

## Sārōvāda Dīpaniya<sup>1</sup>: a Katikāvata of the 19th Century

by

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THIS is an *ola* Ms., in the manuscript collection at the National Archives, Gangodawila, Nugegoda, Ceylon. It has been deposited there by Alutgama Dhammānanda Thera of the Hippola Pansala, Malvatta Temple, Kandy. The Ms. consists of four leaves, measuring 17.5" by 2.2". Writing is found on both sides, running into eight pages in all. Although this is a comparatively late document it has considerable historical and religious significance. The religious importance is mainly of an ecclesiastical and institutional nature. *Katikāvata*<sup>2</sup> is an agreed code of rules and regulations governing the conduct and organization of bhikkus. The earliest *katikāvata* known to us as such can be dated in the later Anurādhapura period but the practice of making such promulgations concerning the conduct of bhikkus may as well go back to the Buddha himself. Buddha is considered to have laid down the *Vinaya*, or rules of discipline, as and when the need arose, and these rules and regulations, and presumably subsequent additions made immediately afterwards, form the *Vinaya-piṭaka*.<sup>3</sup> The *Vinaya-piṭaka* was not all embracing, and many prob-

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<sup>1</sup> *Sārōvāda Dīpaniya* (CNA. 5/63/157-7), hereafter abbreviated *SD*. The number within brackets is with ref. to the catalogues of the National Archives, Nugegoda, Ceylon. This Ms. is published with the kind permission of Alutgama Dhammānanda Thera of the Hippola Pansala, Malvatta Temple, Kandy, and of the Director of the National Archives, Nugegoda, Ceylon. I also wish to acknowledge the assistance given by Dr. P. E. E. Fernando of the Dept. of Sinhalese, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, in preparing this paper.

<sup>2</sup> D. B. Jayatilleke, *Katikāvata Sangarā* (කතිකාවතේ සහරා), Kālaniya, 1955, (reprint); C. E. Godakumbura, *Sinhalese Literature*, Colombo, 1955, pp. 21-22; *History of Ceylon*, University of Ceylon, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, Colombo, 1960, pp. 57-58; *Sinhala Sāhityalatā*, (සිංහල සාහිත්‍යලතා), ed. K. Amarawansa, Colombo, 1968, pp. 91-106.

<sup>3</sup> *Pali-English Dictionary. Pali Text Society (PED/PTS), London, 1959, p. 623.*

lems of later times were not understandably anticipated, and hence, it became necessary, at various times, either to make re-statements or compile new rules and regulations concerning such problems.<sup>4</sup> Whenever such occasions arose in Ceylon, senior bhikkus assembled together, or as a committee of those nominated by the Sangha or the community of bhikkus, and drew up the necessary rules and regulations. Codes of such rules and regulations or *katikāvat* were often promulgated by the kings, at the request of the Sangha. At times it was the other way round, with kings, with deep concern in the state of ecclesiastical affairs calling upon the Sangha to meet and draw up such codes or *katikāvat*.<sup>5</sup>

We have references in the Pali Chronicles of Ceylon to such regulations (*vyavasthā*) concerning the conduct of the Sangha and made by the Sinhala kings. Such regulations are at times found inscribed on stone slabs in places like Mihintalē, Anurādhapura and Polonnaruwa.<sup>6</sup> The present Ms. itself is called *Sārōvāda Dipaniya* or *Sammuti Sāmagri Patraya* (p. 1, l. 6), but its contents follow the age-old tradition of laying down the rules of conduct, and hence it can justifiably be called a *katikāvata*. D. B. Jayatilleke<sup>7</sup> in his short treatise on *katikāvat* mentions last the *katikāvata* issued in the 7th year of Rājādhirājasinghe (1782–1798) of Kandy. C. E. Godakumbura also does the same in his *Sinhalese Literature* (p. 22). They seem to have considered that as the last of the *katikāvat*. Perhaps they were not aware of the present document, or of the *Asgiri katikāvata*,<sup>8</sup> a similar document compiled a few years later; or, since these documents did not bear the title of *katikāvata*, failed to take notice of them. However both Jayatilleke (pp. 34–43) and Godakumbura (pp. 20–21) include in their writings a number of inscriptions, which are also nowhere called *katikāvat*, but the contents of which are in the nature of such documents. L. S. Perera in the *University History of Ceylon* (vol. 1, p. 1, p. 58) has even gone further back, and has dated the last *katikāvata* in the reign of Kīrti Srī Rājasinghe (1747–82).<sup>8a</sup>

The present Ms. is dated in the 2396th year of the Buddhist Era. At the beginning of *SD* it is said that it was caused to be written on Friday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight (*pura viseniya nam titiya lat kividina*) of the month

<sup>4</sup> *Mahāvamsa*, tr. W. Geiger, Colombo, 1950, Chap. iii. 30–34, iv. 61–64, v. 275–9.

<sup>5</sup> *Cūlavamsa*, Pt. 11, tr. W. Geiger, London, 1930, Chap. lxxiii. 11–22, lxxviii. 1–27, lxxxiv. 7–29, c. 44 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Epigraphia Zeylanica (EZ)*, Vol. 11, pp. 96–7, 256–283.

<sup>7</sup> D. B. Jayatilleke, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–30.

<sup>8</sup> An *ola* Ms. at the Nittavela Temple, Kandy. Alutgama Dhammānanda Thera of the Malvatta Temple also possesses a recent copy of this Ms.

<sup>8a</sup> For other *katikāvatas*, see CNA. 5/63/6 (25) and 5/63/9 (II)

of Wesak (May), of the Buddha-varṣa 2396. In p. 6 ll. 4-5 of the *SD* there is another reference to a date, 7th day of the month of April, 1853. This is in reference to a letter No. 152,<sup>9</sup> bearing that date. It was sent by the Colonial Secretary to the Mahānāyakas (hereafter MN) or the Chief Monks of the Malvatta and Asgiriya Chapters or Fraternities, and the Diyavaḍana Nilame (DN) of the Daḷadā Māligāva (Temple of the Tooth Relic), Kandy. There is still another date mentioned in *SD* (p. 7, l. 7), the 13th day of May, 1853, being the date on which the 24 member Executive Committee (Kāraka Sabhā) of the Malvatta fraternity met and decided the rules and regulations embodied herein.

