tavat tuvakkugalavattē bāṇḍa tibena sīmāvē karma nokoṭa baṭadūve sīmāvaṭa yanavayi kiyā da yanādī noyek kāraṇa gāna mā samaga kala kōlahāla upadavā mē masa 13 venidā savasa caṇḍi māraminissu paṇahak hātak pamaṇa ekatukaravā apē sivuru kaḍavaṇṇa lāsti uṇaviṭa sthānen ahakvī gos guṇaratna vāsalamudali tumāṇaṇṇa ē bava dānundi asaraṇava api dāṇaṭa tānintāna siṭina bava karuṇaven dāna vadāla māṇavi.”

Siyam Nikāya have given this up. But that foundational custom of dressing with both shoulders covered when going for alms has not completely disappeared. If you investigate, you'll understand. . . . A great deal is said in Vinaya texts about dressing. Thus there are 4 disciplinary rules [*śikṣāpada*]. One is about wearing the *antaravāsaka* [the lower robe, effectively a sarong]. One is about the normal manner of wearing robes covering one shoulder when spending time in monasteries, etc. One addresses the manner of dressing in order to enter lay houses, etc. Another shows the manner of dressing when seated in nonmonastic spaces. Now these people making undharmic arguments are trying to destroy the *śāsana* completely, saying that the three modes of dressing stated in the three disciplinary rules are one, converting discipline [*vinaya*] into antidisdiscipline [*avinaya*]. Now they are acting in such a way as to create a great evil, dragging the laity into it. It would be good for the gentlemen [the addressee and company] to give some advice to these laypeople about it. I'm writing out a correctly stated section from one book here (Hikkaḍuvē to an unnamed nonmonastic recipient, 24 January 1884, in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:570–74).

He went on to provide, in Sinhala, detailed commentary on Pali passages from the Vinaya, on how monks should dress robes in a house, in a monastery, or when doing ritual service to the Buddha. Attempting to forestall confusion and further questions, Hikkaḍuvē also adduced passages on how one should dress while sitting (in a house, for instance) outside the monastery or when spending the night at a lay home.⁶²

To defend his position, Hikkaḍuvē naturally made use of Vinaya texts from the *tipiṭaka* as well as Pali commentarial works and the Vinaya handbook *Vinaya Viniścaya*. Strikingly, he was also prepared to use other published materials lacking any pedigree as authoritative Buddhist texts in order to convince opponents. These included writings on Buddhism by European scholars and interpreters. Writing to E. R. Guṇaratna, who was a lay ally in the monastic dress debates, Hikkaḍuvē advised Guṇaratna to look at a copy of Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*, which contained pictures of Sakyamuni Buddha in robes. Hikkaḍuvē wanted Guṇaratna to use the pictures as visual evidence in an upcoming debate held in Galle.

62. In February 1884 he planned for a meeting on robes at Pāmaṃkaḍa Vihāraya (in the Colombo area), where his own student was the incumbent. Vāligamē Sumaṅgala and Vaskaḍuvē Subhuti (both leading monks in the Amarapura Nikāya) were to come with Hikkaḍuvē himself. The laypeople connected to the *vihāra* were also invited (in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:568).

In the book called *Light of Asia* there's visual and verbal evidence that monks from every country where Buddhism is well established dress with a fastening to cover the two shoulders when entering a village. According to marked passages in *Buddhacarita*, one should show them the manner of dressing to go into the village for alms during the time of the Indian king Dhammāsoka —That book is with proctor Jayasēkara—It should be possible to take it.—In those pictures it is evident that there was two-shoulder dressing and that the two hands were only exposed below the wrist—There is exposure of the right hand from below and above [i.e., between the robes].—This is particularly understandable from the pictures shown in that book, *Photograph from Gandhara*. (Hikkaḍuvē to E. R. Guṇaratna, 29 December 1885, in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:725–26)⁶³

Information about monks abroad was also compelling grist for the mill of debate. Writing to Guṇaratna in the following year, Hikkaḍuvē was proud to report on dress customs elsewhere that might be used as evidence in the controversy: “According to a letter written and sent by Indajoti, who went abroad, that one went to four countries inhabited by thousands of monks, and didn’t see even one monk going into a village dressed in the one-shoulder manner from any monastery in any country” (Hikkaḍuvē to E. R. Guṇaratna, 18 March 1886, in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:727–28).⁶⁴ Information conveyed by Lankan monks abroad was drawn together with the reports of monks visiting from Burma, Siam, and Cambodia, and with evidence culled from correspondence with monks at Southeast Asian temples.⁶⁵

The robe controversy, along with other monastic fissures we explore in

63. “buddhāgama hoṇḍin pavatnā sāma raṭavalama maḥaṇunnānsēlā gamaṭa ātuluvena viṭa devura vāsennaṭama gaṇṭṭhī amunā poravana bava dakinnaṭat asannaṭat lābuna sāti Light of Asia namāti potē daṁbadiava dhammāsoka rajakālē buddhacarita saṭahan kara tibena tānvalin geṇa budun gamaṭa vaḍina kala poravā tibena sātiyenut pennā diyayutyi—ē pota jayasēkara perakadōru mahatmayā laṅga āti—genvāgata hāki vē—ē rūpavala devura vasā tibē da at dekēma māṇikkatūven pāta misa in uḍa eliyē tibē da yanu bāliya yutu yayi pennā dīmayi—dakuṇu ata eliyaṭa gāṇīma pātinut gannavā—uḍinut gannavā—eya Photograph from Gandhara yana potē penena rūpavalin viṣeṣayen hāṅgena bavayi—”

64. “raṭa giya indajoti liyā ev liyumaka ē aya bhikṣun dahas gaṇan vasana raṭa hatarakaṭa giya bavāt eyin koyi raṭakavat koyi viḥārayakinvat ekāṁsa koṭa poravā atulu gamaṭa yana ekama bhikṣun namakut nuduṭu bavāt liyā evā tibennā—”

65. Hikkaḍuvē specifically requested a photo of a leading Siamese monk dressed as he would be when entering the precincts of the temple from outside (Hikkaḍuvē to Saṁsīthikara, August–September 1886, in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:349). Hikkaḍuvē also arranged to send Guṇaratna a photograph received from a Cambodian monk named Kamala (Hikkaḍuvē to E. R. Guṇaratna, 9 August 1886, in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:728–29). However, he had serious reservations about the manner in which Cambodian monks wore their outer robe. Writing to the high-ranking Cambodian monk Diañ, resident at Uṇṇālomārāma (Hansen 2007, 86–87), Hikkaḍuvē addressed some

chapter 5, stimulated an investigative engagement with monastic brothers at a distance. From Vidyodaya, at the intersection of Lankā, Britain, Europe, and Southeast Asia, Hikkaḍuvē drew the study of language, lineage, and discipline into the service of local commitments and concerns about which he had strong, perhaps stubborn, views. As a high-ranking scholar-monk, well known in the island, in Asia, and abroad, Hikkaḍuvē faced important and sometimes difficult choices about when, and for whom, to mobilize his erudition. In Hikkaḍuvē's writings on history, caste, and discipline we find a conjunction of intellect and sentiment. These were expressed in the context of high-stakes local battles to preserve the vitality of the *Buddha-śāsana* in a time of great disturbance and to shape social relations. In these projects, Hikkaḍuvē studied and wrote in relation to several different visions of Lankan, Buddhist, and more broadly South Asian pasts. These different visions coexisted within his oeuvre. Data and narrative from one might be drawn into the guiding conceptual frameworks of another. Projects oriented toward different social concerns and modes of argument proceeded simultaneously. We see that Hikkaḍuvē inhabited an entangled world of discourse and social practice. The delicacy and ambition of Hikkaḍuvē's projects become yet clearer as we watch him take on two powerful and eccentric supporters of Buddhism whose presence on the island offered both a promise and a threat.

other pressing matters of monastic business that we examine in chap. 5. A large part of the letter was, however, focused on matters of monastic dress, since he felt that the Cambodian monks failed to abide by the Buddha's injunctions as to how robes were to be worn together and layered (Hikkaḍuvē to Diañ, May–June 1884, in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:368–69). Hikkaḍuvē sent to Cambodia a set of robes arranged according to his own liking.

Engaging the Adventurers

As we have seen, Hikkaḍuvē had a long history of involvement with lay patrons on the island. His fortunes, and those of Vidyodaya Piriveṇa, waxed steadily because lay donors with wealth and/or status, in several regions of the island, found an affinity with Hikkaḍuvē's passions for education and text production, anti-Christian activity, and intramonastic debate. The 1880s and 1890s altered to some extent the landscape of Hikkaḍuvē's patronage relations, and of his ties across monastic orders. Important changes in the context for Hikkaḍuvē's own activities were set in motion by the arrival of Colonel Olcott, the theosophist, and the subsequent rise to some prominence of Don David Hēvāvitāraṇa (later known as the Anagārika Dharmapāla). Olcott and D. D. Hēvāvitāraṇa were both ambitious adventurers. For them, Laṅkā and wider Asia provided a crucial arena within which to express a restless love of social organizing, an inclination to travel, and a certain need for adulation and acclaim. Two substantial societies developed in Laṅkā as a result of their interests and activities: the Buddhist Theosophical Society and the Maha Bodhi Society. The style of Olcott and Dharmapāla was quite unprecedented on the island. Therefore, their reception by leading monks like Hikkaḍuvē involved improvisation and experiment. Hikkaḍuvē engaged selectively with Olcott and Hēvāvitāraṇa. In many cases, projects of prior importance to Hikkaḍuvē shaped his responses to these unusual patrons and the societies they initiated. A period often described as one of intensifying lay authority in Buddhist circles was, rather, a time of experimentation and recalibration for monks and laity alike, as they explored novel forms of association and communication made possible by new technologies at a time of intensifying colonial presence in the region.

Against Christianity

Stephen Prothero traces two phases in Henry Steele Olcott's theosophical thinking. The first, oriented toward the investigation and reform of spiritualism, gave way to an interest in "Asian wisdom" in the late 1870s. Olcott began a correspondence with Asian religious leaders, in which he described the Theosophical Society as intended "to promote Asian religious traditions in America and to discredit Christianity in Asia" (Prothero 1996, 62–63). The vehemence with which Olcott began to argue against Christianity during this period was probably, at least in part, strategic, intended to open new opportunities for his own travel and leadership. According to Prothero,

Olcott was well aware that the Asians with whom he was corresponding were engaged with Christian missionaries in a battle far more fierce than the warfare between science and religion that he had conjured up a few years earlier in his First Presidential Address. He knew, therefore, that his Christian-bashing would be welcomed among his Hindu correspondents. . . . Olcott was at the time he entered into this correspondence casting about for a new direction to take his society—searching, in short, for a more marketable theosophy. And what he was learning was that praising Asian religions and damning Christianity were two sides of the same, eminently salable coin. (65)

Olcott knew that Asians were resisting Christian missionary work in Laṅkā as well as on the South Asian mainland. He had read reports of a major Christian-Buddhist controversy held in Panadura during 1873. Upon his first arrival in Laṅkā, Olcott generated considerable interest as a likely ally against Christian missionaries on the island, especially since his white skin and nonnative status were expected to strengthen the power and effectiveness of his anti-Christian stance.¹ The group meeting his arrival at Galle port in May 1880 immediately asked his views on the struggle between Buddhist monks and missionaries and commenced a discussion about religious matters (*Lakrivikiraṇa*, 12 June 1880). Five thousand people are said to have attended his speaking engagement at Dodanduva, which addressed Buddhism and Christianity (*Lakrivikiraṇa*, 12 June 1880). Correspondents to the newspapers disputed Olcott's Buddhist credentials; a possible white Buddhist was a high card to play in Buddhist-Christian competition

1. See Malalgoda (1976, 243–46). On Olcott's work in Laṅkā see also Obeyesekere (1992).

(*Lakrivikirāṇa*, 12 June, 10 and 24 July 1880). Olcott met Hikkaḍuvē and other key monastic figures early in his first visit to the island. These monks included Bulatgama (see chap. 1), Vaskaḍuvē Subhuti (see chaps. 3 and 5), and Mohoṭṭivattē Guṇānanda (see chaps. 1 and 2). Olcott later noted the welcome provided to him in Colombo by Hikkaḍuvē, who met him with a company of fifty monks and offered a Pali address in his honor. Olcott went to “Sumangala’s College” (Vidyodaya), where, the next morning, “a serious conference was held between Sumangala, Subhuti, Megittuwatte [Mohoṭṭivattē] and myself” (Olcott 1974 [1895], 177). Olcott and Hikkaḍuvē kept rather close company at this time. Olcott lectured at Vidyodaya Pirivena, and Hikkaḍuvē accompanied him to Kandy for an address at the Temple of the Tooth and a meeting of high-ranking Kandyan monks and laymen. The Colombo Buddhist Theosophical Society was formed during Olcott’s first visit to the island, with Hikkaḍuvē among its leaders as chairman of the monastic branch and honorary vice-president for the society itself (179–88). Olcott returned periodically to Laṅkā and, when he was there, made regular visits to Vidyodaya Pirivena.²

Incompatible Buddhisms

Hikkaḍuvē recognized that Olcott offered one possible response to difficulties facing Lankan Buddhists under British rule. In 1882, he referred to Olcott briefly when writing to the Cambodian monastic leader Diañ, in correspondence intended to galvanize Buddhist royal support for Laṅkā from Southeast Asia (see chap. 5). Although this and other letters developed in a decidedly royalist vein, focused more on the possibility of elite Asian patronage, Hikkaḍuvē found Olcott at least worthy of mention:

Further, despite the fact that the *Buddha-sāsana*, which was established on this island at the time of a dharmic king named Devānampiyatissa two hundred and thirty-six years after the death of the Buddha, has become weak periodically in the reigns of non-Buddhist kings, again and again it has returned to its natural state because of the assistance of dharmic kings. And now the rule of the non-Buddhist English is underway. Therefore, the *Buddha-sāsana* has become weak and sluggish. And now a white resident of the country of America, who has confidence in

2. The diary of the Anagārika Dharmapāla provides a good record of Olcott’s visits to Vidyodaya and several other local institutions.

the *Buddha-sāsana*, has come to this island, exerting himself, wanting to develop the *Buddha-sāsana*. However, it is said that in the country of Cambodia there is a king of right views who is a Buddhist. We hear that therefore there is a complete state of safety, happiness, and peacefulness among the Buddhist laypeople and monks residing there. And having heard that, we are pleased. (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:359)³

Although Hikkaḍuvē and Olcott could make common cause against Christians and Christian threats to Buddhism, they understood “Buddhism” quite differently. Olcott’s Buddhism was formed at the nexus of Protestant American culture, Orientalist accounts of Buddhist texts, and the homogenizing impulses of his later Asian-oriented theosophy (Prothero 1996). In his eyes, “true” Buddhism did not admit differences across schools, sects, or orders. It contained no essential place for ritual. From his perspective, Lankan Buddhists were not “true” Buddhists but, instead, practiced a debased form of the pure and ancient tradition (96). As Prothero has observed, despite his antimissionary stance, Olcott shared with Christian missionaries an imperialist confidence in his ability to define and determine the character of Asian religions (177).

Hikkaḍuvē received his formation as a monk, and as a Buddhist, in a Lankan context preoccupied with the competitive delineation of group boundaries within the larger monastic community and with the adjudication of proper ritual behaviors for monks and laypersons. The purity and vitality of Hikkaḍuvē’s Buddhism was thus regulated and restored by some of the phenomena Olcott found most dismaying. Well before Olcott’s arrival, in an extended correspondence with Aṃbagahavattē, Hikkaḍuvē made clear his views.⁴

3. “api ca asmiṃ dīpe buddhassa bhagavato parinibbāṇato dvīnaṃ vassasatānaṃ upari chattiṃsasatime samvacchare devānampiyatissassa nāma dhammikassa mahārājassa kāle patiṭṭhitam buddhasāsanaṃ kālena kālam micchādīṭṭhikānāṃ rājūnaṃ rajjesu dubbalattam pattampi punappunaṃ dhammikaṛājūnamupakārato pākatikaṃ jātam. idāni ca micchādīṭṭhikānaṃ imgalisānaṃ rajjaṃ vattati. tasmā buddha sāsanaṃpi oḷinaṃ dubbalaṃ hutvā vattati. idāni ceko amerikāraṭṭhavāsiko sudhī buddhasāsane pasanno imaṃ dīpaṃ āgantvā buddhasāsanaṃ vaḍḍhetukāmo ussukkamāpanno hoti. kambojaraṭṭhe pana vattamānopi rājā sammādīṭṭhiko buddhasāsānikoti sūyati. tasmā tattha nivāsinaṃ buddhasāsanasādhakabhutānaṃ gahaṭṭhānaṃ ceva pabbajitānaṃ sammā abhaya[-]sukhakhematā vattatīti mayam suṇoma sutvāca pamodam-āpajjāma.”

4. This correspondence between Hikkaḍuvē and Aṃbagahavattē took place during a wider debate on the propriety of *deva-pūjā* that occurred during the 1870s. Ramañña Nikāya monks, among whom Aṃbagahavattē played a leading role, criticized such veneration. A heated contest took

There isn't any destruction at all caused to conviction in Buddhist teachings by the absence of deity veneration [*deva-pūjā*] by people with devotion to Buddhist teachings. It's very suitable to admonish people not to perform deity veneration in a manner that creates divisions in ideas or conduct,⁵ or in opposition to dharmic deity veneration or offerings to deities [*deva-baliya*] permitted by Buddha. . . .

Even in Buddha's sermons there was evidence of [people] receiving help from the gods by venerating and making offerings to a deity in order to slightly reduce the oppression of this world. . . . I believe in the arising of skillful elements of Buddha recollection, etc., in this way, and that it is very appropriate for the production of mental pleasure and faith. However, it is a significant fact that there is no *sūtra* where the Omniscient One [Buddha] approved of making images. What was approved in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* is the establishment of reliquaries for bodily relics. Since there is no approval of reliquaries in general, there is no allowance whatsoever discernible in the word of the Buddha to warrant understanding this to include both relics of use and relics of representation [like statues]. (Hikkaḍuvē to Aṃbagahavattē, 17 March 1871, in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:693–94)⁶

Having faith in images or taking refuge in images, making offerings [to them] is undoubtedly inappropriate for Buddhists. Going for refuge near an image [of Buddha] is not an offering. What I have written is that lay-people who wish to perform dharmic deity veneration and offerings are

place through private letters, letters to the newspapers, and printed texts. On this wider context see Malalgoda (1976, 169–70). As Rogers has rightly noted, Hikkaḍuvē's views on the gods and deity veneration served his patron Iddamalagoda well during arguments about tenant service obligations to land belonging to *dēvālas*. It is also likely that Hikkaḍuvē encouraged Mohoṭṭivattē to preach sermons in Sabaragamuva congruent with Iddamalagoda's landholding interests (Rogers 1987).

5. This was a dig at his correspondent.

6. "devapūjāvak buddhāgamē bhaktimatun visin nokaḷāṭa eyin buddhāgama ādahumaṭa kisima hāniyak nātmaya. budun visin avasaraḍi vadāḷa dhāmmika devapūjāva hevat deva baliyāta viruddha lesa hevat dṛṣṭibheda śīlabheda vena paridden devapūjāvak nokaraṇṭa avavāda janayāta dīma itāma yutukamaki. . . . devapūjā kirīmen melova upadrava svalpayak durukaraṇṭa deviyangen upakāra lābīma buddhadeśanāvenma penē. . . . cittapasādaya pahala karaṇa piṇisa itāma yahapat bavāt buddhānusrmṭyādi kuśaladharmmayan eyin upadina bavāt mama visvāsa karami. eṣē namut piḷima karaṇṭa sarvañjayan vahanṣē anudāna vadāḷa sūtrayak dakinṭa nāti bava itā loku karaṇaki. mahāparinirvāṇa sūtrayehi anudāna vadāḷē śārīrika caityaya pihiṭuvantayī. ehi sāmānyayen caitya anudānīmā nāti nisā eyin pāribhogika uddesika deka gaṇṭa buddha vacanayen kisima avakāṣayak penennē nāta."

permitted to do so. (Hikkaḍuvē to Aṃbagahavattē, 28 November 1876, in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:714–15; italics added)⁷

Hikkaḍuvē's views on the gods, images, and offerings—as well as his dedicated interest in astrological science—were greatly distant from Olcott's Buddhism. For instance, Olcott wrote:

Are charms, incantations, the observance of lucky hours, and devil-dancing⁸ a part of Buddhism? They are positively repugnant to its fundamental principles; they are the surviving relics of fetichism and pantheistic and other foreign religions. In the *Brahmajala Sutta* Buddha has categorically described these and other superstitions as pagan, mean, and spurious.

What striking contrasts are there between Buddhism and what may be properly called “religions”? Among others, Buddhism teaches . . . a redemption by oneself as the redeemer, and without rites, prayers, penances, priests, or intercessory saints. (Olcott 1885, 60–61, original italics and spelling)

Hikkaḍuvē's differences with Olcott on Buddhist practice and belief were by no means idiosyncratic.⁹ Indeed, the report on the Colombo Buddhist Theosophical Society for the years 1880–89 (published in 1890) prepared by its Lankan, nonmonastic, officers, discussed the establishment of a Buddha image in the Colombo area immediately following its report on Buddhist preaching and *before* the matter of fund-raising for Buddhist schools.

Since there was no nearby place for residents of Piṭakoṭuva [in Colombo] to express devotion to Buddhas and to offer flowers and lamps, a statue and relics were respectfully installed on the upper floor in the society's hall. In this way, residents of Piṭakoṭuva are always making merit by offering

7. “rūpa ādahīma nohot rūpavala saraṇa yāma rūpa piḍīma buddhāgamē ayāta nosāhemayi. piḷima langa rūpa saraṇayāmak piḍīmak novē. mā visin liyā āttē dhāmmika deva pujāva karaṇa gihiyanta avasara dun bava.”

8. That is, ritual dances used to drive from the body the malignant presence of “demons.”

9. Malalgoda has rightly observed that “in Ceylon, Theosophy began and developed not so much as a new exogenous movement but as a further stage of an older indigenous movement. ‘Buddhist Theosophy’ had very little Theosophy in it; what it did have was a great deal of Buddhism” (1976, 246). However, I depart from Malalgoda's further estimation that “its Buddhism, however, was not of the traditional type; it was rather of the type which has recently been called Protestant Buddhism” (246). In this regard see further the discussion in chap. 6 below.

flowers and lamps. We respectfully note the gift of the white marble Buddha image in September 1885 by Aṃbahevattē [*sic*] Indāsabhā Nāyaka Thera. These days, students of the Buddhist Theosophical Society school are also gathering merit and good habits by thus offering honor through an offering of flowers in the morning and evening. (*K.P.B.S.V.* 1890, 6)¹⁰

Ritual was central to their plan for Colombo Buddhist lives.

Education and Print

In addition to Olcott's obvious attractiveness as a potential advocate for Lankan Buddhists against Christians, his interest in education and familiarity with print-based publicity created an important affinity among him, Hikkaḍuvē, and Hikkaḍuvē's main patrons in Colombo. At the time of Olcott's arrival in the island, Vidyodaya Piriveṇa was just seven years old. The Colombo-based publication projects with which Hikkaḍuvē and his allies were involved were still quite new. Much has been written about the importance of Olcott and the Theosophical Society as a catalyst for the development of Buddhist schools on the island for Buddhist nonmonastic children. Though not the first such schools in Laṅkā, those established with funds raised through Buddhist Theosophical Society efforts added significantly to educational opportunities on the island. Indeed, the decennial report addressed in part the history of schools and fund-raising for projects including children's schools.¹¹

We should remember, however, that, at least in the eyes of the early leadership of the Colombo Buddhist Theosophical Society, Buddhist education was to proceed through a number of avenues simultaneously. The 1890 report listed, in the following order, the practical scope of the society. It undertook to (1) preach Buddhist teachings; (2) establish centers of learning to accustom Buddhist *monks* to religious texts, as well as schools for the religious education of *children*; (3) publish texts for instruction in Buddhism and to declare the superiority of Buddhism to the false religions established in Laṅkā; (4) establish a newspaper as a suitable support for the

10. Since this report is easily available in the British Library collection, I have not included the Sinhala original here, for the following quotations.

11. Olcott relied upon Hikkaḍuvē to initiate fund-raising for schools supported by the Theosophical Society. "That evening [7 May 1881] the High Priest Sumangala, and Megittuwatte [Mohoṭṭivattē], came to discuss my scheme of the education fund. . . . I got Sumangala to consent to issue and appeal to the Buddhist public for the Fund, and to endorse me as its collector" (Olcott 1974 [1895], 299).

people, publicizing the obligations of Buddhists with respect to this world and to religion; (5) establish Buddhism in other countries; and (6) develop the technical sciences (*śāstras*) written in “Eastern” languages (Pali, Sanskrit, Sinhala, etc.) and assist the development of Buddhism in Laṅkā by people opposed to Christianity and by foreign Buddhists (*K.P.B.S.V.* 1890, 3–4). As this report makes evident, the overlap between the interests of Vidyodaya and those of the Colombo society was substantial. This is not surprising when we recognize that the nonmonastic leadership of the Colombo Buddhist Theosophical Society, in the first decades, was dominated by patrons closely involved with Hikkaḍuvē and Vidyodaya. Andris Perērā Dharmagunavardhana and Pandit Baṭuvantuḍāvē served, successively, as presidents during the early years (*Theosophist* 22, no. 1 [1890]: 3).¹² Andris Perērā Dharmagunavardhana’s son, Don Simon Perera, and his son-in-law, Don Karolis Hēvāvitāraṇa (father of D. D. Hēvāvitāraṇa), supported the society (Malalgoda 1976, 248; *K.P.B.S.V.* 1890, 10–11).¹³ E. R. Guṇaratna, from Galle (see chaps. 3 and 5), was approved to receive donations for the society (10). The theosophical newspaper, *Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa*, started in December 1889, received its name from Hikkaḍuvē, who also encouraged the appointment of one of his own students as editor. Vēragama Bodhināyaka Dhammālaṅkāra Puṇcibaṇḍāra (a former monk from Sabaragamuva, and related to Iddamalgoḍa) edited the newspaper while resident at Vidyodaya. At his death, another of Hikkaḍuvē’s students, Thomas Karuṇāratna (see chaps. 2 and 3), also a former schoolmate of Puṇcibaṇḍāra’s, took over in 1893. Impetus to establish the theosophical newspaper came in part from Don Karolis Hēvāvitāraṇa. Andris Perērā Dharmagunavardhana’s financial support made it possible to restart *Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa* in 1887 after it faltered in 1882 (Paṇṇāsekhera 1965, 332–53). He also made the initial grant of five hundred rupees in order to start the society’s Buddhist press, which printed books in addition to the newspaper (*K.P.B.S.V.* 1890, 23).

We can sense the mood of the early years of the Colombo Buddhist Theosophical Society, and the naturalness of Hikkaḍuvē’s involvement, by looking at some of the activities on which the 1890 report chose to comment:

12. The first decennial report was prepared during Baṭuvantuḍāvē’s tenure as president, just after Dharmagunavardhana’s death (Malalgoda 1976, 248).

13. Jayasekera has argued that the Maha Bodhi Society (see further below) was most closely connected to Goyigamas and to the Siyam Nikāya, while the Buddhist Theosophical Society became dominated by Karava and Salagama Buddhists (1970, 67–68). While he is right to indicate tensions between the Maha Bodhi Society and the Theosophical Society, and a caste-based dimension to them, the description is most apt for the second decade of the twentieth century and forward. Roberts notes the involvement of high-ranking Goyigama Buddhists with the Buddhist Theosophical Society in the 1890s and the following decade (1982, 176).

Among many Buddhists of Lankā, listening to Buddhist teachings (*dharma*) remains a low priority. For months not a line of preaching (*baṇa*) might fall into the ears of some Buddhists. Although listening to the *dharma* is a chief means to direct the human mind to good conduct, giving rise to fear of unwholesome activity, it has become necessary these days to newly accustom Buddhists to the performance of *dharma* preaching in a punctual orderly manner. It is the desire of the society to have the *dharma* preached in a punctual and orderly manner, among the Buddhist population of the whole of the island of Lankā on days such as the full moon, but due to lack of [the necessary] strength, the society has started preaching just once a week only in the society's premises. Since the time of the society's establishment, preaching has been held once a week, Saturday at nine in the evening, without fail, in the Buddhist Theosophical Society's hall.

Preaching events were organized, having assembled the Buddhist male and female population of Colombo and having ceremonially brought the venerable well-known preachers of Lankā, such as Sipkaḍuvē [Hikkaḍuvē] Nāyaka Thera, Dhammāṇāyaka Nāyaka Thera, Potuṇṇa Indājoti Thera, Vaskaḍuvē Subhuti Thera, Talāhēnē Amaramōli Thera, Valānē Sumanatissa Thera, Aṃbagahavattē Indāsabhā Nāyaka Thera, Mohoṭṭivattē Guṇānanda Sāmi, etc. . . .

Noting especially the fact that the venerable principal of Vidyodaya Pirivena sent his own students many times to preach during the years 1883 and 1884, and that, at the beginning, venerable Heyiyantuḍuvē Devamitta Thera helped in many ways the uninterrupted performance of preaching, we announce our respectful homage to all the venerable monks who helped the society thus far to give the gift of Buddhist teachings to the world. (*K.P.B.S.V.* 1890, 4–5)¹⁴

The weekly sermons were published in *Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa*. As well as sermons, learned lectures were sponsored by the society. These addressed *śāstric* topics dear to the hearts of Hikkaḍuvē and his associates. "Lectures

14. Hikkaḍuvē also gave sermons connected to the society in Ratnapura. Mohoṭṭivattē and Heyiyantuḍuvē sometimes accompanied Olcott on his lecture circuit (presumably partly for translation purposes) (*K.P.B.S.V.* 1890, 14–15). It is striking that, at least judging from the list of lectures and sermons given in 1881, among Hikkaḍuvē's associates, Mohoṭṭivattē and Heyiyantuḍuvē were more active supporters of Olcott's early fund-raising engagements than Hikkaḍuvē himself. Even for the talks given at Vidyodaya Pirivena on 22 and 24 July 1881, Mohoṭṭivattē, rather than any Vidyodaya monk, is listed as the organizer (*K.P.B.S.V.* 1890, unpaginated table, following page 14).

connected with extremely important matters such as religion, *jyotiś-śāstra*, *āloka vidyā*, *āyurvedā*, etc., by pandits such as Baṭuvantuḍāvē Pandit, Don Pilip daSilva Āpā Appuhāmi, Mr. Kollupitiyē Jōnprēra, and Mr. Kavīratna Vedāracci, were given in the society's hall" (*K.P.B.S.V.* 1890, 5).

In addition to schools, preaching, lectures, and publications deemed suitable for Lankan Buddhists, the society identified a need for a Buddhist library accessible to the larger population, containing books related to Buddhism and books opposed to Christianity, as well as local and foreign newspapers and magazines. The library was explicitly conceived as an extension of Buddhist temple libraries. The plan was a timely response to the sudden proliferation of print material in nineteenth-century Laṅkā (28). The society's vision of education thus extended well beyond the famous movement for children's schools. This breadth of interest and intention was the logical development of activities undertaken by monks and laypeople for some years prior to Olcott's arrival. In its work related to preaching, *śāstric* education, and anti-Christian education, the Colombo Buddhist Theosophical Society was compatible with Hikkaḍuvē's interests and benefited from his involvement. His work with the society was, of course, made much more natural by the interest taken by his central patrons. The inclinations of Hikkaḍuvē and his patrons—particularly those in the Hēvāvitāraṇa/Dharmagunavardhana family—reinforced one another. The lay patrons benefited from the prestige and social contacts accruing from Olcott's cultivation of Hikkaḍuvē, as well as the satisfaction of carrying forward Buddhist activities through the society. Where Hikkaḍuvē found Olcott's presence and the society's activities congenial, he was able to encourage them, and to recognize participation in the society as an extension of his reciprocal obligations to long-standing patrons. As we shall see, however, Hikkaḍuvē's connections to Olcott were not always easy. In later days, Olcott brought Hikkaḍuvē fewer returns than expected in the search for Asian patronage. Eventually, at the turn of the century, the distance between their Buddhisms became impossibly great.

Race and Government

In the meantime, however, in the early years of Olcott's contact with Lankan Buddhists, Olcott received Hikkaḍuvē's support, and not only on matters related to Buddhist education, broadly conceived. Hikkaḍuvē and other leading lay and monastic Buddhists on the island recognized that Olcott's financial resources and mobility, and the cultural capital carried on his white skin, could be used to local advantage within the racially hier-

archized colonial system. In the 1880s Lankan Buddhists turned to Olcott as a broker with the government after Buddhist-Catholic disturbances in Kotahena. In 1883, a festival procession by Buddhists to celebrate the installation and ritual activation of a Buddha image at Kotahena's *Dīpaduttārāmaya* was interrupted with some violence by persons connected with the Catholic cathedral, St. Lucia, in the same neighborhood. Tempers had run high between Buddhists and Catholics for some time. The proximate cause for the violence in 1883 was that, owing to bureaucratic mistakes, Catholics connected to the cathedral had not received clearance for their Holy Week processions, while the Buddhists linked to Mohoṭṭivattē's temple were given permission for their own. In that volatile context, elements of the Buddhist procession were interpreted with particular hostility by some Catholics. In the melee, some of the Buddhists acted with violence also, as the incident released aggression on both sides (Somaratna 1991, 7–38; 186–94). Although a commission of inquiry was held in April and May 1883 (245–300),¹⁵ the Catholic initiators of the procession-related violence were not brought to trial, which caused a furor among Buddhists on the island (Perera 1907, 79–80). At a meeting on the matter called at the instigation of Don Karolis Hēvāvitāraṇa and Hikkaḍuvē, and held at Vidyodaya Piriveṇa (in the neighborhood adjacent to Kotahena) on 18 January 1884, leading monks and laypeople formed the Buddhist Defence Committee, “with full powers to adopt such lawful and proper measures as may from time to time seem advisable to promote Buddhist interest, and in the present instance to obtain redress for injuries to our religion and to persons and property during the late religious riots of Easter Sunday last” (minutes, in Somaratna 1991, 79). The committee, composed of eleven laymen (including members of the Hēvāvitāraṇa/Dharmagunavardhana family), was established with the expectation of monastic advisement. “Upon motion a resolution was adopted, asking the High Priest [Hikkaḍuvē] and Dhammalankara High Priest, and other respected priests to give the committee the benefit of the advice and such other assistance as may be permitted by the rules of their Sanga” (80). The meeting then moved to involve Olcott:

At the suggestion of the High Priest [Hikkaḍuvē] and upon the motion of Mr. Don Carolis [Hēvāvitāraṇa] seconded by Mr. H. A. Fernando and supported by Mr. J. P. Jayatilleke it was unanimously

“Resolved that colonel H. S. Olcott of Madras be respectfully re-

15. These pages include verbatim testimony offered to the commission.

quested to generally assist the committee to carry out the objects of its organization.

"And that provided that he consent, he be made an Hon. member and asked to proceed to London as the chief agent of the committee, with the full power to represent it under any circumstances that may arise, and in its name and that of the Sinhalese-Buddhists in general to ask for such redress and enter into such engagement as may appear to him judicious." (80)

When Olcott had accepted the commission and departed for London, Hikkaḍuvē and his monastic colleagues made visits from Colombo, to inform a larger population of Buddhists of these recent events. Olcott was advised of these further developments while on his mission to the metropole:

The High Priest Sumangala, the High Priest [Randoṃbē?] Dhammalankara[,] Amaramoli priest [,] Weligama [Sumaṅgala] priest, and [Vaskaḍuvē] Subhuti priest, have been visiting the villages of Sedawatta, Horakele, Ratmalana, Panadura etc, holding meetings and speaking to the people about your mission. I was present at one of these. The two High Priests explained to the audience that your mission to England was to obtain certain privileges in the exercise of our religion viz. to settle the riot troubles[;] to proclaim the day of Buddha's birth a government holiday; to remove restriction with regard to Buddhist processions; to appoint Buddhist registrars for Buddhist villages etc;¹⁶ to get the government to give ecclesiastical authority to a *committee of respectable Buddhist priests* for the administration of the affairs of their church. (G. R. de Silva to H. S. Olcott, 23 March 1884, in Somaratna 1991, 83; italics added)

Governor Gordon took fairly seriously Olcott's connection with the committee, and the larger Lankan Buddhist population, when he apprised Colonial Secretary Derby on the inconvenient emissary to London. "There can be no question that Colonel Olcott really possesses considerable influence among the Buddhist Community; that he, to a great extent, enjoys their confidence; and that he may fairly claim to be a representative authorized by them on his present mission" (quoted in Prothero 1996, 111). However, Gordon remarked that "on the other hand, my communications with lead-

16. This was desirable for the registration of Buddhist marriages.

ing Buddhists lead me to suspect that he somewhat overestimates both his own knowledge of their doctrines and affairs, and the amount of influence which he exercises over their Counsels" (quoted in Prothero 1996, 111).

Olcott's trip to London was at least a modest success. Although no further direct redress for the Kotahena incident came forward from the government, favorable decisions were made on the matter of processions and the Vesak holiday. The government agreed to reduce the restrictions on the use of music in religious processions (which had been a major hindrance and source of aggravation to all parties) and to make Sakyamuni Buddha's birthday an approved holiday (Prothero 1996, 114). Moreover, some legislation contemplated by the government, with respect to the management of Buddhist temple lands, was put on hold, given religious instability in the island (112).