The authorship of *SD* is nowhere mentioned, as is always the case with Mss. of this nature, and not being a literary composition. It was probably drafted and copied by the Secretary (Lekhakādhikāri) of the Malvatta Chapter, on behalf of the Kāraka Sabhā. Although it is said that this document would be attested by the 24 member Kāraka Sabhā, and by all the bhikkhus drawn from all parts of the country, and belonging to the Malvatta Chapter (p. 5, ll. 4-5; p. 6, l. 2), no signatures are found on this document itself. Instead the names and designations of the 24 members are recorded (p. 7, l. 8; p. 8, ll. 1-5). However the signatures of some of these bhikkhus are found in other contemporary documents.<sup>10</sup> This raises the question whether the present document is the original, or the copy of the original. Perhaps one may seek confirmation of what is recorded in *SD* among the files and minutes kept by the Kāraka Sabhā of the Malvatta Chapter, but of course it will be a search in vain, because such is the state of preservation of documents in these feudal monastic establishments. However if this is a copy one can reasonably expect it to be recorded as such, and certified by someone in authority, such as the Secretary of the Kāraka Sabhā. But at a superficial glance it does not appear to be a very recent document, and it may be as old as its date (1853), which is

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<sup>9</sup> Two drafts of this letter are found among the papers of the Colonial Secretary (CNA. 7/858, no. 152 of 7. 4. 1853). They are for the most part identical, except for various deletions, additions and remarks on the side, made most probably by the Governor and the Colonial Secretary. Originals of the letter itself should be sought for among the official files for 1853 of the Government Agent (GA), Kandy, and also among the records at the Daḷadā Māligāva, and at the Malvatta and Asgiriya Temples. The author of this article saw a certified copy of this letter with Alutgama Dhammānanda Thera. This copy had been made out in 1888, from an original with Girāgama DN, Adigar of Kandy, and signed by Charles Taldena of Dehigama Walauva, Kandy. A Sinhala translation of this same letter is reproduced in *Daḷadā Puvata* (දළදා පුවත) by R. T. Hettimulla (Kandy, 1960, pp. 91-95). How he obtained the original is not disclosed.

<sup>10</sup> CNA. 6/2185, no. 299 of 20. 5. 1853; CNA. 10/211, enclosure no. 1 of Despatch no. 133 of 14. 10. 1847.



only 116 years from the present day. It may also be noted that its writing, orthography, and the language are characteristic of the Kandyan period. Though the problems of authenticity of *SD* may appear magnified, in view of the fact that this document can be used to highlight certain very significant differences regarding ecclesiastical matters of a procedural nature of the time and those of the present day, it deserves some investigation. *SD* is a record of the decisions arrived at a meeting of the 24 member Kāraka Sabhā of the Malvatta Chapter, held at the Uposathāgāra of the Puṣpārāma Vihāra (Malvatta Temple), Kandy, on the 13th day of May 1853. The occasion for this meeting and the promulgation of these rules and regulations preceded<sup>11</sup> the handing over of the custody of the Daḷadā Māligāva, by the British authorities in Ceylon, on the 20th day of May 1853.<sup>12</sup> The persons who participated at this historic event were Parakumbure Vipassi, MN of the Malvatta Chapter, Yaṭavatte Suvarṇajoti, MN of the Asgiriya Chapter,<sup>13</sup> and Dehigama Navaratna Atapattu-vāhala Mudiyanse, the DN of the Daḷadā Māligāva.<sup>14</sup> They were the recipients of the custody of the Daḷadā, and also of the various valuables belonging to the Daḷadā Māligāva;<sup>15</sup> and on behalf of the British government, C. R. Buller, G. A. Kandy, I. M. de Silva, Kachcheri Mudaliyar and Don Joseph, the First Translator, F.O., were present. The transfer itself was done by C. R. Buller.

The letter No. 152 of 7. 4. 1853<sup>16</sup> had given notice of the intention of the British government in Ceylon of terminating its interference and involvement in Buddhism and Buddhist institutions. However it is quite apparent that the British authorities took a considerable time to make up their minds to go

<sup>11</sup> *SD*. (p. 2, ll. 2–3) states that the present convocation on 13. 5. 1853 followed the handing over of the Tooth Relic to them by the Governor, but this is obviously wrong, unless it is said so in anticipation, because of the letter of the Colonial Secretary dated 15. 4. 1853. The transfer itself was done on 20. 5. 1853 (CNA. 5/40, no. 70 of 10. 6. 1853).

<sup>12</sup> The date of the handing over of the Tooth Relic is given as 19. 5. 1853 in C. W. Buller's (GA, Kandy) letter dated on the same day (CNA. 6/2185, no. 299), but in the letter following he himself gives the date as the 20th of May 1853. Letter dated 20. 5. 1853 is signed by Buller himself. The date 20th May also appears on the formal receipt signed by the MN Theras of Malvatta and Asgiriya and the DN of the Daḷadā Māligāva (CNA. 6/2185, 20. 5. 1853). Date on letter no. 299 is patently wrong, and is one day in advance of the proceedings mentioned.

<sup>13</sup> A. C. Lawrie, *A Gazetteer of the Central Province of Ceylon*, Vol. 1, Colombo, 1896, pp. 68–77.

<sup>14</sup> A. C. Lawrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–6.

<sup>15</sup> CNA. 6/2175, no. 299 of 19. 5. 1853 and 20. 5. 1853.