Young Hēvāvitāraṇa

D. D. Hēvāvitāraṇa was sixteen when Olcott and his colleague Helena Blavatsky first arrived in Laṅkā. He was, inevitably, drawn closely into the circle that developed around Olcott. Hikkaḍuvē was the Hēvāvitāraṇa family's central monastic ritualist, preacher, and adviser. He was, as we have seen in this and previous chapters, tightly bound to D. D. Hēvāvitāraṇa's father, Don Karolis, and his maternal grandfather, Andris Perērā Dharmagunavardhana. Gananath Obeyesekere's seminal studies of D. D. Hēvāvitāraṇa approached the young man's biography from a psychological perspective (Obeyesekere 1972, 1976), and other scholars have often followed suit. Whether or not it is correct to see D. D. Hēvāvitāraṇa's apparent psychological conflicts as a synecdoche for the broader conflicts of Sinhala Buddhists under colonial rule (Obeyesekere 1972, 1976; Roberts 1997, 2000; Trevithick 2007, 217–19, 225–35), it is evident that his involvement in support of Lankan Buddhists, and the *Buddha-śāsana* more generally, was characterized by a series of highly emotive—and often erratic—fascinations and personal attachments.

When Olcott and Blavatsky first reached Laṅkā, young Hēvāvitāraṇa was at loose ends, after receiving both education in English (from Christians) and in Sinhala (from Buddhists, including Hikkaḍuvē, Heyiyantuḍuvē, and Mohoṭṭivattē) (Sugatadāsa 1986, 22, 28; Saraṇamkara 1962, 98). He worked as a clerk for the Department of Public Instruction (Trevithick 2007, 54), probably in part due to Baṭuvantuḍāvē's good offices. No room was made for Hēvāvitāraṇa in the family furniture business, as he recounted rather wistfully some years later: "[His father] did not care to have me following to

learn his business and he had a clerk to do all the correspondence. Of course in those days the furniture business was not what it was ten years later" (quoted in Trevithick 2007, 236).

Caught up by the promise of theosophy (which remained important to him over many years despite an increasing allegiance to Buddhism shorn of theosophical elements) (Trevithick 2007), and by the beckoning possibility of adventure with Olcott and Blavatsky in their Indian theosophical work, D. D. Hēvāvitāraṇa left Laṅkā. This was, initially, against the wishes of his family and Hikkaḍuvē (Trevithick 2007, 52), though Hēvāvitāraṇa was eventually given leave to travel. In the company of Olcott, and then with increasing independence, D. D. Hēvāvitāraṇa moved between mainland South Asia and Laṅkā, among Indian sites, to Japan, and into Southeast Asia. In Laṅkā he offered translation services to Olcott, became involved in other early projects of the Theosophical Society on the island, and worked as the editor of *Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa* (Ratnatunga 1991, 28). Between 1880 and 1891 young Hēvāvitāraṇa made a life for himself largely in connection to theosophical projects and interests. It was possible for him to operate as something of a dilettante because he had the family's considerable financial resources to fall back on. As his diary makes clear, Hēvāvitāraṇa remained in close contact with the family, often staying at home when on the island. He was a regular visitor to Vidyodaya Piriveṇa and, like his parents and grandparents, considered Hikkaḍuvē the family priest. Hēvāvitāraṇa's diary entries¹⁷ are full of references to casual visits to Vidyodaya, and chats with Hikkaḍuvē and Heyiyantuḍuvē, in addition to reports of society meetings and planning sessions held at the *piriveṇa*.

Managing Dharmapāla

In 1891, after a transformative visit to Bodh Gaya—site of Sakyamuni Buddha's enlightenment, on the South Asian mainland—Hēvāvitāraṇa (who had in 1883 had adopted the heroic and optimistic name "Dharmapāla," or "Dharma Guardian"; Trevithick 2007, 55) became consumed by the pros-

17. Typed copies of most of the diaries are held in the library of the Maha Bodhi Society (Colombo). Microfilms of several years (1889, 1891–93) are held in the SLNA under #1939. Both reveal Dharmapāla's primary use of English with occasional recourse to Sinhala script. The original diaries are not easily accessible, as they are no longer in the SLNA but are held privately. Through the good offices of local colleagues, I was able to contact the person who now holds the original diaries, requesting this person to check quotations from the typed copies against the originals (where no microfilm copy was available). The person in whose possession the original diaries are at present confirms the accuracy of the quotations made from the typed copies of the diaries.

pect of bringing Bodh Gaya under Buddhist control and protection. The importance of the Indian site was suggested initially to young Hēvāvitāraṇa when he read Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia* while in Japan during 1884 (Trevithick 2007, 58–59).¹⁸ The inauguration of the Maha Bodhi Society in Colombo, during May 1891, marked the formal start of Dharmapāla's efforts to restore Buddhist sites at Bodh Gaya (and, later, also elsewhere) and to unseat the Hindu monastic incumbent at Bodh Gaya. Much has been written about the Maha Bodhi Society and Dharmapāla's activities during this period.¹⁹ How did Hikkaḍuvē respond to Dharmapāla, and to the highly public urgency with which Dharmapāla sought to involve lay and monastic Lankans in his personal, and somewhat idiosyncratic, work on behalf of the *śāsana*? Hikkaḍuvē had to proceed carefully with Dharmapāla, son of his chief patrons and a young man to whom he was responsible through long-established ties of instruction and advisement. Hikkaḍuvē's strategy was one of containment and strategic engagement. Where Dharmapāla's aims overlapped with Hikkaḍuvē's own interests, the latter worked with Dharmapāla and his associates, at least experimentally. When Dharmapāla's excitements endangered his monastic teacher's own plans, Hikkaḍuvē distanced himself while, always, avoiding irretrievable rupture with the younger man and his family.

As we discovered in chapter 1, and shall see much more fully in chapter 5, Hikkaḍuvē's responses to the problems and challenges of nineteenth-century Lankan Buddhism often involved recourse to patrons and Buddhist authorities outside the island. Hikkaḍuvē found it natural to attempt to strengthen the *Buddha-śāsana* in Laṅkā by drawing material support, monastic guidance, and the public signs of elite (typically royal) patronage toward the island from other parts of Asia. Both Olcott and Dharmapāla were initially promising allies in such efforts. The Theosophical Society and the later Maha Bodhi Society were explicitly oriented toward the wider Buddhist Asian world and, indeed, even Europe and America. Concerned about the fall of Burma to British control in the 1880s, Lankan Buddhist leaders

18. Arnold, in close contact with Vāligamē Sumaṅgala, had visited Laṅkā during 1886, where he met Hikkaḍuvē, among other leading monks (Trevithick 2007, 62). Like Olcott, Arnold was valued in part for his cultural capital as a "nonnative" fan of Buddhism. Dharmapāla remarked to an unnamed monastic correspondent (probably Vāligamē), in 1890, "Europeans and Americans who up till now had no confidence [in Buddhism] now have that confidence" (14 January 1890, SLNA 5/16/23/28).

19. See, for instance, Sugataḍāsa (1986), Ratnatunga (1991), Kinnard (1998), and Trevithick (2007).

intensified their communication with Siam.²⁰ They also began to consider more seriously whether Japanese Buddhists, and the Japanese royal family, might support Lankan Buddhism.²¹ Vaskaḍuvē, for instance, composed a long letter on the history of Lankan Buddhism, its relics and pilgrimage sites, and textual authorities to the Japanese emperor, via the minister of state (SLNA 5/63/17/24).²² Minimally, leading Buddhists from Laṅkā hoped for reassuring contact with independent Asian Buddhists at a time when the independence of Buddhist Asia²³ seemed to be contracting under the combined weight of British and French imperialism. Hikkaḍuvē prepared a letter of introduction for Olcott to use in his 1884 travels to Japan, signed by himself and other close monastic associates (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:151). Importantly, two Lankan Buddhist monastic orders sent separate notes to Japan, presumably in search of patronage for both Siyam and Amarapura Nikāyas (Olcott 1975 [1910], 110).

Colombo-based Buddhist theosophists also noted the economic and military power of Japan, China, and Korea, planning to seek support from “northern” Buddhist territories (K.P.B.S.V. 1890, 53). In this wider context, travels by Dharmapāla for the Theosophical Society and, later, the Maha Bodhi Society seemed initially a promising means by which Hikkaḍuvē and his lay and monastic associates in Laṅkā could continue their search for support from other Buddhist countries and their efforts to communicate the worrying weakness of Buddhism on the island. However, Dharmapāla’s impetuosity, and his consistent inability to recognize the diplomatic minefield of imperialism that encompassed all the Asian Buddhist countries, made him less useful to Hikkaḍuvē than the latter might have liked.

20. See, for instance, the rich correspondence of Vaskaḍuvē Subhuti with the Bangkok court, including a letter to Bhanurangsi, 23 November 1885, SLNA 5/63/17/5.

21. In the Hēvāvitāraṇa family, Japan was of interest for other reasons as well. “Col. Olcott went to see my parents. My father spoke about opening business communication with Japan” (*Diary*, 30 June 1889). Don Karolis Hēvāvitāraṇa later sent Lankan Buddhists to Japan in order to learn about Japanese industrial methods. The firm’s business had grown to include Australia and South Africa (Wright 1907, 478). Shortly after Olcott’s return from Japan, the son of a Japanese “Senate Minister” and a businessman reached Laṅkā on a multicountry tour to investigate agriculture (*Śarasavi Saṅdarāsa*, 6 and 8 August 1889).

22. This letter is dated only “March,” with no year indicated. Its contents suggest that it was composed between 1882 and 1889. Other letters indicate a flow of gifts and letters between Vaskaḍuvē and Tokyo after 1886 (SLNA 5/63/17/88–91).

23. For important work on Japanese Buddhist orientations to South and Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century, see Jaffe (n.d. and 2004).

Bodh Gaya

Hikkaḍuvē had helped introduce Dharmapāla to Bengali families in Calcutta with whom he had contacts through Vidyodaya's Sanskrit studies (Ratnatunga 1991, 145; Sugatadāsa 1986, 45). When Dharmapāla returned to Colombo, determined to undertake an Asia-wide campaign in support of his aims for Bodh Gaya, the Maha Bodhi Society was founded on Vidyodaya's premises in May 1891 and Hikkaḍuvē became president of the society (Ratnatunga 1991, 7, 145).²⁴ Hikkaḍuvē was the first speaker during the founding meeting of the society (*Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa*, 2 June 1891), during which Heyiyantuḍuvē also addressed the gathered company (Sugatadāsa 1986, 46). Olcott was made director of the Maha Bodhi Society, while Dharmapāla was to serve as general secretary (Trevithick 2007, 81). The society delegated to Vāligamē the task of informing Edwin Arnold about the society's formation and seeking his support (Guruge 1984, xxxix). The Maha Bodhi Society was to "make known to all nations the sublime teachings of the Arya Dharma of Buddha Sakya Muni, and to rescue, restore and re-establish as the religious centre of this movement, the holy place of Buddha Gaya, where our Lord attained Supreme Wisdom" (quoted in Trevithick 2007, 82).²⁵ Central to Dharmapāla's aims was a takeover of Maha Bodhi Temple control, from the Mahant (abbot), leader of the Bodh Gaya line of Giri monastics (Trevithick 2007, 20, 23). As Trevithick has observed, "Arnold, and Dharmapāla initially, anticipated facing few obstacles in their project to recover the temple. . . . Neither Arnold nor Dharmapāla understood the extent to which the temple was embedded in a system of longstanding local and regional relationships, at a concrete social level, and neither did they appreciate the extent to which the Buddha, and Buddhism itself, were encompassed, culturally and ideologically, by Hindu practices and ideas" (Trevithick 2007, 70).

One of Dharmapāla's first steps was to bring Buddhist monks from Lankā to Bodh Gaya as Buddhist "missionaries" to India. They were also intended to establish a noticeable physical presence of resident Buddhists at the site, which had long seen pilgrim visits and embassies from Southeast Asia (Leoshko 1988).²⁶ Given Dharmapāla's family ties to Hikkaḍuvē and

24. On a possible Japanese influence on the decision to establish the Maha Bodhi Society, see Jaffe (n.d., 15–16).

25. On the Maha Bodhi Society and Dharmapāla's "missionary" work, see also Kemper (2005).

26. Prior to Dharmapāla's activities, there seems to have been no Hindu-Buddhist conflict at Bodh Gaya. Indeed, in April 1878, at the completion of a phase of Burmese restoration work on the Maha Bodhi Temple, two Burmese monks were left behind, *in the Mahant's residence* (Trevithick 2007, 39). See also Kinnard (1998, 2003).

Vidyodaya, it was natural for him to seek monks through Hikkaḍuvē.²⁷ As late as July 1891, Dharmapāla reported Hikkaḍuvē's hesitance (Trevithick 2007, 82). According to Ratnatunga (1991, 145–46), the first Lankan Buddhist monks who accompanied Dharmapāla back to Bodh Gaya were from Vidyodaya (Ratnatunga 1991, 145–46). However, Dharmapāla's diary recounts a different story; if they were Vidyodaya students they left without the principal's permission:

Went to see the H. Priest [Hikkaḍuvē] and impressed upon him the importance of sending priests before Asal Full Moon day. He said that he would confer with Pandit Batuwantudave on the point. In the evening it was decided to send 4 priests. (*Diary*, 2 July 1891)

Went to see H. Priest . . . [who] is still shilly shallowing about sending priests to B. Gaya. I am anxious that he will not be able to give any priests. . . . If High Priest fails to send his pupils in this glorious mission the alternative would be to take other priests. The Ramanna Nikaya priests are willing to go. Decided in the night to go and see them. (3 July 1891)²⁸

Reached Cbo in the evening and went to meet the High Priest. He could give me no priests to go to Buddha Gaya. What a disappointment it would have been had I not made the previous arrangements to take the R. priests? (8 July 1891)

Hikkaḍuvē had immediate cause to hesitate, since his own Japanese student Kozen Guṇaratana²⁹ had found the Indian conditions quite impossible. As Dharmapāla had recorded in his diary,

The priest [Kozen] was today in a state of awful anxiety and told me that he must have to make confession with another Bhikshu. . . . So it was decided to send a telegram to the H.P. (*Diary*, 21 February 1891)

27. "Went in the evening with my father to see the H. Priest [Hikkaḍuvē] to arrange matters about the Buddha Gaya Mission" (*Diary*, 18 May 1891).

28. The Ramañña Nikāya monks who accompanied Dharmapāla to Bodh Gaya in July 1891 were Duṇuvila Candajoti, Mātālē Sumaṅgala, Gāllē Sudassana, and Anurādhapurē Pēmānanda (Sugatadāsa 1986, 46; *Diary*, 11 July 1891).

29. See Jaffe (n.d. and 2004, 84–92). Kozen's chief lay supporter in Laikā was E. R. Guṇaratna, hence the name (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:213). Information on other Japanese students' arrival on the island is mentioned in *Sarasavi Saṅḍarāsa* (29 October 1886, 12 January 1894, 24 December 1895, 15 July 1898, 9 May 1899). See also Olcott (1904, 162) and *JMBS* 6, no. 6 (1897): 50.

The Jap. Priest has written home for all the occult books. . . . He tried by occult means to see whether any priest is coming here from Ceylon and he sees three priests coming now on the voyage. (3 March 1891)

The priest is in a state of constant anxiety without a companion Bhikkhu. It was decided to remit 60 to the H. Priest asking him to send Si-lananda Priest. (7 March 1891)

The Priest is sorely afflicted at the silent attitude of the High Priest. (12 March 1891)

Eventually Kozen took flight to Colombo while Dharmapāla was traveling in Burma, which must have made a lasting impression on Hikkaḍuvē (15 May 1891).

After Dharmapāla's return to India in 1891, relations between the Lankans, the Giri monastics at Bodh Gaya, and the government in Bengal deteriorated fairly steadily (Trevithick 2007, 88–102). From February 1895, after an abortive attempt by Dharmapāla to introduce into the Maha Bodhi Temple a Buddha image given by Kozen Guṇaratana's family in Japan, against the wishes of the Giri abbot, a series of legal battles ensued in Bengal over rights of devotional access and ownership at Bodh Gaya. Dharmapāla's key supporters in Lankā were against legal action, and even Olcott initially favored negotiations with the abbot over recourse to law. Concern in Colombo reached such a high level that, according to Dharmapāla himself, "the Ceylon people have telegraphed to the Colonel to go to Gya [*sic*] and reconcile the case" (quoted in Trevithick 2007, 107). Hikkaḍuvē was so strongly set against legal proceedings that he telegraphed the government of India requesting the viceroy's assistance in facilitating negotiations. However, the case went forward at Dharmapāla's behest, under authorization from Olcott (who appears to have held the purse strings for the society at the time) (Trevithick 2007, 107). Despite Dharmapāla's disappointment at law, after appeals running into 1896,³⁰ he continued agitation related to Bodh Gaya for many years, though his reputation in India had suffered. In addition to his efforts related to the Bodh Gaya site in particular, Dharmapāla also pursued a wider project to expand the number of Indians prepared to embrace Bud-

30. According to Trevithick, "In short, Dharmapāla had not only lost badly in the criminal proceedings, he had strengthened the general impression that the Mahant was the actual owner of the temple and its grounds" (2007, 133). The government in India found the matter trying (Trevithick 2007, 162 n. 3).

dhism and study Buddhist teachings. He was unduly optimistic, perhaps partly mistaking Indian scholarly interest in Pali and Sanskrit studies for an inclination toward the *śāsana* itself. In the early 1890s, Dharmapāla wrote excitedly about the potential for Indian conversions to Buddhism:

Now is the time to develop Indian Buddhism. If our foremost [Lankan] monastic elders made an effort in this regard much can be accomplished. The good people learned in English show a great love for Buddhism. (Dharmapāla to an unnamed monastic recipient, 21 October 1891, from Calcutta, SLNA 5/63/23/30)³¹

There are indeed a host of signs that the time has come now to re-establish the Indian *śāsana*. (Dharmapāla to an unnamed monastic recipient,³² 11 December 1891, from Colombo, SLNA 5/63/23/31)³³

Dharmapāla's aims to spread the Lankan monastic community, and the Buddhist teachings, to the South Asian mainland might seem at first blush congruent with Hikkaḍuvē's own interests in education and Hikkaḍuvē's pre-occupations with the state of the *śāsana* in Asia. However, letters written by Dharmapāla make evident that he found little succor from Hikkaḍuvē. Consistently, beginning as early as 1891, Vāligamē—not Hikkaḍuvē—was Dharmapāla's primary contact and supporter among the high-ranking Lankan monks.³⁴ Dharmapāla turned to Vāligamē, an Amarapura Nikāya monk with whom Hikkaḍuvē had been involved in both caste disputes and

31. "daṁbadiya buddhāgama vardhanaya kirīmaṭa dān kālayayi. mē gāna apē pradhāna sthavīrayan vahansēlā utsahā kalot rāsiyak vāḍavē. imgrīsi ugat āryayō buddhāgama kerehi pre-mayak penvayi." The term "āryayō" is ambiguous, perhaps reflecting racialized discourse of the time.

32. This was probably Vāligamē, given references to Edwin Arnold in the letter.

33. "daṁbadiya śāsanaya nāvatat pratiṣṭhāpanaya karanṭa dān kālaya samprāpta vī tibena bava[ṭa] lakuṇu rāsiyak tibē."

34. However, monks who traveled with Dharmapāla to the South Asian mainland kept in touch with Hikkaḍuvē, who was their superior and adviser. Their letters suggest that traveling to India under these circumstances could be something of a hardship posting. B. Sirisumedhankāra wrote to Hikkaḍuvē in 1903 complaining of difficulties since Dharmapāla's efforts had not resulted in sufficient funds, even with some support from the Hēvāvitāraṇa family: "I've become terribly exhausted; although exerting [myself] with respect to this work, this degree of affliction makes it impossible to do anything" (mama itā duk mahansi geṇa mē vāḍē karavagēna giya mut mē taram hirahāra lābīmen vāḍē karavanṭa bāhā) (in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:664–65). But Suriyagoda Sumaṅgala, writing from Benares, found a measure of excitement: "Just now here there is an extremely important Mahārāja, inclined toward Buddhism, expected to become a devotee of Buddhism" (dānaṭa mehi itā vādagat mahārāja kenek buddhāgamata hitātiya buddhāgama vālandagannā balāporottuven siṭiyi) (in Prajñānanda 1947, 2: 675).

anti-Christian alliances, even on matters intended to involve the Siyam Nikāya leadership:³⁵

The learned pandits of Bengal have faith in Buddhism. The most successful men of Calcutta want to study Buddhism. . . . This is difficult without monks. If the literati were to make an invitation would it be possible for your reverence to come here? . . . It's a pity being [here] and not providing the gift of Buddhist teachings to people who want to study the teachings. . . . It would be necessary for the entire monastic community to cooperate in this work. May Your Reverence and the leading monks of the other orders gather at the Malvatu Vihāraya in Kandy, and discuss with the supreme chief priests of the Siyam Nikāya about developing the Indian *śāsana*. (Dharmapāla to Vāligamē, 16 March 1892, from Calcutta, SLNA 5/63/23/34)³⁶

Disappointed at the support he was receiving from Laṅkā for his activities, Dharmapāla wrote to one of his monastic correspondents (probably Vāligamē, given the context), asking the recipient to discuss the matter with Hikkaḍuvē and other chief monks: "I'd like you to see Lord Sipkaḍuvē [Hikkaḍuvē] Nāyaka, discuss this, and convene an important lay and monastic gathering" (Dharmapāla to an unnamed monastic recipient, 30 September 1892, from Calcutta, SLNA 5/63/23/35). All this was to no avail, as we see from reports in *Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa* several years later. The newspaper discussed the insufficient interest shown by the Lankan monastic community in Dharmapāla's Bodh Gaya activities, a matter on which Dharmapāla apparently spoke publicly (*Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa*, 11 and 18 September 1894). In December 1895, Hikkaḍuvē was to lead a group of Lankans to Bodh Gaya. The trip was canceled on short notice after the preparations had been made (*Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa*, 24 December 1895).³⁷ The timing of the cancelation suggests Hikkaḍuvē's wish to distance himself from Dharmapāla's worsen-

35. On this point, generally, see Dharmapāla's diary entries, as well as correspondence held in SLNA 5/63/23. Guruge also notes Vāligamē's central importance to Dharmapāla, and a gradual shift in the former's allegiance from Olcott to Dharmapāla (1984, xxxvii, 356).

36. "ugat paṇḍita vaṃga raṭavasīhu buddhāgama kerehi śrādhāvaka tibē. kalkatā nuvara prādhāna samatthi mahatun buddhāgama igeṇa gānīmaṭa kāmātiya siṭiti. . . . saṅghayā nātuva mē kirīma amāruyi. paṇḍita janayā visin ārādhāna kaḷot obavahansēṭa mehi vāḍiya hākida. . . . dharmaya igeṇa gānīmaṭa āśāven siṭina ayaṭa dharmadānaya nodi siṭima kanagātuvaki. . . . siyalu saṅghayā mē vādēṭa sambandhavīma onā karayi. mahanuvara puṣpārāma viḥārayehi obavansē saha anik nikāya valaṭa prādhāna saṅghayāda rāsva siyam nikāyika mahanāyaka sthavīryan vahansēlā samaga sākačchā koṭa daṃbadiva śāsanaya vardhanaya gāna kriyā karanumānavi."

37. See also Dharmapāla's diary entries for 28 October 1895 and 5 November 1895.

ing fate in courts and increasing tensions with the Bengal government. Hikkaḍuvē had reason to tread carefully. During this period, Hikkaḍuvē was (as we shall see shortly) attempting to address growing tensions between the government in Laṅkā and *local* Buddhists (including Lankans associated with the Maha Bodhi Society) while also developing a rather delicate courtship of the royal family in Bangkok. This was not the time to alienate colonial administrators in the region, or the king of Siam, who, as Dharmapāla had remarked as early as 1892, had refused to reply to young Hēvāvitāraṇa's frequent written entreaties to him on the Indian activities (Dharmapāla to an unnamed monastic recipient, 30 September 1892, from Calcutta, SLNA 5/63/23/35).³⁸ Dharmapāla's diary entries contain many references to his disappointments with Bangkok. The king of Siam, and the Siamese Foreign Office, preferred to keep a distance from Hēvāvitāraṇa's activities. Although Dewavongsa, the Siamese minister for foreign affairs, offered courteous congratulations to Dharmapāla upon the establishment of the Maha Bodhi Society (*JMBS* 1 [1892]: 6), connections to the court did not bear financial fruit and showed signs of Siam's careful relations to Britain (on which see further chap. 5). According to an interview with Prince Damrong reproduced in the *Journal of the Maha Bodhi Society*,

"Mr. Dharmapala," the Prince said, "Buddhism is not brick and mortar; you may spend a lac of rupees in buying up the sacred temple, but before you do that, you ought to prepare the way for the dissemination of the moral truths of Buddhism. Later on, you may direct your attention to the Temple. . . . By all means, carry on your good work, and try to work in harmony with the Hindus. Concentrate your efforts on the diffusion of knowledge, for that constitutes Buddhism. The British Government is taking care of the temple, and it could not be in better hands. I have watched with interest your movement and no better work could be done. I saw the High Priest Sumangala in Ceylon, and I may say that I have hardly met so good a Priest." (*JMBS* 2, no. 16 [1892]: 1)

As the years passed, Dharmapāla continued his efforts, unwilling to give up his dreams for Bodh Gaya's reclamation and for the future of an Indian *śāsana*. However, it is clear that, despite the funds available to Hikkaḍuvē

38. By 1895, despite Dewavongsa's promise of a monthly contribution to the society from the Bangkok royal treasury, no funds had arrived from Siam (*JMBS* 3, no. 12 [1895]: 1). Dharmapāla's letter to the *Journal* on the occasion of the society's seventh anniversary, indicated Siam's potential to help, and her failure to do so (*JMBS* 7, no. 1 [1898]: 6).

through Vidyodaya and the lucrative site at Adam's Peak, they were used little, if at all, to support the schemes of his erstwhile student. Monastic leaders at Vidyodaya also remained cautious about sending manpower to India: "It's not possible for a single person to give this *dharma* gift [publishing the Pali *Majjhima Nikāya* in *devanagari* script] alone. Two higher ordained monks are needed for this—it's difficult to get even one monk knowledgeable in Pali Buddhist teachings and able to read *devanagari* letters. I informed the Pradhāna Nāyaka senior monk who is the incumbent at Vidyodaya Piriveṇa. He said it's not possible to accede to our request. There isn't anyone else to speak to" (Dharmapāla to an unnamed monastic recipient, from Colombo, 2 April 1911, SLNA 5/63/23/46).³⁹ Dharmapāla's diary entries make no mention of financial support from Hikkaḍuvē or Vidyodaya Piriveṇa,⁴⁰ although they contain repeated references to appeals made to the Hēvāvītaraṇa family for money. The family appears to have responded cautiously; Dharmapāla was kept from ruin—often with money wired at the eleventh hour—but his grandest schemes always proceeded precariously.⁴¹ Prefatory statements to early twentieth-century issues of the *Maha Bodhi*

39. "mē dharmadānaya dīmaṭa tani kenekuṭa nohākiyi. bhikṣun denamak mīṭa ṇā—devanāgara akuru kiyavaṇṭa samatthi pāli dharmaya ugat eka bhikṣun namak labā gāṇīma duṣkaraṇi. vidyodaya pirivenādhīpati prādhāna nāyaka sthavīrapādayan vahansēṭa dānuvemi. apē yāc-nāva iṣṭa karaṇṭa nohāki bava vadālēya. vena kiyanta kenek nāta."

40. Despite Hikkaḍuvē's cautious response to Indian schemes, Dharmapāla seems to have retained considerable affection for his former teacher. He wished to live at Vidyodaya to study Pali (*Diary*, 2 November 1897), worried about Hikkaḍuvē's health and overwork (7 and 16 November 1897), and wanted his teacher to ordain him as a monk at Bodh Gaya (8 February 1899). Dharmapāla is often used as evidence for the laicization of Lankan Buddhism, but he had, himself, a long-term fascination with, and affection for, the monastic life. Wishing to be ordained for many years, he was discouraged by Lankan monks and ordained only very late in life (1933), in India, with support of the principals of Vidyodaya and Vidyālaṅkāra Piriveṇas and their lay supporters (Guruge 1967, 269).

41. Dharmapāla's schemes were sometimes bold and chaotic: "I sent a letter to my father that I wish to build a Buddhist temple like the ancient Brazen Palace at Anuradhapura where 1000 Bhikshus could be educated and have them trained as missionaries to be sent abroad; that I wish to revive the Bhikshuni order [of Buddhist nuns, extinct in Laṅkā since at least the twelfth century]; that I wish to build a Temple in America" (*Diary*, 14 July 1897). "I think it would be well to write to Saligram Babu about the proposed Training College [in India] . . . and to make Pali the national language [of India]" (15 December 1897). Dharmapāla's own relations were sometimes evidently alarmed: "My dear father thinks I had better study Pali and not do any other work. He got for me a Jinricksha" (1 December 1897). Some of the Americans took a more generous view: "He seems to be a man of enthusiasms, and it does one good to talk to such persons, even if their hopes do not always appear practicable. I think that besides the satisfaction that Mr. Dharmapāla gets from his efforts to do good and to help the cause of Buddhism, he also enjoys traveling and seeing new people, and new ways of doing things, and new countries" (Henry Clark Warren to Vaskaḍuvē Subhuti, 6 May 1897, SLNA 5/63/17/284). See also Paul Carus to Vaskaḍuvē Subhuti (26 September 1896, SLNA 5/63/17/294).

Journal indicate that the journal was operating at a loss, its subscribers failing to pay their dues (*JMBS* 12 [1904]: 11–12, inset; 13 [1905]: 11–12, inset; 17, no. 9 [1909]: 231 and inset; 17 [1909]: 10). For example:

May we request earnestly our subscribers to remit their dues to the Journal for the several years they are in arrears. . . . The Anagarika Dharmapala is making every kind of sacrifice to maintain it, and his individual efforts are insufficient to make the Journal a success. . . . We may be permitted to say that unless the Buddhists of Japan, Siam, and Burmah come forward to support the Journal it would be beyond the power of the Sinhalese Buddhists alone to increase its usefulness. (*JMBS* 17 [1909], no. 9:231)

We receive very little encouragement from our Buddhist brothers. Neither from Siam, Japan nor Burma have we received any kind of material help. (*JMBS* 15 [1907], nos. 1–3: 1)

Despite exaggeration born of discouragement, this was a sign of Dharmapāla's failure to connect consistently with his audience in Southeast Asia, as well as with important patrons in Laṅkā.⁴²

Anuradhapura

Although Hikkaḍuvē maintained a noticeable distance from the activities of the Maha Bodhi Society that developed under Dharmapāla's leadership in India and other parts of Asia, he was much more closely involved with the society's activities in Laṅkā.⁴³ On matters related to the protection of Buddhist sites at Anuradhapura, in the North Central Province, and Buddhist pilgrims' access to them, for instance, Hikkaḍuvē had extended deal-

42. On late nineteenth-century Japanese interest in Bodhi Gaya and its possible purchase, see Jaffe (n.d., 11–16). Dharmapāla's invented status for himself as a semiascetic homeless wanderer designated by the term "Anagarika" seems not to have been wholly convincing to the monks at Vidyodaya. At a ritual meal prepared by the Hēvāvitāraṇas for Hikkaḍuvē, Heyiyantuḍuvē, Mahagoḍē, and the Siamese monk Jinavaravaṃsa (on whom see chap. 5), "the point of using the word Anagarika was raised by the Prince [Jinavaravaṃsa] and the priests did not give a decided reply to it" (*Diary*, 11 December 1897). It was an awkward question for the Vidyodaya monks, given the patronage status of their hosts. This was not the first time the matter had arisen. "[Jinavaravaṃsa] has also a desire to rebuild Anuradhapura. . . . He is rather reticent to work with me as I am an Anagarika; some of the Bhikshus having expressed their opinion that I should not use that name" (*Diary*, 5 November 1897).

43. In a letter from 1893, Hikkaḍuvē excuses his late reply with reference to heavy work for the society (Hikkaḍuvē to an unnamed monastic recipient, 30 July 1893, SJVP, 39–41).

ings with the society as well as with the government. Dharmapāla appears to have given these local society activities some inspiration and direction, though he was not always central to the society's local work, given his frequent absences from the island.

The Buddhist sites at Anuradhapura were potent spaces, conducive to social emotion and attachment. As government agent R. W. Ievers remarked to Governor Gordon while making plans for the celebration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, "[Leading Lankans representative of the government at the local level] say that for all purposes of festival the people [of the North Central Province] look to 'the Mahavihare'—for so they call Anuradhapura—as the place and a great celebration here would do more to impress the people, and give them a date from which to reckon, than a meeting at a RM's [Ratemahataya's] or a Korala's village" (Ievers to Gordon, 28 April 1887, Stanmore Papers 49208).⁴⁴ Even before the railway reached Anuradhapura in 1904, the ancient Buddhist sites remaining from an early royal and ritual center attracted local pilgrims from afar.⁴⁵ Moreover, in the early part of the nineteenth century there were disputes about monastic appointments and temple management at Anuradhapura (Nissan 1985, esp. 133–212), which clearly indicated the significance of the ancient capital to Buddhists elsewhere on the island.⁴⁶ Lankan interest in and access to these sites were enhanced by the preservation and restoration work initiated earlier in the nineteenth century, with support from Governors Robinson and Gregory (Nissan 1985; Blackburn n.d.). There was an unstable relationship between private local and government-sponsored restoration and preservation activities in Anuradhapura during the 1870s and 1880s, with moments of cooperation and some of tension (Nissan 1985, 256–60; Blackburn n.d.). Hikkaḍuvē was caught up in some of this tension when the government agent Ievers sought to tunnel into the center of the Abhayagiri relic monument—a celebrated site—in order to see if the reliquary contained texts. The texts, if found, were to be temporarily removed and copied (Nissan 1985, 259–60). "Formal protest against this project was lodged in Colombo by Hikkaduve Sumangala, a leading low country monk . . . and the Colonial Secretary ordered the G.A. [Ievers] to stop the Abhayagiri excavation" (260) in June 1888. Eventually, even after complaints and involvement from many monastic quarters, including Kandy and Anuradhapura (Hippola to Hikkaḍuvē,

44. That is, the village of a local government appointee.

45. See North-Central Province Administration reports for 1898, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1909, and 1910–11, for a discussion of pilgrimage and an estimate of pilgrim numbers. With the railway came more pilgrims, and also a more diffuse pilgrimage calendar.

46. I have benefited from discussions with Jonathan Young on this point. See Young (2008).

14 November 1888, in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:644–45; Nissan 1985, 260), the excavation resumed.

In the late 1890s, danger grew that tension would vastly outweigh cooperation between the government and Lankan Buddhists on matters related to Buddhist sites and monuments.⁴⁷ H. C. P. Bell's appointment as director of the new Archaeological Survey (Nissan 1985, 263; Bell and Bell 1993) brought to Anuradhapura in 1890 someone strikingly capable of giving offense to local Buddhists. Just shortly thereafter, Dharmapāla's Maha Bodhi Society began to provide a better-organized and more public platform for Lankan involvement in matters related to archaeology, preservation, and the management of spaces historically associated with Buddhist practice. Even the government agent Ievers worriedly noted the unfavorable conjunction in his diary. "Mr Bell's policy seems almost to be to see how much offence he can possibly give the Buddhist public—this has little consequence locally, but when the Sinhalese come here on pilgrimage in May there will be a ferment of indignation sent broadcast over the island" (15 March 1894, quoted in Nissan [1985, 263]). Some Lankan Buddhists became concerned about Bell's misuse of materials removed from excavated Buddhist sites, and the possibility that important finds might be secretly managed or removed by the government (Nissan 1985, 263). The problems were not, however, only on account of Mr. Bell. The presence of more than one religious group in the area, especially in the growing town of Anuradhapura, sometimes created provocations. In 1894, when plans were afoot to erect an Anglican church near two important Buddhist sites at Anuradhapura, some leading Lankan Buddhists became alarmed. Hikkaḍuvē's rank, and the esteem in which he was held by the government and some members of the white elite, made him an attractive intermediary. J. Munasinha, secretary for the Bodhi Ārakṣā Sabhāva (Association for the Protection of the Bodhi [tree at Anuradhapura]), here in alliance with the Maha Bodhi Society's aims, sought Hikkaḍuvē's assistance with the bishop of Colombo (in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:655).

The *Journal of the Maha Bodhi Society* reported to its subscribers about the consultations:

At the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, H. Sumangala, Buddhist High Priest, accompanied by Messrs. Dullewe Adigar, Eknelligodde Dissawe,

47. Prothero rightly notes connections between the work of the Maha Bodhi Society and earlier Lankan interest in the restoration of Buddhist sites. "Dharmapāla's strategy thus represented not only a return to the earlier site-oriented strategy . . . but also an attempt to wrest the restoration initiative from British archaeologists" (1996, 160).