<sup>16</sup> See n. 9 above.

ahead and to do so. The credit for this should go to the Christian missionaries in Ceylon, and their spokesmen in England, who formed a formidable pressure group. They also had the active support and connivance of some of the British officials in Ceylon, both high and low. Their vehement and persistent agitation, carried out in Ceylon as well as in the highest echelons in England, finally brought the British authorities to their knees, and it was decided to formally sever all connections with Buddhism and Buddhist institutions in Ceylon. The first firm steps towards this disengagement were taken in 1847, but owing to the rebellion of 1848 and the ensuing unrest in the country it had to be abandoned, and the old order had to be temporarily restored.<sup>17</sup> This most peculiar and perhaps unparalleled situation in British colonial history<sup>18</sup> had arisen as a result of the Treaty of 1815, concluded between the British and the Kandyan Chiefs,<sup>19</sup> wherein it was expressly stated that the British would continue to protect and maintain Buddhism and its establishments (clause 5). What the Chiefs expected was not nominal protection but actual participation as the old Sinhala kings had done. However anomalous and incongruous it was, this was partly what the British authorities were doing in Ceylon, very much reluctantly though. This situation led to what was called the 'Buddhist Question', a much vexed and perplexing problem indeed; and on which much emotion, argument and counter-argument were expended. It also led to a much revealing and lengthy correspondence between the British government at home and the Colonial authorities in Ceylon.<sup>20</sup>

This severance of the connection between the British authorities and the Buddhist establishments made it incumbent on the latter to look after their own affairs and regulate them, and more than anything else, make suitable alternate arrangements to fill the breach created by the withdrawal of the temporal authority of the British. Up to that time the Kandyan kings, and after them the British authorities had appointed the Mahānāyakas and the Anunāyakas (AN) of the Malvatta and Asgiriya Chapters, and also the Chief

<sup>17</sup> CNA. 10/2111 Letter dated 2. 10. 1847; CNA. 5/34, no. 133 of 14. 10. 1845; CNA. 7/858, no. 152 of 7. 4. 1853; K. M. de Silva, *Social Policy and Missionary Organisations in Ceylon, 1840-1855*, London, 1965, pp. 105-107; W. Rahula Thera, *Bhikshuvage Urumaya* (භික්ෂුවගේ උරුමය) Colombo, 1949, App. V.

<sup>18</sup> Except for the connection between Hinduism and the East India Company in India.

<sup>19</sup> *The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers*, Vol. 11, ed. by G. C. Mendis, London, 1956, pp. 227-230; K. M. de Silva, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-293 (App. 11).

<sup>20</sup> CNA. 10/211 (Enclosures on the Buddhist Question); CNA. 5/40, no. 22 of 24. 3. 1853, no. 70 of 10. 6. 1853; CNA. 4/53, no. 123 of 4. 12. 1852; CNA. 5/34, no. 73 of 12. 8. 1847, no. 133 of 14. 10. 1847; *Ceylon Ordinances*, no. 2 of 1846; R. Spence-Hardy, *The British Government*



Monks or Vihārādhipati of the other leading temples and other places of worship, some of whom at least, no doubt, were nominated or selected by their own colleagues. The DN of the Daḷadā Māligāva, and the Basnāyaka Nilames (BN) of the various Devāles were also similarly appointed, having being selected by the kings or the British authorities themselves.<sup>21</sup> Royal officers had also interfered in the affairs of these institutions and regulated them, according to the wishes of the Sangha and the lay officials of the Devāles. But once the British withdrew their patronage and official involvement, the manner in which the posts of MN, AN, DN, and BN could be filled in future, as and when vacancies occurred, had to be immediately decided upon. In fact some of the posts were already vacant, and successors had to be found to effect the transfer of the custody of the Daḷadā.

It was at this juncture that the members of the Sangha and the Chiefs took the step of resorting to election, if necessary by secret ballot. But of course the suggestion has been made by the British themselves, even before 1853 that vacancies for vihāra and devāle posts should be filled by election.<sup>22</sup> It is also possible for one to contend that the elective principle was not new to the Sangha, but at the same time it must be conceded that election as such was never resorted to. Although the elective principle was recognized, it was always expected that unanimity would prevail, and if there was division, if there was expected of the majority to win over or persuade the minority to take the same view. The term *sammuti* which occurs practically in all the *katikāvata*, including the *SD* obviously meant common consent of everyone concerned. However, with regard to the posts of DN and BN the elective principle was unprecedented, and the procedure for election had to be laid down with or in anticipation of these changes.<sup>23</sup>

The present document deals with these matters as far as it affected the Malvatta Chapter, and also matters pertaining to the conduct of the daily and periodic services at the Daḷadā Māligāva, while a host of general rules on conduct were also drawn up. At the time these momentous changes were taking place, Malvatta Chapter was fortunate in having a MN and two ANs, and thus there was no need to hold elections with immediate effect. But the posts of DN of the Daḷadā Māligāva and the posts of BN of some of the leading Devāles, and the posts of MN and AN of the Asgiriya Chapter had to

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*and the Idolatry of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1839; K. M. de Silva, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–137.

<sup>21</sup> For a list of the Bhikkus and Basnāyake Nilames appointed by the British, see K. M. de Silva, *op. cit.*, App. iv, p. 295.

<sup>22</sup> See D. B. Jayatilleke, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13; K. M. de Silva, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 n. 2, 95–6, 122, 126, 128–130, 132–3,

<sup>23</sup> K. M. de Silva, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–79, 130, 132–3.

be filled almost immediately. Since more than one candidate offered themselves for all these posts, elections had to be held in all cases.<sup>24</sup> What was interesting however was the fact that in spite of the multiplicity of the candidates, that the election was unanimous, with one of the aspirants for each post getting all the votes in each case.<sup>25</sup> This of course did not endure for long, and sharp divisions were recorded later. Thus the impact of these changes, though not felt immediately, has been both decisive and disastrous indeed.