L. C. Wijesinghe, Mudaliar, Dionysius Goonewardne, Mudaliyar, and J. Moonesinghe, Proctor, leading Buddhists, met by appointment His Lordship, the Bishop of Colombo, with whom was the Rev. Mr. Coles, to confer on a matter of religious importance. The subject of the interview was the proposed erection of a church by the Bishop near the sacred Bo-tree and Ruanweli Dagoba at Anuradhapura, which the Buddhists consider would prove a source of hindrance to many thousands of pilgrims who annually flock to the ancient capital, and who use this plot of ground as their camping place. Mr L. C. Wijesinghe acted as spokesman of the Buddhist party, and, being called upon by the Bishop to state the object of the interview, briefly laid before His Lordship the objections raised by the Buddhists to the erection of a church on the site in question, and asked him as a matter of favour and religious courtesy, to abandon the idea of having a church on the spot, and to select a site elsewhere, the Government undertaking to make the necessary grant. The High Priest and Dullewe Adigar also spoke a few words, explaining that it was not that the Buddhists could not bear the sight of a church on the spot, but that it would prove inconvenient for both parties. His Lordship then said that he was very glad that the Buddhists had explained their grievance in such a friendly way, and he readily consented to waive his right to the piece of land and to select one elsewhere for the church. The High Priest then thanked His Lordship for the liberal spirit in which he had responded to the requests of the Buddhists, and the meeting broke up at 6.15 p.m. (*JMBS* 3, no. 6 [1894]: 44)

Although the matter was brought to a satisfactory conclusion, with an alternate site accepted by the church, tension resurfaced little more than a decade later (Nissan 1985, 277). In 1899, Vālasinha Harischandra, secretary of the Maha Bodhi Society in Laṅkā, formed an Anuradhapura branch of the society and began to work intensively on Buddhist projects in the district. Harischandra helped to catalyze a period of more polemical, and sometimes violent, competition for control over sites at Anuradhapura.⁴⁸ As Elizabeth Nissan has observed:

Until 1899, when Harischandra came to Anuradhapura, protest focused on Anuradhapura was sporadic and concerned specific projects at specific sites in the town. The protestors themselves were an elite lobby of Buddhist revivalists in Colombo. After Harischandra came to Anura-

48. See Harischandra (1985 [1908]).

dhapura in 1899, however, protest became more organized locally, whilst maintaining important links with revivalists in Colombo. Harischandra introduced a more radical Buddhist voice into Anuradhapura, switching the focus of objection from specific sites to the condition of the town as a whole. (Nissan 1985, 264)

At its most extreme, Harischandra claimed that all land in Anuradhapura and within a circle of forty eight miles was for Buddhists only, and that no other religions, not any practice contrary to Buddhism, could be tolerated in this area. (267)

Although Hikkaḍuvē was earlier involved with activities at Anuradhapura, he—and the monastic incumbent of the primary Buddhist sites of Anuradhapura⁴⁹—distanced himself from Harischandra's most aggressive stance toward the government. Six or seven months after Harischandra formed the Anuradhapura Buddhist Defence Committee in 1902 (in Anuradhapura itself), the Colombo Buddhist Defence Committee was formed under Hikkaḍuvē's presidency in Colombo. This second committee, which included monks and laymen, including members of the Hēvāvītāraṇa family, petitioned the governor. It addressed more areas of complaint than had Harischandra's committee, but with greater moderation (Nissan 1985, 270, 277). Hikkaḍuvē's relationship to Harischandra and the Maha Bodhi Society activities in Anuradhapura seems to have ebbed and flowed. Hikkaḍuvē tended to proceed under the aegis of small committees and associations whose aims intersected—temporarily, and on behalf of clearly specified projects—with those of the Maha Bodhi Society. The need to form these smaller groups indicates that the society itself could not contain or maintain all of the local alliances related to Buddhist sites and their preservation. Among the society's allies there were ongoing disagreements about foci and strategy that intersected with other local social tensions.

However, there were signs of closer cooperation between Hikkaḍuvē and Harischandra after the Anuradhapura riot in 1903, when Buddhists in Anuradhapura town reacted violently to the accidental death of a Buddhist woman during a crowded pilgrimage season. According to Prajñānanda, Hikkaḍuvē worked behind the scenes with the government to secure the release of several people (including Harischandra) from prison after the riot at Anuradhapura, while Dharmapāla communicated independently with the government (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:125–27). Hikkaḍuvē and his associates

49. See Nissan (1985, 268) on this incumbent's eventual distance from Harischandra.

made common cause with Harischandra in protest against the construction of an Anglican church (on its alternate site) (Nissan 1985, 277–78), as well as against Bell's preservation work at Mahintale. Dharmapāla encouraged the involvement of Hikkaḍuvē and Vidyodaya (*Diary*, March and May 1905). These activities became something of a cause célèbre on the island, catching the attention of local journalists writing in Sinhala and English. A leading English paper, the *Ceylon Independent*, even vouchsafed editorial support for the Buddhist cause:

We must candidly confess that we find ourselves entirely in sympathy with the protest of the Buddhist community against the appropriation by Government of the historic Mahintale rock and its surroundings. The meeting on Sunday last at the Vidyodaya Oriental College, presided over by the High Priest Sri Sumangala, and attended by the High Priests of the leading Vihares of the Island, was unanimously of the opinion that the Government had not the shadow of a right to deprive Buddhists of what they have regarded as their own for the last two thousand two hundred years. The Mihintale Vihare Restoration Society have, we understand, already protested against the secularization of the rock, and Sunday's meeting was convened with the object of supporting that protest and strengthening the hands of the Society. . . . Mr. H. C. P. Bell, that most ardent of archaeologists is naturally apt to look at things from his own point of view, but the historic spots like Mihintale have what the Buddhists regard as sacred history associated with them, and it is this aspect which Mr. Bell in his zeal is naturally prepared to overlook. That the Buddhists mean to cling tenaciously to their rights to Mihintale is evidenced by the fact that they are prepared to take the matter before the Secretary of State and the House of Commons, in the event of their failing to obtain redress here. (*Ceylon Independent*, 8 March 1910, reproduced in *JMBS* 18, no. 5 [1910]: 478)

The meeting, which included monks from Vidyodaya as well as temples from several regions of the island, and a number of lay patrons (including members of the Hēvāvitāraṇa family), received an address from Harischandra. After the agreement to seek legal advice on the preparation of a suitable petition to the government, a managing subcommittee of monks and laymen was created composed of seventeen members, with Harischandra as secretary (*JMBS* 18, no. 5 [1910]: 477–78).

Hikkaḍuvē's attention to the management of Buddhist sites at Anurādhapura was to a degree unavoidable. The government tended to turn to him

as the primary spokesman for Buddhists on the island, perhaps conceiving of his position as Śrī Pāda Nāyaka as a Buddhist equivalent to the archbishop of Canterbury. Local Buddhists (lay and monastic) knew that the regard in which Hikkaḍuvē was held by the government made him a valuable intermediary on sensitive matters related to Buddhism on the island. Moreover, given the involvement of friends and patrons (especially the Hēvāvitāraṇas) in the local activities of the Maha Bodhi Society, and the associations and committees working on related projects, Hikkaḍuvē's participation was natural. The logic of patronage required that Hikkaḍuvē, and Vidyodaya Pirivena's meeting space, be used to support activities backed by Don Karolis and his family.

However, Hikkaḍuvē's work on problems related to Buddhist space at Anuradhapura was also driven by his own views on relics, relic monuments, pilgrimage, and the sovereignty of *śāsana*. As we see from his correspondence with high-ranking Buddhists in Southeast Asia (on which more in chap. 5), Hikkaḍuvē was one of the central Lankan nodes in a Buddhist diplomatic network, arranging the Lankan reception of elite Buddhist embassies on pilgrimage to Laṅkā and carrying out devotional offerings to Lankan Buddhist relics on behalf of royal families in Southeast Asia. Laṅkā figured on the mental map of Asian (and especially Southeast Asian) Buddhists partly because the island had participated in the import and export of monks and ordination lines for many years. Laṅkā retained her place in a regional Buddhist *imaginaire* also as an island reliquary. Sakyamuni Buddha had visited the island thrice, making the whole island in one sense his relic-of-use (*paribhoga-dhātu*). He had left behind potent sites like Adam's Peak, which bore what was considered the Buddha's footprint. Lankan relic monuments housed physical relics of the Buddha, including tooth and hair relics. With consistency and resilience, Southeast Asian Buddhists made their way to Laṅkā for pilgrimage and offerings.

Hikkaḍuvē conceived of Laṅkā both as a piece of land colonized by Britain and as a piece of land encompassed and defined by a much vaster geography. This was the geography of *śāsana*. In his eyes, British rule was inconvenient, and even dangerous, to the *Buddha-śāsana* but could not fundamentally destroy it as long as Buddhist texts, monks, relics, and potent spaces continued to exist in Laṅkā and other parts of a Buddhist world. The continued protection of Lankan relic sites and monuments, such as those at Anuradhapura, was a matter of concern, lest the politically diminished land of Laṅkā lose her claims to participate in the ritually and devotionally potent sphere of *śāsana*. Moreover, Laṅkā's relics and potent Buddhist sites drew the attention of royal patrons from Southeast Asia, who seemed to

Hikkaḍuvē the only realistic source of ultimate security for Lankan Buddhist institutions while the island remained under British, Christian rule. No wonder, then, that Hikkaḍuvē had time for Anuradhapura, as he also had time for Kandy.

Society Battles

Olcott, and the early activities of the Theosophical Society, seemed to offer another medium through which Lankan Buddhists might seek support elsewhere in Asia, knitting together more closely their fortunes and those of other Asian Buddhists. However, despite the early and important visits to Japan, Olcott was unable to deliver a substantial improvement in Asian patronage of Lankā. Siam kept her distance from Olcott, as from Dharmapāla, failing to send a Siamese representative to the 1890 “ecumenical” convention of Buddhists at Adyar near Madras (Prothero 1996, 127). And, despite representation from Ceylon, Burma, Japan, and Chittagong, the fourteen-point Buddhist Platform (approved by Hikkaḍuvē and some of his monastic colleagues on the island) prepared for that occasion failed to secure the future of an International Buddhist League (159). Part of this was due to Olcott’s diminished attention to Buddhist matters. Internal affairs within the Theosophical Society became his primary preoccupation (161–62). In addition, as Prothero and Trevithick have noted, competitive strains between Olcott and Dharmapāla developed through the 1890s and beyond. By 1899, Dharmapāla had found public fault with Olcott for abandoning the Buddhist cause (165), while Vāligamē had also lost confidence in his erstwhile ally.⁵⁰ Tensions grew between the Theosophical Society and the Maha Bodhi Society, both in Lankā and abroad (Prothero 1996, 159–65; Trevithick 2007). The Hēvāvitāraṇas were involved with both the Theosophical Society and the Maha Bodhi Society, although some of the theosophical organizations on the island developed under non-Goyigama leadership and at odds with some of the preferences of the early Colombo Buddhist Theosophical Society with which the Hēvāvitāraṇas were affiliated (Jayasekera 1970). Moreover, Hikkaḍuvē had an advisory relationship to Ananda College, founded under Theosophical Society auspices and located just a short distance from Vidyodaya Piriveṇa. He was, in short, at the local level, bound fairly tightly to both societies by the end of the nineteenth century. The increasing antag-

50. The *Theosophist* also noted rising tensions, though from the perspective of its own society and organizers (*Theosophist* 28, no. 1 [1906]: 3–4). See also Dharmapāla’s diary entries for 1893–97.

onism of Dharmapāla and Olcott for one another, and between Dharmapāla and some Lankan members of the Theosophical Society, put Hikkaḍuvē in an exceedingly awkward position, especially during the catechism crisis of 1905–6.

Despite their shared interests in Buddhist education and the use of print media to support Buddhist causes in Lankā, Hikkaḍuvē and Olcott had wrestled with problems of content from the beginning (Trainor 2009, 18–19). In addition to the differences between their Buddhisms, Olcott's universalizing tendencies and inclination to read Buddhism through Hinduism created serious difficulties for the preparation of a Buddhist catechism suitable for use in Lankā and abroad. Olcott was keen to have Hikkaḍuvē's imprimatur on Sinhala and English editions of the work.⁵¹ The first draft of Olcott's *Catechism* was finished in May 1881. He had it translated into Sinhala (by Dharmapāla; Trevithick 2007, 58) before presenting it to the monks at Vidyodaya. "My *Catechism* had been translated into Sinhalese, and on 15th May I went with it to Widyodaya College to go over the text, word by word, with the High Priest and his Assistant Principal, Hiyayentadūwe, one of his cleverest pupils and a man of learning" (Olcott 1974 [1895], 299–300). It was no small matter, as they managed only one page per hour or less for two days, before grinding to a halt on the matter of *nirvāṇa*, enlightened emancipation from suffering and rebirth. As Olcott later reported, Hikkaḍuvē pressed for substantial revision:

Knowing perfectly well the strong views entertained by the school of Southern Buddhists of which Sumangala is the type, I had drafted the reply to the question: "What is Nirvana" in such a way as to just note that there was a difference of opinion among Buddhist metaphysicians as to the survival of an abstract human entity, without leaning either towards the views of the Northern or Southern school. But the two erudite critics caught me up at the first glance at the paragraph, and the High Priest denied that there was *any* such difference of opinion among Buddhist metaphysicians. . . . He closed our discussion by saying that, if I did not alter the text, he should cancel his promise to give me a certificate that the *Catechism* was suited to the teaching of children in Buddhist schools, *and should publish his reasons therefor*. . . . I yielded to *force majeure*, and made the paragraph read, as it has ever since stood, in

51. "Sumangala ordered 100 copies for the use of the priest and pupils; it became a textbook in the schools. . . . This, of course, thanks to Sumangala's Certificate of orthodoxy, appended to the text of the work" (Olcott 1974 [1895], 302).

the many editions through which the *Catechism* has since passed. (300–301; emphasis added)⁵²

Although Hikkaḍuvē approved the first edition during the early days of closest collaboration with Olcott, his reservations must have been considerable, since he promptly offered assistance to two other “catechetical” texts intended for a similar audience.⁵³ Hikkaḍuvē assisted Mohoṭṭivattē with the preparation of *Bauddha Praśnaya* (*Buddhist Questions*) (Prajñānanda 1947, 2:844–45).⁵⁴ The first part of *Bauddha Praśnaya* was published in 1887, with a preface claiming the need to reassert Buddhist truths in the face of false teachings introduced by foreign sympathizers (Malalgoda 1976, 252). *Bauddha Praśnaya* “portrayed the Buddha as an object of devotion” (Trainor 2007, 23).⁵⁵ Charles Leadbeater’s *Bauddha Śikṣabodhaya* (*Buddhist Elucidation of Training*) was published by the Buddhist Theosophical Society (closely connected to Vidyodaya at the time) in 1889, with an English version published in 1902 as *The Smaller Buddhist Catechism*, under Hikkaḍuvē’s approval. The Sinhala edition was revised by Hikkaḍuvē and Heyiyantuḍuvē, and the English translation assisted in by Mahagoḍē Ñānissara, who was then vice-principal of Vidyodaya (Leadbeater 1902, iii). As Kevin Trainor notes, the preface indicated that Leadbeater’s work was envisaged as an entry-level text for children, to be used *before* Olcott’s own *Buddhist Catechism* (Trainor 2009, 20).⁵⁶

It was, effectively, a strategy of encompassment to mitigate some of the most uncomfortable features of Olcott’s approach to a Buddhist didactic compendium. The tone of Leadbeater’s text was much closer to Hikkaḍuvē’s Buddhism than to Olcott’s.⁵⁷ Leadbeater’s *Bauddha Śikṣabodhaya* im-

52. See also Trainor (2009, 15–19).

53. In a valuable article, Trainor has suggested that Hikkaḍuvē’s views might be seen in the middle of “a graduated spectrum of Buddhist ideals and practices,” framed at the poles by Olcott’s *Buddhist Catechism* and Mohoṭṭivattē’s *Bauddha Ādahilla* (Trainor 2009, 24). As this chapter indicates, however, I think it is most accurate to see Hikkaḍuvē much closer to the world of Mohoṭṭivattē but prepared to support Olcott initially for the reasons outlined in this chapter.

54. A preface written by Mohoṭṭivattē mentions Hikkaḍuvē’s assistance during the Panadura Vādaya and in the preparation of *Bauddha Praśnaya*. Mohoṭṭivattē states that the book is intended to counter Buddhism’s dilution in the context of “western” development (Gūṇānanda 1912, vi–ii).

55. See also Anderson (2003, 179–86) on Mohoṭṭivattē’s *Buddha Ādahilla* (1889) and its emphasis on practice and ritual.

56. See also Leadbeater (1902, iii).

57. See also Trainor (2009, 20–22). Trainor notes, “Whether this more devotional tone reflects Leadbeater’s own attitudes, perhaps shaped by Christian devotional language and liturgical practice, or the views of the Sri Lankan monks who must have guided his choice of material, it is impossible for me to judge.”

mediately placed Sakyamuni Buddha's life into an extended biography of bodhisattva rebirth, ignored altogether the "four sights" emphasized by Olcott as the catalyst for Gotama's ascetic quest, and contained lengthy sections presenting the recitations suitable for ritual use (Leadbeater 1902, 1–6, 25–27; cf. Olcott 1885). Controversy over Olcott's *Catechism* was indeed brewing in the 1880s, partly inspired by Mohoṭṭivattē. Readers of the antitheosophical newspaper *Rivirāsa* queried Hikkaḍuvē's approval of Olcott's text, with one reader suggesting that Hikkaḍuvē had not fully understood the content of the *Catechism* as published in English (Young and Somaratna 1996, 213–14, 214 n. 492).⁵⁸ However, matters related to the *Catechism* did not reach a head until the twentieth century, and then apparently partly as the result of Dharmapāla's instigation. As Dharmapāla recorded, "Went to Maligakanda to meet the High Priest, and told him about the Note that appears in the Buddhist Catechism about the 'individual descending from Nirvana and going back to Nirvana.' The High Priest was wild. He was very angry that Col. Olcott should have written that note" (*Diary*, 5 March 1900). Dharmapāla increased the pressure on Olcott and Hikkaḍuvē in 1905, while writing his own *Dharma Praśna* (*Dharma Questions*), which he called "my Buddhist Catechism," sending a manuscript to the crown prince of Siam (*Diary*, 16 October 1905). He clearly hoped to trump Olcott, his erstwhile ally, as a spokesman for Buddhism in Laṅkā and abroad.

According to Dharmapāla's diary entries, he spoke against Olcott's catechism to Mahāgoḍē, one of Hikkaḍuvē's seconds-in-command at Vidyodaya (*Diary*, 9 September 1905). Shortly thereafter, Hikkaḍuvē appears to have addressed the matter to Olcott, on 21 September 1905. A letter from Hikkaḍuvē to Olcott, subsequently published in the Dharmapalite *Journal of the Maha Bodhi Society*, expressed strong concerns about the catechism, threatening to withdraw his earlier certificate of approval:

My attention has been drawn to the following several questions and answers embodied in the 40th edition of your "Buddhist Catechism" viz:- 2, 10, 103, 111, 113, 142, 231, 243, 254, 255, 320, 327, 330, 333, 349, 351 and 367.

From the orthodox standpoint the answers you have put into the

58. The "certificate" by Hikkaḍuvē contained in the 1885 English edition stated that Hikkaḍuvē had "carefully examined the Sinhalese version of the Catechism prepared by Colonel H. S. Olcott" and affirmed "that the same is in agreement with the Canon of the Southern Buddhist Church" (Olcott 1885). No mention was made of an English translation or edition. See also Trainor (2009, 16).

mouth of the Buddhist child are opposed to the “Abyakata” principle of silence.

Not being a master of the English language I ought to have asked a Sinhalese scholar to have the meanings of these answers to momentous questions explained to me,⁵⁹ and I now sincerely regret that I have helped by lending the authority of my office as the Chief High Priest of Western Province to disseminate views absolutely opposed to the spirit of the Buddhist Church. The Sinhalese certificate that I gave you was intended only for the use of the Sinhalese version of the Buddhist Catechism and it was never intended for any other.

The original Sinhalese version has only 171 questions with answers, but the 40th edition in English which you have recently published contains 386 questions with answers. I now most earnestly request that you will at once withdraw from further circulation the present edition or announce that the above questions and answers are opposed to the orthodox views of the Southern Church of Buddhism. Failing that I hereby withdraw my certificate from the English version. (Reproduced in *JMBS* 14, no. 4 [1906]: 55–56; italics added)⁶⁰

Both Dharmapāla and Hikkaḍuvē resigned from the Theosophical Society at this time (*Diary*, 21 and 22 September 1905; Prajñānanda 1947, 2:778–79). However, Hikkaḍuvē’s stand against Olcott was not absolute. There was obviously pressure from pro-Olcott elements in Colombo. Hikkaḍuvē and Dharmapāla met with various parties on the catechism problem in the months that followed (*Diary*, 23–24 October 1905, 2 November 1905).⁶¹ Despite pressure from Dharmapāla, Hikkaḍuvē eventually responded favorably to an entreaty from Olcott (Prajñānanda 1947, 2:778–79). Having reached an agreement with Olcott on revisions of the *Catechism* (Prothero 1996, 166),⁶² he withdrew his resignation (Prajñānanda 1947, 2:778–79). Dharmapāla’s diary entries show that tempers were running high among

59. See also Trainor (2009, 16).

60. According to a 2007 reprint of an 1881 edition of the Sinhala version of Olcott’s catechism, *Buddha Kathopakathanaya*, the questions on *nirvāṇa* did differ from their English-language treatment. Question 64: “mē midīma labāgatkalā api kumakāṭa pāminemuda?” Answer: “nirvāṇayaṭayi.” Question 65: “nirvāṇaya kumakda?” Answer: “kāmadī siyalu upadhin duralīma, tṛṣṇāva nātikirīma, duk nātikirīma, nivīma, nirvāṇayaṭa nopāmiṇi satvayā nāvata nāvata upadī. nirvāṇayaṭa pāmiṇi āryayangē nāvata utpattiyak nāttēya” (Olcott 2007 [1881, 1923], 14–15).

61. Dharmapāla mentions “Hulugalla R.M.” as well as D. B. Jayatilaka, W. Arthur Silva, “Samarasinha,” and one of the Hēvāvitāraṇa brothers.

62. On the editions of Olcott’s *Catechism*, see Trainor (2009, 39 n. 46).

Lankan Buddhists associated with the Theosophical and Maha Bodhi Societies. Hikkaḍuvē faced Dharmapāla's pressure as well as a rising tide of ill feeling between these prominent Buddhist associations. The diary entries reflect Dharmapāla's perception of events and are thus necessarily of limited perspective. They indicate, however, a high point of tension and vitriol within these influential Buddhist associations for which Hikkaḍuvē was monastic adviser.

In the evening went to Maligakanda and the H.P. showed me a printed letter sent to him by the T.S. and I warned him to be careful. (*Diary*, 6 March 1906)

Went in the morning to see the H.P. To my surprise R. A. Mirando was there trying to influence the H.P. to attend Olcott's reception [to which Dharmapāla and Heyiyantuḍuvē were opposed]. (19 March 1906)

In April 1906, I wrote to *Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa* against Dharmapāla. The latter felt that he received insufficient succor from Hikkaḍuvē.

The H.P. was earnestly asked by me since September last to take steps agst. Col. Olcott's Catechism; but he kept quiet and the enemies took the opportunity to revile me. I wrote a letter to the H.P. on the subject. (14 April 1906)

M.B.S. [Maha Bodhi Society] meeting held at 6 P.M. High Priest presided. He is afraid of the Sandaresa traitors. (2 May 1906)

Although Hikkaḍuvē was perhaps still seeking the middle ground, a new addition to the Sinhala print world drew the battle of the societies to still greater pitch, with obvious support for the Maha Bodhi Society by Hikkaḍuvē's immediate monastic juniors at Vidyodaya. Hikkaḍuvē was by then eighty years of age and in unstable health. Plans were made in March 1906 to establish *Sinhala Baudḍhyayā*, a new newspaper, under Dharmapāla's editorial control and inclined toward the Maha Bodhi Society. Its first issue contained articles by Heyiyantuḍuvē and Mahāgoḍē, Hikkaḍuvē's seconds at Vidyodaya (*Diary*, 7 May 1906), following a tense meeting about Olcott and the Theosophical Society (*JMBS* 14, no. 4 [1906]: 61–62). *Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa* wrote against the Maha Bodhi Society in both its Sinhala and English papers later that month (22 and 28 May 1906). The war of words

between the societies on matters related to Olcott and Dharmapāla continued through the summer of 1906.⁶³

There were differences between the monastic generations at Vidyodaya on how to navigate the dangerous waters of the societies, with Heyiyantuḍuvē and Mahāgoḍē more resolutely opposed to Olcott. Despite such differences, these leading monks from Vidyodaya found common cause with their senior, Hikkaḍuvē, on another matter involving Olcott and Dharmapāla. In the September 1905 issue of the *Theosophist*, Olcott had disparaged the Buddha's Tooth Relic at Kandy, asserting both its inauthenticity and the impropriety of devotion to it. Hikkaḍuvē wrote to Olcott at this final collision of their Buddhisms: "I am disappointed that after 25 years of intimate acquaintance with the Buddhists of the Southern Church that you should have without any provocation insulted the feelings of several millions of Buddhists, whom you unnecessarily call 'bigoted and ignorant' in your article 'Old Diary Leaves' by condemning the Tooth Relic of Buddha, in the September number of the *Theosophist*, as a spurious fabrication. Such an uncalled for attack we could expect only from an enemy of our religion" (reproduced in *JMBS* 14, no. 4 [1906]: 55–56).

The Tooth Relic, which had served as a palladium of state for independent kingdoms in Lankā prior to British colonial accession of the island (Seneviratne 1978), was (and is) one of the most powerful focal points for pilgrimage and Buddhist ritual on the island. It was also, as we shall soon see, the center of pilgrimage attention by high-ranking Buddhists from South-east Asia who sought ritual merit and protective power at the relic site. Olcott's attack on the Tooth Relic was dangerous, devotionally and politically. It was especially worrying to members of the Siyam Nikāya, who, with their lay custodian, controlled (with some limits imposed by the government) ritual access to the relic. However, the accusation stirred Lankan Buddhists well beyond the Kandyan monastic world. The Hēvāvitāraṇas arranged a journey to Kandy in order to participate in a massive meeting by Lankan Buddhists responding to Olcott's charges. As Dharmapāla noted, "Went to Kandy with H. Priest [Hikkaḍuvē] and the 2nd H.P. Devamitta [Heyiyantuḍuvē] and [Mahagoḍē] Nanissara. Brother, Moonasinha, Sirisena, H. Dias, Molligoda and I formed the party. All expenses paid by Brother.

63. Although a history of relations between the two societies is well beyond the intentions of this chapter, note an entry in Dharmapāla's diary from 1909: "The preliminary meeting to discuss matters in connection with the unification of the two Societies held at the M.B.S. Hall. The T.S. to adopt a new name; the M.B.S. to cease work in Ceylon and the two Societies to form into one body" (*Diary*, 22 November 1909).

At 2 P.M. the great meeting held at the Dalada Maligawa [Temple of the Tooth Relic]. The Supreme Chief [one of the mahā nāyakas of the Asgiri and Malvatu Vihārayas] of the Siyam Sect presided and Diva Nilame [the lay custodian of the relic] called the meeting to order. Col. Olcott's action condemned" (*Diary*, 22 November 1906).⁶⁴ The meeting, attended by one hundred monks plus laypeople, both of the Kandyan supreme chief monks and representatives of other monastic orders on the island, passed a resolution on Olcott's charges (*JMBS* 14, no. 11 [1906]: 171–72).

It was resolved that as the article published by Col: H. S. Olcott in the *Theosophist* of September 1905 disparaging the Tooth Relic (of Buddha) at Kandy and the Buddhists who worship it is totally false and unjust and also detrimental to the cause of Buddhism that he be asked to cancel the same article by publishing an article in the same Journal and further that he be asked to remove the so-called duplicate of the Relic referred to in his said article from the curiocase in the Library at Adiyar where he has kept it as an object of ridicule. Until Col: Olcott has fulfilled the conditions above stated he shall not be considered a friend of the Buddhists. (*JMBS* 14, no. 11 [1906]: 171–72)

This aggressive yet poignant moment captures the complexity of Lankan Buddhist leadership near the beginning of the twentieth century. An English-language periodical, under the leadership of would-be-monk Anagārika Dharmapāla, excluded the white American wanderer Olcott from the *Buddha-śāsana* on grounds related to ritual potency and the authenticity of the Buddha's traces, after a meeting of Lankan monks and laity at the pre-British seat of Lankan royalty. It had been an extended experiment with the "white resident of the country of America." In 1906 Hikkaḍuvē was growing frail; he would die before Dharmapāla's star rose high in the context of increasingly aggressive ethnic and nationalist politics. Both Olcott and Dharmapāla were disappointing to Hikkaḍuvē, since they offered no consistent help with his most pressing concerns. Olcott and Dharmapāla could provide no stable resolution to the problems of monastic disunity, nor could they address the challenges of institution building that drove Hikkaḍuvē's interest in the translocal networks of Asia and beyond. Neither could they secure royal patronage for Lankan Buddhism from the royal courts of Asia. Therefore, simultaneously with his engagement with the charismatic

64. Harischandra played a role in organizing the event (*Diary*, 13 November 1906).

and well-placed adventurers Dharmapāla and Olcott, Hikkaḍuvē steadily courted powerful monks and laymen in Southeast Asia. Reaching across the water through familiar monastic channels, this courtship was driven less by the social needs and Buddhist experiments of his lay patrons than by monastic politics and a sense of the *śāsana*'s fragility.

Śāsana and Empire

In April 1897, the Siamese king Chulalongkorn (Rama V) reached Laṅkā on a state visit en route to Europe. From the perspective of Hikkaḍuvē and many other Lankan Buddhist leaders it was a celebrated opportunity, a chance to make direct personal contact with the only Buddhist monarch who had retained a degree of independence in the face of French and British imperial designs on southern Asia. However, for the Buddhists who had anxiously awaited the Siamese visit, and the chance to put before the king various projects and matters of concern, the visit was, in the end, a debacle. Gravely disappointed at the lack of access given to him at the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy, where he had expected to take the Tooth Relic into his hands, the king curtailed his local engagements. Angered by the apparent lack of confidence and regard shown to him by at least some among the Kandyan Buddhist leadership, Rama V left the island in pique. Several local newspapers commented on the disastrous outcome of the royal visit, about which Lankan Buddhist hopes had run extremely high. As *Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa* put it, events in Kandy had caused hindrance and inconvenience to the whole Sinhala population and obstructed the development of the *Buddha-śāsana* (17 April 1897).

Hikkaḍuvē was among the powerful local Buddhists who had helped to plan the royal visit; he was strongly invested in a vision of Siamese patronage for Lankan Buddhism and, indeed, for Siamese oversight of the Lankan monastic world. Faced with the absence of a local Buddhist monarch, since the British had removed the last Kandyan king in the early nineteenth century, Hikkaḍuvē undertook a long series of experiments with regional Buddhist diplomacy. Such experiments, however, intersected with the expansion of French and British interests in the region in a manner that Hikkaḍuvē did not always correctly estimate. His plans for the *śāsana*—in Laṅkā and

beyond—collided periodically with the interests of imperial and colonial diplomacy as British, French, and Siamese representatives jockeyed for power and resources in South and Southeast Asia. Moreover, the administratively complex character of the monastic community in Siam, Burma, and Cambodia often hindered Lankan efforts to address local crises and concerns by looking outside the island. Hikkaḍuvē's attempt to involve the royal courts and monastic communities of Southeast Asia in Lankan Buddhist affairs reveals a world of diplomacy undertaken through several networks and forms of association. Some of these had a deep history in the southern Asian region, long bound by ties of monastic lineage and pilgrimage. There was a long historical understanding among southern Asian Buddhists that regional polities were in some sense bound together across state borders by confidence in, and devotion to, the Buddhist teachings and Buddha traces present in the physical landscape. This understanding continued to characterize Hikkaḍuvē's activities, and it was recognized by many of those who responded to his overtures. In addition, however, his efforts on behalf of Buddhists and specific Buddhist groups in Laṅkā proceeded through the new channels of communication that marked his imperial and colonial era. Especially in dealings with Siam, Hikkaḍuvē increasingly encountered the diplomatic assumptions of the newly forming Thai nation-state, as Siam's leaders sought to project—and protect—a “modern” and competitive imperial image to the world (Loos 2006, Peleggi 2002). Hikkaḍuvē's long courtship of powerful Buddhists from Southeast Asia thus reveals the intersection of several regional Buddhist approaches to the political problems of the day, as court and monastic elites from Southeast Asia grappled with the dangers and possibilities of empire. Hikkaḍuvē's own tactics were instinctively royalist. He was most readily inclined to approach a royal seat of power through monastic intermediaries, using long-standing regional practices of tribute and gift exchange (Day 2002). However, he was also prepared to enter the new logics of prestation and performance that characterized imperial politics at century's end.

The Promise of Lineage

The nineteenth century saw a great deal of traffic between the monastic worlds of Laṅkā and Southeast Asia. The Siyam Nikāya itself owed its eighteenth-century origins to an ordination lineage imported from Ayutthaya. Monks and lay patrons discontented with the caste restrictions and the Kandyan privileges of that order traveled to Southeast Asia and imported new ordination lineages from the region. Recourse was made to lead-

ing Southeast Asian monks on matters of Lankan monastic dispute within, and between, monastic orders. This included the correspondence in which Hikkaḍuvē was himself involved, on the question of low-country ordination and the *adhikamāsa* controversy (see chap. 1).

As we have seen, Hikkaḍuvē approached the midcentury problems catalyzed by Bentara from a position supportive of the Kandyan leadership of the Siyam Nikāya, while encouraging the chief monks of the Asgiri and Malvatu Vihārayas to leverage against low-country ordination with support from Siam and/or through action taken in British colonial courts. However, Bentara, Valānē, and others in favor of independent low-country higher ordination succeeded in dividing the Siyam Nikāya. Once the Kalyāṇi Nikāya was established and began to produce higher ordained monks through its own ordination rituals, it became urgent for Hikkaḍuvē to explore new strategies to reunite monks from the Siyam and Kalyāṇi Nikāyas. His letters written throughout the nineteenth century reveal a steady sense that unification was the key to monastic stability, and that such stability was crucial to safeguarding the vitality of the *śāsana*. The logic of monastic ordination and lineage demanded at this stage a strategy of encompassment, through which monks from both of the orders originally connected to the Kandyan Siyam Nikāya could be drawn within a single order under an authority capable of resolving monastic disputes. The caste-based disagreements on the island made it difficult to reach toward the Amarapura Nikāya as the encompassing body, despite the fact that it contained some powerful Goyigama monks like Bulatgama. Hikkaḍuvē therefore had to look beyond the island at possibilities in the regions known as Burma and Siam. Since the Southeast Asian monastic community had been, at various points, formed through ordination lineages brought from Laṅkā (that is, lineages understood to be connected to the Mahā Vihāraya of Anuradhapura), it was plausible for Lankan monks to conceive of Southeast Asian ordination lineages as a way to access Laṅkā's own original monastic community, prior to its nineteenth-century (and earlier) fissures.¹ Questions remained, however, about which (if any) reimported lineages might be locally acceptable, and which were most attractive on the grounds of disciplinary purity and the clarity of historical connections to Laṅkā.

As a monk within the Siyam Nikāya, which owed its own eighteenth-century origins to Siam, Hikkaḍuvē was naturally disposed to think well of the Siamese monastic community and to incline toward Siamese royal patronage. Moreover, since his youth in the southern maritime districts,

1. See Hazra (1982, esp. 107–10).

he had had contact with Siamese monastic visitors and with senior colleagues like Bulatgama who enjoyed a close relationship to leading monks in Bangkok.² During the early 1840s, before the accession to the throne of Mongkut (Rama IV), two monastic embassies reached Laṅkā from Bangkok. The first, organized around the return of a small group of Lankan monks visiting Siam, allowed Bangkok to investigate the state of the *śāsana* on the island in 1843, and to borrow some texts unavailable in Bangkok. The second returned the texts, lending others to Lankan Buddhists. Both embassies involved contact with Lankan monks from the maritime districts and from Kandy. There were expressions of interest from Laṅkā about establishing the Dhammayuttika Nikāya on the island (Thakur 2001, 52–53; Reynolds 1972, 93–96; Lingat 1989, 422). The Dhammayuttika Nikāya had been founded by Mongkut (Rama IV) during his years as a monk before he had become king and was an increasingly powerful force in Buddhist affairs (Reynolds 1972, 86). As Saṅgharāja Phra Ariyawongse explained to Vaskaḍuvē Subhuti many years later,

About fifty years ago the Venerable Theras of the Dhammayuttika Sect in Siam had, in their letter to the Venerable Theras of Ceylon, asked for a loan of the Singhalese Sacred books, the Pariyatti Dhamma division of the Tipitakas.

And in the reign of His Late Majesty, Paramendra Maha Mongkut, King of Siam, a mission composed of ten Siamese Priests headed by the Venerable Anomasiri Muni has taken to Ceylon the Singhalese Sacred Books above referred to. (Ariyawongse to Subhuti, 7 April 1897, SLNA 5/63/17/730)³

Hikkaḍuvē's senior associate Bulatgama was in close correspondence with Vajirañāna (as the Siamese king was known during his monastic years) before and during his reign as Rama IV (P. Buddhaddatta 1960, 178–84). Like Bulatgama, Hikkaḍuvē was honored by the king at his accession in 1851 (Reynolds 1972, 103). When Anomasiri reached Laṅkā in 1852 from Bangkok with a third embassy, after Rama IV's accession, he was prepared and authorized to establish Dhammayuttika Nikāya ordination on the island (Thakur 2001, 53). However, when faced with dissent within the Lankan

2. Rama IV, in his monastic career before accession to the throne, conducted a substantial correspondence with Lankan monks. See Reynolds (1972, 92), A. Buddhaddatta (1962), Lingat (1989, 423).

3. See also Lingat (1989, 417–18).

monastic community about the imported ordination, plans to establish a Dhammayuttika lineage in the island were set aside (53).⁴ According to Craig Reynolds, Rama IV had a special interest in the Lankan Amarapura Nikāya, considering it to be a Mon-derived lineage and thus potentially connected to the monastic line he embraced when establishing the Dhammayuttika Nikāya. Competition between the Amarapura and Siyam Nikāyas to claim the most legitimate historical lineage connections to the Siamese Dhammayuttika Nikāya eventually brought to a halt efforts to import the Dhammayuttika Nikāya to Laṅkā (Reynolds 1972, 94–95).

Although monks in Bangkok may have subsequently distanced themselves from the possibility of exporting Dhammayuttika ordination to the island, it was a live possibility for Hikkaḍuvē in the late 1850s, as the effects of the Kalyāṇi Nikāya secession became more pronounced. In BV 2401 (1858) Hikkaḍuvē wrote a lengthy letter to a senior monastic colleague, Doḍampahala Dīpaṅkara, in Colombo, outlining a plan to canvass key low-country monks for their support of a Dhammayuttika Nikāya initiative, before taking the venture to the Siyam Nikāya leadership in Kandy. Hikkaḍuvē held out some hope of gaining the backing of his own teacher Valāṇē, and Bentara, but was prepared to make the case in Kandy regardless, bearing letters of support from southern monks, if possible:

Having gone to Kandy and consulted with the senior monks there led by the supreme chief monk, and being of one accord, we will send a formal communication to the king of Siam with the names of all who are well known, revealing what all have hoped and requested. It will indicate what has been discussed, including the wish that a company of Dhammayuttika Nikāya higher ordained monks be sent, out of compassion for us, in order to purify the cancerous *śāsana* on the island of Laṅkā. If they don't all agree about this [in Kandy], if there's no unanimous liking for it, we will send the communication on the basis of the preference of the majority. (Hikkaḍuvē to Doḍampahala Dīpaṅkara, BV 2401, in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:405–6)⁵

It is not evident that this plan ever reached the stage of formal consideration by the Kandy leadership.

4. See also Dhani (1965, 140–41).

5. “seṅkhaṇḍaselanagaram gantvā tattha mahānāyakaṭṭhappamukkehi therehi mantetvā sabbe samānacchanda hutvā sabbesaṃ icchitaṃ patthitaṃ āvikarontehi sabbesaṃ abhiññātānaṃ nāmehi syāmadhipassa mahāraṇṇa sāsanaṃ pesessāma. dhammayutikanikāyikaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ pahīṇātu laṅkādiṇe abbudajātaṃ sāsanaṃ sodhetuṃ amhākaṃ anukampaṃ kurumānoti

Although Hikkaḍuvē was, by virtue of his *nikāya* identity and his personal experience, naturally oriented toward Bangkok, his correspondence also reveals a strong interest in the possibility of strengthening Laṅkā's monastic life through Burmese monastic lines and patronage. Not long after writing to Dīpaṅkara about the Dhammayuttika Nikāya initiative, Hikkaḍuvē composed a long and very formal letter to the Thathanabaing (Saṅgharāja) of Burma, Nyeyya. In 1859 he wrote from his Tilakārāmaya Vihāraya in Hikkaduva, where he was teaching, eleven years after receiving higher ordination in Kandy. Hikkaḍuvē proceeded with care and reverence, making use of verse as well as prose, introducing himself and the Lankan *śāsana* to the Burmese hierarchy with whom he had had no prior direct contact. Hikkaḍuvē recounted the favorable reports of the Burmese *śāsana* received from two monks lately returned from the city of Mandalay (Ratanāpuṇṇa) and reported hearing about the recent "purification" of the Burmese monastic community.⁶ Hikkaḍuvē's approach to the Saṅgharāja focused on lineage.⁷ He recounted that monks from Haṃsavati (Pegu) had arrived in Laṅkā to obtain a pure higher ordination from monks of the Lankan Mahā Vihāra, receiving this in the late fifteenth century, with the support of the Lankan king Bhuvanekabāhu VI, before returning to Pegu.⁸ This was, reported Hikkaḍuvē, not merely a "strengthening" of their existing ordination by means of an additional higher ordination received while still *bhikkhus* (*dalhi-kamma*), but a complete, fresh ordination received after they had returned to lay and novice monk status.⁹ They returned, according to Hikkaḍuvē, to participate in the royal "purification" of the monastic community at the Kalyāṇi Sīma during the reign of King Dhammaceti (in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:381–83).¹⁰ Hikkaḍuvē inquired: "Does that lineage of senior monks [*theras*] that reached Haṃsavati from the island of Sīhala

icchādi kathāpaṭisaṇṇattanti. itthaṃ sabbe icchissanti sabbesaṃ ruciyaṃ no ce bahunnaṃ ruciyaṃ sāsanam paṇiṇissāmāti."

6. According to Hikkaḍuvē, he was encouraged by [Bulatgama] Dhammalaṅkāra Sirisumanatissa to write the letter, which he was sending through him (387). The extant letter is not dated, but Hikkaḍuvē received higher ordination in 1848 and refers to himself as writing eleven years after that. The letter clearly predates the death of the Thathanabaing Nyeyya in 1865 (Mendelson 1975, 85). On Nyeyya see also Charney (2006, chap. 9), Law (1986, 147–64), and Bode (1899).

7. For reflections on the work of lineage in Shwegyin monastic history and biography, see Carbine (2004). On the construction and reconstruction of lineage lines, see J. P. Ferguson (1975, esp. 253–54).

8. See Hazra (1982, 107–14), Law (1986, 50–52), and Bode (1996, 45–47).

9. On "*dalhi-kamma*" see also Reynolds (1972, 82).

10. On this "purification," sometimes called the "Kalyāṇi Reformation," see Pranke (2004, 14–17). For a discussion of the subsequent influence of the new order in Southeast Asia, see Pranke (2004, 23–25).

[Laṅkā] at that time continue up till now in the cities such as Ratanāpuṇṇa in the aparanta-land within Jambudīpa? Or is there another lineage of senior monks that exists separately, originating from the lifetime of the excellent senior monks who conducted the third council [that is, the reciter-compilers of *tipiṭaka* texts in the third century BCE]? Indeed, I'd really like to have that information reliably" (in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:383).¹¹ Hikkaḍuvē's questions were not academic. As he continued to worry about dissent within the Lankan monastic community, he made creative use of the historical memory of lineage. If any of the Burmese monastic groups maintained a pure ordination lineage from the third council, that lineage would equal or trump any monastic line in Laṅkā in terms of purity and proximity to the monks who first brought Buddhist practice to the island. Even a reimportation of a fifteenth-century lineage originally exported from Laṅkā could be used to attempt a unification of Siyam Nikāya and Kalyāṇi Nikāya (secessionist) monks, or perhaps even a unification of the Siyam and Amarapura Nikāyas.¹² He provided Nyeyya with a brief history of the *śāsana* on the island, leading up to the formation of the Siyam Nikāya, described as divided because of internal controversies, as well as the Amarapura Nikāya itself (386–87). However, whatever their order, he said, "all the Lankan monks are oppressed by non-Buddhist pressure, because of the absence of dharmic kings and royal ministers" (387).¹³ Hikkaḍuvē explained that he

11. "tadā haṃsāvatiṃ sihaladīpato sampatto theravaṃso yevedāni jambudīpāparantakajana-pade ratanāpuṇṇanagarādisu vattati. udāhu tatiyaśāṅgītikāraṇaṃ theravarānaṃ dharamāna-kālato paṭṭhāyā vicchinno hutvā añño theravaṃso vattati ti.

taṃ pana pavattīṃ yathābhutaṃ vijānātukāmo."

12. In 1875, the government-sponsored inspection of temple libraries reported copies of *Kalyāṇi Pāsāna Lekhā* held at three low-country Amarapura Nikāya temples. The work was described as "copies of Pāli inscriptions found engraved on a rock at Pagan, the ancient capital of Burma. They relate to a mission of Burmese monks to Ceylon in the 14th [sic] century, and the account of an upasampadā ordination held at the river at Kelani in Ceylon" (CO 57/67, 20 May 1875, 12). One of these temples also held *Rājādhirāja Vilāsini*, "a short history of the Kings of Burma" and *Sāsana Vamsa* (composed in 1861), described as "a very interesting historical work, compiled in Burma." By 1876 the Oriental Library in Colombo held a copy of *Kalyāṇipprakaraṇa*, an "account of a mission of Burmese Buddhist Priests to Ceylon in the reign of Bhuvaneka Bāhu VI, A.D. 1464," "presented by Kataluwe Dhammānanda Terunnānsē," *Saddharma Sangraha*, and *Rājādhirāja Vilāsini*, a "history of the Kings of Burma." Also present was *Siyam Sandeśa*, "religious letters written to the King of Siam by the Buddhist Priesthood in Ceylon, A.D. 1746," "copied from original copies preserved at Hittetiya monastery [the Hēvāvitāraṇa family temple] at Mātara" (*Catalogue of Pāli, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Ceylon Government Oriental Library* 1876).

13. "sabbepi sihalikā bhikkhū dhammikaṇaṃ rājarājamahāmattādīnamabhāvā micchādīṭṭh-ikasambādenoppadutā viharanti." While working with Bulatgama from Paramānanda Vihāraya in Galle, Hikkaḍuvē did not associate himself explicitly with the latter's work for the Amarapura Nikāya, although it seems that the two men shared some hope of bringing together the Am-

was writing to Mandalay via Bulatgama, who was in touch with the court about the dispute over monastic ritual boundaries. “That venerable one, my firm friend, formerly took novitiate ordination with a certain senior monk of the Upāli Vamsa [Siyam Nikāya] in the Malvatte Vihāra and is now greatly praised among the monks of the Maramma Nikāya [Amarapura Nikāya], ordained by the monastic community of the Maramma Nikāya. The monastic community is divided by a controversy that has arisen in the Maramma Nikāya on account of that debate over the impure constitution [of ritual boundaries] by [the use of] an *udakukkhepasīmā*.¹⁴ That venerable Dhammālaṅkāra Sirisumanatissa is trying to lead towards a monastic agreement, to alleviate that” (387–88).¹⁵ He asked that his letter be read by the Burmese Rājaguru Paññāsāmi, read out to Thathanabaing Nyeyya, and announced to the royal court.¹⁶

Kings and Pilgrims

Making overtures related to monastic ordination and lineage was just one way in which Hikkaḍuvē attempted to incorporate himself, his associates, and the Lankan *śāsana* within a larger Buddhist world that still claimed the auspicious and protective potency of Buddhist kingship. New technologies and the politics of the nineteenth-century Lankan monastic world combined to draw Laṅkā, Burma, and Siam ever more closely together as the century wore on. Galle, the city close to which Hikkaḍuvē lived for most of the 1850s and 1860s, was the port of call for ships from Southeast Asia and remained so to a great extent even after the development of the Colombo harbor in the 1870s. In Galle, the lives of Hikkaḍuvē and his mentor Bulat-

arapura and Siyam Nikāyas—reconciling the divisions within each order and between the two orders—through a new ordination lineage.

14. See Malalgoda (1976, 154–61), Law (1986, 159–61), and Bode (1996, 158–60).

15. “so paṇāyasmā mama dāhimitto pubbē upālivamsikassa aññatarassa therassa pupphārāmavihārikassa santike pabbajito samāno puna marammanikāyikena bhikkhū saṅghena upasampanno marammanikāyikabhikkhūsu suppasattho hoti. yo kho vivādo udakukkhepasīmāya saṅkaradosaṃ nissāya marammanikāye uppanno yena ca saṅgho bhinno taṃ vūpasametum saṅghasāmaggimupanetum so āyasmā dhammālaṅkāra sirisumanatisso vāyamaṭi.” An *udakhukkhepasīmā* is a ritual enclosure for which the area is determined by a throw of water (Rhys Davids and Stede, 1959, s.v. “udakhukkhepasīmā”).

16. This letter may have helped to spur Paññāsāmi’s 1861 Pali composition *Sāsanavaṃsa* based on a Burmese text of 1831 (von Hinüber 1997, 3) which was also catalyzed by disputes over ritual enclosure procedures within the Lankan Amarapura Nikāya (Bode 1996, 1, 157–59, 169–70) and visits to Burma by Lankan monks who subsequently helped cofound the Ramañña Nikāya (Malalgoda 1976, 164–66). See also Bode (1999, 674–76), Pranke (2004, 30), Charney (2006, 214), and Law (1986, xv, 172).

gama at Paramānanda Vihāraya were much marked by the ebb and flow of people and letters carried through the Buddhist lands of southern Asia. As the boats came more and more quickly under steam in a world also increasingly shaped by printed newspapers and news carried across the wires, a more detailed and time-sensitive picture of this larger Buddhist arena began to develop within the Lankan *śāsana*. Many investigations and requests were carried in letters brought back and forth by novices, higher ordained monks, and their lay administrators, who traveled abroad with increasing frequency. These travelers themselves carried descriptions of Buddhist lands across the water, as well as gossip and news too personal or sensitive to be conveyed in writing. Moreover, as the royal courts of Burma and Siam attempted to grapple with British and French imperial aims in the region, Buddhist kings and their emissaries visited Lanḱā with greater frequency, stopping in Colombo and Galle on their way to and from diplomatic engagements in Britain and on the continent.

A letter sent to Bangkok in BV 2421 (1878) reveals to us the discreet ethnography of monastic movements from Lanḱā to Southeast Asia and the manner in which pilgrimage provided a plausible context through which to cultivate patron-client relations outside the island. Writing to the monk titled Gaṇacariyathera Phussadeva-sāsana-sobhana, a leading Dhammayutika Nikāya monk in Bangkok's Rājapatiṭṭhārāma Vihāra (Wat Rājapratīṭha), Hikkaḍuvē recounted that

for a long time we have not had good information about the leading monks who carry the responsibilities of the *Buddha-sāsana* in the Dhammayuttika Nikāya, etc. Not long ago the supreme monarch [Rama IV], father of the present great king of Siam and her various territories, passed away. From his time as *mahā therā*, leader of the Dhammayuttika Nikāya, he supported and delighted me at that time in my youth by sending letters, and so on. We were distressed by his death. Now we are delighted to hear the news that his son, a dharmic ruler, has been consecrated and serves and supports the *sāsana* of the Fully Enlightened One. Therefore, we—living in a land long ruled by non-Buddhist kings—ask to receive messages on matters related to the duties of the *Buddha-sāsana* from time to time, from those who protect the *Buddha-sāsana* and make it shine through their favor, if it is no burden for the venerables, best of the senior monks. Further, now three Lankans—one higher ordained monk named Indajoti, and two novices named Dhammajoti and Dhammasiri—along with a lay administrator, have approached me seeking to travel to the land of Siam. They ask for a formal letter to

be presented to the chief scholars of Buddhist teachings and monastic discipline in the country of Siam.

I have written and give this formal letter permitting them to go into the presence of the honorable Dhammayuttika senior monks with your permission. Indeed, they have all lived under the supervision of well-trained Lankan senior monks. Of them, the two novices were for a long time in dependence on [Bulatgama] Dhammālaṅkāra Siri Sumanatissa Thera, chief incumbent of the Paramānanda Vihāra near Galle. Surely not one among them will reach the land of Siam asking for something else through deceit, and so on. They will want to return to their own land having spent some time in a country full of relic shrines, endowed with the teaching of the excellent *Buddha-sāsana*, completely protected by the rule of great Buddhist kings, and having lived for a time near senior monks there who are scholars of Buddhist teachings and monastic discipline, and having offered honor and offerings to the relic shrines.

And, certainly, the two novice monks are especially keen to live for quite some time near senior monks in the realm of Siam. However the higher ordained monk named Indajoti wants to return to his own land quickly, having learned as much as possible about the character of the *Buddha-sāsana* there, and having done honor to the relic shrines and senior monks. Therefore, may our venerable Sāsana-sobhana-thera and other senior monks support them and assist them appropriately according to the customary usage for foreigner members of the [monastic] family, when they have reached the presence of Your Honors. And may they instruct these foreigners, once arrived, according to the regulations of the monastery with respect to local practice unrecognized [by them]. (In Prajñānanda 1947, 1:350-51)¹⁷

17. "tathā ca ciraṃ amhehi dhammayuttikanikāyikādināṃ buddhasāsana-kadhurandharānaṃ mahātherānūtherādināṃ pavatti sammā avinñāttā. idāni dharmānassa syāmādinānārattissarassa mahārājassa janakapitubhuto aciraṃ divaṃ gato paramindamahārājā tassa dhammayuttikanikāy ikagaṇissara mahātherakālatoppabhūti tasmīṃ kāle navakabhutaṃ mamaṃ sandesapesanādinā anuggahesi tosesi. tassānīcatāpattiyā mayaṃ sañjātakhedā samānāpi idāni tassoraso dhammiko khattiyō muddhāvasitto sammāsambuddhasāsanāṃ saṅgaṇhāti anuggaṇhāti ti pavattisavaṇena pamuditā bhavāma. tasmā tassānuggahena buddhasāsanāṃ sobhentehi pāleṇtehi mayaṃ micchādīṭṭhikānāṃ rājūnamānācakkena ciraṃ pāliyamāne dese vasamānā kālena kālaṃ buddhasāsanī-kakīcapaṭisaṃyuttāni sandesapaṇṇāni laddhumicchāma. yadi taṃ bhaddantānaṃ theruttamānaṃ agaru tathā karotu. api cedāni laṅkāḍīpikā eko indajoti nāmo bhikkhu ceva dhammajoti dhammasiri nāmikā dve ca sāmaṇerā ti tayo ekena kappiyakārakena ca saddhīm syāmaḍesaṃ paṭigan-tukāmā mamaṃ upasaṅkamitvā syāmaratthe padhānabbutānaṃ dhammavinayadharānaṃ therānaṃ pāpetuṃ sandesapaṇṇaṃ yācanti.

"sohaṃ bhaddantānaṃ dhammayuttikatherānaṃ santikaṃ gantuṃ te anuññāya imaṇca sandesapaṇṇaṃ likhitvā dadāmi. te sabbe pi laṅkāḍīpikānaṃ susikkhitānaṃ therānaṃ antevā-

News of the ways in which the *śāsana* functioned in Siam was in high demand on the island of Lankā, where monks struggled with vexed questions related to ordination rituals, relations within and between orders, the *adhikamāsa*, and the matter of proper monastic dress. Therefore, the results of Indajoti's brief investigative pilgrimage would have been a matter of great interest to his close colleagues in Lankā.

Sometimes contact with Southeast Asia was precipitated by more urgent stresses on the island. We see this clearly in an emotional address to King Mindon of Burma composed in BV 2405 (1862) by a group of monks led by Bulatgama and Hikkaḍuvē (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:390). Writing from Galle after a group of foreigners (apparently from Britain or Europe) violently and publicly ridiculed Buddhist monks, they appealed for Burmese royal intervention with the royal courts of Europe:

May the great King, of great fame, of great merit and wisdom, great
energy and strength,
listen with a mind quickened by compassion,
to our report of the inhabitants of the island of Sīhala,
and of monks in the *Buddha-sāsana* who are completely weakened,
continuously battered by the pressure of people holding various [non-
Buddhist] views.
That hero of great compassion, who fulfilled the ten perfections,
reached enlightenment, teaching the supreme truth [*dhamma*],
with distinction liberating the world from the fetter of rebirth,
he lived forty-five years and was extinguished.
Sinhala who took refuge in that Buddha, his teaching, and the
monastic community,
as renouncers and householders, now are completely weakened.
Separated from kings with right views, they are adrift,

sikā. tesu dve sāmaṇerā cirakālaṃ gāluttitthāsante paramānanda vihāre nevāsikādhīpatibutassa dhammālaṅkāra sirisumanatissābhidhānassa therassa ca nissitakā ahesuṃ. na koci tesu kerāṭikatādīhi aññaṃ patthayamāno syāmaḍesaṃ pāpuṇissatīti maññe. kevalaṃ buddhasāsanikānaṃ mahārājūnaṃ āṇācakkena pāliyamāno pavārabuddhasāsanika dhammasamannāgate cetiyasampanne ratṭhe kālāṃ vicaritvā tattha dhammavinayadhare there ca nissāya vasitvā cetiyāni ca vanditvā pūjetvā sadesaṃ paṇinivattitukāmā bhavanti.

“visesato ca te dve sāmaṇerā avassaṃ syāmaratṭhe there nissāya ciraṃ vasitukāmā honti. indajoti nāmo kira bhikkhu cetiyāni ca there ca vanditvā tattha buddhasāsanappavattiṃ ca yathābalaṃ nātvā acirena sakadesaṃ paccāgantukāmo hoti. tasmā bhadantānaṃ santikaṃ sampattesu tesu videsikañāṭisaññaṃ upaṭṭhapetvā bhadanta sāsanasobhanādayo therā sammā te saṅgaṇhantu paggaṇhantu. videsike te aviññāṭadesavisesasacāritte āgantukabhute vihāraṭṭhā katikādikathāya ca ovadantu.”

like ships floating pilotless here and there.

...

Those scoundrels, liars and killers living in Galle, along with those
living in nearby villages,
had garments sewn, dyed yellow as suitable for monastic robes.
Having taken [them],
having made two rough young countrymen wear them,
giving into their hand two blackened covered pots,
taking them, these scoundrels stood there, mocking,
using the calumny, “these are Buddhist monks!” . . .

...

Learning of this, that famous Lord of Laṅkā [the governor] said:
“I will prohibit this, saying that it should not be done again.”
But, [even] having said that, such aggressive ridicule may occur [again].
The lord of Maramma, a great king, although a foreigner,
is always a devotee of the Triple Gem, within the *Buddha-sāsana*.
Therefore, we always think of him as if he were a lord of Laṅkā.
He manifests a state of friendship with the European kings.
If he were to inform the great queen, ruler of all the English,
within whose power this Laṅkā is now completely,
at his convenience, this would be excellent.
And having made it known there would be in Laṅkā
no opportunity given to these coarse people
to undertake such ridicule again
(In Prajñānanda 1947, 1:390–93)¹⁸

18.

—mahārājā mahāyaso
mahāpuṇṇo mahāpaṇṇo—mahātejo mahabbalo
suṇātu karuṇāvega—samussāhitamānaso
sīhaladdīpavāsīnaṃ—amhākaṃ tu nivedanaṃ
sabbaso balahinānaṃ—bhikkhūnaṃ buddhasāsane
nānādiṭṭhikasambādha—ghaṭṭitānaṃ niraṇṭaraṃ
so mahākaruṇo vīro—pūretvā dasapāramī
patvāna abhisambodhim—desento dhammamuttamaṃ
pamocento visesena—lokaṃ saṃsārabandhanā
pañcatālīsavassāni—vasitvā parinibbuto
tambuddhaṃ saraṇaṃ pattā—dhammaṃ saṅghaṇca sīhalā
pabbajitā gahaṭṭhā ca—dubbalādāni sabbaso
sammādiṭṭhikarājūhi—vippayuttā vimuccitā
akaṇṇadhārā nāveva—viplavanti ito cito

Hikkaḍuvē's sense that Burmese attachment to the Triple Gem made her king a natural protector for Lankan Buddhists was not uncommon on the island, as we see from media treatments of the Burmese ambassador's arrival on the island just a few years later, in 1873.¹⁹ Coverage of the ambassador's visit, which included a visit to the Tooth Relic in Kandy and his reception by the government agent, made clear the positive view of Burma held by many local Lankans:

The Burmese king's ambassador has landed at Laṅkā on his return home after visiting the queen and is here presently. We think it appropriate to recollect the unified activity of the residents of Laṅkā and Burma in the time of the ancient Sinhala kings.

Burma is accorded much regard by all the inhabitants of countries to the east of the River Ganges, and by those of this Laṅkā, speaking of Thibaw, or the lion [as he is known] by the residents of Burma.

Although Buddhism completely disappeared from India, and was

...
 gāluttithe vasantā te—samīpaggāmaṇi
 samāgama samānehi—khalā musalamārakā
 vasaṇāni ca sibbetvā—cīvarākappato puna
 rajitvāna kasāvena—gahetvā sakajātike
 duve mānavake lūke—pārupāpiya tāni tu
 channamukhe duve kumbhe—kālavaṇṇakate puna
 hatthe datvāna tesantu—gahetvā te thitā khalā
 buddhasāsanikā bhikkhū—imeti paribhāsato
 vadantā paribhāsantā—

...
 —taṃ nātvā sopi vissuto
 laṅkissaro avocātha—nisedhessāmi taṃ puna
 na kātābhoti vatvāna—niggaho tādiso bhava
 maramindo mahārājā—kiṇcāpi ca videsiko
 buddhasāsaniko niccaṃ—ratanattayamāmakō
 tasmā maññāma taṃ niccaṃ—laṅkissara sabhāvato
 so yoropiyaṇāyānaṃ—mittabhuto vijambhati
 yassā vasa yaṃ laṅkā—vattate dāni sabbaso
 iṅgalissānampi sabbesaṃ—issarāya mahesiyā
 ārocāpeyya yadi so—imaṃ sādhu yathāsukhaṃ
 ārocāpetva laṅkāyaṃ—puna tādisakaṃ bhava
 paribhāsaṃ pavattetuṃ—tesaṃ kakkhalajātīnaṃ
 okāsaṃ na ca dāpeyya—...

19. See *Lakrivikiraṇa*, 29 March 1873. By this time Hikkaḍuvē's contact with the Burmese court had improved through private channels also, as one of his brothers was employed as a doctor at the royal court in the early 1870s (Prajñānanda 1947, 1:11–12).

mixed with other views in countries like Japan, China, and Tibet, it continued in its ancient manner in these countries of Burma, Siam, and Laṅkā till now. (*Lakrivikiraṇa*, 22 March 1873)

The article's author went on to detail a long history of cooperation between the two lands in matters related to monastic lineage and royal patronage.

In this period, Hikkaḍuvē and Bulatgama attempted to interest King Mindon in taking a more sustained and public interest in Lankan Buddhist affairs. They did the same with the king of Siam, following Rama V's full accession to the throne after a period of regency, seeking to strengthen and formalize Siamese connections with the island. In the Siamese case, however, they specifically sought the appointment of a Siamese consul on the island. This was to be a local, Lankan, Sinhala, nonmonastic agent for the Siamese crown. He was expected to facilitate Siamese interests on the island while making it easier for Lankans to contact the royal court. Bulatgama and Hikkaḍuvē claimed to Rama V that Rama IV had earlier authorized this move through a formal letter under royal seal, although the agent's appointment was not completed before his death (Hikkaḍuvē and Bulatgama to Pavararaṃsi Suriyabandhu Pavarissariya Mahāthera and Phussadeva Sāsanasobhana Mahāthera, n.d., in *Prajñānanda* 1947, 1:351–53).

Crises of the 1880s

In December of 1882, Governor James Longden wrote from Laṅkā to London informing the colonial secretary, Lord Kimberley, that there were signs of millenarianism on the island. Rumor had it that “a pamphlet prophesying the imminent overthrow of British rule was circulating among the Buddhists” (Prothero 1996, 109). Longden was concerned enough to communicate with the governor of Madras about stories told on the island about a King of Righteousness who would rid the island of the British.²⁰ The circulation of narratives anticipating a Buddhist-empowered end to British rule was a measure of cumulative grievance and distress on the island and a sign

20. Prothero suggests that some Lankans considered Colonel Olcott their redeemer, or King of Righteousness (1996, 110). Olcott's turn to public displays of mesmeric healing in the latter half of July 1882 may have stirred discussion of his magical powers (107). Olcott was a white foreigner from well outside the sphere of Jambudvīpa, dependent upon Lankan monks for confirmation of his own Buddhist credentials and authority. It was more likely to expect the King of Righteousness to arrive from Southeast Asia, with the accoutrements of rule and/or signs of ascetic potency. Writing in the *Journal of the Maha Bodhi Society* years later, however, Dharmapāla referred to some who considered Olcott “an incarnation of a Buddhist king” (*JMBS* 14, no. 4 [1906]: 55–56). On colonial-period millenarianism elsewhere in the region, see Hansen (2007, 55–64).

of intensifying impatience with foreign and Christian rule. It thus helps to illuminate the strength of Buddhist responses to the Kotahena Riot of April 1883 (see chap. 4), and the decision made by Hikkaḍuvē and some of his monastic colleagues to address Buddhist groups on the island about the efforts being made by Olcott in London to seek redress directly from London after what they considered inadequate investigation and compensation by the government in Colombo.

Lankan Buddhist restiveness made it natural to look eagerly to South-east Asia for signs of support for Laṅkā and the Lankan Buddhist *śāsana*, even as the Colombo Buddhist Defence Committee sought to improve the level of government support for Buddhism through Olcott's journey to London. Hikkaḍuvē found some signs of promise in the Cambodian monastic community, with which there was considerable contact during the 1880s, apparently sparked by the visit of the Khmer monk Onāthavīriyamaṅgala in the early 1880s. Hikkaḍuvē made excellent use of Onāthavīriyamaṅgala's visit, initiating an epistolary relationship with Saṅgharāja Diaṅ of Cambodia.²¹ Through this correspondence, Hikkaḍuvē attempted to discern the state of the monastic world and *śāsana* in Cambodia, to involve Khmer monks in his Pārupana Vādaya (see chap. 3), and to explore the possibility of Khmer royal patronage for Lankan Buddhist activities. The extant letters suggest that Hikkaḍuvē understood little of the Khmer experience of French colonial rule and the ways in which the protectorate declared in 1863 circumscribed royal power in Cambodia. According to Anne Hansen,

Throughout the rest of the century, especially after 1886, the monarch's real power diminished gradually as he was increasingly forced to rely on the French military to protect his interests against civil unrest. In spite of this arrangement, as far as the majority of Khmer were concerned, French interference in their daily lives was minimal since for the most part the Khmer monarchy maintained its administration of the kingdom through the 1880s. This perception began to crumble in the mid-1880s with the introduction of French-initiated governmental reforms that

21. Hikkaḍuvē's letters to Cambodia write to, and of, the "Saṅgharāja" as resident at Uṇṇalomaṁāra. This must refer to Samtec Braḥ Saṅgharāj Diaṅ, who taught at Vatt Uṇṇalom in Phnom Penh. Diaṅ had received the appointment as supreme patriarch from King Norodom in 1857. From 1854 or 1864, however, Diaṅ's monastic authority was rivaled by that of Samtec Braḥ Sugandhādhipati Pāṇ, who established the Dhammayuttika Nikāya in Cambodia from Siam. He served as chief of the Dhammayuttika Nikāya until 1894, residing at Vatt Bodum Vaddey in Phnom Penh (Hansen 2007, 87; and personal communication 19 February 2008). I therefore use "Diaṅ" at several points when referring to the person referred to by Hikkaḍuvē as the "Saṅgharāja."

sought to diminish the power of Khmer elites to administer and raise revenue from the villages under their jurisdiction in the countryside. (Hansen 2007, 51; see further 64–68)

Although a Dhammayuttika Nikāya was established in Cambodia from Siam in just this period, and Cambodian interest in Laṅkā stemmed partly from the wish to map potent Lankan objects onto a new Dhammayuttika Nikāya space (Hansen 2007, 87), Hikkaḍuvē's extant letters do not reveal his investigation of the relations between monastic orders in Cambodia, or any attempt to introduce the Dhammayuttika or the Mahā Nikāya to Laṅkā from Cambodia in order to unify the Lankan monastic community. However, on Onāthavīriyamaṅgala's return to Cambodia, Hikkaḍuvē sent with him a Vinaya manual as well as a Buddha relic. Hikkaḍuvē used the relic gift (requested by the Khmer monk) and its accompanying letter to establish a relationship of cooperative merit making, as a prelude to further diplomacy:

Therefore, for his [Onāthavīriyamaṅgala's] own training, I give [him] a copy of the book *Vinayavinicchaya*, and one physical relic of Buddha received in an appropriate manner from an ancient relic monument site on this island to give to the Saṅgharāja. I send it by hand through that monk named Onāthavīriyamaṅgala Thera. May the Saṅgharāja accept [it] to venerate and honor for the sake of my long-term welfare and happiness. Since physical relics of the Enlightened Buddha are extremely rare, it is for the advantage, welfare, and happiness of whoever receives that very rare [gift] and venerates and honors it. (In Prajñānanda 1947, 1:359)²²

This early letter did not make the Lankan case for patronage too forcefully, noting only the pattern of long-term instability on the island while drawing subtle attention to the heroic role available to a willing Buddhist king (359). The 1880s saw an unfolding of high-level contacts among Vidyodaya, Khmer monks, and the Cambodian royal family. As we shall see, the Cambodian court had strong interests of their own vested in contact with Laṅkā.

22. "tatoham imasseva sikkhatthāya vinayavinicchayapothakaṇca dadāmi ekaṃ sugata-sārīrikadhātuṇca asmiṃ dīpe ekasmā porāṇakacetiyatṭhānā sammā laddhaṃ saṅgharājassa dātum. imasseva onāthavīriyamaṅgalavhayassa therassa bhikkhuno hatthe pesemi. paṭigāhātu saṅgharājā vandituṇceva pūjetuṇca mama ca dīgharattaṃ hitāya sukhāya. yato bhagavato sammā-sambuddhassa sārīrikadhātuyo atidullabhā tamatidullabhaṃ labhivā ye keci vandanti pūjenti tesam taṃ hoti atthāya hitāya sukhāyāti."

Onāthavīriyamaṅgala made another visit to the island soon after his first, reaching Colombo in BV 2426 (1883) with five other higher ordained monks and two lay administrative managers, bearing a gift of monastic robes and a letter from Diañ. A central aim of the Cambodian monastic embassy was ritual presentation of an elaborate canopy and curtains to the Tooth Relic in Kandy (in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:367).²³ This was accomplished only after considerable difficulty and the intervention of Hikkaḍuvē with the government in Kandy. Recounting the difficult achievements in Kandy and the inconvenience posed by British rule to Buddhist merit making allowed Hikkaḍuvē a reasonably delicate transition to seeking royal patronage for Laṅkā and for Vidyodaya in his letter to the head of the Cambodian monastic community.

Further, now, in Laṅkā the Tooth Relic is guarded and protected by a guard of Englishmen who are enforcing their paramount rule. Therefore, the leading senior monks or the Sinhala lay officials there in Kandy aren't able to remove [the relic] from its caskets as they wish for display. Therefore, I went to Kandy and, in alliance with my dear friend Sonutara who lives there, received permission from the government officials and had them remove the Tooth Relic for the viewing, veneration, etc., of that Onāthavīriya and the others as they wished. Indeed, that was an extremely difficult task. With respect to that undertaking, there is a law of this kind: "Any foreigners who come to see the Tooth Relic are to bring a formal letter from the king or royal minister of their own country indicating this intent." This task was a very heavy burden because of the absence of that [letter].

. . . Then, having had them undertake their veneration and offerings, I also venerated [the relic] and made an offering in the name of the Venerable Saṅgharāja [the addressee]. May the Venerable Saṅgharāja rejoice at this merit. . . .

And further, may the Venerable Saṅgharāja understand that now in all the lands and regions the *Buddha-sāsana* has become weak. Why? I think it's because of the deterioration in proper learning. Thinking for a long time that conduct and meditative insight would be protected by guarded learning, having consulted with my esteemed lay disciples and donors of monastic requisites, etc., I established Vidyodaya Pariveṇa in this monastery of ours, in order to offer textual training to higher ordained monks, novices, and laypeople. The regulation was made [for this site] that "here the study of Buddhist teachings and monastic discipline

23. Pilgrimage was also made to Sri Pada and Anuradhapura. See further below.

is to be undertaken without a break, in all seasons [i.e., not just during the rains retreat].” Thus, just so, many higher ordained monks, novices, etc., have joined together, associate with one another, and study Buddhist teachings and monastic discipline here. Yet the patrons are extremely weak, because here there are no kings, heirs apparent, etc., with right [Buddhist] views. And thus, may you, the Saṅgharāja and others, rejoice in the merit of [this] act that is conducive to the duration of the *Buddha-sāsana* for some [further] time. (In Prajñānanda 1947, 1: 367–68)²⁴

As we shall see shortly, Cambodian engagement with the Tooth Relic at Kandy continued to intensify, with further formal embassies sent by the royal court. The few Cambodian students at Vidyodaya must have brought news of Buddhist affairs in Cambodia. However, Hikkaḍuvē was keen to pursue a variety of investigations in greater detail, including Khmer handling of the much-vexed question of monastic dress. There was another way to investigate the state of the *sāsana* in Cambodia, and to seek Khmer patronage for the island’s Buddhists. Hikkaḍuvē supported monastic travel to Cambodia in the mid-1880s, as he had for some time supported movement among Lankā, Siam, and Burma:

Further, now, one resident of the island of Sīhala, known by me, a higher ordained monk named Indajoti, and two Sinhala novices known as

24. dantadhātu pana laṅkādiṭṭhe idāni paramādhīpaccaṃ pavattayamānānaṃ eṅgalisīnaṃ āra-kkhāyā rakkhitā gopitā vattati. tasmā tatha seṅkhaṇḍaselanagare therānuthērā va sīhala mahāmattā vā na sakkonti sakāya icchāya karaṇḍehi bahinīharitvā dassetuṃ. tato ‘haṃ seṅkhaṇḍaselanagaraṃ patvā tatha nivāsibhutaṃ soṇuttaraṃ mama piyamittaṃ sahāyaṃ katvā eṅgalisāmaccānaṃ okāsaṃ labhivā yathāruce tesam onāthavīriyādīnaṃ dassanavandanādikaraṇatthāya dantadhātum bahinīharāpesiṃ. taṃ hi kammaṃ ativīyaṃ dukkaraṃ aho. tasmīṃ kamme idiso niyamo hoti ‘ye keci pāradesikā dantadhātudassanatthāya āgacchanti tehi sakadesarājato vā rājamahāmaccato vā tadatthañāpakam sandesapaṇṇam ānetabbam ti tassābhāvāyeva taṃ kammaṃ dukkharam bhāriyaṃ jātaṃ.

tathā te ca vandāpetvā pūjāpetvā ahaṅca bhoto saṅgharājassa nāmena vandim pūjesiṃ sādhu bhavaṃ saṅgharājā puññaṃ anumodatu. . . .

api ca jānātu bhavaṃ saṅgharājā idāni sakaladesesu janapadesu buddhasāsanaṃ dubbalaṃ jātaṃ taṃ kissa hetu. pariyaṭṭi parihaṇi hetu ti maññāmi. pariyaṭṭiyā rakkhitāya paṭipattipativedhā rakkhitā bhavēyyuṃ tamaṃ ciraṃ cintayanto mayhaṃ pavāritapaccayadāyakopasakādīhi sad-dhiṃ sammantevā bhikkhūnaṃ ceva sāmaṇerānaṃ upāsakānaṃ pariyaṭṭisikkhādānattāya imasmiṃ amhākaṃ vihare vijjodaya pariveṇaṃ nāma sampādesiṃ. ettha sabba-utukālesu dham-mavinayuggaho avicchinnam pavattetabbo ti katikā ca katā. tatheva tāva bhikkhusāmaṇerādayo saṅgama samāgama bahavo ettha dhammavinayuggahaṃ karonti. tathā pi upatthambhakā atīvīya dubbalā. yato ettha na honti sammādiṭṭhikā rūjuparājādayo ca. tathā pi ettakam kalam buddhasāsanaṭṭhiyā kariyamānassa kammassa puññaṃ tumhe saṅgharājādayo cānumodatha.