*SD* is also significant because of the fact that it is the first recorded instance of a promulgation of rules and regulations by the bhikkus themselves, without any royal patronage and intervention. As mentioned earlier the practice in Ceylon had been for the Sangha to hold a convocation, and once issues were clarified, to issue a *katikāvata*, often as a royal edict. Because of the patronage of kings and the blessings of their undisputed temporal authority this royal intervention was both sought and heeded. Once that protective arm was withdrawn, as in the present instance, it was left for the bhikkus themselves to meet and decide what was proper and would be binding on them. Of course it is wrong to assume that what was decided on this occasion would be valid for ever, as it is claimed here (p. 2, l. 6; p. 6, l. 4) (as also in all previous *katikāvata*), because it did not preclude the same body from meeting in future and amending or making fresh rules regarding the same or other matters. But what is significant is that not only at this meeting but also at many other meetings of a similar nature, of the Sangha as well as of the Kandyan Chiefs, there was much unanimity and cordiality. In fact it was such that the British who expected much confusion and disharmony at these meetings were pleasantly surprised by the very absence of it.<sup>26</sup> This is very much in contrast with what occurs today. The contents of *SD* also reveal the emphasis placed on the need for dutifulness, piety, generosity and learning among the members of the Malvatta Chapter.<sup>27</sup>

The language of this document is Sinhala, and the style of writing, vocabulary and spelling are characteristically Kandyan. The language itself shows a strong bias for Pali and Sanskrit. The language as well as the spelling lack any consistency. There is little resemblance between the language and style of *SD* and the *katikāvata* of the Polonnaru and Dambadeni periods, or with the language and style of the Pāpiliyāna inscription<sup>28</sup> and the *Rājādhirājasingha Katikāvata*<sup>29</sup> of the 18th century. The style of writing also reveals frequent use of alliterations. The sentences themselves are long-winded and complex, and as a result very much wanting in lucidity.

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<sup>24</sup> CNA. 6/2185, no. 246 of 4. 5. 1853.

<sup>25</sup> See n. 24 above.

<sup>26</sup> CNA. 5/34, no. 73 of 12. 8. 1847, pp. 597-8; no. 133 of 14. 10. 1847, pp. 712-713; CNA. 6/2185, no. 246 of 4. 5. 1853.

<sup>27</sup> *SD*. p. 2, ll. 6-7, p. 4, ll. 1-7, p. 4, ll. 1-6, p. 6, l. 7, p. 7, ll. 1-7.

<sup>28</sup> D. B. Jayatilleke, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-30.

<sup>29</sup> *op. cit.*, pp. 40-43.



Sinhala Text\*

සාරෝවාද දීපනියයි : සවසනි සිඛම

(1) සවසනි ගුණි සාරවිරාජින නරගුණි සනගුණි ජිනේන්ද්‍ර නරවර වෂිප්‍රමාණයෙන් දෙදස් තුන්සිය අනුභයක් වූ මෙම වෂියෙහි වෙසක් මස පුරවිසේනිය නම් තිථියලක් කිවි දින මහනුවර පුෂ්පාරාම විහාර සුප්‍රතිෂ්ඨිත උපොසඨාගාරයෙහි දී සුවිසිවගම් කාරක මහා සංඝසමමුතියක් තබා එම සංඝසමමුතියෙන් ලියවා සවීර කර තබන ලද සාරෝවාද දීපනිය නම් වූ මෙම සමුච්චි සාමාග්‍රි පත්‍රයෙහි වග සැටිනම් ශ්‍රීමත් ශ්‍රී ලංකා තල පතල නිමල ජින ශාසන (2) රක්ෂාවරණය කරගැනීම සහ පළමු මෙම සකල සිරිලක තුලම රජ කල කිලොගුරු සුගත තථාගත පාද පන්කජ රාජ භංසාකාර සාරසුර ණරෙඤ්ඤ මොලිමාණ්‍යා-ලංකාර තත් භූ තාත්තුලොය විමල දලද හිමි තුමන්ට පුද පෙරහැර කරගනීමාරක්ෂාවරණ ගුණි සංවිධානාදී සියල්ල බුදුන්වූත් පන්කර සිටින අප හැමට ගරුතර ගොවිඤ්ඤදෙරු උතුමානන් වහන්සේ විසින් සාදර සිතින් බාරදුන් බැවින් මෙම පරම බුදු සසුන් සමග මෙදලද හිමි තුමන් ඉතින් අප විසින් තම තමන් දිවි ලෙසින් සොදින් රැක ගනිමු යන උදරතර කරුණා මහිම ඇති මහනුවර පුෂ්පාරාම විහාරාධිවාසී මහානායකානුනායක සඨවිර ප්‍රමුඛ සුවිසි වර්ග කාරක මහාසංඝ සමමුච්චි සාමාග්‍රි සමාගමක් මතු කී පුෂ්පාරාම විහාරයෙහි තැබූ බවද සුවිපුලාතුල විමල ජින ශාසන පාලනාලයෝපේතවූ එම සුවිසි වර්ග කාරක මහා සංඝයා විසින් සදකාලේටම කලහ විවාදසීලී නොව ප්‍රිය සීලීව ලජ්ජේසල සික්ෂාකාමිව ධම්මාන්විත සාමාග්‍රි සන්තිපාත නිසිදන වූඝාන නිපජ්ජන ගමනාගමනා නී සුපිරිසුදු සංඝසාරුප්පා කටයුතු ඇතුළු විසීම සහ සංඝමානත්‍රා සංඝපිත්‍රා භාවොපගතව විරතරප්‍රවුජ්ජිත ජාතිපේර සමුච්චි පේර ධම්ම සඨවිර ගනනායක (3) ධානාන්තර ප්‍රාප්ත තපෝධන ගුණිඤ්ඤ සංයමිඤ්ඤාදීන්ට නිමානිවානී සුපවිත්‍රාදං බහුමානී භක්තිපෙප්‍ර මානී විනේතාපලක්ෂිත සසුවිනීත සුවච කීක (ලක්ෂිත) රු භාවෝපලක්ෂිතව විසිය යුතු බවද—පුචුරතර රුවිරතර යසප්‍රසානාහිරස වරණාරවිඤ්ඤ වූඝිත මධුකරලෙඤ්ඤානී සංකාස වූ එම සුවිසි වර්ග කාරක මහ සංඝ සමමුච්චි විසින් උභය ලෝකාකී සිඛිප්‍රදනෝභය ප්‍රාතිමෝක්ෂප්‍රශස්ත සතරසතිපඝාන සතර කමටහන් සතර සංවර සීලාදී ප්‍රමුඛ දස-ධම්ම සුත්‍ර මධගල රුවන් සුත්‍රාදී හැම පිරිත් සහිතව මහ පිරිත් බන කියමන් ප්‍රගුණ කර ගනිමින් නව පොහෝ නව පවාරණාදී නැන පමන විනයනායප්‍ර විදිතාදී සුඤ්ජරතර බැති පෙමින් සවසෝදය නිබද උපොසඨාගාරප්‍රවිෂටව ත්‍රිවිධ රතනාභිවාදනානී විසුඛ ධම්මාකී දෙගනාප්‍රතිවෙධ ගමනීර සුමධුරතරාමානී සුඤ්ජර කලාණ කථාප්‍රවූනීත ඇතිවෙමින් සැම උපොසඨ දින දූන පොහොය කිරීම නොහොත් නිසි වූ අනතරා විරහිත නම් විස්තර වශයෙන්ම ප්‍රාතිමෝක්ෂය දෙගනා කොට පොහොය කරන්ඩ ඕනෑ බවද—කැමති මතිමානප්‍රවිදරණානී සාර ප්‍රඥසාගර වූ එම සුවිසි වර්ග කාරක මහා සංඝයා විසින් ඉච්ඡා සංවාරණාදීය රහිතව පුෂ්පාරාම විහාරයෙහිම නේවාසිකව වාසය කිරීමද ප්‍රයෝජනවත් කටයුතු පිරිමැසීමක් ගැන විහාර සීමාවෙන් බැහැර යන කල්හි මෙම සමමුච්චි සමාගමෙන් අවසර ඇතුළු යාමද පරමරමානීනුතම මෙම සුවිසි වර්ග කාරක (4) මහා සංඝයා අතරෙහි දස නමකටත් අඩු නොවන ගනනක් හික්ෂුහු පාලි ව්‍යාකරණාදීය දූනගත් සමකීයෝ හිටින්ඩ ඕනෑ බව සහ පස් නමකට නොහොත් තුන් නමකටවත් අඩු නොවන ගනනක් එම පාලි ව්‍යාකරණ සහ සුත්‍රාහිධම් විනය සංඛ්‍යාත ත්‍රිපිටකානග්ගත ඒක මේකප්‍රමාණ ප්‍රකරණ පාඩං ඇති ව්‍යකත මුකත හික්ෂුහු හිටින්ඩ ඕනෑ බවද—ප්‍රඥනිධි නිකේතනවල ගුණ වජ්ජාවලප්‍රතිභාමිත ක්‍රපාකාර වූ එම සුවිසි වර්ග කාරක මහා සංඝයා විසින් සැසනෝපකාර පිනිස තම තමන්ගේ අනන්තවාසිකාදීහු පාලි ව්‍යාකරණාදීයට සමකී කරවා වැඩි වර්තය කරවීමද සුවිසුඛ බුධාගමාධාර මහනායකානුනායක පදවි සහ විහාරගම් ආදී වූ සැසනාධාර සැම තනතුරුම අසමසම මුනි සුත්‍රසුභූත මෙම සුවිසි වර්ග කාරක මහ සංඝයා අතරෙහි වැඩිදුර දහම් දූනගත් සමකී අයම තෝරා යුතු විධියට එම තනතුරු පත් කරන්ඩ ඕනෑ බවද—