Dhammajoti and Dhammasiri, tell me of their inclination, wanting to leave here and travel to the kingdom of Cambodia itself, and the kingdom of Siam. Having properly learned about the *Buddha-sāsana* in various places to the best of their ability, and having venerated and honored the relic-shrines there that are to be venerated and honored, and having lived here and there at their pleasure, they [then] want to return. One of our lay administrative managers here named Vijasekhara studied the language of Cambodia from Cambodian higher ordained monks during their period of residence here and is able to converse in that language. Having appointed him the lay administrative manager for the voyagers, they want to go with him on pilgrimage. Therefore, he travels with them as their administrative manager. May the Venerable Saṅgharāja act with compassion, offering appropriate help and support to [these travelers]. And may he inform the king and court ministers, etc., as he wishes. (In Prajñānanda 1947, 1:365)²⁵

High-level contact between Vidyodaya Piriveṇa and Cambodia continued, and gifts flowed freely among leading Lankan monks, their Khmer counterparts, and members of the Cambodian royal family. However, letters sent by Hikkaḍuvē to the royal family show no signs of Cambodian readiness to undertake royal patronage of the Lankan monastic community or Lankan Buddhist institutions on any substantial scale. At least one member of the French intelligence service, however, saw cause for concern in Lankan-Cambodian Buddhist contact. Writing from Pondicherry (presumably with some awareness of Olcott's translocal Asian activities based at the nearby Theosophical Society headquarters in Adyar), a French agent filed a report on Lankan Buddhism to France's minister of the colonies, Jules Ferry, in 1884:

He noted the presence of Cambodian monks in the orbit of Dhammapala's elder, the Venerable Sienangala Theno [*sic*; Sumaṅgala Thero]. "It

25. "api ca idāni sīhaladīpiko mayā nāto eko indajoti nāmako bhikkhu ca dhammajoti dhammasiri samañña dve sīhalā samaṇuddesā kambojaratṭham ceva syāmaratṭham ca gantukāmā ito nikkhamitukāmā tesamajjhāsayaṃ mayhaṃ ārocenti. tehi tattha vandaniyāni pūjanīyāni ca cetiyāni vanditvā ceva pūjetvā ca tattha tattha buddhasāsanikapavattim ca sammā viditvā yathābalaṃ tattha tattha yathābhirantaṃ vasitvā paccāgantukāmā honti. idha mayhaṃ eko kappiyakāraṃ vijayasekhara nāmo kambojabhikkhūnaṃ idha vāsasamaye uggaḥitakamboja bhāso tāya bhāsāya sallāpaṃ kātum sakkoti. ime disaṃ gamikānaṃ kappiyakāraṃ katvā tena saddhiṃ cārikaṃ caritukāmā honti. tasmā so tesam kappiyakāratṭhānaṃ patvā tehi saddhiṃ disaṃgamiko hoti. bhavaṃ saṅgharājamaḥāthero imaṃ bhikkhuṃ ceva sāmaṇere ca ekaṃ gahaṭṭhaṃ kappiyakāraṃ ca yathārahaṃ saṅgaṇhātu anuggaṇhātu anukampaṃ upādāya. mahārāja-mahāmattādayo ca saññāpetu yathāruci."

is here," wrote a M. Deloncle, that Burma, Siam, Cambodge, Annam and Southern China . . . send homage, tributes of gifts." Deloncle described Theno's [*sic*] Vidyodaya Parivena college as "the grand seminary of Siamese and Cambodian monks," sent by their kingdoms to learn through readings of sacred books. . . . Letters he had received from Burma, Siam, and Cambodge, as well as news from Reuters, had made him deeply concerned about France's "action in Cambodge," fearing both the influence of Mahayana Annam, which had only a "very inexact notion of Buddhism," and the spread of Christianity in these countries. (Edwards 2007, 104 n. 38)²⁶

Deloncle's fears of Lankan influence on the *śāsana* in Siam and Indochina are both striking and ironic, given the intensity with which Hikkaḍuvē and some of his Lankan colleagues looked to Southeast Asia to resolve their own problems related to the colonial presence.

Lacking substantial support from Cambodia, Hikkaḍuvē and some of his close associates resumed more serious attempts to interest the Siamese court in Lankan affairs. They attempted once more to have a Siamese consul appointed in Lan̄kā by Bangkok. Two letters sent to E. R. Guṇaratna in October 1883 reveal that Hikkaḍuvē, after the Kotahena Riot, had explored the matter of a Siamese consul once again. Exploratory contact with Bangkok on the matter was intended to be discreet, without British knowledge, until the Siamese government decided to make the appointment. Hikkaḍuvē hoped that the Siamese consul would be able to intervene with the government on behalf of Lankan Buddhists. In his view, the Christian Sinhala member of the Legislative Council did not adequately protect Buddhist interests on the island (Hikkaḍuvē to E. R. Guṇaratna, 26 October 1883; in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:720–21). In the end no Siamese consul was appointed to Lan̄kā until 1897, and, at that time, the appointee was quite distant from the sort of person Hikkaḍuvē had envisaged.²⁷ Although Hikkaḍuvē's efforts to establish the consul were unsuccessful, the matter of the Siamese consul became a

26. The terms of Deloncle's account of Hikkaḍuvē (and its inexactness with respect to Dharmapāla, Rama V, and Hikkaḍuvē's own Buddhism) suggest he had obtained his intelligence in part from non-Lankan persons connected to the Theosophical Society.

27. Hikkaḍuvē had in mind proctor Edward Perera, "knowledgeable in law and a clever speaker, who had no government appointment" (in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:722). Perera was later advocate to the Supreme Court of Ceylon. However, Samuel Donnaciff Young, a partner in the firm of Clark, Young, and Co., was appointed the first Siamese consul. Young had approximately twenty-seven years of experience on the island at this time (Wright 1907, 138). The firm is listed under "Colombo Merchants and Agents" in J. Ferguson's *Ceylon Directory* (1896, 734).

semipublic secret in Laṅkā (Vaskaḍuvē to Bhanurangsi, 9 May 1886, SLNA 5/63/17/6; 6 December 1886, SLNA 5/63/17/676F).

It is not surprising that Lankans eyed Siamese prospects eagerly in the 1880s. Bangkok became ever more centrally the focus of Lankan hope and attention as Burma fell increasingly under British military and political control. By 1886, it was evident to leading members of the Lankan monastic world that little could be expected of the king of Burma. Literate Lankans with access to the newspapers followed developments in Burma with interest and alarm, as we see from the correspondence between Vaskaḍuvē Subhuti (one of Hikkaḍuvē's leading colleagues in the Amarapura Nikāya) and Prince Bhanurangsi, at the Bangkok court:

It is with the more profound sorrow I have recommandicate [*sic*] to your Royal Highness, that we in Ceylon, who profess the religion of Lord Buddha have lost much of our courage and hopes since reading of recent events in Burmah. Although we have no King here, we have always recognized the Kings of Burmah and Siam as our Kings. But now it seems that we are to lose the King of Burmah, and this, I believe, you have known from the recent telegrams, which inform the world that three forts have already been captured by the English, and that they are rapidly advancing further. I do not know what may be the end of it. Cambodia too, I read, has been taken by the French. (Vaskaḍuvē to Bhanurangsi, 23 November 1885, SLNA 5/63/17/5)

Regarding the war in Burma, I feel exceedingly sorry although in former times the Burmese have commenced war with my country, but still I feel the greatest sympathy with them as our neighbors and coreligionists. (Bhanurangsi to Vaskaḍuvē, 8 December 1885, SLNA 5/63/17/697)

Regarding the fall of Burmah I am exceedingly sorry for its sad fate but that China is ready to declare war against England on behalf of Burmah is without the least foundation, in fact the idea seems quite ridiculous, nobody here in Siam has heard of such a thing and if they had it would certainly not have been believed. (Bhanurangsi to Vaskaḍuvē, 10 February 1886, SLNA 5/63/17/700)

As we shall shortly see, Hikkaḍuvē and his colleagues continued monastic and diplomatic ties to the royal courts of Burma and Cambodia, facilitating elaborate pilgrimage embassies and offerings to the Kandyan Tooth Relic that were in part anticolonial merit-making strategies. However, nei-

ther kingdom offered a reliable prospect of substantial royal patronage or political-cum-religious buffering against the British government and Christianity. Japan, though resolutely independent (and, indeed, aggressive in her own region), was not a convincing prospect either. This owed partly to the distance between Japanese Buddhisms and those practiced in Laṅkā and Southeast Asia. There were, moreover, no ties of monastic lineage between Laṅkā and Japan. Therefore, there could be no reasonable hope that Japanese royal or Buddhist clerical support would resolve tensions within the Lankan monastic community through an imported ordination. And, so, as the 1880s drew to a close, Siam was necessarily the focus of close attention, and elaborate dreams, among Lankan monks including Hikkaḍuvē.

Nikāya Politics

In BV 2431 (1888), Hikkaḍuvē wrote to Saṃsīthikara, a leading Siamese monk resident at the Payūrārāma Vihāra in Bangkok, seeking information about the Mahā Nikāya in Siam. He explained that the Lankan Siyam Nikāya was in difficulties, internally divided and lacking the support of Buddhist kingship. Hikkaḍuvē claimed connection to the Mahā Nikāya, reminding his correspondent that the Lankan Siyam Nikāya owed its own origins to the Siamese Mahā Nikāya, but reported that he had had little contact with the Mahā Nikāya for some time (in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:348–49). Now, however, thanks to a novice monk who had brought reports of the Siamese monastic community upon his return to Colombo, Hikkaḍuvē knew how to contact Saṃsīthikara. This letter reveals Hikkaḍuvē's continuing interest in using Southeast Asian monastic lineages to resolve Lankan monastic difficulties. Earlier attempts by Hikkaḍuvē to inaugurate the Siamese Dhammayuttika Nikāya in Laṅkā had failed to galvanize sufficient support on the island. Yet fissures within the Siyam Nikāya continued to deepen, in part because of the controversy on robes sparked by Hikkaḍuvē in the early 1880s (see chap. 3). Writing to Saṃsīthikara, Hikkaḍuvē began to explore again the possibility that Siamese monastic lineage might be drawn into the service of the divided Lankan monastic community:

Now how does the Mahā Nikāya get on in Siam? Wherever do the most senior monks live who are skilled in Buddhist teachings and monastic discipline? By which names are they known?²⁸ From where in the

28. Charles Hallisey has suggested that this may refer to the monastic titles used in Siam (personal communication, June 2005), which seems reasonable.

country of Siam does that *nikāya* operate? Further, how did the Dhammayuttika Nikāya arise? Do the two orders perform monastic rituals [*vinaya kamma*] together or not? There isn't a perceived identity? How and when did that split [between them] arise? Is there a text elucidating the *sāsana* lineage of the Mahā Nikāya monks there [in Siam]? And, if so, might I receive a copy? (In Prajñānanda 1947, 1:348–49)²⁹

Hikkaḍuvē would have been aware, through his early contacts with Siam as well as reports from Bulatgama, of the detailed correspondence between Bangkok and Laṅkā prior to Rama IV's accession to the throne, during the formative years of the Dhammayuttika Nikāya. Letters composed in the 1880s suggest the wish to rise again to that level of intricate, often practical, epistolary engagement. The Pali letters of the 1840s reproduced by A. P. Buddhadatta (1962) included detailed accounts of *śāsana* history in different regions, as well as monastic lineage ordination histories, and discussions of monastic ritual enclosures [*sīmā*]. In this letter, Hikkaḍuvē was eager to estimate the degree of patronage received in Siam by the Mahā Nikāya and its status relative to the Dhammayuttika Nikāya. He knew something of the early history of the Dhammayuttika Nikāya. However, his letter to Saṃsīthikara suggests that he had no detailed understanding of the Dhammayuttika Nikāya's lineage history. Seeking a Mahā Nikāya perspective on the origins of the Dhammayuttika Nikāya, as well as information on the lineage history of the Siamese Mahā Nikāya, was a way to explore further the possible reunification of the Lankan Siyam Nikāya from Siam. Moreover, his own Siyam Nikāya originated in what the Siamese were beginning to call the Mahā Nikāya, while the Lankan Amarapura and Ramañña Nikāyas had both indirect and direct claims to southern Burmese lineage.³⁰ Hikkaḍuvē would have been curious, since the Dhammayuttika Nikāya was connected to Mon lines from Southern Burma, about how the existence of more than one monastic order was managed in the Siamese monastic bureaucracy. His interest in lineage histories was also shaped by local Lankan memories of the connections between one of his home temples (Toṭagamuvē

29. "idāni pana so mahānikāyo syāmadese kathaṃ vattati? dhamme ceva vinaye ca pāṭavaṃ gatā mahātherā kattha kattha vasanti? kehi nāmehi pākaṭā? so hi nikāyo syāmaratṭhe kutopatthāya vattati? kasmā pana dhammayuttiko nāmo nikāyo jāto? dissati tesam ubhinnaṃ vinayakammesu sāmaggī udāhu na dissati? samo na dissati? kasmā so bhedo kadā jāto? atthi tattha mahānikāyikānaṃ sāsanavamsikappakaraṇaṃ? sace atthi kathaṃ mayam sakkuṇeyyāma taṃ laddhanti?"

30. At least one nineteenth-century Lankan Ramañña Nikāya monk, Ilukvattē, understood one of the Ramañña Nikāya lines brought to Laṅkā from Burma to be a reimportation of the Lankan Mahā Vihāra line exported to Burma for the Kalyāṇi ordination (Medhaṅkara 1889, 14).

Vihāraya) and the fifteenth-century Kalyāṇi ordination exported to Pegu, in southern Burma, for King Dhammaceti's "purification." This Kalyāṇi line was valued over the existing ordination lines of his day in Siam by Rama IV (Reynolds 1972, 79–80, 82), who sponsored a new ordination in Bangkok by monks who had been ordained at Dhammaceti's Kalyāṇi site in Pegu. Hikkaḍuvē had historic monastic connections by temple and ordination line to both of the leading Siamese orders of his day.

Hikkaḍuvē was not alone in this work of monastic investigation and diplomacy. A monk outside the Siyam Nikāya (in either the Amarapura or Ramañña Nikāya) wrote encouragingly to Hikkaḍuvē in the early 1890s about rumors of reunification and purification:

There is news here about bringing those senior monks to unite the two orders here—not on the basis of performing the *śikṣa* again [a reinforcement of higher ordination through a *dalhi-kamma*], but from the foundations [from lay and then novice monk status], in order to resolve the state of debate about impure [ritual enclosures]. And another report says that is to unite the two breakaway sections of the two orders. I think that since Buddhism has been protected by the royal lineages the monastic teaching is the purest in the two lands of Siam and Burma. If an important leading senior monk were to come from those countries and perform higher ordination on our students, it would be best. (U.[sic; W.] A. Nāṇatilaka to Hikkaḍuvē, 22 February 1892, in Prajñānanda 1947, 2:650)³¹

In the absence of a Buddhist monarch to take final authority for the reconstitution of the Lankan monastic community by introducing a new higher ordination from Southeast Asia, the periodic attempts by Hikkaḍuvē and his monastic colleagues to unify the Lankan monastic world in this way met with little success. Lankan monks and their lay supporters on the island were divided by caste, class, and region. They were also separated by arguments over monastic ritual requirements and other forms of Buddhist practice, arguments that found fertile conjunction with a host of micropolitical strategies and concerns. While monastic leaders of the Burmese and Sia-

31. "oya terunvahansēlā vāḍamavāgena mehi tibēṇa nikāya deka ekatuvenṭayai āraṃcīya tibennē—puna śikṣāva kaḷa tān paṭan nova mulapaṭan asaṅkaravāḍitvaya sādīmaṭayai. tavat āraṃcīyak nikāya dekin koṭas deka kādī ekatuvenṭayayi da kiyati. magē adahasa siyam buruma deraṭē rājaparamparāvalin buddhāgama āraṅkā kaḷa nisā śramaṇadharmaya pīrisuduvāmayayi. ē raṭavalin vādagat pera [sic; *thera*] kenek āyēnaṃ apa śīsyayan upasampadākaravā gānma itā hoṇḍavāmayi."

mese lineages did from time to time send information, texts, and monks to Laṅkā in response to requests from the island—and were prepared to ordain Lankan monks in mainland Southeast Asian lineages on their home territory—they could not undertake a massive ordination mission to Laṅkā without the support of their own monarchs and local monastic leadership. In the context of the regional colonial politics of the 1880s and 1890s, such a massive undertaking was impossible for the Burmese, and implausible for the Siamese.

Looking to Bangkok at Century's End

Extant documents from Laṅkā suggest that Hikkaḍuvē and other Lankan monks—despite translocal correspondence and monastic travels—could not assess adequately either the state of monastic politics in Siam or the manner in which colonial diplomatic requirements might tie Bangkok's hands to some extent vis-à-vis both Burma and Laṅkā.³² Hikkaḍuvē and some of his close associates in the Siyam Nikāya and beyond increasingly pinned their hopes on Bangkok and Rama V for a resolution to Laṅkā's monastic difficulties and for a buffer of patronage between the island and British rule. There was, during this period, a strong and steady series of visits by high-level Siamese to the island. Such visits were watched with care on the island and received extensive coverage in local newspapers, both Sinhala and English.³³ Members of the royal family traveled regularly to Europe for education and diplomatic meetings. Laṅkā was a consistent port of call, particularly for visits to the Tooth Relic in Kandy. Siamese visitors brought gifts for leading Lankan monks who facilitated these journeys on the island. There were meetings between the Siamese visitors (including the powerful Prince Bhanurangsi and Prince Damrong, the Siamese minister of education [Prajñānanda 1947, 1:259]) and Lankan monks, including Hikkaḍuvē, Bulat-gama (who died in 1891), and Vaskaḍuvē. Bangkok exercised an increasing degree of fascination on the island as representatives of the only reigning “southern” Buddhist monarch made their way to and from metropolitan Britain and Europe.

32. A brief discussion of these points appears also in Blackburn (2009a).

33. This coverage sometimes included arguments about whom, exactly, the Siamese visitors met, where they did so, what gifts were received, and what (if any) lapses in graciousness or hospitality characterized the visit. This indicates the ways in which patronage connections to the Siamese royal court entered local Lankan competitions (within, and beyond, the monastic world) for status and prestige. There is revealing coverage of such matters in *Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa* and *Lakmiṇipahana*, which can be read in part from a caste-oriented perspective.

Although high-ranking members of the Siamese court visited the island regularly in the 1880s and 1890s, the king himself did not arrive until 1897, en route to England for Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee. Preparations for the visit of Rama V proceeded on a massive scale. It was evident to the island's Buddhist leaders (lay and monastic) that the royal visit was a precious opportunity to garner favor and patronage.³⁴ For some Buddhist monks, including Hikkaḍuvē, the arrival of the king was a natural opportunity to press for royal resolution to the island's monastic struggles and divisions. Nearly a month before the king's arrival, leading monks from the Siyam and Amarapura Nikāyas, including Hikkaḍuvē, wrote announcing,

We, the undersigned, for ourselves and on behalf of the rest of the Buddhist priesthood of Ceylon, beg to tender our deep regard and tender love to Your Majesty, as the only Buddhist sovereign of the world yet preserved to us, to look to for the protection of the religion of our Lord Buddha and the advancement of our spiritual welfare. We have heard that it is the intention of Your Majesty to start on a tour to Europe by the beginning of next month, and we crave that it will please Your Majesty to visit our island on your way, as we feel certain that it will tend to the welfare of the Buddhists generally and of those of Ceylon particularly. . . . Siam and Ceylon are inseparably bound together, by religious ties—they are like twin sisters who have received and are still receiving that mutual help from one common source which has contributed and, we trust, will, in the future, contribute to uphold and maintain the pure, simple, and priceless truths of the religion of the South. . . .

We anxiously look forward to the day when the Buddhist priests and laymen here will *recognize, acknowledge and yield implicit obedience to the laws and decisions of your enlightened ecclesiastical Government and Sovereignty* as not only binding on us and them, but on the whole of the Buddhist world and as the natural and respected head of our common religion we look to you, and beg of you to advise us, to organize the means *whereby we can approach you, and be guided by your decision in all matters of religious law and reform*, and to generally help us for the furtherance and better establishment of the religion of Lord

34. On local plans for the king's reception, see *Ceylon Observer*, 29 March 1897; *Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa*, 30 March 1897; *Ceylon Observer*, 7 April 1897; *Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa*, 30 March and 9 April 1897; *Lakrivikiraṇa*, 27 March 1897, 31 March 1897, 3 April 1897; and *Lakmiṇipahaṇa*, 20 March 1897.

Buddha. (16 March 1897, reproduced in the *Ceylon Observer*, 24 March 1897; italics added)³⁵

In writing this to Rama V, they ignored the king of Japan, emphasizing a smaller and more exclusive vision of Buddhism as “the religion of the South.” The term reflects the emergent use of the term “Southern Buddhists” by scholars of Buddhism to refer to Buddhism in Laṅkā, Burma, and Siam. Using Victorian Christian-inflected terms to describe their aims for the Siamese king in Laṅkā, they began to develop a vision of a distinctive “ecclesiastical” sphere of rule and sovereignty separate from a “nonreligious” sphere of politics.

By the time King Rama V reached the island, the Buddhist petitioners to him had clarified their wishes with respect to Siamese authority over the monastic communities of Laṅkā, Burma, and Siam. This is evident in a formal petition, prepared in Colombo³⁶ and read to the king upon his arrival, along with the address prepared by the General Committee (comprising Buddhists and non-Buddhists) (*Ceylon Observer*, 15 April 1897).³⁷ Hikkaḍuvē and Vaskaḍuvē were present in the welcoming party (*Lakrivikirāṇa*, 21 April 1897). The king was addressed in English and again identified as the only remaining Buddhist sovereign:

A general committee representing the Buddhist Priests and Laymen of Ceylon, duly chosen at a public meeting at Colombo, respectfully offer to Your Majesty heartfelt and joyful welcome to this ancient cradle land of Buddhism made holy by the touch of the Lotus feet of Thathagatha [Buddha] and by the residence of many holy Arahats [enlightened persons] in different centuries. We offer our homage to the last independent reigning Buddhist Sovereign and pray Your Majesty to grant the blessings of

35. The signatories included monks from the Siyam and Amarapura Nikāyas, including the Mahā Nāyaka of the Malvatu Vihāraya in Kandy: “Signed: Chief Priests V. Sumangala, Kosgoda; Tibbatuvave, Kandy; Buddharakkhita, Kelaniya; H. Sumangala, Maligakanda, Cbo; Sri Suman-gala, Panadura; W. [Vaskaḍuvē] Subhuti, Kalutara; Silakkhanda, Galle; Kapuliade, Kandy; Sumanatissa, Kalutara; Dharmaratne, Kelaniya; W. A. Nanatilaka, Kosgoda and Prisdan Choomsai Jinavarawansa (for the united sects and strangers).” Bulatgama had died in 1891 (P. Buddhaddatta 1950, 73).

36. An initial meeting was held at Ananda College with Hikkaḍuvē in the chair. The address was discussed further at a second meeting chaired by Olcott (*Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa*, 30 March and 9 April, 1897). Olcott later claimed to have authored the draft document at the request of the Lankan Executive Committee, which approved it (*Theosophist* 26, no. 12:710 [1904]).

37. According to Olcott’s later recollection, he was deputed by the Lankan Executive Committee to prepare the English-language address (*Theosophist* 26, no. 12:710 [1904]).

your sympathy and kind aid in the work for the revival and purification of Buddhism in this Island which we have been carrying on these past twenty five years with encouraging success.

All Buddhist nations honour Your Majesty for your memorable and most praiseworthy work of publishing the Thripitaka in thirty nine bound volumes, thus protecting the Siamese version from every evil chance and accident and giving the best proof of Your Majesty's interest in Pali Literature. The Sinhalese have had the further striking proofs of Your Majesty's kindness in your gifts for religious education³⁸ and the restoration of an ancient Dagoba at Anuradhapura.³⁹ From Ceylon the Arya Dharma of the Buddha was extended to Siam and Burma and in our time of political upheaval and religious distress Siam repeats her debt of gratitude by sending us her most learned and pious Bhikkhus to help to restore our religion and revive the courage and the efforts of our scattered Priesthood.⁴⁰

At another time we received sisterly like aid from Burma.⁴¹ So our three nations are linked together by the strongest and purest of internationalities—that of a common religious interest. They are, in fact, three sisters who have kept pure the primitive teachings of Buddha as finally fixed and defined by the Vaisali Council of the Emperor Dharmasoka. But while through political changes Ceylon and Burma have been deprived of the Royal protectors of their Sanghas [monastic communities], Siam still has the possession of his inestimable blessing while their Sangha Rajas [supreme monastic leaders] have lost their proper authority over their Sanghas, happier Siam has [s]till her Ecclesiastical Council in unweakened authority, and with the help of her Gracious Sovereign can enforce discipline and guard the people against the evils of Scepticism and disunion. The visit of your most Gracious Majesty would be forever memorable in Ceylon History, if it should result in an unification of the Buddhists of the three sister nations under one international Ecclesiastical Council with Your Majesty's August patronage and protection. This would be a far more noble monument to your memory than any that could be built by us. The General Committee your humble memorialists speaking on behalf of the Sinhalese Buddhists pray Your Majesty to give this serious question the consideration which its importance de-

38. A Siamese scholarship was established at Vidyodaya in 1888.

39. See Blackburn (n.d.).

40. A reference to the establishment of the Siyam Nikāya in the eighteenth century.

41. A reference to the establishment of the Amarapura and Ramañña Nikāyas in the nineteenth century and, perhaps, to the arrival of monks from Arakan in the eighteenth.

serves and to earn the eternal gratitude of our people by co-operation with our best Bhikkus and Dayakayas [lay supporters] in perfecting a plan for its realization. (In Prajñānanda 1947, 2:774–75; original spellings)

At this highly public English-language moment, Lankan Buddhists made their case in an idiom that reflected the nation-focused discourse of their era, as well as a vision that linked “religion” and religious belief to social unity and harmony.

The Lankan proposal that the Siamese king draw Laṅkā within his religious sovereignty, through an Ecclesiastical Council, appears to have originated with a former member of the Siamese foreign service resident in the Lankan monastic community at this time. Jinavaravaṃsa, formerly Prince Prisdan, had been ordained in the Lankan Amarapura Nikāya in 1896, with Vaskaḍuvē Subhuti as his preceptor.⁴² Before his arrival in Laṅkā, Jinavaravaṃsa, known popularly in Lankan English writings as the Prince Priest, a grandson of Rama III, had served as a Siamese envoy to Europe. This included a final post based in London and Paris as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Courts of St. James, Berlin, Vienna, the Quirinal, Madrid, Lisbon, Copenhagen, Stockholm, the Hague, and Brussels, and to the republics in France and America (Martinus 1999, 14–15, Jumsai 1977, 18–19, 28–73). After falling out of favor with Rama V, perhaps over the question of constitutional monarchy for Siam (Jumsai 1977, 245–58), Prisdan settled members of his family outside Thailand and sought ordination in Laṅkā. Whatever his personal interest in monastic practice, becoming a monk provided a secure living and the opportunity to involve himself in Buddhist institution building and regional diplomacy. He remained a monk in Laṅkā until 1911, when he returned to Siam (P. Buddhadatta 1950, 131). There he was required by Rama VI to remain, though without royal favor (Jumsai 1977, 266–67). Due to his royal status and diplomatic experience, he rose to prominence among Lankan monks quickly, although he was also criticized as an arriviste meddler in local affairs.

Jinavaravaṃsa wrote publicly and at considerable length about the royal visit in March 1897 to an English-language Lankan newspaper, the *Independent*. He may have hoped to regain royal favor through monastic overtures

42. Prisdan had first discussed ordination with Vaskaḍuvē on a visit to Laṅkā in 1880. His November 1896 novitiate ordination was a spectacle on the island, as Prisdan offered his valuables to locals and the Tooth Relic before a crowd of thousands (P. Buddhadatta 1950, 129). With Prisdan's ordination, Vaskaḍuvē became known as *rājaguru*, or royal tutor. Prisdan's ordination proved fascinating enough to warrant versification. *Siyam Rājakumāra Pāvividvata* quickly ran through two printings in 1896 (Idirisimha 1896).

from Laṅkā. His preamble, "Facts to Be Borne in Mind," set the terms for his argument in favor of Siamese royal intervention in Lankan Buddhism. He adduced a history of religious connection among Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, identifying Ceylon as "the first mother country of Southern Buddhism from which all the surrounding countries derived the teachings of Lord Buddha." At least as central, however, was his position that "every principal Religion on earth has its natural and recognized protector and its recognized spiritual and temporal authority either as an individual or a collective body" but that "Ceylon in common with other Buddhist countries has lost the natural protector of her religion by the loss of her Buddhist Sovereign." Siam, on the other hand, had "yet her Sovereign's right and authority to keep and protect her religion and order, and to exercise absolute control over the conduct of the priesthood and its affairs." Charging that the Lankan monastic community was characterized by faulty monastic lineage and immoral priests, Jinavaravaṃsa made his case for rectification through the Siamese monarchy, since "the English Government is neither competent nor willing to interfere except in so far as concerns those that come into conflict with their laws and the necessity and convenience of their administration." He continued:

13. Siam has a King as the temporal Head of Buddhism, and a Sangha-Raja as the spiritual head of the order and religion, irrespective of denominations.

Moreover, Siam has a properly constituted Ecclesiastical Council to try and punish refractory priests. Its authority is absolute, and its opinion, as far as is concerned with the Vinaya, is guided by the Sanga-Raja whose Council of the learned priests is selected from all denominations, the opinion of which is therefore the unanimous verdict of the learned representatives of all denominations.

14. Siam is the only Buddhist country now remaining which has not been conquered or subjugated by a non-Buddhist Government. . . .
15. Siam is the only country whose King is a Buddhist and must be a Buddhist. His right to be the temporal Head of the religion is hereditary.
16. The King of Siam is the only remaining Buddhist Sovereign who can claim the sovereign right to protect Buddhism from whom Buddhists of all the countries of the world can rest assured of religious Justice and impartiality. . . .
17. The King of Siam is therefore the natural protector of the Buddhist Religion and of the spiritual welfare of the Buddhist world.

18. He is the only source of religious protection to the Buddhist which is to be found in the world and his authority respecting religious affairs cannot be denied. . . .
19. The King of Siam is the only person whose duty it is to protect the religion and promote its interest and welfare consistently with his creed and dignity.

Jinavaravamsa's preamble thus capitalized on the loss of Lankan and Burmese royal sovereignty to British hands, while ignoring absolutely any claim that a Japanese monarch might rival Rama V in "Buddhist sovereignty." According to Jinavaravamsa, the king's visit was a crucial opportunity to express to him the rights and responsibilities of his position as the "only remaining Buddhist sovereign." He envisaged an increasingly formal and public role for the Siamese king in world Buddhist affairs, as well as unification of Buddhist monks within one community at the expense of differences in "tradition" and "custom." Local practices and lineages of Lankan and Burmese Buddhists were to be subsumed under a Siamese variant read as "universal" with Buddhist disciplinary texts, or Vinaya, as the guarantor of this vision of Buddhist practice. Jinavaravamsa expressed himself strongly to the press and to his fellow monks:

SCHEME

The Siamese King's approaching visit to this country must be taken advantage of by all the Buddhists to approach him on the common danger that threatens us. The common good and mutual protection that may be created in a natural way and the benefits to be derived from his visit must not be lost to us. We must ask him to accept the situation and view it and fall in with it as we do, and to open his eye to those facts and to recognize them and accept them as they exist.

The mutual benefits to be derived between him and us are of the greatest and of a lasting kind. He will be as great as any recognized Sovereign of any recognized religion in the world if he deserves that sacred trust and high position.

He must interest himself more in religious matters and movements. His interest must spread far and wide and benefit all equally and without any preference.

He must become one with the Buddhist public opinion of the world, and be the very foundation and part of Buddhism itself and be recognized and accepted as the fountain-head of all that is religious, and the

temporal head of Buddhist power and *the* Buddhist spiritual authority through the Sangaraja.

The Priesthood of Ceylon, and then, that of all other Buddhist countries and Siam must be united under one brotherhood; and they must all compromise their differences, which generally are the result of traditions, customs and manners; insisting only on that which is rested on the Vinaya. It must ultimately be subject to a "Council of Reform and Revision" to be brought about by the King. A policy of "give and take" must be the spirit of negotiation for Unity.

All vanity and selfhood must vanish to the background and only the common protection be kept in view should be considered and recognized in all reforms and arrangement for the Unity of Sangha and authority to govern it.

The permanent Council of Priesthood under the Siamese Sangaraja and its Ecclesiastical Board under the King must be recognized and all Buddhist countries may have the right to a representative in the Council and a lay Officer on the Board to decide on all the questions.

An address to the above effect confirming [*sic*; conforming?] only to the religious questions, and the necessity of such a scheme, should be presented to the King on his arrival, and he should be beseeched to take into his early consideration the question of putting this scheme into practical working. (*Independent*, 25 March 1897; reprinted in the *Ceylon Observer*, 8 April 1897; original spellings and italics)

By stressing that the address made to the king should take up only "religious questions," Jinavaravamsa made clear that the proposal was not intended to suggest any trespass of British colonial *political and military* control over the island. A proposal close to this "scheme," though without its insistence on the homogenization of local practice, was eventually addressed to the king on his arrival. The Buddhist memorial on the Ecclesiastical Council was made in English and approved by the Siamese king before its formal presentation. It carefully laid claim to Siamese authority only in a delineated "religious" sphere. By virtue of his long career in diplomatic service Jinavaravamsa understood how far one might expect to proceed in the name of a distinction between religious and political authority, given regional geopolitics. He may have borne in mind British devolution of religious authority to the Malay sultanates and the Indian princely states.⁴³ The

43. I am grateful to Engseng Ho for a discussion of these comparative cases.

king's formal reply (read in Pali, with a subsequent comment in English) was decidedly noncommittal.⁴⁴ The English press translated his Pali address as follows:

It is most gratifying to me to meet you, both the Holy Order and laymen professing the same faith as I do, and to hear of the present state of the Holy Religion of Our Lord Buddha. I entirely concur with what you have said, and I am delighted to learn that my earnest endeavour to promote the welfare of the sacred language and doctrine of our Lord Buddha has borne fruits. It is true that although we are separated by the sea, although we belong to different political communities, different nationalities, races and languages, yet we are equally bound together by the same religious rule. In this particular respect Ceylon and my own country, Siam, have both assisted each other in following the path of our Lord Buddha. Thus, long, long time ago, when my countrymen wanted to refer to the pure text of the Buddhistic teaching, they had to recur to the Sacred Books as revised by the great Council held in this island, and to learn therefrom the sacred language and doctrine of our Lord and to improve their conduct from it. Thus, again and later on, when great calamities occurred here so that not a single priest of the Holy Order could be found in the whole island, my predecessor, the King of Siam, undertook to send to Ceylon a mission composed of Siamese priests headed by the Venerable Thera Upali, and he ordained Sinhalese people to become priests of the Holy Order. The Island was thereby restored to the full splendour of the yellow robe; this true standard of sanctity which the priests of the Holy Order continued to wear until the present day. In this way and by the mutual assistance which they received from each other, the people of our two countries became more and more trusted and associated. Indeed, notwithstanding their living in different countries, speaking different languages, and belonging to different nationalities and races, they are the same from the fact that Our Lord never treats man in a different way on account of such accidental differences, but teaches them to trust each other as He has said that "those trusted are the best kinsmen," and that "such mutual sympathy which arises on account of association in the past and of mutual support in the present, is like the lotus that [is] grown with the mud and water." I am therefore

44. The king's staff had seen the Lankan addresses prior to his arrival (*Theosophist* 26:12 [1904]).

delighted in seeing you, both the priests and laity of our religion, and in hearing your kind words, as true kinsmen, to welcome me, and I heartily thank you all. (*Ceylon Observer*, 24 April 1897)

Like Jinavaramsa, Rama V drew on the dominant taxonomies of his day with reference to “political communities,” “nationalities,” and “races.” Such differences were juxtaposed to the potentially encompassing categories of “religion” and “religious rule.” He concluded:

You who are laymen (although that which I have already said in Pali may not readily be understood by you) still, I am sure that the learned priests who are assembled here will be only too pleased to afford you all the necessary explanation. I will only add that whatever you may desire me to do toward the cause of the holy religion of our Lord as well as toward the general existence and convenience of you all who profess the same faith as I do, shall receive my fullest consideration. And I once more thank you for the very kind words you have said of myself and my elaborate reception, which can only be the outcome of a true heart. May the wise God lead your thoughts to good results. (*Ceylon Observer*, 21 April 1897)

The proposal to form an Ecclesiastical Council encompassing Siam, Burma, and Laṅkā under Siamese royal authority was a carefully calibrated formal public gesture through which to convey Lankan Buddhist wishes for patronage and the presence of a royal decision maker with claims to authority over Buddhist monks. This vision drew on memories of earlier, precolonial, Buddhist kingship, as well as new idioms of statecraft, and a recognition of Siam’s increasingly centralized monastic world. The authors of this appeal, who included Hikkaḍuvē, had no illusions about the force of British power on the island. Sovereignty over the *śāsana* was, however, a different matter altogether according to their conception. Such sovereignty could encompass more than one polity, and more than one political arrangement. It could, in fact, draw colonized Laṅkā under the authority of independent Siam.

The proposal for an Ecclesiastical Council was not the only one to go before the royal visitor. Lankan monks also returned to the possibility of local monastic unification within a new lineage introduced from outside the island. Leading monks from all three Lankan orders proposed in writing, and in a public address, that the king unite the higher ordained monks of Siam, Burma, and Laṅkā within a single monastic order:

This is a report of a gathering of chief monks, etc. [*nāyakatherādinam*], belonging to the three monastic orders [*nikāyikānam*] on the island of Laṅkā. . . .

Now, on this island of Laṅkā the *sugata-sāsana* [*Buddha-śāsana*] is weak, functioning with diverse opinions in a range of factions within the three orders—that is, the Siamese [the Siyam], the Burmese [the Amara-pura], and the Ramañña—because of the absence of a meritorious great king endowed with the wheel of command. We wish that the honorable king were the common guardian [of these groups], just as in his own realm of Siam. And how would this work? What if the honorable king were to support the Buddha's *śāsana* appropriately, having investigated as mentioned previously [about conditions in Laṅkā], and having drawn together [*sabhāge katvā*] all the higher ordained monks in Siam, Burma, and the island of Laṅkā? (In Prajñānanda 1947, 1:355–56)

The use of the Pali phrase “*sabhāge katvā*” here suggests unification by ordination,⁴⁵ rather than simply unification under shared agreements with respect to practice and/or the shared acceptance of a certain ultimate institutional authority.⁴⁶ An English version of the letter,⁴⁷ published in the *Ceylon Observer*, supports this view:

We the Chief Priests and Elders of the Siamese, Burmese and Ramanna Nikayas on our behalf and on behalf of the Buddhist Priesthood beg to accord to your Majesty a most cordial welcome to Lanka. . . .

[The letter mentions earlier signs of King Rama V's support for Lankan Buddhist projects.] . . .

We must not forget here to mention with loyal gratitude the religious immunities we enjoy under the British Government. . . . The Buddhist church of Lanka, however, is at the present moment without a head. Its priesthood is divided into sects, and dissension exists in the brotherhood and in consequence the church has become weak. It is therefore our earnest hope, and we beg to re-iterate our wish extended in our letter

45. See Rhys Davids and Stede (1986, 681, s.v. “*sabhāga*”).

46. This letter is quoted by Sumanasiri in his biography of Hikkaḍuvē, where he translates the Pali into Sinhala as “*lakvāsi siyam amara-pura ādi siyalu nikāyika bhikkhūnavahansēla samagi koṭa*” (2001, 198).

47. It is not clear whether the king received the invitation in Pali and/or in English. It was intended as a public address to the king in honor of his visit but does not seem to have been intended for inclusion in the first public events held upon his arrival (unlike the address referring to the Ecclesiastical Council). It does, however, share certain features of the Ecclesiastical Council address, which suggests some overlap among the authors of the two documents.

of invitation to Your Majesty of the 16th ultimo, that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to come to our aid and assume the control of our church and its priesthood. It is our united wish that the priesthood of the three countries, Siam, Burmah and Lanka, should be commingled into one brotherhood, so that in all ecclesiastical questions they might act in concert and agreement. (*Ceylon Observer*, 19 April 1897).

There was, as we have seen, a long history of local attempts to involve the Siamese court in Lankan monastic affairs. In the period before King Rama V's visit, however, Jinavaravaṃsa appears to have played the role of a broker. He sought to identify the Lankan Amarapura Nikāya (in which he had been ordained) with the Siamese Dhammayuttika Nikāya, and to unify the former within the latter. He induced Lankan Siyam Nikāya monks to join this effort, proposing that Amarapura and Siyam Nikāya monks be united under Dhammayuttika lineage and Siamese royal authority. In turn, he tried to galvanize Lankan Ramañña Nikāya involvement in the project for unification, on the grounds that Ramañña Nikāya monks were, already, bound to the Dhammayuttika Nikāya line.⁴⁸ Leaders of the Amarapura Nikāya backed the move and sought Rama V's support. Vaskaḍuvē wrote to Bhanurangsi immediately after the king's visit: "Chief Priests of our Nikaya presented to His Majesty a petition asking that our Nikaya may be amalgamated with the Dhammauttika Nikaya of Siam. A copy of which is herewith sent for your Highness's perusal. I beg that you will use your influence in promoting this object" (Vaskaḍuvē to Bhanurangsi, 25 April 1897, SLNA 5/63/17/13; the copy referred to here is not held with the letter). Prior to Rama V's arrival, Vaskaḍuvē and Jinavaravaṃsa prepared a small volume of Pali ritual chants adapted from the book of *paritta* (protection) recitations compiled at the Bangkok court. Printed in Colombo, the collection was intended for use during the king's visit. In the preface and dedication to the volume, Vaskaḍuvē and Jinavaravaṃsa laid claim to a lineage connection between their own Amarapura Nikāya and the royally supported Dhammayuttika Nikāya of Siam. The dedication in English to King Rama V expressed admiration for his father, the famous former monk, "to Whom the Most Saintly Nikaya, Introduced and Reformed by Him Under the World-Renowned name of 'Dhammayuttika Nikaya,' Owes Its Origins."

48. One of the founders of the Ramañña Nikāya had received Dhammayuttika Nikāya ordination in Bangkok in the 1840s (Malalgoda 1976, 162), and another was understood to have reimported from Burma the Lankan Mahā Vihāra line exported to Pegu during Dhammaceti's reign (Medhaṅkara 1889, 14).

Vaskaḍuvē and Jinavaravaṃsa then claimed links between their Amarapura Nikāya and the Dhammayuttika Nikāya, since both could trace lineage histories to the Burmese region of Ramañña:

The King Wajirañana [Rama IV's monastic name] was a renowned scholar, whose equal had not been known for centuries in Siam, Burma, or Ceylon. He was in correspondence with Siri Saddhammanawansapala Dhirananda Nāyaka of Lankagoda and Siri Sumana Tissa Thero of Bultagama in Ceylon. It was this King who brought to a good footing the Buddhist religion in Siam. Also, it was he who established the order now known in Siam by the name of "Dammauttika Nikāya" *which is only a purified member of the order called "Ramañña Nikāya" found in a district in Burma. Thus the Buruma Nikāya [Amarapura Nikāya] of Ceylon is in a way connected with the Dhammauttika Nikaya of Siam.* (Subhuti 1897, n.p.; italics added)

Shortly after the king's departure, Jinavaravaṃsa wrote to the highest-ranking monk of the island's Ramañña Nikāya about the matter of *nikāya* unification. He portrayed the Dhammayuttika Nikāya as connected to the Lankan Ramañña Nikāya, implying that his unification project should find favor with that order's leadership:

Since the King had left I had intended to write to you of another success of my efforts to invite the many sections of the priesthood of Ceylon together but had not found the opportunity until now.

When the letter of invitation signed by the 3 Nikayas as also the address to the King had been agreed upon, I thought that it would take a long time to invite all the Buddhists of Ceylon Siam and Burmah together and that even when it is brought about the different nikayas would remain as they now are and persuaded the chief priests of the Amarapura Sect to petition the King for a complete union of Amarapura with Dhammayutika Nikaya of Siam and to request him to send a sangha of 25 priests in a special steamer fitted like a vihara to convert the Amarapura Sect and reorganize the Buddhist Church as soon as possible. They all agreed and signed a letter drafted by myself and saw the King with it who was very pleased and promised to make arrangements with his Sangharaja for carrying out their wish.

I then informed [Hikkaḍuvē] Sumangala of Siam sect of Low Country (Maligakanda) and with Col. Olcott advised him to join this movement rather than be left out and perished in the cold; and rather be rec-

ognized as of a good priest by Siam than only set up by the 2 high priests of Kandy [the *mahā nāyakas* of the Malvatu and Asgiri Vihārayas] as a Nayaka high priest. Shortly after this he (Sumangala) came to see me and informed me that he had consulted his friends and he and his friends are ready to adhere to the arrangements and so the 2 nikayas have now agreed to be converted into Dhammayutika Nikaya i.e. Rāmañña because Dhammayuttika was introduced from Ramañña by the late King of Siam when he found the Mahā Nikaya of the country (original sect of Siam, same as in Ceylon now) was so regenerated [*sic*] and ignorant of Vinaya and the Doctrines of our Lord Buddha.

How happy I feel after this and how much more should I do on the day when we all shall be one in earnest wish, in interest and have one common object to attain and be able to work together for the common good. I shall then feel that my present life is at last settled and I can then begin in the work of my own salvation in pursuit of spiritual I so long wish to devote myself but which is impossible in the present state of Brotherhood in Ceylon.

I am sure you will unite with me in rejoicing at the good luck I have had in so short a time to have done so much even in a promise of an arrangement agreed upon as this and I trust that I shall have your entire approval and support in what I have done. (Jinavaravaṃsa to the Mahā Nāyaka of the Ramañña Nikāya, 18 May 1897, SLNA 25.65/2)

It is striking that Jinavaravaṃsa, a Siamese newcomer to Lankan monastic affairs, was able to galvanize so much activity among Lankan monks. That he was able to garner support from so many quarters in the Lankan monastic world indicates the degree of fear and frustration felt by leading monks on the island. In the absence of a royal decision maker, and in the face of proliferating divisions within the Lankan *śāsana*, there were good reasons to embrace Jinavaravaṃsa's attempt to secure Siamese royal patronage. Jinavaravaṃsa's vision was given a hearing precisely because it cohered well with prior strategies and thought experiments undertaken by Hikkaḍuvē and other Lankan monks. They had attempted for many years to resolve Lankan Buddhist problems by tapping monastic and royal authority in mainland Southeast Asia.

The centerpiece of King Rama V's Buddhist activities in Lankā was a visit to the Tooth Relic in Kandy. Elaborate arrangements were made for the king to make offerings to the Tooth Relic while in Kandy (where he was formally received by the government). In Kandy, however, occurred a crisis

that jeopardized local Buddhist hopes and expectations of royal favor, as the local press reported:

There was stationed at the entrance to the Maligawa [Temple of the Tooth] bearers carrying the paraphernalia usually carried out from the temple with an elephant procession, and from the lowest step just above the road a thin strip of cloth of various colours was stretched over the steps right on the very entrance to the temple where the relic is lodged on which His Majesty was expected to tread on when walking up. Near the door of the tooth relic temple a large canopy stood which was of a bright red colour with work of silver and gold on it, under which H.M. the King stood while the *Jayamangala Gatha* was chanted, the address read and several stanzas chanted to do honour to the King. The gathering at the temple was very large, and it was with difficulty one found standing accommodation. There were nearly 500 Buddhist priests of the Siamese order present. The address which was in Pali was read by the High Priest of the Malwatta Wihara to which His Majesty replied in English, and then walked up into the temple containing the tooth relic where he had arranged to worship and make his offerings of some 40 to 50 silk robes for monks, 200 to 300 candles, a large quantity of incense, a silver and a gold tray (large) and two ornaments, tree shaped, one of which was of silver and the other of gold. In turn the members of the Buddhist College [*sic*; probably the members of the Kāraka Sabhāva] at Malwatta and Asgiriya presented His Majesty with a shrine containing some robes, and two ola [palm leaf] books. The King then began his offerings, but before many minutes passed a small hitch between the King and those concerned was freely whispered by the large number assembled. The King it appeared was shown the tooth relic when he expressed a wish to touch it. This was refused, when the King decided to leave the temple immediately and in doing so was heard to say he was very disgusted at all that took place. His Majesty and party returned to the Queen's [Hotel], and gave instructions to his attendants to return to the temple authorities the articles presented to him, and also get back what offerings he had brought to the temple. (*Ceylon Observer*, 22 April 1897)⁴⁹

49. *Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa* offered the same account, adding that the king had asked to make copies of "Siamese books" that had been sent by his grandfather and, when questioned by Pānabokkē about the timing of their return, became livid (23 and 27 April 1897).

According to a correspondent of *Lakrivikirāṇa*, the Siamese king had heard about a prior Burmese royal embassy to the Tooth Relic, during which several visitors including a princess were allowed to touch the relic. He was, therefore, not persuaded by the lay custodian Pānabokkē's attestation that custom forbade the king to take the relic into his own hand (24 April 1897).

Tempers ran high among some local Buddhists in the up-country and the maritime districts after the king's disappointment, and complaints were lodged against Pānabokkē (*Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa*, 27 April 1897).⁵⁰ It is possible that some Kandyan Buddhists sought to interrupt low-country Buddhist efforts to involve King Rama V more intensively in local monastic administration by embarrassing the king in Kandy. Although Kandy's leading monks received the king with appropriate ceremony and the Mahā Nāyaka of the Malvatu Vihāraya had signed the appeal for royal intervention, efforts made by local Buddhists in the island's southern region to involve the Siamese king in Lankan monastic business cannot have been fully welcome in Kandy. Kandy and the Malvatu and Asgiri Vihārayas were, historically, the Siyam Nikāya's administrative center of gravity. In the latter days of local kingship, the Lankan monastic community was administered from these temples close to the royal court. To cede Kandyan privilege and power—even if greatly reduced by the monastic currents and debates we have already examined—to an external monastic authority was a controversial matter.⁵¹ There are also some signs of fear in Kandy that the Tooth Relic would be discredited by the king's examination, or even taken from the island. One rumor circulating suggested that the king wished to investigate the relic's authenticity (*Ceylon Observer*, 29 April 1897). Moreover, according to a correspondent of *Lakrivikirāṇa*, on an earlier visit to Kandy, a few months before the king's arrival, Jinavaravaṃsa had sparked controversy by asking to see the relic and to have it brought out in a ceremonial procession. Queries were raised about the Prince Priest's wish to have the relic removed from the temple, suggesting improper designs upon the relic. The paper reported that there would have been a great outcry in the country were the Tooth Relic brought out for the Prince Priest (*Lakrivikirāṇa*, 9 January 1897). As we shall see in more detail shortly, local and foreign Buddhists alike approached the Tooth Relic as a powerful object, a highly

50. See also Olcott's account, reprinted in the *Theosophist* 26, no. 12:713–16 [1904].

51. However, in the ensuing investigation, Tibbotuvāvē Mahā Nāyaka of the Malvatu Vihāraya stated that he had been ignorant of Pānabokkē's decision (knowing no English) and that the chief monks of the Asgiri and Malvatu Vihārayas had earlier agreed that "His Majesty being a Buddhist sovereign should be allowed to handle the Relic casket if he wished" (*Ceylon Observer*, 8 May 1897).

desirable focus of ritual offerings especially in times of political threat and distress. The Kandyan ritual guardians of the relic may have suspected the king to be capable of relic theft or a relic switch. Jinavaravaṃsa was also the subject of controversy after the king's visit. Letters to the newspapers questioned his motives in being ordained on the island, his aspirations to high status, and his status in the eyes of the Siamese court. He was accused of maligning the character of Lankan monks and of behaving improperly in various ways (*Lakrivikirāṇa*, 30 June, 10 July, 17 July, 21 July, 24 July, 31 July, and 14 August 1897). Vaskaḍuvē came to his defense. Given the tone of his public letter about his perception of the state of the Lankan monastic world, and the threats to local monastic autonomy contained within his proposals, it is easy to see why he might have caused offense. He and his proposals also met with criticism in the English-language press, even by a Buddhist author, who preferred discreet and local resolution of monastic troubles (*Ceylon Observer*, 2 June 1897).

Rama V is reported to have commented, at his departure from the island, that the Lankan proposals "would be a very hard thing to accomplish" (*Theosophist* 26, no. 12 [1904]:716). However, he quickly conveyed them to the monastic Council of Elders at Bangkok via Prince Wachirayanwararot, chief monk of the Dhammayuttika Nikāya in Siam. On 1 June 1897, this council met at Wat Bowonniwet to consider Lankan requests that the Dhammayuttika Nikāya be established there and that Buddhism ("Phra Sāsana") be placed under Siamese administration (Wachirayanwararot 1971, 183).⁵² The documents received by the council included a text using the same terms as the proposal made in Lan̄kā with respect to "drawing together" (*sabbe bhikkhavo sabhāge katvā*) monks from the region.⁵³ Members of the council made no explicit mention of the king's views, or of possible diplomatic difficulties with Britain should Siam accept administrative control of Lankan Buddhist institutions. However, several monks noted the fact that Lan̄kā

52. I am deeply grateful to Craig Reynolds for locating the minutes of this council meeting and providing a translation of them, and for a helpful discussion of these events from a Bangkok perspective (personal communication, 21 February 2008).

53. For instance: "bhavaṃ devo tassāpi syāmaratṭhe viya sādharāṇapālako bhavatūti. mayaṃ patthema kathanti ce yadi bhavaṃ devo yathāvuttaṃ samupaparikkhitvā syāmamammalaṇkāḍīpesu sabbe bhikkhavo sabhago katvā yathānūrūpaṃ sugatasāsanānuggaḥaṃ karēyya" (We express the wish: may the honorable king become the common guardian [of these monastic communities] just as in his own realm of Siam. If [one were to ask] 'How?,' [the answer is that] the honorable king might support the Buddha's sāsana appropriately, having drawn together all the *bhikkhus* in Siam, Burma, and the island of Lan̄kā, having investigated as mentioned previously") (Wachirayanwararot 1971, 170). I am grateful to Trais Pearson for transcribing this letter from Thai script. The letter was included with the Lankan documents submitted as evidence for consideration by the Siamese Council of Elders following the king's visit to Lan̄kā.

was “a separate country,” which would make administration difficult, especially if not all Lankan monks entered the Dhammayuttika Nikāya (183–84). Prince Wachirayanwararot specified in his introductory remarks that “Lanka was in the sovereign control of Britain, and in this circumstance, Buddhism was dissociated from the government” (182). This he understood to pose significant administrative difficulties, since, unlike the period of the establishment of the Siyam Nikāya in Lan̄kā during the mid-eighteenth century, “there is no leader to give direction to Buddhism there. Things get done only because someone is willing, not because of an instruction from above” (183). Members of the council were concerned that the inability to draw all Lankan monks within the Dhammayuttika Nikāya, and problems of central control at a distance, would eventually reflect badly on the Dhammayuttika Nikāya in Siam. As Phra Thepmoti from Wat Sommanat put it, “He did not consent to either proposition [made by the Lankans], because it was a separate country, and the various Lanka people and factions were hostile to one another. It was impossible to see how they could come together. If we were to proceed, one fears the Thammayutika’s reputation would suffer” (184).

The meeting ran for more than three hours with extensive discussion and debate before the council unanimously approved Prince Wachirayanwararot’s resolution that

“as far as the first point was concerned, the majority agreed not to send monks abroad to Lanka but only to offer support to individuals who were willing to come here, which was the way we could attest to their faith. He added that, just as in the reign of Rama III [r. 1824–51], His Majesty would offer support to those who came here for ordination. . . .

. . . As far as the second point was concerned, there was unanimous agreement not to administer [the Lankan monks], but to offer support for their customs and traditions [*baep phaen thamniam*]. (186)

Although Rama V’s own views on these proposals are not certain, Prince Wachirayanwararot’s framing reference to Britain’s “sovereign control” of Lan̄kā may reflect the anxiety of the king and his advisers about appearing to overstep the bounds of behavior appropriate to him as the only independent Buddhist monarch in the region.⁵⁴ The council’s willingness to offer

54. See also Loos (2006). Appropriate behavior included controlling the distribution of Buddha relics uncovered by British excavations on the Indian subcontinent (Worrasit 2005, 10, Peleggi 2002, 39). Interestingly, neither Thakur (2001) nor Jumsai (1977) mentions the Lankan proposals to the king.

advisement rather than administration to Laṅkā fit the model of translocal *śāsana* protection earlier outlined by the king in the preface to his edition of the *tipiṭaka*, authoritative Pali Buddhist texts referred to by the king as “canon”:

From the beginning it has ever been the wont of royal kings who were Buddhists and professed Buddhism, to maintain the faith, to support the Order, and to aid successive Councils, first to purify the Canon (such has been the royal custom uninterruptedly), and thereafter to compile a book of the scriptures as the authoritative exemplar and accepted standard for all Buddhist lands.

In early times Buddhist kingdoms were still independent; the king of each was a Buddhist, and both endowed and supported Buddhism. This was the case in many countries, to wit, Siam, Ceylon, Burma, Laos, and Cambodia. When accident or injury befell the sacred books, so that portions of the Canon were lost, each kingdom was able and was wont to borrow from others, and so to restore its own copy to a complete state; and such exchange was mutual. But in the present time Ceylon and Burma have come under English domination; the governors of those countries are not Buddhists; they take measures to foster the secular rather than the spiritual welfare of the people; and they do not maintain Buddhism as did the old Buddhist kings. Thus it has come to pass that Buddhist priests have from time to time set up different sects according to their own lights; and, as the bad naturally outnumbered the good, the faith has been perverted, now in one direction, now in another, as seemed good to each one in turn. Cambodia came under French domination, so that people there could not maintain the faith in its full vigour. As regards the country of Laos, which is in the kingdom of Siam, the princes and people there professed a distorted form of the faith, which included such errors as the worship of angels and demons, and therefore cannot be regarded as having authority.

Thus, if the text of the Tipiṭaka is in doubt, there is nowhere to be found that with which to compare and amend as before. Hence it is only in Siam that Buddhism stands inviolate. It follows, then, that the present is a fitting time to look into the scriptures, to purge them, and to multiply copies of them for circulation, so as to form an immutable standard of true Buddhism for future times. (Chalmers 1898, 2–3)

According to Rama V, colonial powers created conditions for the deterioration of monastic and lay Buddhist practice. In such conditions, the mutual

exchange of authoritative Buddhist texts was no longer possible, since standards had collapsed. Only Siam, in his view, could now serve as the source of textual authority.

Formal word of the negative and limited Siamese response to proposals for monastic unification reached Laṅkā by early July 1897, in a reply from Supreme Patriarch Sa (*Sarasavi Saṅḍarāsa*, 13 July 1897; Reynolds 1972, 123). Bangkok's cautious response did nothing to dissipate mounting anxiety in Laṅkā about Asian and human futures. Vaskaḍuvē gave voice to these in the year of the Tooth Relic difficulties, articulating the fear of cataclysm to scholar of Buddhism Henry Clarke Warren in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Warren replied:

I do not think that the end of the world is coming for some time yet. . . . In Europe and America there have been various times that people thought that the world was coming to an end, and they got very much excited consequently. But nothing came of it all. I had not heard of these last prophecies you speak of, so what you wrote was news to me. But science does not seem to know of any special danger ahead at present. I think it is the hard time you are having in the East that makes people think that the world is coming to an end, and not the world coming to an end that makes the hard times. I am sorry there should be so much famine and suffering in India. (Henry Clark Warren to Vaskaḍuvē, 16 December 1897, HMC 5/63/17/286)

Śāsana and Empire

Hikkaḍuvē turned repeatedly to the Buddhist monastic communities and courts of Southeast Asia. Filled with frustration and anxiety about the future of Lankan Buddhism, he undertook a long series of experiments conceived according to the principle that collective belonging within the *śāsana*, and ties of monastic lineage, bound Laṅkā and the courts of Southeast Asia in relations of mutual assistance and responsibility. As their fortunes declined in the 1880s and 1890s, the colonized courts and monastic communities of Cambodia and Burma could, of course, expect to receive neither diplomatic nor military support from colonized Laṅkā. Despite the impoverishment of Laṅkā's power in such spheres, leading persons from Cambodia and Burma turned repeatedly to the island. Like Hikkaḍuvē they, too, responded to the misfortune of inhabiting another power's empire by attempting to forge relations of support within the *śāsana*. Central to their vision of Laṅkā's potential in this regard was the Tooth Relic at Kandy. Wealth and human

power flowed from Cambodia and the Burmese court in exile toward Kandy, via Hikkaḍuvē, his close associates, and Vidyodaya Piriveṇa.

As the rumors of Siamese designs on the Tooth Relic indicate, it was a valuable object. Palladium of the former Kandyan Court, the relic historically had played a central role in the exercise of royal authority and in ritual technologies used to harness auspicious power for kings and kingdoms. Even under colonial rule, the Tooth Relic remained a focus of anxiety and expectation. A self-robed monk, Kalundavē, made repeated attempts to visit the Tooth Relic, asserting that he would remove it from Kandy. More than four thousand people, including men of rank and influence, supported his ambition to remove the relic, apparently part of a campaign against elite Kandyan monks (Rogers 1987, 362–63). Another account from the same period shows that the Tooth Relic was ascribed great powers.

The [Siamese] Ambassador it would appear was very anxious to have a sight of Buddha's tooth, which is enshrined at the Maligawa, but he went to work in the wrong way to bring about the desired result. Instead of applying to the Trustees in charge, he very unadvisedly went to the Governor, who wrote to them, and was point blank refused. The Kandy Priests have gone mad with the idea that the King of Siam has a design upon the tooth, and that His Majesty and his predecessors before him have been in vain endeavouring for the last century to get possession quietly, or by strategem, of the sacred relic; and unless the trustees relent, the ambassador will have to leave the Island without obtaining a sight of the tooth, the fortunate possessor of which, it is said, will not only be the medium of perpetuating the Buddhist faith but reign in peace, triumph and prosperity in the world. (*Bi-Monthly Examiner*, 17 April 1871)⁵⁵

The relic incited high devotional expectations on the island. It was understood by the government, and perhaps also by the relic's Kandyan administrators, as a potential threat to order and security. In January 1896, rumors circulated that the Tooth Relic would be made available for viewing according to a special dispensation. Although a viewing had not been planned, the government decided to show it on the day rumored because a large and potentially volatile crowd had gathered in Kandy (*Lakrivikirāṇa*, 18 January 1896).

The Tooth Relic also catalyzed intense hope and anticipation well beyond Lankā. After the fall of Burma to the British in 1885, high-level Bur-

55. Another Burmese emissary was disappointed in 1878 (*Lakrivikirāṇa*, 11 May 1878).

mese engagement with the relic intensified. Dramatic offerings were made to the Tooth Relic on behalf of the Burmese court in exile. After the deposition of King Thibaw, in 1889, the queen reached Laṅkā with a large party of one hundred laypeople and forty-six higher ordained monks in order to venerate the relic and visit other pilgrimage sites (P. Buddhadatta 1960, 196; A. Buddhadatta 1952, 84). Just a few years later, in February 1892, the Burmese “Saṅgharāja”⁵⁶ Vajirārāma arrived in Laṅkā with his retinue to make a relic tour that included Sri Pada, Anuradhapura, and the Kandyan Tooth Relic. Hikkaḍuvē was among those who received the embassy, and its monastic visitors resided at Vidyodaya when in Colombo. Hikkaḍuvē made arrangements with the Mahā Nāyaka of the Malvatu Vihāraya for the party to see the Tooth Relic (*Sarasavi Saṅdarāsa*, 12 February, 16 February, 18 March 1892). In December 1898 Vajirārāma and some of his companion monks led a lay and monastic embassy (including members of the royal family) to the island in order to make offerings to the Tooth Relic. Vidyodaya was their base of operations on the island. By early January 1899 there were seven or eight hundred visitors from Burma staying at Vidyodaya, with the other half of the massive retinue (presumably laypeople) quartered elsewhere, including in private homes. Special arrangements had been made from Vidyodaya for Tooth Relic offerings, and the relic was—unusually—presented for viewing throughout most of the month of January.⁵⁷ A golden casket was brought by the Burmese for offering to the Tooth Relic, which attracted vast crowds of visitors to Vidyodaya Piriveṇa, where the casket stood on display before its removal to Kandy (*Sarasavi Saṅdarāsa*, 6 December, 9 December, and 13 December 1898; 10 January, 13 January, 27 January, and 31 January 1899; Prajñānanda 1947, 1:261; *Lakrivikiraṇa*, 28 January 1899).⁵⁸ The Burmese king offered thanks to Hikkaḍuvē with gifts sent a year later, when another embassy of approximately two hundred people reached Laṅkā to make offer-

56. Letters from Laṅkā and Lankan newspapers described Vajirārāma as the “Saṅgharāja.” According to Buddhadatta, this was Vajirārāma Sayadaw (b. 1828), also named Paññāsiri, who had received the title “Rājādhirājaguru” (A. Buddhadatta 1952, 82–84). According to Bo Bo Lansin’s reference to *Thathana-dazaung Sayadawgyimya*, a Burmese source published in 1993, Vajirārāma is Waziarama Sayadaw, a pupil of “Thin-gaza” Sayadaw (personal communication, 16 March 2008, via Jason Carbine). Alexey Kirchenko supports Buddhadatta’s reference to Vajirārāma as Paññāsiri Rājādhirājaguru (personal communication, 17 March, via Jason Carbine).

57. The Burmese visit may have been planned to coincide with the visit of Lord Elgin, since arrangements were made to offer a private showing of the relic at closer quarters to Elgin and some among the Burmese party (*Sarasavi Saṅdarāsa*, 13 January 1899).

58. Buddhadatta dates this visit to 1896, but the newspapers confirm 1898 as the correct date of the embassy involving the gift of the golden casket (A. Buddhadatta 1952, 84). Hikkaḍuvē procured drawings and measurements from Kandy, with which the Burmese prepared their casket (Hikkaḍuvē to Vajirārāma, Kattikamāsa 2441 BV, in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:390).

ings to the Tooth Relic again (*Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa*, 2 February and 13 February 1900). The intensification of Burmese visits and the massive scale of offerings made by the Burmese royal family suggest that recourse was made to the Tooth Relic in response to the shocking exile of the Burmese king and the dissolution of sovereign power in Burma. This, indeed, was the account circulating in Colombo less than a decade later. "In January 1899 [*sic*], arrived a large band of Burmese pilgrims, monks and laymen, the number including the daughters of King Theebaw and many noblemen and wealthy citizens of Rangoon. They brought with them a magnificent golden casket, studded with jewels, for which they had melted down their ornaments, to avert the doom which they believed soon threatened to overtake their country by the presentation of the casket to encase the Tooth Relic of the Buddha at the temple in Kandy" (Wright 1907, 81).⁵⁹

Once ties had been established between Hikkaḍuvē and the royal and monastic leadership of Cambodia, the Cambodian royal family also sought to approach the Tooth Relic at Kandy. In 1884, Onathavīriyamaṅgala returned to Laṅkā as the emissary of Dian and the royal court. He arrived with five higher ordained monks from his monastery and two lay managers. As it had been for the Burmese, Hikkaḍuvē's Vidyodaya Piriveṇa was the site from which a Cambodian pilgrimage tour and offerings to the Tooth Relic at Kandy were undertaken. Intensifying Khmer interest in the Tooth Relic coincided with increasing colonial pressure. In June 1884, King Norodom was forced to choose between abdication and acceptance of the convention that

effectively instituted the administrative reforms that the French intended this time to enforce. This convention put Khmer officials under the jurisdiction of French civil servants at all levels of government. Khmer courts and judges, for instance, were placed under the direct supervision of French judicial administrators; responsibility for most court cases was taken out of the hands of the Khmer. The convention also introduced land ownership, abolished both hereditary and indentured slavery, and gave French officials ultimate responsibility for collecting taxes. These last two features of the convention, the abolition of slavery and the restructuring of the taxation system, were specifically designed to dismantle the traditional power of regional elites by greatly diminishing their access to sources of labor and revenue. Not surprisingly,

59. A Shan ruler also visited the Tooth Relic (*Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa*, 8 November 1896), while a Shan prince arrived with his retinue to visit the sites at Anurādhapura, paying a visit also to Vidyodaya (*Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa*, 27 February 1900).

the reforms attached to the convention were viewed with hostility by Khmer officials and were factors prompting the 1885–1887 rebellion led by Prince Sivotha. (Hansen 2007, 65–66)

The Cambodian queen mother was the primary donor served by Onathavīriyamaṅgala and Hikkaḍuvē. She and her royal associates sent a canopy and curtains for presentation to the Tooth Relic, presumably intended to decorate the relic pavilion at the heart of the top floor of the Temple of the Tooth. The queen mother's intentions posed difficulties for Hikkaḍuvē, since the Cambodian embassy had not carried with them a formal letter of request to see the Tooth Relic from the king of Cambodia or his chief minister, as required by the government. As a result, Hikkaḍuvē was forced to draw on the favor of a monastic colleague in Kandy, through whom meetings were arranged with government officials and Kandyan monastic leaders. In the end, suitable provisions were made for the visitors to proceed with their offerings in Kandy after visiting other desirable pilgrimage sites at Sri Pada and Anuradhapura (Hikkaḍuvē to "the Saṅgharāja of Cambodia," *Jetṭhamāsa* 2427BV, in *Prajñānanda* 1947, 1:366–70).⁶⁰

Hikkaḍuvē made a brief report to the Cambodian monastic head Dian in a prose letter that also discussed other matters of monastic business, such as robes and education. With this was enclosed a celebratory report of the events in Laṅkā, written in verse. It was intended to be presented to monks in Dian's monastery and to the royal court. Verse was the way to complete the transaction initiated by the royal court. For verse was the proper form for words of royal ritual praise, detailing the efforts made on the court's behalf and offering rich images of the merit making undertaken at Kandy. In order to complete the ritual work initiated by the queen mother, Hikkaḍuvē had to narrate those ritual actions, so that donors, receiving his verses, could then imagine their acts and the fruits of their acts in a suitable celebration of the merit they had made.

Listen, all monks—elders, those of middle rank, and newcomers,
The king and his successor, and all other discriminating people
In the realm of Cambodia who want to hear Lankan news to any degree. . . .
Having crossed successfully the ocean with its multiple dangers,

60. Goonatilaka refers to a Khmer source describing a subsequent embassy in 1886, organized by King Norodom with Pāṇ and Dian, to bring valuable gifts for *pūjā* to the Tooth Relic, including an elephant tusk and a white umbrella decorated with diamonds (2003, 205–6). See also above, n. 21.

Six monks of agreeable conduct arrived at the land of Sīhala.
 They successfully reached the *pariveṇa* called Vidyodaya,
 In the lovely city of Colombo, after a fortnight had passed.
 Seeing the elder named Sumaṅgala, of *saṅghanāyaka* rank,
 Those monks from Cambodia with calm joyous minds
 Greeted [him] respectfully, showing themselves devoted to custom.
 Then those [monks] who had behaved honorably
 Were asked about the realm of Cambodia,
 In order to make them warmly welcome.
 Having explained that they had come from the Saṅgharāja,
 And having given that formal letter and things sent by the wise
 Saṅgharāja,
 They gave the requisites presented by the queen mother,
 And they gave [what had been presented] by the chief minister, and
 others.
 Those monks, having made [things] visible for offering
 To the wonderful, excellent Tooth Relic of the Auspicious and Fully
 Enlightened Buddha in the relic chamber in the city of Kandy,
 Wanting to make a worshipful offering, explained what had been
 prescribed for them from their own land.
 They showed properly the gems, canopy, curtains and various goods,
 Brought by the lay devotees,
 Given for offering to that Tooth Relic by the Queen Mother
 Suvannamālīnī,
 The queen, and wise courtiers devoted to the Fully Enlightened Buddha.
 . . .
 Having returned to the city of Kandy [after a pilgrimage and relic tour],
 They were determined to see that Tooth Relic
 Having worshipped the excellent Tooth Relic pavilion.
 Having approached the elder named [Hikkaḍuvē] Sumaṅgala,
 They respectfully asked him to arrange a showing of the relic out of
 affection [for them]. . .
 Elders and lay officials resident in that city,
 Connected to the *sāsana* of the Fully Enlightened Buddha,
 Could not exhibit the supreme relic at their will.
 Therefore, the elder Sumaṅgala, out of compassion for the Cambodian
 monks,
 Appropriately went to the city of Kandy when possible.
 Having seen the monastic community there, and also a group of lay
 officials,

He had them gathered properly,
 With the government agent in charge.
 And then, having quickly informed them [of the matter], he had the
 governor informed,
 In order to show that lovely, excellent Tooth Relic
 To the Cambodian monks. . . .
 On the ninth day after the full moon holiday,
 In the month called *Vesakh*,
 In the middle period of the Buddha's day,
 The excellent elders and officials gathered to display the famous relic of
 the Buddha.
 The excellent sons of the Buddha, led by the elder Onātha,
 Dear student of the head of the Cambodian monks,
 Having seen [the preparations],
 Were therefore joyful, having attained [their] desire,
 [Thinking] "We will get [to see] the excellent Tooth Relic of the
 Conqueror!"
 With their minds bright and clear, and all senses restrained,
 Self-controlled [and] thoroughly robed,
 Then the controlled Cambodian monks
 Gathered in the Relic Chamber with great joy.
 And, then, step by step, the excellencies went about the task.
 Ceremoniously placing that excellent Relic of the Sage,
 Which had been set inside a great golden casket ornamented with
 beautiful gems,
 From that onto a golden lotus,
 They made it visible in the Relic Chamber.
 And those monks stood in a line, attentive to it,
 As if watching for a new moon.
 Having examined that excellent Relic of the Sage,
 Protective remnant of the Buddha,
 They were filled with joy. . . .
 Then, happy, having made offerings to that supreme relic,
 Those leading monks, standing,
 Made wishes properly with bright clear minds. Then . . .
 Indeed having had the lay managers bring an offering
 For the excellent relic of the Conqueror,
 They made it then, happily.
 Then, having also made an aspiration to their liking,
 They went outside.