\* Pages of the Ms. indicated by numerals.



සඵඤ්ඤාවණ්ණාමන සාසනා සසුපිනනමෝද සාධුහුනවු එම සුවිසි වග්ගි කාරක මහ සංඝයා විසින් සදකාලේටම ප්‍රතාපාතිකේප කීතීකිශ්‍රීන් උසස් වූ උතුම් ඉංග්‍රීසි ආණ්ඩුවට සුපක්ෂාතිවිසවාසිව කල දවස යවීමද ඩිෂ්ට්‍රික් පොලිස් නඩු ශාලාවක නඩුකියමන් (5) සාක්ෂි කියමන් ආදියක් පැමිණි විටක මේ සම්මුති සමාගමේ සංඝයා සමග ධම්ම විනයානුකූල ලෙස කථා සංසන්දනය කොට යුතු විධියට එම නඩු පනත් කීමද වෝදනා විනිසවාදී මුනින්ද්‍රාගමාධාර සැම කටයුතුම සතර අගති ගමනින් දුරුව ධම්ම විනයානුකූල ලෙසම මෙහි විනෙත්පලක්ෂිතව පිරිසිදු ලෙස කරන්ඩ ඕනෑ බවද—සුපරිසුඛ නිබ්ල ගුණ රත්නාකරාණීඤ්ඤාකාර සාර සුර සුගතෝරස සුනනුගත එම සුවිසි වග්ගි කාරක මහ සංඝයා විසින් ශ්‍රී සනාති නිමිලාගමාග්‍රහරවු මෙම සම්මුති සාමාග්‍රි පත්‍රයෙහි සඳහන්ව තිබෙන සෑසනොපකාරෝදරතර කටයුතු අවලංගු නොකරන ලෙස එකඟ වූ බවට මෙහි අත්සන් කරන්ඩ ඕනෑවා පමණකුත් නොව මෙම සම්මුති සමාගමට ඇතුලත් වූ නොහොත් සියම් සමාගමාධාර උපාලිවන්ශික පුෂ්පාරාම විහාර පාරුසෙන් පැවත එන උඩරට පාතරට හත දිසාව ඇතුළු වූ සැම රටවල සැම විහාරවාසී සැම සංඝයා විසින්ම මෙහි අත්සන් කරන්ඩ ඕනෑවත් හැර මෙම අවවාද හොඳකාර වලංගු නොකර කඩ කරන කෙනෙක් ඇත්නම් එසැම හික්ෂුන්ටම මෙම සම්මුති සාමග්‍රි සමාගම විසින් ඊට සුදුසු දඩ කම්දිය පත්කිරීමද එම දඩ කම්දිය හික්ෂුහු ආදර සිතින් පිලිගෙන ආයති සංවරයෙහි පිහිටන ලදුව විනිත සුසික්ෂිත වියයුතු බවද එසේ අවවාදක්ෂම නොව නොකීකරු (6) හික්ෂුහු ඇත්නම් එසැම හික්ෂුහු මෙම සම්මුති සාමාග්‍රි සමාගමෙන් ඉවත් කොට අත්හැර දැමීමද එසේ සමාගමෙන් අත්හැර දමන හික්ෂුන් සහ කලින් කලට ආයු සහිසකාරප්‍රහීනවීමෙන් පරලොකප්‍රාප්ත වන්නාවූ හික්ෂුන් වෙනුවට මෙහි අත්සන් කරන ලද උඩරට පාටරට වාසී වාක්ත මුක්ත බහුශ්‍රැත ධම්මධර ලජ්ජේසල හික්ෂුහු මෙම සම්මුති සාමාග්‍රි සමාගමට ඇතුලත් කරගැනීම සහ සුසප්ඡන නඤ සුඤ්ඤා ගුණමඤ්ඤර වූ එම සුවිසි වග්ගි කාරක මහ සංඝයා විසින් මහනුවර පුෂ්පාරාම විහාර පාරුසේ වෙනුවට පැවතෙන මහානායකානුනායක සහ විහාර පදවි ආදී ආගමාධාර සැම තනතුරුම වෂි එක්දහස් අටසිය පනස් තුණක් වූ අපෙප්‍රල් මස හත්වැනි දින ලකුණු කල නොමීමර 152 එකසිය පණස් දෙක දරණ රාජාඤ්ඤ පත්‍රයේ දක්වාච්ඡකාර මෙහි නොවාසික සැම තැන් ඇතුළු පත් කරන්ඩ පුළුවන් බවද—විවිධතර මනිමාලි පාලිනී රජාකාර සුරතුරු හඳුසට කල්පලතානු සාරහුත එම සුවිසි වග්ගි කාරක මහ සංඝයා විසින් යහපත් සුපවිස්ත්‍ර සුක්‍රහිරත සර්ධාවන්තයන් විසින් දෙන ලද නිමනනුදේස පකබික සලාකුපොෂනාදී වූ සිවු පසයෙ (7) හි හිපුනොවසුවිසිඤ්ඤා ධීතිකා තබා සුපිරිසුදු වසයෙන් ලද පසය බෙද දී වැළඳීමාදී යථා සන්තුෂ්චි ගුණ සිතම පරම ධන කොට විසීමද මුනි උතුන් බුදු සසුන් තුටු පහන් නැති දනන් හැම විසින් නිති පතා ගුණ මකා බඩ තකා කල කතාවන් නොගෙන සැමද දුසි නොම වි විසි මෙම සුවිසි වග්ගි කාරක මහ සංඝ සම්මුතියෙන් කරන ලද සාරෝවාද දීපනීය ..... නම් ලද මෙම අවවාද පත්‍රය පුනප්පනාවලොකනය කිරීමෙන් දුගතිදුන් වදලාවූ අවවාද බහාලා කාලානුරූප ලෙස සුපිරිසුදු කිරීම මෙම සංඝ සම්මුතියට පුළුවන් බව සහ නිමල් මල්වතු විහාර පාරුසෙන් පැවත එන සකල ලංකාවිප විහාරවාසී විමල් තරුණ කීරණ ප්‍රභාහාසුර සුගතනෙඤ්ජරස සුනු හුනොතනම ප්‍රමුඛාබ්ලප්‍රසසනතර ගුනේසවර ධනෙඤ්ජර මන්ත්‍රීසවරාදී පිවිතුරු තුනුරුවන් නිති සොදින් අදර කර ගනිමින් වසන පින්වතුන් විසින් කැමති වී විසුල් සිරි නිමල් වූ අප බුදුන්ගෙ සසුන් උතුන් තම දිවි ලෙසින් රකින බව නියම කර සම්මුති තබන්ට යෙදුනේ වෂි 1853 ක්වූ මැයි මස 13 වෙනි දින මහනුවර පුෂ්පාරාම විහාර සුප්‍රතිෂ්ඨිත උපොසාගාරයේදීය—ඒ වගත් මසේම—මහනුවර පුෂ්පාරාම විහාරාධිවාසී මහනායකානුනායක සථවිරප්‍රමුඛ සුවිසි වග්ගි කාරක මහ සංඝයා වහන්සේ වම්භ. පරකුඹුරේ මහනායක සථවිරයන් වහන්සේ, තිඹිරිවැවේ අනුනායක උන්වහන්සේ, දෝපේ අනුනායක උනනාන්සේ, වැවගොනෙන් විපසසී උන්වහන්සේ, නාපාන ගුණරතන උන්වහන්සේ, දඹව සීලවණ්ණ උන්වහන්සේ, ගල්බොඩ සුමංගල උන්වහන්සේ,

*SAROVADA DIPANIYA: A KATIKAVATA OF THE 19th CENTURY*

සිවුරුවියේ සුධම්මාරාම උන්වහන්සේ, මාකෙහෙල්වල පියදසී උන්වහන්සේ, දඹව සුමන උන්වහන්සේ, තෙල්වතෙත් සුමංගල උන්වහන්සේ, හුලව බෝධිසීහ උන්වහන්සේ, අරගම සෝනුකර උන්වහන්සේ, රඹුක්වැලේ භොනුකර උන්වහන්සේ, මාරතුගොඩ අකුදසී උන්වහන්සේ, ගලගම බුඩරකඛිත උන්වහන්සේ, සුරියගොඩ සොනුකර උන්වහන්සේ, පෙතංගලේ සිඬකී උන්වහන්සේ, රතවිට සිඬාකී උන්වහන්සේ, වේඬෙරුවේ ගුණරතන උන්වහන්සේ, අයගම රේවන උන්වහන්සේ, බෙනතර රේවන උන්වහන්සේ, අක්වත්තේ දෙවමිතන උන්වහන්සේ කහටඹවිට සුමන උන්වහන්සේ—

**Translation**

Hail ! On Friday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Wesak (May) in the year two thousand three hundred and ninety-six of the era of the Buddha, the Sovereign, the Jinendra, the glorious and resplendant, the leader of men, and the leader of the Sangha, this document called the *Sārōvāda Dipaniya*, prepared by common consent and united resolve, and caused to be written and signed at a great convocation of the Mahā Sangha belonging to the 24 member Kāraka Sabhā, which was held at the renowned Uposathāgāra of the Puṣpārāma Vihāra (Malvatta Temple) in Kandy, is as follows :

Whereas (the Sacred Tooth Relic) was by His Excellency the Governor entrusted to us, because we have successfully accomplished all tasks such as the holding of offerings and ceremonies and the organization of measures for the safety and protection of the unblemished and peerless Tooth Relic, which serves as a crest jewel to the affluent and able rulers who have held sway over the whole island of Sri Lanka and who are like noble swans around the lotus-like feet of the Blessed One, the Wayfarer; and because we have safeguarded and protected the unsullied teaching of the Conqueror, which has spread throughout the surface of the prosperous island of Lanka;

We the Mahā Sangha belonging to the 24 member Kāraka Sabhā, with the Mahānāyaka and the Anunāyakas who are residing at the Puṣpārāma Vihāra of Kandy at the head, having resolved that we shall well protect the Tooth Relic as we would our own lives, came together and held a meeting at the aforesaid Puṣpārāma Vihāra.

We the Mahā Sangha belonging to the 24 member Kāraka Sabhā, who are engaged in the administration of the Sāsana of the extremely incomparable and serene Buddha, also decided that at no time should the bhikkus quarrel among themselves or engage in arguments, but should conduct themselves with decorum and in a pleasing manner, should heed the rules of conduct, should be righteous, should meet together in accord, should sit, rise, lie down and move about in a manner, befitting the Sangha, and should respect, honour, show affection, have faith, and should be obedient, and entertain pure and respectful thoughts towards those bhikkus who are like mothers and fathers, who are the leaders of the virtuous and restrained ones, who are well behaved, steadfast, and who have been ordained for a long time, and who hold the



positions of Jāti-thera<sup>30</sup>, Sammuti-thera,<sup>31</sup> Dhamma-sthavira<sup>32</sup> and Gaṇa-nāyaka.<sup>33</sup>

We the Mahā Sangha belonging to the 24 member Kāraka Sabhā who are abundant in virtue, extremely pleasing, like the Buddha in fame, are like a swarm of bees at the lotus-feet of the Buddha, should recite, study and expound the *Mahā Paritta*,<sup>34</sup> including all the *parittas*, the ten *Dhamma Sutta*,<sup>35</sup> *Maṅgala Sutta*<sup>36</sup> and *Ratana Sutta*,<sup>37</sup> the two *Pātimokkha*,<sup>38</sup> the four excellent *Satipaṭṭhāna*,<sup>39</sup> *Kammaṭṭhāna*<sup>40</sup> and the four sensory disciplines (all of which) lead to the realisation of good in both worlds, and should perform the Nava-poho-(pūjā)<sup>41</sup> and Nava-pavāraṇa,<sup>42</sup> should study the Vinaya according to one's ability and with serene joy enter continuously in the morning and in the afternoon the Uposathāgāra, make salutations to the Triple Gem, and conduct extremely pleasing and enduring discussions on the most noble *Dhamma*, *Aṭṭha (kathā)* and other discourses which illumine the Triple Gem, and thus conduct the poya ceremonies, on all Poya-days, or preach the entire *Pātimokkha* which dispel all harm.

We the Mahā Sangha who belong to the 24 member Kāraka Sabhā, who are capable of demolishing all heterodox thoughts, who are like the ocean in wisdom should refrain from useless talk and useless travelling but should (always) reside at the Puṣpārāma Vihāra, and when leaving the precincts of the vihāra on any useful errand should do so with permission from this collective body (Sammuti Samāgama); that there should be among the Mahā Sangha who form the 24 member Kāraka Sabhā who are noble beyond reckoning, not less than ten bhikkus who have successfully studied the Pali language and grammar etc., and five, or at least three who have been released from probation and who have mastered the Pali language and grammar and the three Piṭaka, composed of Sutta, Dhamma and Vinaya and all other relevant sections.

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<sup>30</sup> A Thera by rank, *PED/PTS*, p. 282.

<sup>31</sup> One who is selected or chosen.

<sup>32</sup> One who has mastered the Vinaya.

<sup>33</sup> i.e. Maha-Nāyaka, or the leader of the entire Sangha.

<sup>34</sup> *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, (*DPPN*), ed. G. P. Malalasekara, Vol. 11, London, 1960, pp. 157-8.

<sup>35</sup> *DPPN*. Vol. 1, 1135-6.

<sup>36</sup> *DPPN*. Vol. 11, pp. 410-411.

<sup>37</sup> *op. cit.*, pp. 709-710.

<sup>38</sup> *PED/PTS*. p. 450.

<sup>39</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 672.

<sup>40</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 193.

<sup>41</sup> Religious performances during the new moon.

<sup>42</sup> *PED/PTS*. p. 443 (see *pavāraṇa*).

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We the Mahā Sangha who form the 24 member Kāraka Sabhā, who are like treasurers and abodes of wisdom, and who are steadfast, and like crystal in virtue, and of limitless compassion, should for the welfare of the Sāsana make (our) associates (students) and others well versed in the Pali language and grammar and thereby strengthen those disciplines; and for all posts such as Mahānāyaka, Anunāyaka and Vihārādhīpati, which are for the welfare of the Sāsana, chose and appoint in a proper manner only those who have deeply imbibed the Dhamma, and from among the Mahā Sangha who are members of the 24 member Kāraka Sabhā, who are the very sons of the incomparable Buddha;

(And) those members of the Mahā Sangha, who form the 24 member Kāraka Sabhā and who are all aglitter with the rays of the Buddha, and who cause serene joy in the Sāsana, and who are worshipful should for ever be loyal and faithful to the English government which is extolled for its grandeur, great majesty, fame and prosperity; and whenever one is called to appear before a District Court or a Police Court as a prosecutor or as a witness it should always be done in a proper manner after discussing with the (aforesaid) Sangha of the Sammuti Samāgama and comparing the statements according to Dhamma and Vinaya, and when prosecuting or passing judgements on matters concerning the welfare of the religion of the Buddha it should be done according to *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, and being free from the four ways that lead to (moral) decline, and with pure thoughts of compassion;

(And) that the Mahā Sangha who form the 24 member Kāraka Sabhā who are the very sons of the Sugata (Buddha), who is extremely pure and who is like a mine of gems and is like an ocean of virtue, should attest here that they agreed not to depart from any of the grand provisions in this statement of the Sammuti Samāgama, which is for steadfastness of the Buddha and for the welfare of the Sāsana, and also that all bhikkhus drawn from all the vihāras in all the countries in the Uḍarāṭa, Pātarāṭa and from the Seven and four Korales who belong to the Puspārāma Vihāra fraternity of the Upālivamsa<sup>48</sup> of the Siyam Nikāya,<sup>44</sup> or in other words those who form the (aforesaid) Sammuti Samāgama should attest this document, and if there are any bhikkhus who fail to fully comply with these instructions, those who do so shall be punished in a fitting manner by this Sammuti Sāmagri Samāgama, and such punishments should be borne without chagrin by those bhikkhus, and thereby

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<sup>48</sup> Named after Upāli Thera, head of the Chapter of monks sent from Siam, at the request of Kīrthi Srī Rajasinghe (1747–82) to re-establish the *Upasampadā* ordination in Ceylon, *DPPN*. Vol. 1, p. 412.

<sup>44</sup> F. A. Hayley, *A Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Sinhalese*, Colombo, 1923, pp. 539–541.



having re-established in the Āyati Saṃwara Sīla, should be serene, of good conduct, and all those who fail to heed such advice but show defiance should be removed and expelled from this Sammuti Sāmagri Samāgama, and the vacancies caused by such expulsions from the Samāgama, and also by those who at various times pass away having come to the end of their days should be filled with those bhikkhus from Udarāṭa and Pātarāṭa who have attested this document and who are of good conduct, versed in the Dhamma, versatile, eloquent and well versed in the Scriptures, and released from probation;

(And) that Mahā Sangha of the 24 member Kāraka Sabhā who are repositories of virtues which are greatly praised, and who are noble and glorious, could on behalf of the Puspārāma Vihāra fraternity (of Kandy) appoint those including the residents of the Malvatta Vihāra to all posts such as Mahānāyaka, Anunāyaka and Vihārādhipati, which are for the welfare of the religion, and in the manner as laid down in the Royal Decree No. 152 of the 7th day of the month of April in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty three.

The Mahā Sangha of the 24 Member Kāraka Sabhā who are like rulers controlling the garlands of ideas and who are like the celestial star, the wish-conferring vessel and the celestial creeper should conduct themselves in such a manner that the four requisites, such as alms offered fortnightly, by ticket and on poya days and alms prepared having a particular monk in view and also victuals received, should be partaken and shared without greed, and in a blameless manner and according to standing arrangements, and be satisfied with what one receives, and that satisfaction alone be the greatest wealth; and everyday refrain from incessant talk which is vulgar and selfish and engaged by those who have no goodwill and faith for the Sāsana of the great Muni (Buddha); and that it is possible for this Sangha Sammuti to bring upto date and clarify the instructions proclaimed by the Sugata by constant repetition and study of this document of instructions called the *Sārōvāda Dīpaniya*, which was compiled with the common consent of the Mahā Sangha of the 24 member Kāraka Sabhā; and this Sammuti was arrived at the much renowned Uposathāgāra of the Puspārāma Vihāra in Kandy on the 13th day of the month of May 1853 by those meritorious ones who perpetually hold fast with great affection the Triple Gem, which is made brighter by those (bhikkus) who come from all the vihāras in the whole island of Lanka and who belong to the noble Malvatta Vihāra fraternity, and who are serene, young and bright as the rays of the Sun, and who are the very noble sons of the Buddha and who are completely praiseworthy, and by the ministers (?) who are like Īśvara in virtue and wealth.

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We are the Mahā Sangha of the 24 member Kāraka Sabhā, which has at its head the Mahānāyaka, Anunāyakas of the Puṣpārāma Vihāra of Kandy, namely :—

Parakumbure Mahānāyaka Thera, Thimbirivāve Anunāyaka Unvahanse, Dōpe Anunāyaka Unnānse, Vāvgonne Vipassi Unvahanse, Nāpāna Guṇaratana Unvahanse, Dāmbava Seelavansa Unvahanse, Galboḍa Sumaṅgala Unvahanse, Sivurupiṭiye Sudharmārāma Unvahanse, Mākehelvala Piyadassi Unvahanse, Dāmbava Sumana Unvahanse, Telvatte Sumaṅgala Unvahanse, Hulava Bodhiseeha Unvahase, Aragama Sonuttara Unvahanse, Rambukvālle Sonuttara Unvahanse, Māratugoḍa Atthadassi Unvahanse, Galagama Buddharakkhita Unvahanse, Sūriyagoḍa Sonuttara Unvahanse, Petangalle Siddhārtha Unvahanse, Ratviṭa Siddhārtha Unvahanse, Veṇḍeruve Guṇaratana Unvahanse, Ayagama Revata Unvahanse, Bentara Revata Unvahanse, Akvatte Devamitta Unvahanse, (and) Kahāṭaōviṭa Sumana Unvahanse——