Then, further, the Lankan monks and laymen, with excellent devotion,
 Bent down before the elevated Tooth Relic.
 Then, as best they could, they venerated it physically and with
 material offerings.
 Later in the day, when a great festival was made,
 Joyful, having entered the crowd there,
 The monks made offerings of various kinds well, seeking happiness,
 In the Cambodian manner.
 Then those excellent dharmic monks,
 Having properly settled an aspiration in [their] heart
 With reference to the offering made to the Conqueror's Relic,
 And then, having reached the beautiful relic-monument,
 To which offerings are due,
 Offered reverence with cheerful hearts.
 May the monks of the land of Cambodia,
 And also the courtiers, and the donors led by the Supreme king,
 And also those with hearts gladdened by [this] expression of
 appreciation,
 Be happy, bearing the fruit perceptible from the merit.
 This has been composed by the thera named Sumaṅgala,
 Requested by the monk called Onāthaviriya. (In Prajñānanda 1947,
 I:370-74)⁶¹

61.

suṇantu sabbe yatayo—therā ca majjhimā navā
 mahārājoparājano—cāpare viññūjātikā

kamboja visaye sabbe—sotukāmā hi laṅkikam
 pavattiṃ kiñci mattaṃ ca . . .

anekopaddavopetaṃ—taritvā sāgaram sukham

sampattā sīhalaṃ desaṃ—cha bhikkhū piyaṣilino
 koḷaṃba nagare ramme—vijjodaya samavhayaṃ

pariveṇaṃ susampattā—sāddhe māse khayaṃ gate
 sumaṅgalavhayaṃ theram—saṅghanāyakaṃ gataṃ

disvā samapītacittā—te bhikkhū kambojāgatā
 abhivādiya sakkaccaṃ—dassesuṃ vattamādarā

tato te katasakkārā—paṭisanthārakāraṇā
 puṭṭhā kambojavisaṃsaṅgharājassa santikā

Another Cambodian royal offering to the Tooth Relic was made about one year later. A large party of elders, other monks, novices, and laymen traveled to Kandy on behalf of Queen Upunno. They offered a golden lotus and other goods sent from Cambodia to the Tooth Relic. Hikkaḍuvē was among the monks who conducted a lamp offering in the evening. That merit was

āgatattam viyākatvā—datvā tam sāsanampi ca
pesitāni ca sakkaccam—saṅgharājena viññūnā

parikkhārāni cā damsu—deviyā rājamātarā
nīyyādītāni cādamso—mahāmaccādikehi ca

te bhikkhū sirisambuddha—dāṭhādhātuvaram subham
senkhaṇḍaselanagare—dhātugabbe patiṭṭhitam

pūjetum nettavisayam—katvā sammābhivanditum*
icchantā icchitam tesam—vyākatvā visayā sakā

suvanṇamālīnīrāja—mātarā pica deviyā
khattiyehi ca viññūhi—sammāsambuddhabhattīhi

pūjetum dantadhātum tam—dinnāni ratanāni ca
vitānasānikādīni—bhaṇḍāni vividhāniha [sic; sāṇikādīni]

upāsakehi nītāni—āgatehi yatīhi te
dassesum sammadevate . . .

. . .
—senkhaṇḍaselanāmakam
puram paccāgatā danta—dhātumandīra muttamam

vanditvā dantadhātum tam—passitum katamānasā
sumaṅgalavhayam theram—upasaṅkamma bhattīyā

dassāpanaṅca dhātussa—tam yāciṃsu katādarā
—therā tampura vāsino
mantīno pi ca sambuddha—sāsane bhattīyā yutā

na sakkonti yathākāmam—dassetum dhātumuttamam
tato sumaṅgalo thero—anukampāya bhikkhūsu

kambojesu yathādhhammam—senkhaṇḍaselanāmakam
puram patvā yathālābham—tattha mantīgaṇampi ca

bhikkhusaṅghaṅca disvā te—sannipātīya sādhukam
eṅgalīsāmaccamukhe—nāpetvā ca tato lahum

laṅkindam saññāpetvāna—dāṭhādhātuvaram subham
kambojāgatabhikkhūnam—dassetum . . .

. . .

intended for the Saṅgharāja and the royal family, for their comfort and well-being (in Prajñānanda 1947, 1:364).

Laṅkā, Cambodia, and Burma shared the destructive, fraught, and anxious experience of colonial rule. As Hikkaḍuvē had done for years, appealing across the ocean in the service of Lankan monasticism, members of the

vesākhavhayamāsassa—paṇṇarase uposathe
atikkante navamīyaṃ—samppatte buddhavāsare
majjhaṇha samayē dāṭhā—dhātuṃ buddhassa vissutaṃ
dassetuṃ therasetṭhā ca—mantino ca samosaruṃ

kamboja saṅghapatino piyassabhutā
onāthatherapamukhā varabuddhaputtā
daṭṭhu tato dasanadhātuvaraṃ jinassa
lacchāma micchupagatā muditā pyahesuṃ

pasannacittā parivāritindriyā
susaññatattā sunivatthapārutā
tadāhi kambojayatī ca saññatā
supītiyā dhātughare samāgamuṃ

mahākaraṇḍe sumaññibhi maṇḍite
kameṇa seṭṭhā vicaruṃ suvaṇṇike
tatopi anto maṇiseṭṭhasaṃkhatē
ṭhitam karaṇḍe munidhātu muttamaṃ

paṭiṭṭhāpetvā kamale suvaṇṇiye
padassayūṃ dhātughare vicakkhaṇā
yatī ca te taṃ paṭipāṭiyā ṭhitā
udikkhamānā navacandasādisaṃ

vilokayitvā munidhātu muttumaṃ
labhiṃsu pītiṃ sugatāvalambanaṃ[†]

...

tato mudā pūjīya dhātumuttamaṃ
akāṃsu sammā ṭhitakāva patthanā
pasannacittā yatīpuṇḍavā tato . . .

...

—kappiyakārake hi te
nayāpayitvā jinadhātunuttare
mahopahāraṃ akarūṃ mudā tadā
tato pi katvā paṇidhiṃ yathāruci
gatā bahiṭṭhāna matho pi laṅkikā

yatī gahaṭṭhā pi ca sādhubhattiyā
namimsu dāṭhaṃ munipuṇḍavoditaṃ
yathābalaṃ te paṭipattiyā tathā
apūjayuñcāmisapūjanena ca

Cambodian and Burmese royal families reached out beyond their local Buddhist worlds to Lāṅkā. While Hikkaḍuvē conducted his experiments with Siam and Cambodia during the storm-tossed years of the 1880s and 1890s, Cambodians sought merit and protection from the Tooth Relic at Kandy. They relied on a complex agency—at once local and foreign—to accomplish their ends. This was true also for leading figures in Burma and in exile from Burma. To them Lāṅkā was one of the few places to which colonized Buddhists might turn in order to implement a devotionally and ritually strategic response to the massive disruption of British rule. Those within the royal courts of Burma and Cambodia thus shared with Hikkaḍuvē a response to the materially and emotionally brutal fact of European empire. The hard work of diplomacy in its European mode continued. Buddhist individuals like Hikkaḍuvē grappled with the enduring problems and possibilities of local politics and patronage that were shaped—but not wholly determined—by colonial rule. And, simultaneously, the sphere of *śāsana* beckoned, offering other ways to renew social order, through relations forged across the boundaries of polity and local language. These relations were forged largely in Pali, which was, thus, at this time, a language of ritual and of resistance.

dine paramhā pi mahāmahe kate
 mudosarivā yatayo jaṇe taṇṇi [sic; jane]
 akāṃsu pūjaṃ vividdhaṃ sukhesino
 nayena kambojabhavana sādhuṇaṃ

te dhammikā yativarā jinadhātupūjaṃ
 sammā vidhāya paṇidhiṃ hadaye nidhāya
 kalyāṇicetiya matho pi ca pūjanīyaṃ
 patvā passannahadaya abhipūjayimsu

kambojadesayatayo pi ca khattiyā ca
 rājādhirājapamukhā pi ca dāyakā ye
 te cāpi pītahadaya anumodanāya
 puññāpalābhaphalitā sukhitā bhavantu [sic; puññāpalābhaphalitā]
 onāthaviriyavhena—yatinā yācitena me
 sumaṅgalābhidhānena—therena racito tvayaṃ

*Here I believe the author adopts a Sinhala usage with “nettavisayaṃ katvā,” suggesting that something is drawn into the visual sphere of sensory appreciation.

†The author draws on Sinhala usage of “avalambana,” referring to a protective and inviting object or remnant.

Horizons Not Washed Away

“Protestant Buddhism” and “Buddhist Revival”

Between the 1960s and the 1980s, there appeared important early work on Buddhist responses to the Christian and colonial presence.¹ These publications introduced three categories through which to understand Buddhism during Sri Lanka’s British colonial period. These categories, “Buddhist modernism,” “Buddhist Revival,” and “Protestant Buddhism,” have informed most subsequent scholarly writing on Sri Lankan Buddhism in the context of colonialism and have also entered more popular discourse on colonialism and religion in contemporary Sri Lanka. It is not surprising that the first substantial work on the relationship among Lankan Buddhism, colonialism, and Christianity emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. Following independence for India and Pakistan in 1947, and for Sri Lanka in 1948, it was natural for scholars to develop a richer and more experimental historiography of the colonial period, and of the relationship between colonial-period events and processes and later national forms of collective identification. Moreover, in Sri Lanka, following S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike’s 1956 electoral victory, which made evident the power of political discourse and practice that emphasized the conjunction of Sinhala and Buddhist “identity,” studies of the relationship between Buddhism and politics in Sri Lanka appeared urgently desirable to scholars writing from the island and abroad. The concept of “Buddhist Revival” used to analyze colonial-period Buddhist activity grew in part out of scholarly attempts to locate historical precedents for Sri Lankan sentiments mobilized in 1956. Scholars sought connections between Bandaranaike’s campaign and prior manifestations of Buddhist activism. In this context, some emphasized the importance of what they construed as a colonial-period shift from monastic to lay authority and stressed the im-

1. A brief discussion of these points also appears in Blackburn (2009a).

pact of Christian-Buddhist controversies on the development of new Buddhist identities and behaviors (Siriwardana 1966; Smith 1966; Swearer 1970; Wriggins 1960). Another strand of research emphasized the impact of modernization, or modernity, on Lankan Buddhists (Ames 1963, 1973; Bechert 1966, 1973), which yielded, according to Heinz Bechert, both “traditionalist” and “modernistic” elements in the nineteenth-century modern Buddhist Revival. Bechert’s foundational studies of Buddhist modernism indicated something of the complexity of lay-monastic relations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, noting that Buddhist modernism should not be understood as a unitary or clearly isolable phenomenon.

Gananath Obeyesekere’s essays from the 1970s introduced a new term that was to prove compelling for those attempting to write histories of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Lankan Buddhism (1970, 1972, 1976). This term was “Protestant Buddhism.” According to Obeyesekere, “The term ‘Protestant Buddhism’ in my usage has two meanings. (a) As we have pointed out many of its norms and organizational forms are historical derivatives from Protestant Christianity. (b) More importantly, from the contemporary point of view, it is a protest *against* Christianity and its associated Western political dominance prior to independence” (1972, 62). Exploring the function of the figure of the Anagārika Dharmapāla as a symbol, Obeyesekere observed that “his significance for contemporary Buddhists is however not as a person but as a symbol of (a) a Sinhalese Buddhist rejuvenated Ceylon (b) an asceticism directed towards this-worldly activity. His transformation is much like the transformation of Lincoln, the individual, into the symbolic Lincoln. The anagarika symbol is a product of the times” (70). An essay published slightly later focused more closely on Dharmapāla from a psychological point of view while stressing the centrality of Dharmapāla to a “nationalistic revival” (Obeyesekere 1976). Through four subsequent landmark books, the term “Protestant Buddhism” then entered widespread usage, typically in proximity to the term “Buddhist Revival.” Drawing on prior work by Bechert and Obeyesekere to varying degrees and in different ways, Kitsiri Malalgoda (1976), Richard Gombrich (1988), Gombrich and Gananath Obeyesekere (1988), and George Bond (1988) developed influential accounts of the relationships that had developed among Buddhist monks, Buddhist laity, and Christians during the period of the most intense British colonial activity on the island.

Grappling with striking (and, to some, disturbing) features of mid-twentieth-century Sri Lankan politics—and influenced also by comparative work on problems of modernization and colonialism—these scholars depicted late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Lankan Buddhism as

profoundly transformed from its condition prior to British rule. They emphasized the powerful impact of this alteration on later twentieth-century articulations of Buddhism and Sinhala culture.² Although the early studies of Bechert, Malalgoda, and Bond attended to the diversity of persons and institutions active within the island's Buddhist world during colonial rule,³ subsequent work has not followed their suggestive threads of argument to investigate in detail the internal diversity characteristic of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Buddhist intellectual life and social practice. The terms "Buddhist Revival," "Protestant Buddhism," and "Buddhist Modernism" have now long been used as comprehensive terms with which to describe the character of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Buddhism in Lankā, despite periodic attempts by historians of religion and colonialism, and critical theorists of colonialism, to further nuance claims made in the name of Protestant Buddhism (Holt 1991; Scott 1994; Bastin 1997; Blackburn 2001; Frost 2002; Anderson 2003; King 2002; and Harris 2006).

Those who accept the terms "Buddhist Revival" and "Protestant Buddhism" as adequate descriptors of the period typically understand the terms to refer to a new orientation in Buddhist social organization and religious practice characterized by (1) the rise of lay activism and authority with the concomitant decline in monastic power and prestige; (2) an increasing emphasis on the "rationalist" and scientific character of Buddhism; (3) Buddhist efforts to counter "Western" and Christian influence while adopting Christian or Euro-American forms of religious association (such as lay committees and associations) and "Western" or "modern" technologies (such as print); (4) a deepening focus and attachment to "scriptural" or "canonical" textual authority, and a diminished attachment to a larger corpus of Buddhist narratives, by individual Buddhists whose textual practice is understood to be increasingly unmediated by monastic authority.⁴ The preceding chapters make very clear that, even in central urban Buddhist institutions

2. Seneviratne (1999, 26) notes, acutely: "The new Buddhists themselves did not see their invention quite that way. In their view, what they were doing was reviving the true Buddhism and Buddhist Sinhala culture that had been corrupted by various outside influences and by the ritualism of the peasantry. Thus, for them it was not a reformation but a renaissance. It is this imagery of renaissance, not of reformation, that pervades the movement from its inception in the late nineteenth century to its culmination in the mid-twentieth century."

3. Note also Bond's comment that "although the Buddhist revival is often discussed as if it were a single, monolithic movement, this period of ferment in Sri Lankan Buddhism actually produced a spectrum of reinterpretations of Buddhism" (1988, 36).

4. A useful and influential distillation of this position appears in Gombrich (2006, 189–94). See also Bechert (1973, 91–92), Bond (1988, 35), and Young and Somaratne (1996, 114–15).

and associations linked to new forms of lay Buddhist participation, we do not see a substantial decline in monastic power and prestige, but rather continued collaboration between laypeople and monastics. Monastic skills, contacts, and social capital were typically essential to new ventures as well as to long-standing devotional and social practices. Moreover, late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Lankan (and Southeast Asian) Buddhisms were characterized by continued attachment to potent sites and relics, valued for their protective “magical” power and merit-making potential and as signs of a Buddhist *sāsana*-oriented collective that crossed boundaries of nation and empire. Monastic education, preaching, and editing remained central to the diffusion of Buddhist ideas and practices in a competitive Buddhist-Christian environment, as monks and laity together made use of print technology and newly popular forms of print media (including pamphlets). As I have shown in prior work (Blackburn 2001), nineteenth-century Buddhist interest in the authoritative texts of the *tipiṭaka* and the Pali language had substantial roots in the mid-eighteenth-century reorganization of Lankan monasticism. Nineteenth-century editorial work on authoritative Pali texts owed much to intra-Buddhist monastic debate and lay-monastic patronage politics as well as to the strategic requirements of Buddhist-Christian polemic.

Despite these obvious difficulties involved in applying the standard descriptions of Protestant Buddhism and the Buddhist Revival to the Lankan Buddhist world of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these frameworks have had remarkable longevity. The attractive simplicity of arguments for an unprecedented “sea change” in Buddhist practice during the British colonial period and the linguistic and archival challenges posed by more sustained research have delayed efforts to probe more fully the history of the intellectual, social, and institutional lives and practices of Buddhists in Lankā during the period of intensive British colonial presence. Thus, our understanding of these histories lies in an arrested state of development. The promise of a first generation of scholarship on the character of—and relationships among—Buddhism, colonialism, and modernity has yet to be fully realized. We are left with a historically ironic vision of anti-colonial and anti-Christian activity articulated through the discursive and institutional forms of the colonizer, and of the transformation of Lankan Buddhism by global processes, with little if any analytical space remaining to explore the “local achievement” (Hallisey 1994) of Buddhists crafted in relation to local, regional, and global exigencies and possibilities. Sumit Sarkar’s comments on the historiography of mainland colonial history are salutary for scholars of Sri Lanka also: “there remains a need to recognize

the nuances and mediations, variations in the extent of colonial cultural or other domination across times, regions, social spaces, and the possibility of earlier tensions . . . being reproduced in ways no doubt conditioned by the colonial presence but not uniquely determined by it" (1997, 43).

The Line of Vision and the Question of Scale

To write histories of colonial-period Buddhism solely as the history of Buddhists acting in response to colonialism is to restrict our line of vision unnecessarily and to prejudice our historiography of colonialism prior to research.⁵ This would be the history of colonial-period Buddhism—and of colonial-period Buddhists—written in the mood of Nietzsche's discussion of the "death of God." It assumes that the weight of British colonial domination, with its forms of knowledge and technologies, ruptured long-standing social logics, power relations, and sources of intellectual and psychological comfort and stability.⁶ From this perspective, the period of British rule was an extended moment of crisis—a period in which the familiar horizons of knowledge and social practice were washed away—leading to the adoption of new practices and points of orientation (with or without full consciousness, depending on one's view of the processes of change) on "culture," "religion," and "identity" in order to secure a safely modern berth against fierce colonial winds.

There is, of course, an alternative. We can choose to examine spheres of intellectual and social activity in a historical context *emphatically marked* by the presence of colonial rule instead of looking at intellectual and social *responses* to colonialism. That is, it is possible to develop an alternative line of vision, on a scale small enough to recognize intellectual and social logics and strategies, as well as local relationships of care and obligation.⁷ This brings into view activities undertaken by Buddhists in a colonized context without assuming that all such significant and formative activities were addressed to problems directly or indirectly created by colonial rule or undertaken within intellectual frames of reference, and with reference to, visions

5. See Snodgrass (2007) for a thoughtful intervention that reframes an analysis of colonial Orientalism as one of discursive competition inclusive of local Asian scholarship and agency.

6. Or completed a rupture, depending on the perspective taken on the prior impact of the Portuguese and Dutch presence, which is largely ignored by constructivist historiography of South Asia.

7. Historians of religion and historians of Buddhism have reflected remarkably little on how the scale of a historical investigation relates to the problems to be explored (though see Doniger 1998). Recently Tweed, in a welcome intervention, explicitly broached problems of scale, arguing for the benefits of microhistorical studies of contact and exchange (2005).

of collective belonging that were transformed by colonial rule. From this alternative historical perspective we may ask: What did persons associated with the Triple Gem (the Buddha, his teachings, and the monastic community) do in British-period *Laṅkā*, and what was the logic of their actions? That is, what did they expect to accomplish, and why was that desirable? What were the terms in which such actions were conceived, articulated, and defended? This perspective does not make light of the heavy burdens of colonial rule; it was massively disruptive, with its painful racial hierarchies, exploitative paternalism, and frequent violence. It does, however, recognize the colonial presence and domination as a powerful force within the lives of Lankan Buddhists while holding open the possibility that some forms of socially and institutionally central Buddhist activity on the island were responsive to colonial rule only indirectly if at all. Moreover, it proceeds according to the hypothesis that even some responses to British colonial conditions may have proceeded according to forms of knowledge, understandings of collective belonging, and social logics with a deeper, perhaps even precolonial, history. From this perspective, then, one attempts to develop a subtle and flexible account of the impact of colonial dynamics on local institutions, ritual and devotional practices, modes of defining and expressing collective belonging, and instances of attempted social purification or rectification. Looking at the breadth and ambition of the intellectual work, competition for access to status and resources, and forms of social criticism undertaken by Lankan Buddhists, one looks closely to identify the moments and the arenas in which “the problem of colonialism” is and is not present. When it is present, one attempts to understand more precisely the manner in which it is present, alert to the possibility that colonial conditions may be understood as the cause of problems subject to Buddhist reflection, for which the solution may derive from a variety of local or translocal repertoires, including those both more and less marked by colonial forms of discourse and social practice.

The study of *Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala* developed through the preceding chapters suggests that it may be fruitful to direct at least some of our histories of colonial-period Buddhists and Buddhisms to the scale of an individual, his or her central projects, and his or her social networks. On this scale, it is possible to combine historical orientations that we might call “social,” “institutional,” “intellectual,” and “religious or devotional” history. Thus, we attempt to discern the problems and concerns of a particular Buddhist at a certain point in time and the repertoire of conceptions of history, collective belonging, proper conduct, and social obligation on which that person drew in response to these central problems and concerns. In doing so, we explore

what is sometimes referred to as localized rationality (Clayton 2006, partly after MacIntyre and Wittgenstein), learning to recognize this individual's sense of problems and possibilities, his or her distinctive reflective stance and strategic disposition. If our sources are sufficiently rich, we will begin to comprehend, and to develop a nearly instinctive awareness of, worlds of sentiment and value that orient and richly motivate human action.

This micro-level examination necessarily connects to wider social processes, including those related to economy and period-specific forms of social capital. The individual's conception of promise and danger, as well as plausible and desirable actions to be taken in social spaces, are shaped by period-specific possibilities for institutional development, including the flow of capital and the available local and translocal networks of affiliation and patronage. This scale of examination, which thus embraces the "material" and "cultural" realm of power and causation (Ghosh and Kennedy 2006, 3–5), but not only within colonial-metropolitan flows and networks, allows us to identify more accurately where and how colonialism "made a difference" to an individual and his or her closest associates and networks. When was colonial rule understood as a source of problems consciously addressed as such? When and how did it enter a series of social processes that affected the person's spheres of action, new technologies, and forms of discourse? Crucially, on this scale we are also better able to see the limits of the difference made by colonialism, especially in terms of how problems related to the colonial presence (indirectly or directly) were addressed. This study of Hikkaḍuvē thus serves as a methodological example, suggesting how one may achieve greater historical precision in evaluations of colonial impact on colonized persons and regions by developing small-scale histories of individuals and their networks. Such small-scale histories complement studies developed on a larger scale of generality, especially those concerned with colonial policies, administrative structures, and changing patterns of land use and economy. Such large-scale studies and surveys help to clarify the conditions of possibility for human action examined at the microhistorical level. In turn, small-scale histories illuminate the ways in which colonial-period institutions and social structures were actually inhabited at specific historical conjunctures.

In the context of recent histories of South Asian colonialism, among which studies of discursive rewiring occupy a substantial body of literature (i.e., Chatterjee 1986, 1993; Kaviraj 1995; and Chakrabarty 2000), the time is ripe for small-scale historical studies that unite aspects of social and intellectual history. The discursive turn has fed postcolonial reflections on nationalism, citizenship, and communalism, generating creative attention

to the impact of the “Enlightenment project” (Clayton 2006) on southern Asia. However, the genealogical urgency of such studies has produced thin historical treatments of concepts and social practice, insufficiently attentive to the ways in which “habits of mind” (Ho 2006, 178) entered human action. Such habits of mind, more and less marked by the British presence and Enlightenment-period influences, were in fact repertoires from which colonial-period South Asians drew, both reflectively and instinctively, as they lived lives across spheres of activity that were theirs by birth, by choice, and by chance.

A Scholar-Monk in Colonial-Period Laṅkā

What did a Buddhist scholar-monk do in the Lankan environment, marked by a deepening colonial presence and translocal networks that were altered by new forms of transport and communication (especially the steamship, the railway, and the telegraph), as well as the demands made by new forms of imperial diplomacy? In what ways did he perceive the colonial and Christian presence as a threat to the proper order and devotional-ritual security of monastic, and lay-monastic, Buddhist groups? How did he respond to the shifting opportunities for lay patronage, monastic alliance, and institution building associated with colonial-period economic changes and new urban demography?

In the preceding chapters I have introduced the diverse arenas of action, social obligation, and responsibility within which Hikkaḍuvē made his life and his monastic career. Each chapter indicated ways in which Hikkaḍuvē recognized and responded to problems and circumstances that he associated with the colonial and Christian presence. These chapters also revealed a wider range of social and intellectual possibilities and preoccupations that drove Hikkaḍuvē’s work at Vidyodaya Piriveṇa, in lay-monastic associations, within Siyam Nikāya institutions, and within spheres of monastic cooperation and antagonism. Chapter 1 was organized around the problem of monastic advancement and career building, examining Hikkaḍuvē’s ascension through monastic ranks during a time of growing monastic debate, Buddhist-Christian controversy, and the intensification of contacts between Lankan and Southeast Asian Buddhists from the port of Galle. Hikkaḍuvē recognized colonial rule as deleterious to the state of *Buddha-śāsana* in Laṅkā. It created the conditions for a growing Christian presence on the island and for Christian attacks on Buddhist practice and authoritative texts. The threat of colonial rule lay also with British removal of a local Buddhist monarch able to adjudicate disagreements within the local, Lankan,

community of monks and to manage a system of monastic administration and appointments. While colonial rule thus made forms of Buddhist social organization, devotional practice, and intellectual reflection more challenging, it also gave a distinctive period character to long-standing practices through which a monk would seek to gain and demonstrate status, prestige, and access to control of property and donor networks. The long precolonial, and pre-British, history of Buddhist monks using public displays of learning and oratory to accumulate status and prestige, and to develop patron-client relationships with lay devotees as well as monastic superiors,⁸ came to encompass new expressions of erudition and charisma. These included anti-Christian preaching, Buddhist-Christian debate, the preparation of texts used in these forms of preaching and debate, and correspondence with monastic colleagues and royal patrons in Southeast Asia. Moreover, as the case of Hikkaḍuvē's contested appointment as the Śrī Pāda Nāyaka shows very clearly, the British presence disturbed *and* augmented possibilities for monastic appointments and advancement in other ways as well, since colonial legal practice became an arena in which competing Buddhist claims could be expressed using both colonial and precolonial idioms and forms of evidence.⁹

Chapter 2 focused on Buddhist institution building, revealing the way in which a sense of cultural loss associated with Christian teachings, new forms of scientific learning, and the inroads made by English-medium education and employment sharpened the intensity with which some lay and monastic Buddhists made common cause in the sphere of education. Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century forms of lay and monastic cooperation in maritime Lankan education and text production¹⁰ paved the way for later nineteenth-century cooperation between monks and laymen, as attention focused increasingly on the establishment of educational sites in rapidly growing urban centers along the southern and southwestern coast. The establishment of Vidyodaya Piriveṇa was intended to help reduce the pressure of English-language, European, and Christian discourses and fields of study on Laṅkā's historically important technical sciences, including medicine, astronomy, and astrology. It was also expected to provide an institutional space for Buddhist ritual and devotional activity in the new urban center of Colombo, and for the intellectual and practical work of anti-Christian polemic through print and sermon. Hikkaḍuvē and the lay patrons of Vidyodaya-

8. See, for instance, Blackburn (2001) and Deegalle (2006).

9. For an educative comparative case, see Whitaker (1999).

10. See, for instance, Hēvāvasam (1966), Malalgoda (1976), and Blackburn (2001).

daya seized the possibility provided by British support for local institutions in the service of vernacular education and Orientalist learning. While participating in these forms of discourse on education and learning, as well as a local discourse that linked social health and vitality to the power of *śāstric* knowledge, they used a combination of government and private local capital to endow and run Vidyodaya. The network that made this possible was primarily a local southern network, with Galle and Matara as the nodal points in familial and monastic webs of acquaintance and association that were used to establish the new site, Vidyodaya, at Colombo. Hikkaḍuvē reached Vidyodaya Pirivena via relationships that crisscrossed spheres of *śāstric* practice, caste- and region-based marriage and monastic ordination, urban migration and commerce, and Buddhist-Christian polemic. This network significantly shaped the growth of Vidyodaya and greatly limited the impact that government and European educational practices and ideals had on the institution during the period in question.

Chapter 3 took up the question of Hikkaḍuvē's scholarly work, examining three of the most important public contexts in which his erudition was brought to bear on intellectual-cum-social problems in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Laṅkā. These contexts show us Hikkaḍuvē working in the service of more than one collective, at roughly the same time, drawing his knowledge of Sinhala and Pali texts into projects related to *Mahāvamsa* history, caste politics, and monastic discipline. Hikkaḍuvē and Baṭuvantuḍāvē worked as pandits for the government on the *Mahāvamsa* project, producing texts explicitly presented to serve the India-focused Orientalist historiographical aims of the government and its wider British and European scholarly audience. Simultaneously they used work on a Sinhala translation of *Mahāvamsa* to reinforce long-standing local and regional Buddhist historical narratives that framed the history of Laṅkā and India with Buddha biography and the life story of the *śāsana*, largely ignoring European historiographical aims. Caste politics created a high demand for scholarly work by monks with Hikkaḍuvē's degree of erudition. Hikkaḍuvē and his associates in the caste debates drew on intellectual resources with a long, and even precolonial, history, as well as on new materials on caste developed more recently by or for the British. Historical narratives in Pali and Sinhala, as well as grammatical and lexical works on a range of languages including Sanskrit, Pali, and Sinhala, fed caste-based politics. The antagonistic articulation of caste hierarchies served a variety of struggles within the monastic community—struggles with implications for status, capital, and land—as well as attempts to shape and reshape the basis for lay access

to administrative appointments, other forms of government patronage, and upward mobility through marriage and profession.

At the same time, Hikkaḍuvē drew the study of Pali into heated debates on proper monastic dress that caused an uproar within the Lankan Siyam Nikāya and spurred contact with eminent monks in Southeast Asia. Authoritative Pali *tipiṭaka* texts and early commentaries were read in conjunction with later Lankan and Southeast Asian Vinaya commentaries and compendiums. Both sources were combined with ethnographic and epistolary reports from Southeast Asia, and with visual and textual materials produced by British and European Orientalists. Hikkaḍuvē's work in the Pārupana Vādaya reveals the ways in which disciplinary debates were closely tied to monastic lineage tensions and wider Lankan monastic competition for lay patronage. At the same time, however, he attempted to rectify the *śāsana* through monastic disciplinary reform, at a time he understood the monastic community to be dangerously weak. Hikkaḍuvē understood such weakness partly as the inevitable result of *śāsana* decline (according to a widely shared Buddhist temporal scheme), but also as the outcome of specifically colonial-period conditions for monastic life in which monks had no recourse to local Buddhist royal authority. In all three spheres of intellectual activity, knowledge of South Asian literary languages, Buddhist texts, and local historical narratives composed in Pali and Sinhala were crucial to the micropolitics of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Laṅkā. In no case did texts and discourses emanating from Britain and Europe fully encompass or direct the flow of argument and textual authority. All of these arenas reveal Hikkaḍuvē's awareness of, and willingness to use, new forms of evidence emanating from Britain, Europe, or Southeast Asia, but often in the service of strategies rooted in pre-British or precolonial logics.

Chapter 4 addressed a problem often described by scholars of Lankan Buddhism as "laicization," perhaps more accurately conceived as the expansion of Lankan Buddhist collective action to include new forms of lay and monastic Buddhist activism and organization. In the context of widening Buddhist networks that now linked Laṅkā to Britain, Europe, America, India, and Japan as well as her long-time Southeast Asian partners in the *śāsana*, the social world of Lankan Buddhists was altered by the rapid emergence of lay and lay-monastic Buddhist associations. These were formed and sustained through intricate and shifting patterns of alliance and opposition that operated simultaneously in local, regional, and global contexts. Hikkaḍuvē, and other well-placed and influential monks whom we have met in previous pages, engaged selectively with such associations and their

projects, on the basis of personal inclination in relation to other professional work, and as powerful local patron-client relationships required. In the long and unstable three-way relationships of Hikkaḍuvē, Dharmapāla, and Olcott, each man attempted to use the others in distinctive approaches to strengthening and expanding forms of collective action by lay and monastic Buddhists. Each understood the other as a potentially powerful agent through which to access the funds and diplomatic support required to strengthen his activities. Hikkaḍuvē was concerned primarily with problems of unity and discipline within the Lankan monastic community and the vitality of educational institutions and devotional practice that could protect South Asian technical sciences, *śāsana*, and monastic discipline. Where those concerns could be addressed through the wider translocal networks created and used by Dharmapāla and Olcott, Hikkaḍuvē made use of them experimentally. When the local networks of association and patronage within which Hikkaḍuvē worked required additional involvement in the projects of Dharmapāla and Olcott, with the Maha Bodhi Society and the Buddhist Theosophical Society, he picked his way through the minefield of competing Lankan Buddhist projects, committees, and *sabhās*. The proliferation of forms of Buddhist association in this period, the rapidly widening geographic scope of their activities, and the quickening pace of communication made more delicate the ever-present challenge faced by a Buddhist monk: the management of patronage networks and the articulation of monastic projects to a mixed audience of monks and laity.

The central problem of chapter 5 was the manner in which the translocal physical and conceptual space of the *śāsana* was used by Hikkaḍuvē and other Lankan monks, as well as monks and royal patrons beyond the island in Southeast Asia, to address local problems caused by British and French imperial projects in southern Asia and deepening colonial control of Laṅkā, Burma, and Cambodia. Hikkaḍuvē perceived an interlocking series of problems in the sphere of Buddhist practice, catalyzed by the British government's removal of the last Kandyan king and the end of any apparent possibility for direct rule by a Buddhist monarch on the island. The absence of the regulating presence of a local royal Buddhist patron had opened a vast space for dissent and fissure among Lankan monks, since there was no local person or institution with a plausible claim to regulate monastic discipline and administration, including ordination practice and the ritual calendar. In Hikkaḍuvē's view, this dissent and disunity had profound and extended effects in Laṅkā and beyond, threatening the legitimacy of monastic status and the access of lay Buddhists to the protection and merit making of ritual life involving monks. In turn, this weakening of Laṅkā was understood as

a threat to the life of the wider *śāsana* itself in Laṅkā and beyond, since monastic practice, the study of authoritative texts, and the protection of relic sites and pilgrimage networks in Laṅkā all depended on the vitality and security of the island's monastic institutions. Hikkaḍuvē sought external royal and monastic regulation of Lankan monastic dissent in a variety of ways throughout his life. He attempted to protect Lankan monasticism through various arrangements for ordination, administration, and patronage oriented toward the royal courts of Southeast Asia, without any apparent sense that this was a misplaced novelty or the betrayal of local sovereignty. Lankan monks like Hikkaḍuvē and others mentioned in these pages were not alone in turning to *śāsana*, a geographic space that encompassed local and colonial polities, for alliances and practices that might prove useful as an antidote to the colonial administrative presence in the region. As the last decades of the nineteenth century made evident the decided and destructive waxing of the French and British presence in Indo-Burma and Indo-China, monks and courtiers from Burma and Cambodia sought to partake of the protective and merit-making power of the Buddha in the form of his Tooth Relic at Kandy in Laṅkā. Laṅkā's own decidedly colonized status meant that there could be no recourse to the island for royal patronage or diplomatic assistance (as might be sought in Siam) or, of course, for military backing. Southeast Asian monastics and members of the royal courts of Burma and Cambodia, however, could, and did, seek the support of Lankan monks including Hikkaḍuvē in order to mobilize pilgrimage and devotional offerings on a very substantial scale. In Southeast Asia and Laṅkā, the *śāsana* was used as a physical space, and an idiom, for the attempted rectification of a range of social and devotional arrangements sundered by the colonial presence in the region. In this process, Buddhist persons in Laṅkā and Southeast Asia drew on their awareness of regional Buddhist networks with a long history, developing strategies inflected by regional memories of lineage, patronage, and the potent traces of the Buddha.

Locative Pluralism

In studies of colonial-period Lankan Buddhism it is common to map British colonial and postcolonial taxonomies of ethnicity and religion onto the social orientations of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Lankans, interpreting their activities as undertaken in the service of "Sinhala" and/or "Buddhist" identities. This anachronistic move is easily made, given the deceptive naturalness with which these categories have come to dominate Sri Lankan social reflection and political discourse in a postcolonial era charac-

terized by increasingly marked communalism. However, by interpreting the diverse activities undertaken by colonial-period Lankan Buddhists primarily in terms of broad and historically ill-defined Sinhala and Buddhist identities, historians put themselves doubly at risk in their analysis. On the one hand, a careful examination of the processes through which contemporary taxonomies have developed is foreclosed. And, on the other, these studies fail to recognize that most social action was undertaken in the spirit of affiliation not to collectives understood as “Sinhala” and “Buddhist” but, rather, to a shifting congeries of collectives operating at different levels of classification and self-description, both narrower and wider than those of “Sinhala” and “Buddhist.” The preceding pages suggest the value of attending to the *locative pluralism* of the persons whose histories and contexts we seek to understand. That is, rather than assuming a single dominant affiliation or “identity” as the hermeneutical key to social action, it is more revealing to assume that the persons we study exemplify locative pluralism, acting simultaneously in relation to plural and shifting *collectives of belonging* to which they feel a sense of responsibility and emotional investment.

In the case of Hikkaḍuvē, we see simultaneous involvement with several collectives comprising monks and laypersons. The diverse, and sometimes overlapping, collectives toward which he felt responsibility and emotional engagement reveal complex and shifting relationships, and more than one preoccupation. This should not surprise us if we reflect on the internal diversity of our own lives and the locative pluralism through which we navigate our social worlds. Hikkaḍuvē was sometimes oriented toward the collective composed of Laṅkā and her residents, sometimes oriented toward the Buddhist monastic world writ large, and sometimes more focused on specific subgroups within it. Obligations to the *śāsana* coexisted with an awareness of local patron-client relationships that *śāsana* obligations might facilitate, including those that might encompass more than one of the island’s regions or social classes. Responding to these diverse collectives of belonging, he drew on multiple models for action, as well as more than one idiom through which alliance could be sought and actions justified. As we have seen, these models and idioms were genealogically complex. Actions and decision making could draw on historical narratives and images of local and translocal belonging carried by pre-British and precolonial literatures, as well as a variety of local visions of the past handed down in monastic and family lines. These could coexist with elements from more recent forms of discourse. No simple ascription of “identity,” whether based on precolonial or colonial-period notions of “Sinhala” or “Buddhist,” fits the range of collectives on behalf of whom Hikkaḍuvē worked, or the subtle and intricate

conceptions of social connection, generational responsibility, and inherited authority used by him to bring historical depth and naturalness to his claims on, and for, the present.

"Traditional" and "Modern" Buddhism

Given the deep historical roots of many of the models and idioms on which Hikkāḍuvē relied in the course of his long career, some will be tempted to say that he represents "traditional" Lankan Buddhism in the face of Lankā's rapid modernization under British rule. We should, however, attempt to avoid this error. Quite apart from the fact that the long, internally dynamic, and contentious history of Lankan Buddhism in the precolonial period makes the isolation of a single set of forms as "traditional" a matter of present-day intellectual preference rather than accurate historical representation (Blackburn 2001), it is perhaps useful to recognize that the term "traditional" is essentially an empty term. It is filled only as the antithesis of whatever is specified as "modern" or "modernist."¹¹ The designation of particular forms of political order, economy, knowledge and social practice as "modern" or "modernist" is an unstable practice, undertaken in different ways both by scholars examining specific historical contexts and by persons engaged in the criticism and renegotiation of the forms of life found within their own environments. The terms "modern" and "modernist" may do useful scholarly or other social work, and they are of course not experienced as empty terms for those who use them in political projects and social criticism. However, these terms certainly do not function as transparent descriptors that allow scholars to write or speak quickly with any ease or confident shorthand of something or someone as the opposite of "traditional." As Prasenjit Duara has observed, "because the dichotomy of tradition and modern is too fixed to reflect a dynamic reality does not mean that these categories are not useful. Their value, however, emerges from understanding them as discursive representations: as ways people understand and talk about themselves and others" (Duara 1995, 90; 111).¹²

As we write histories of Buddhist persons, institutions, practices, and forms of knowledge in periods often referred to as early modern and modern, it is necessary to distinguish with increasing clarity how (if at all) we choose

11. As Thongchai has observed of Southeast Asia, the "vagueness" of the term "modern" "renders the other terms in relation to it—such as 'traditional,' 'pre-modern,' and so on—ambiguous. In most situations, each of these terms is intelligible only in reference to the others" (1994, 19).

12. See also the useful remarks in Cooper (2005, 114–17, 126).

to use the terms “modern” and “modernist” in the study of Buddhism.¹³ Do we use these terms to refer to periods in which there is the presence or absence of technologies (like print), political forms (like the nation), economic arrangements (like empire and global capitalism), or a distinctive experience of temporality or subjectivity in contexts associated with the Triple Gem? Do we use these terms to make arguments for the impact of such technologies, political forms, economic arrangements, and forms of reflective awareness on persons and institutions involved with the *śāsana*?¹⁴ Do we examine the use of these terms (and developmentalist terms like them) in the discourses of the Buddhists we study, who sometimes used them to develop forms of social criticism or arguments for social rectification?¹⁵ Hikkaḍuvē lived and worked in a period typically described as “modern” because of its political and economic forms and the availability of technologies like printing and steam transport. He lived and worked in a context sometimes described as “colonial modernity” because these political and economic forms, technologies, and altered infrastructure, along with new discourses about selves and nations, were present within the inequalities and regulative strictures of colonial rule.¹⁶ He does not, however, appear to have drawn on a developmentalist discourse that approached social problems and their solution through a self-conscious reflection on his own era as one that required a compensatory imitation of new forms of political order, ritual and devotion, or education explicitly presented (whether in Euro-America, Japan, or Siam) as suitable to new or “modern” times.

This study of Hikkaḍuvē thus reminds us to remain alert to domains of Buddhist intellectual expression, and to arguments for the rectification of problems understood in some sense as social or collective, that occurred in periods or conditions we may call “modern” or “colonial modern” but not in a historicist or developmentalist vein. I am sympathetic to recent work on the processes of intellectual translation that informed some nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Asian encounters with Euro-American articulations of nation and citizen, self and community, often termed “modern”

13. Berkwitz (2006).

14. See Ivy (2005, esp. 321–23).

15. On which see, for instance, Hansen (2007) and Lopez (2002, vii–xl).

16. On “colonial modernity” see, for instance, Chatterjee (1986, 1993), Kaviraj (1995), Guha (1997), Sarkar (1997), Chakrabarty (2000), and Dirks (2001), but note the thoughtful caveat of Cooper (2005, 142–48), who compares Indian and African cases. On the question of whether and how forms of knowledge were displaced in Southeast Asian colonial contexts, see Thongchai (1994) and Milner (2002). The possibility that “modernity” emerged globally in a process of engagement across the boundary of colonizer and colonized is treated, albeit in rather different ways, by van der Veer (2001) and Chakrabarty (2000).

(Chakrabarty 2000; Howland 2002). For many of us working on South Asian contexts, Dipesh Chakrabarty's exploration of a distinctive "Bengali modernity" (2000, 129) formed by supplementing "European Enlightenment thought" with "a different hermeneutics of the social" (127) with a longer local history, has proved particularly thought provoking. Chakrabarty's work makes a significant advance in studies of "colonial modernity" and the roots of postindependence politics because of its attention to the internal complexity of colonial-period South Asian intellectual life and the continued vitality of "configurations of memory" (37) distinct from historical narratives predicated on state-citizen relations. The work and writings of Hikkaḍuvē suggest, however, that historians of South Asia would do well to consider not only the "conjoined genealogies" (Chakrabarty 2000, 20) of South Asian intellectual expressions that adapt, translate, and accrete "modern" forms of Euro-American political thought, but also the substantial intellectual vitality of colonized South Asians who evaluated their circumstances and responded to them according to models and idioms that did not participate in a historicist discourse derived from Britain, Europe, and America. As Frederick Cooper has asked, did "thinkers specifically fight their battles on the turf of modernity . . . ? Or can one characterize their thought using other terminology, and particularly can one avoid confusion of present-day frameworks with those of their own time?" (2005, 130; see also 133). For Hikkaḍuvē there was no "disjuncture of the present with itself" (Chakrabarty 2000, 109) owing to the simultaneous existence of action and interpretation in "modern" and "premodern" time. There were, rather, responses to his present circumstances with reference to repertoires of thought and action that included elements with deep historical roots but which served as decidedly *contemporary* responses to the threat of *śāsana* decline and perceived social disorder. As we have seen, these repertoires sometimes grew to include elements from new European discourses on history, sovereignty, and religion. We may be tempted to describe such conjunctions as instances of hybridity. However, such description does not take us very far historically, unless we probe the individual and contextual distinctiveness of such conjunctions, or their absence.

Recognizing many of the problems of his day as the direct or indirect result of colonial rule, Hikkaḍuvē attempted to resolve them (as well as others wholly or largely disconnected from the Raj) through a set of local and translocal strategies that involved the regulation of monastic ritual practice and administration through royal power, the promotion of *śāstric* learning, the deployment of local and translocal alliances, and protective merit making. This study of Hikkaḍuvē thus reminds us that the explicitly

“modernist” movement that developed among Khmer Buddhist monks in the early decades of the twentieth century (Hansen 2007, 2008) is only one of several forms that could be taken by Buddhist scholars in their work of institution building and social criticism within contexts marked by colonial rule, Asian imperialism, and “modern” forms of economy, political order, and technology. Hansen has shown with great effectiveness how nineteenth-century Khmer Buddhist themes related to social order and social purification were transmuted in the early twentieth century at the nexus of Khmer, Siamese, and French cultural projects in the region. Khmer Buddhist intellectual resources and frames of reference helped to make possible the adoption of visions of Buddhist renewal and rectification emanating from France and Siam. The modern *dhamma* movement examined by Hansen and Hikkaḍuvē’s work in the service of the *śāsana* and other collectives of belonging presented in these past chapters indicate something of the range of Buddhist lay and monastic positions that we may expect to find among colonized Buddhists operating within arenas characterized by “modern” forms of economy, polity, and technology, and by Euro-American and Asian reflections on the developments required by a new age, or by an era of crisis. The distance between Hikkaḍuvē’s perspective and that of the modern *dhamma* monks described by Hansen is not the product of diachronic development: an “early” colonial-period Buddhist orientation does not give way to subsequent modern-*dhamma* perspectives. As Shawn McHale has shown, we find a great diversity of Buddhist perspectives in the region even as late as 1920–45 (McHale 2004, esp. 7, 170, 179, 182, and chap. 5). We should expect to find a range of repertoires, visions of collective belonging, and reflections on the character of colonial times in Lan̄kā also, during Hikkaḍuvē’s time and extending well beyond his death in 1911. These deserve investigation.

Devadarshan Ambalavaner has rightly argued that we should not fail to ask, “What is the history within which such moments of transformation [the transformations and inventions of colonial modernity] should be located and interpreted?” (2006, 393, 403–5). That is, one should be attentive to local Asian narrations and schematizations of colonial-period events and processes that proceed according to specific conceptions of agency and temporality. In addition, we ought to deepen still further our understanding of local agency and creativity by remaining alert to those instances in which a sense of time’s unfolding made it unnecessary for some colonized Asians to “reinvent tradition” or to accept a tradition reinvented by forms of colonial discourse. Such reinvention or acceptance was not always necessary in order to analyze and address worrying dangers of the day. As Mark Whita-

ker (1999) has shown in his thought-provoking study of British-period Batticaloa temple politics, forms of life that were neither grasped nor manipulated by agents of the Raj remained present in the colonial period. Moreover, as we see from the activities of Hikkaḍuvē, many social spheres and forms of practice that were not wholly displaced by new social strategies or new visions of collective belonging remained.

Buddhist Networks in a Colonized Seascape

The presence of strong translocal Buddhist networks in the southern Asian region increased the strength and flexibility with which Hikkaḍuvē was able to shape and protect projects in Lankā under British rule. This long history of monastic movement across the boundaries of polity and language, whether in the service of royal aims or on behalf of lineage and monastery, is an example of what Thomas Tweed has called “translocative history,” “transversal cultural trajectories” that “cross all sorts of temporal and spatial boundaries, larger and smaller than the ‘nation’ and larger and smaller than the ‘era’” (2005, 270). Such history made it natural for Hikkaḍuvē and other Lankan monks to seek status, as well as material and ritual resources, by developing and strengthening relationships to Buddhists elsewhere in the region. Hikkaḍuvē attempted to address weaknesses in lay and monastic practice and institutional life partly by mobilizing regional monastic networks through which monks served lay and monastic interests (which were sometimes, but not always, linked), including some only indirectly related to colonial rule and others yet more local and personal. It is striking that some efforts to protect local Lankan interests during the dangerous era of colonial rule were pursued via regional and royalist networks made even more accessible by imperial developments in communications (Frost 2002, 958). These networks were at odds with British ambitions, as well as with incipient Lankan investments in the idea of her nationhood. This does not appear to have worried the British, who probably construed even the most ambitious plans to involve the Siamese court as “just” matters of “religion.” Representatives of the government failed to grasp that the vision of *śāsana* protection, and the mobilization of regional Buddhist support for local interests, encompassed, rather than separated, spheres of action understood by the British as “politics” and “religion.” Such projects were sometimes explicitly intended to redress colonial wrongs.

For more than half a century of British rule, Hikkaḍuvē relied upon southern Asian Buddhist networks with a long precolonial and colonial-period history in the work of institution building, scholarship, and monastic

politics. Recourse to such networks was a durable strategy within the Buddhist worlds of Lankā and Southeast Asia. It was natural to use these networks to engage with pressing problems (anticolonial and otherwise) of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁷ Mark Frost has rightly observed that the form taken by the Indian Ocean network (Metcalf 2007) during the age of “New Imperialism” restructured to some extent prior lines of communication in the “ancient Theravada Buddhist world” (Frost 2002), but it is important to recognize the strength of these networks even before 1870. Changes in Indian Ocean infrastructure after that date intensified the speed with which communication could occur and the range of printed documents in English that moved around the ocean region. Of course, for many years prior, Pali had served as the common language for communication along these Buddhist routes. This continued to be the case among monastics, and sometimes also in lay-monastic communication, throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Historically deep and multilingual forms of investigation and sociability characterized the lives of Buddhists within the Indian Ocean region during this period.¹⁸

In Hikkaḍuvē’s activities we see, to be sure, a response to conditions of colonial rule involving recourse to a domain of religious practice. This was, however, no turning from the “world” to “home” in a compensatory move to celebrate the positive difference of the “East.” The colonial-period sphere of Lankan Buddhist practice remained, as it had long been, an arena for merit making and protective devotion, for the challenges and pleasures of intellectual life, for social competition, and for the performance and arbitration of differences among monks and their lay patrons. In the specifically threatening context of British and French colonial rule, translocal Buddhist networks were also used to facilitate ritual resistance to colonial domination and to attempt an encompassing critical articulation of obligation based on *sāsana* rather than state or nation. These were decidedly

17. The intersection of such Indian Ocean networks with those stretching further east deserves further attention by historians working on colonized and imperial Asia. Jaffe’s important work on the flow of objects and persons between Japan and Southern Asia in the service of diverse Japanese Buddhists’ interests expands our vision in significant ways. As Jaffe has noted, “The reconstruction of Buddhism in Asia . . . included others besides European and American orientalist scholars and involved more than just texts, depending in large part on the growing circulation of people and material culture on a global scale. The forging of increasingly strong links between Japanese and other Asian Buddhists catalyzed the transformation of how Buddhism was conceived within Japan and, more broadly, elsewhere in Asia” (Jaffe 2006, 269). See also Jaffe (2004).

18. See also the useful new work by Frost on twentieth-century networks in the Indian Ocean region (forthcoming).

practical actions in the world, intended to use Asian Buddhist strategies to intervene in colonial-period conditions dominated by British and European power, rather than recessive celebrations of “the spiritual greatness of the East” (Chatterjee 1986, 50–51) developed as compensation for the obvious primacy of “Western” development in economic, technological, and military spheres. Hikkaḍuvē and his Southeast Asian monastic and courtly colleagues sought local advantage through translocal relationships forged in relation to Buddhist education and ritual, the protection of potent space, and the regulation of monastic life. Among their preoccupations—central, but not always focal—were efforts to combat intrusive and disturbing manifestations of colonial power and control.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CO	Colonial Office
<i>Diary</i>	<i>Diary of the Anagārika Dharmapāla</i>
<i>JAS</i>	<i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>
<i>JMBS</i>	<i>Journal of the Maha Bodhi Society</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>JRAS (C)</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon)</i>
<i>JRAS (SL)</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Sri Lanka)</i>
<i>K.P.B.S.V.</i>	<i>Koḷaṁba Paramavijñānārttha Bauddha Samāgamē Vārtāva</i>
<i>MAS</i>	<i>Modern Asian Studies</i>
<i>SJVP</i>	Śrī Jayavardhanapura Viśvavidyālaya Pustakalaya
<i>SLNA</i>	Sri Lanka National Archive

ARCHIVED NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS

Sri Lanka National Archive

Ceylon Observer

Ceylon Times

Dinamiṇa

Independent

Lakrivikirana

Lakmiṇipahana

Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa

Siṃhala Bauddhyayā

British Library

The Bi-Monthly Examiner

The Examiner

The Independent
Journal of the Maha Bodhi Society
The Overland Examiner
The Overland Observer
The Theosophist

MANUSCRIPT AND OFFICIAL DOCUMENT COLLECTIONS

Administration Reports, Sri Lanka National Archive
 Department of Public Instruction
 Sabaragamuwa District (including Government Agent and Assistant Government Agent Reports)
 North Central Province
 Revenue Administration
 Municipality of Colombo
 Colonial Office Records, National Archives of the United Kingdom
 Governors' Addresses in the Legislative Council of Ceylon and Legislative Council of Ceylon Replies to Governors' Addresses, British Library
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INDEX

- Abhayagiri relic monument, 128–29
 Adhikamāsa Controversy, 7, 11–14, 44, 145, 153
 Akuraṭṭiyē Amaravaṃsa, 65
 Alwis, James d', 54
 Amarapura Nikāya: Burma and, 148n6, 150, 153, 156, 165–66, 170n41; Hikkaḍuvē Sumaḍgala and, 145, 149; *nikāya* unification and, 176–80; Pārupana Vādaya and, 92, 95; Pelmadulla *sangīti* and, 11; Sabaragamuva and, 25; Siam and, 147, 163, 166, 168, 169n35, 171–74, 176–80; temples and, 149n12
 Aṃbagahavattē Saraṇaṃkara, 16, 29, 34, 37, 92, 107–9, 112
 Ananda College, 134, 169n36
 Anuradhapura, 71, 127–34, 145, 170
 Anuradhapura Buddhist Defence Committee, 131
 Anuradhapura riot, 131–32
 Āpā Appuhāmi, 34–53, 59, 113
 archaeology, 71. *See also* Abhayagiri relic monument; Anuradhapura; Bell, H. C. P.
 Arnold, Edwin, 101–2, 118n18, 120, 123n32
 Atthadassi, Galagama. *See* Śrī Pāda Nāyaka appointment
 Bandaranaïke, S. W. R. D., 197–98
 Battaramullē Subhuti, 89n35, 98n56
 Baṭuvantuḍāvē Pundit: biography of, 12n23; Buddhist printing presses and, 15; Buddhist Theosophical Society and, 111, 113; debates and, 12; *Mahāvamsa* project and, 71–78, 206; Pelmadulla *sangīti* and 4n6; relations to Dharmapāla and, 116; relations to Hikkaḍuvē Sumaḍgala and, 4n6, 15, 71–78, 111, 113; relations to Valāne Siddhartha and, 12
Bauddha Ādahilla, 136n53, 136n55
Bauddha Kathopakathanaya, 138n60
Bauddha Praśnaya, 136
Bauddha Śikṣabodhaya, 136
 Bell, H. C. P., 129, 132. *See also* Anuradhapura
 Bentara Atthadassi: biography of, 101; Dhammayuttika Nikāya and, 147; monastic debates and, 10–14. *See also* Adhikamāsa Controversy
 Bhanurangsi, Prince, 163, 167, 178
 Bhuvanekabāhu VI, 148
 Bodhi Gaya, 117–18, 120–27
 Bodhi Ārakṣā Sabhāva, 129
Buddhacarita, 102
 Buddhist Defence Committee, 114
 Buddhist kingship, absence of, xi, 166, 204–5, 207–8. *See also* Rama V
 Buddhist modernism, 197–9. *See also* modernist
 Buddhist publishing activity, 15–16, 35, 38–44, 48, 59, 65–66, 90, 104, 110, 113, 199–200, 205
 Buddhist revival, xii, 197–201
 Buddhists, Indian, 122–26
 Buddhist Temporalities Commission, 72
 Buddhist Theosophical Society, 104–5, 109–13, 134, 208
 Bulatgama Siri Sumanatissa: Buddhist printing presses and, 15; Burmese relations and, 148n6, 150, 153, 156; *nikāya* rela-

- Bulatgama Siri Sumanatissa (*continued*)
 tions and, 145; Pelmadulla *sangīti* and,
 2; relations to Hikkaḍuvē Sumaḍgala
 and, 15, 36, 92, 148–50; relations to
 Iddamalgaḍa and, 2, 26; relations to Ol-
 cott and, 105; Siamese relations and, 146,
 152, 165, 167, 179
- Burma, fall of, 163, 186, 188, 208–9. *See also*
 Tooth Relic
- Calcutta, Lankan relations and, 120, 207.
See also Buddhists, Indian; Dharmapāla,
 Anagārika
- Cambodia, protectorate and, 157–58, 186,
 208–9. *See also* Tooth Relic
- capital, social, 203
- caste, 78–90, 206
- Catechism, Buddhist*, 135–39
- Childers, Robert, 71
- Christianity, x. *See also* debates: Buddhist-
 Christian
- Chulalongkorn, King. *See* Rama V
- “classical” studies, 55–56, 62–63
- collective belonging, 69, 202, 210, 214–15
- Colombo Buddhist Defence Committee, 131,
 157
- Colombo Buddhist Theosophical Society.
See Buddhist Theosophical Society
- colonial impact, studies of, xi–xiii,
 197–217
- colonialism, responses to. *See* colonial im-
 pact, studies of
- colonial modernity, 212–13
- Committee on Oriental Studies, 50–53, 57
- conceptual frameworks, xii, 103, 201, 213
- conjoined genealogies, 213
- Coomaraswamy, M., 54
- cosmopolitanism, 63. *See also* Toṭagamuvē
 Rāhula
- daḥhi-kamma*, 148
- Damrong, Prince, 167
- dāna*, 7, 10. *See also* debates
- debates: Buddhist-Buddhist, 9, 11–14, 96n50,
 104, 145, 150, 153, 157, 164, 166, 204,
 217; Buddhist-Christian, 9, 14, 16–18,
 36–37, 68, 78, 90, 104–5, 124, 198, 200,
 204–6
- Department of Public Instruction, 46, 48–50,
 57–59, 63–64, 96
- dēvāla* lands, 23
- deva-pūjā*, 107n4
- Dhammaceti, King, 148, 166
- Dhammadinna, Vehālla, 8
- Dhammayuttika Nikāya, 146–48, 151, 158,
 164–65, 178–80, 183–84
- Dharmaguṇavardhana, Andris Perērā, 39, 111,
 113, 116
- Dharmāloka, Ratmalāna, 35, 90, 92, 96–98
- Dharmapāla, Anagārika, 104, 116–42, 156n,
 162n26, 198, 208
- Dhīrānānda, Laḍkāgoda, 4n6, 179
- Diāḍ, Saḍgharāja, 102n65, 106, 157–61, 190–6.
See also Tooth Relic
- Dīpadūttārāmaya, 36–37, 114
- Dīpavaṃsa*, 76n19
- Don Arnolis, 85. *See also* caste
- Don David Hēvāvitāraṇa. *See* Dharmapāla,
 Anagārika
- Don Harmānis, 44
- Ecclesiastical Council, 168, 170–77
- education: British government policy on, 45–
 46, 63; Buddhist, 205, 217; grant-in-aid
 support for, 45–46, 55–57, 96; mathe-
 matics and, 57–59; monastic, x; vernacu-
 lar, 45, 63, 206. *See also* Vidyālaḍkāra
 Pirivena; Vidyodaya Pirivena
- forms of discourse, 19, 32, 203. *See also* con-
 ceptual frameworks
- forms of knowledge, 18, 32, 201–2. *See also*
 conceptual frameworks
- Galagamē Atthadassi. *See* Śrī Pāda Nāyaka
 appointment
- Girā Sandeśa*, 65–66
- Gogerly, Daniel, 6. *See also* debates
- Gordon, Charles Arthur Hamilton, 57, 115,
 128
- Gregory, William, 46, 70–78, 128
- Guṇānanda, Mohottivatta. *See* Mohottivattē
 Guṇānanda
- Guṇaratana, Kozen, 121–22
- Guṇaratna, E. R., 42–43, 60, 75, 78–81, 101–2,
 111, 121n29, 162
- habits of mind, 204
- Hamsavati, 148
- Harischandra, Vālasinha, 130–32
- Hēvāvitāraṇa Don Karōlis, 39, 42n29, 111,
 113–14, 116, 132–34

- Heyiyantuḍuvē Devamitta, 98n56, 112n, 116, 135–36, 139–40
- Hikkaḍuvē Sumaḍgala: Buddhist-Buddhist debate and, 9, 11–12, 104, 145; Buddhist-Christian debate and, 9, 14–18, 68, 78, 104; connections to Calcutta and, 120; connections to Southeast Asia and, 8–9, 27, 102–3, 118–19, 133–34, 142–96, 213; early biography of, 7–9; *Mahāvamsa* project and, 71–78; monastic ordination of, x, 9; Pārupana Vādaya and, 91–102, 157; Pelmadulla *sangīti* and, 1–7, 14, 20; relations to Amarapura Nikāya, 15, 78, 104, 148–49; relations to Bulatgama Siri Sumanatissa and, 15, 80, 92, 148–50; relations to Idamalgaḍa and, 4–7, 5, 21–25, 108n4; relations to Kandyan Siyam Nikāya and, 13, 24–27, 66n66, 98–99, 145; Śrī Pāda Nāyaka appointment and, 19–32; Totagamuvē Rahula and, 64–68. *See also* debates; Tooth Relic
- hybridity, 213
- Iddamalgaḍa: Pelmadulla *sangīti* and, 4–7; Sabaragamuva landholding and, 5, 21–25. *See also under* Bulatgama Siri Sumanatissa; Hikkaḍuvē Sumaḍgala
- identity, Sinhala-Buddhist, 197, 209–10
- Ievers, R. W., 128
- Ilukvattē Medhaḍkara, 165n30. *See also* Ramañña Nikāya
- Induruvē Sumaḍgala Medhaḍkara, 26
- International Buddhist League, 134
- Itihāsaya*, 85–89
- Japan, Lankan relations to, 119, 164. *See also under* networks, Buddhist
- Jinavaravamsa, 169n35, 171–74, 176–80, 182–83
- jyotiś-sāstra*: Āpā Appuhāmi and, 36, 39–40, 62; Buddhist Theosophical Society and, 113; defined, 1; Hikkaḍuvē Sumaḍgala's interest in, 12, 16, 36; Vidyodaya and, 58–59, 205
- Kalyāṇi Nikāya, 145–47, 149
- Kalyāṇipprakaraṇa*, 149n12
- Kalyāṇi Sabhā, 13, 35
- Kalyāṇi Simā, 148, 166
- Kandy. *See* Hikkaḍuvē Sumaḍgala; Siyam Nikāya; Tooth Relic
- Karatōta Dharmārāma, 26
- Karuṇāratna, Thomas, 39n18, 44n32, 111
- katikāvata*, 30–31
- Kāvyasekhara*, 65
- Kēvaṭṭa Vamsaya*, 85–89
- Kimberley, Lord, 156
- Kōḍāgoḍē Paññasekhara, 4n6
- Kotahena Riot, 114–16, 157, 162
- Kozen Guṇaratana, 121–22
- Kristiyāni Prajñāpti*, 6. *See also* debates
- laicization, 104, 197, 199–200, 207. *See also* Dharmapāla, Anagārika; Olcott, Henry Steele
- Laḍkābhinava Viśruta Press, 39n18
- Laḍkāgoḍē Dhīrānānda, 4n6, 179
- law: monastic uses of, 13, 205; Śrī Pāda and, 27–32, 205. *See also* Śrī Pāda Nāyaka appointment
- Leadbeater, Charles, 136–37
- lineage, monastic, 26–27, 95, 103, 145–50, 164, 175, 207, 215
- localized rationality, 203
- locative pluralism, 68, 209–10
- Longden, James, 156
- Maha Bodhi Society, 104, 111n13, 118–34, 139–42, 208
- Mahāgoḍē Nānissara, 72, 77n, 136–37, 139–40
- Mahā Nikai, 158, 164–66
- Mahā Nikāya, 158, 164–65
- Mahāvamsa*, 66, 71–78, 89, 206. *See also* Hikkaḍuvē Sumaḍgala
- Mahā Vihāraya, 145, 148, 178n
- Mahintale, 132
- Malvatu Vihāraya. *See* Siyam Nikāya
- Mandalay, 148–50
- microhistory, xv, 203
- millenarianism, Buddhist, 156–57
- Mindon, King, 153, 156
- modern *dhamma* movement, 214
- modernist, xiii, 211–13
- modernity, 198, 200, 211, 213–14
- modernity, colonial, 212–13
- modernization, 198, 211
- Mohottivattē Guṇānanda, 15, 37, 65, 106, 108n4, 112, 114, 116, 136–37
- monastic appointments. *See* Śrī Pāda Nāyaka appointment
- Mongkut. *See* Rama IV
- museum, Colombo, 70–71

- networks, Buddhist: connections to Southeast Asia and, xi, 8, 118–19, 133–34, 142–96, 204–5, 207, 209, 215–17; Japan and, 119, 204, 216n17, 217; patronage and, 203, 205–8; temples and, xi, 206
- networks, Indian Ocean and, 215–16
- networks, monastic, xi, 102–3, 202–6, 215–16
- Nyeyya, Saḍgharāja, 148–50
- Olcott, Henry Steele, 96, 104–10, 113–19, 122, 134–42, 156n, 157, 169nn36–37, 179, 182n50, 208
- Orientalists, 62, 69, 74–78, 90, 107, 206–7
- “Oriental learning,” 54
- Oriental library: in Colombo, 70–71, 85n31, 90; in Kandy, 71
- “Oriental literature,” 46
- Pali, correspondence in. *See* Hikkāduvē
- Sumaḍgala: connections to Southeast Asia and
- Pālis, G. D. (Don), 39, 42, 86n36
- Pali Text Society, 75n14. *See also* Orientalists
- Pāṇ, Sugandhādhipatī, 157n
- Paññāsāmi, Rājaguru, 149n12, 150
- Paññāsekhara, Kōḍāgoda, 4n6
- Pārupana Vādaya, 90–103, 153, 157, 164, 207
- Payūrārāma Vihāra, 164
- Pelmadulla sangīti, 1, 4–7, 14
- piriveṇa, 38, 67. *See also* Toṭagamuvē Rāhula
- post-independence historiography, 197
- post-Orientalism, xi–xii
- Poya day. *See* Adhikamāsa Controversy
- print technology. *See* Buddhist publishing activity
- Prisdan, Prince. *See* Jinavaravaṃsa
- Protestant Buddhism, xiii, 109n9, 197–201
- purification, social, 202, 214
- rains retreat. *See* Adhikamāsa Controversy
- Rājādhirāja Vilāsini, 149n12
- Rama IV, 146–47, 151, 156, 165–66, 179
- Rama V, 143, 156, 162n26, 168–85
- Ramañña Nikāya, 92, 95–96, 107, 150n6, 165–66, 170n41, 178–80
- Ranasimha, W. P. 42–43, 60, 86n36. *See also* Vidyādhāra Sabhāva
- Ratanāpuñña. *See* Mandalay
- rationalism, Buddhist, 199
- Ratmalānē Dharmāloka, 35, 90, 92, 96–98
- Ratmalānē Dharmārāma, 90, 92, 96, 98n56
- repertoire, 202, 204, 214
- ritual, Buddhist: Buddhist Theosophical society and, 110, 140–41; colonial resistance and, 209, 216–17; debates about, 11, 107–8, 166; demands of, xiii, 205, 208, 215, 217; Olcott and, 107. *See also* under debates; Tooth Relic
- Rivirāsa*, 137
- Robes Controversy. *See* Pārupana Vādaya
- Robinson, Hercules, 46, 128
- Sa, Supreme Patriarch, 186
- Saddharma Saṅgraha*, 149n12
- Samaya Saṅgrahaya*, 43, 59n58
- Saraṇaṃkara, Aṃbagahavatta, *See* Aṃbagahavattē Saraṇaṃkara
- Saraṇaṃkara, Vāliṇi, 8, 26
- Sarasavi Saṇḍarāsa*, 111, 117, 139. *See also* Buddhist Theosophical Society; Dharmapāla, Anagārika
- Sarvajñāsāsanābhivṛddhi Sabhāva, 65
- śāsana*, 18, 73, 77, 89, 103, 105–6, 116, 118, 123, 133, 141–43, 145–48, 151–54, 157, 159–62, 176, 180, 183, 185–86, 191, 196, 200, 204, 206–10, 212–16
- Sāsanavaṃsa*, 149n12
- śāstra*, 38, 40–50, 54, 57–63, 69, 99n59, 111, 113, 205–6, 208, 213. *See also* *iyotiś-śāstra*; *vaidya-śāstra*
- Satyasaṅgrahaya*, 38n14
- scale, studies of colonialism and, 201–3
- scriptural authority. *See* *tipīṭaka*
- Service Tenures Commission, 23
- Sīdat-vata*, 35
- śīmā*, 9–10, 12–14, 92n47, 96n50, 150, 165
- Śīmā Vibhāgaya*, 96n50
- Sinhala Baudhyayā*, 139
- Sinhala Buddhist identity. *See* identity, Sinhala-Buddhist
- Siri Sumanatissa, Bulatgama. *See* Bulatgama
- Siri Sumanatissa
- Siyam Nikāya: historical links to Siam and, 145, 170; Kandyan focus of, 10; Pārupana Vādaya and, 95–96, 98–99; Pelmadulla sangīti and, 1n; Siam and, 168, 182; southern criticism of, 10. *See also* Adhikamāsa Controversy
- Siyam Sandeśa*, 149n12

- social affiliation, xii–xiv, 18, 68–69, 201–2, 210–11. *See also* collective belonging
- social logics, 197–218. *See also* collective belonging; social affiliation
- Śrī Kalyāṇi Sāmagrīdharma Saḍgha Sabhā. *See* Kalyāṇi Nikāya; Kalyāṇi Sabhā
- Śrī Pāda Nāyaka appointment, 2, 19–32, 35, 37, 84, 205. *See also* Iddamalgoḍa
- Sri Pada revenue, 21–24, 36, 40, 126
- Subaltern Studies, xi
- Subhācārodaya Sabhāva, 38
- Subhuti, Vaskaḍuva. *See* Vaskaḍuvē Subhuti
- Sumaḍgala, Hikkaḍuva. *See* Hikkaḍuvē Sumaḍgala
- Sumaḍgala, Vāligama. *See* Vāligamē Sumaḍgala
- temple lands, 23, 31–32. *See also* law
- Thammayut Nikai. *See* Dhammayuttika Nikāya
- Thathanabaing. *See* Nyeyya, Saḍgharāja
- Theosophical Society. *See* Buddhist Theosophical Society; Olcott, Henry Steele
- Thibaw, King, 188–89
- Tilakārāmaya: Hikkaḍuvē Sumaḍgala's teaching at, 14, 148; Hikkaḍuvē Sumaḍgala's youth and, 8–9; Toṭagamuvē Vihāraya and, 12
- tipiṭaka*, 1, 4, 5n5, 6, 41, 69, 74, 101, 149, 170, 185, 199–200, 204, 207, 209
- Tooth Relic: Burma and, 155, 163, 186–89, 195–96, 209; Cambodia and, 157, 159–61, 163, 186–87, 189–96, 209; Olcott and, 140–41, Siam and, 143, 167, 171, 180–83, 186–87
- Toṭagamuvē Rāhula, 63–68
- Toṭagamuvē Vihāraya: Adhikamāsa Controversy and, 12; Hikkaḍuvē Sumaḍgala's formation and, 8, 64, 165–66
- upasampadā*. *See* debates
- uposatha*. *See* Adhikamāsa Controversy
- urbanization, Buddhism and, x, 204–5
- Vāhāllē Dhammadinna, 8
- vaidya-śāstra*, 36, 39–40, 49–50, 57, 59–62, 205
- Vajirañāṇa, 27, 146, 179
- Vajirārāma, 188
- Valānē Siddhartha: Dhammayuttika Nikāya and, 147; Kalyāṇi Nikāya and, 12–14, 145; Pelmadulla *sangīti* and, 4n6, 7; relations to Hikkaḍuvē Sumaḍgala and, 9
- Vāligamē Sumaḍgala: caste debates and, 85–89; Dharmapāla and, 118n18, 123–24; Olcott and, 115; Pārupana Vādaya and, 101n62; Pelmadulla *sangīti* and, 4n6; Siam and, 169
- Vāliviṭa Saramaṅkara, 8, 26
- Vamsāththappakāsini*, 72, 76, 77n
- Vaskaḍuvē Subhuti: apocalypse and, 186; Buddhist Theosophical Society and, 112; Dharmapāla and, 126n41; Japan and, 119; Olcott and, 106, 115, 134; Pali Text Society and, 74; Pārupana Vādaya and, 101n62; Pelmadulla *sangīti* and, 4n6; Siamese relations and, 146, 163, 167, 169, 171, 178, 183
- vassa* debate. *See* Adhikamāsa Controversy
- Vidāgama Thera, 40
- Vidyādhāra Sabhāva, 38, 40, 54, 86n36, 96
- Vidyāladkāra Piriveṇa, 59, 66, 90, 92, 96–97, 126n40
- Vidyodaya Piriveṇa: curriculum at, 46–50, 57–68; establishment of, 35, 38–40, 46–50; government recognition of, 49. *See also* under Hikkaḍuvē Sumaḍgala; *śāstra*
- Vijayabāhu Piriveṇa, 64–68
- Vinaya: Christian controversy and, 6–7; Ecclesiastical Council and, 173; editing project, 1, 4n4, 4n6, 5n5, 6; monastic debate and, 6–7, 14, 206, 208, Pārupana Vādaya and, 90–91, 101, 207. *See also* debates
- Vinaya Viniścaya*, 101, 158
- Virakkoḍi, D. S., 39n18, 60–61
- Wachirayanwararot, Prince, 183–84
- Wat Bowonniwet, 183
- Wat Rājapratīṣṭha, 151
- Waziyarama Sayadaw. *See* Vajirārāma

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

www.press.uchicago.edu

ISBN-I 3: 978-0-226-05507-7

ISBN-I 0: 0-226-05507-8

