



A study of the god *Upulvan and Vishnu*

An analyze of the spiritual organization pattern within the space of Buddha image shrine in Sri Lanka

Dr.Dananjaya Gamalath
Senior Lecturer

Postgraduate institute of Archaeology
In University of Kelaniya

Abstract

The most oldest recorded character of god had inter link with the incipient stage of Sri Lankan Buddhism signified as Upulvan described firstly in Deepavamsa then Mahavamsa later on Vamsathppakasini ales *Teeka* for Mahavamsa, these chronicles were including to the period of 4th to 6th century AC. The god Saman was another character has been recorded in the above chronicles, was given a position in the pantheon of Buddhist gods with Upulvan, has maintained the inter links with the Lord Buddha's earliest visits to Sri Lanka. Nevertheless god Vishnu's name hitherto has not mentioned in connection with the occurrence as for pre and post Buddhist period in any of foregone chronicles. Even though some scholars who were annoying to introduce as the Vishnu alias Upulvan, due to speculate reason for that suggestion of dominate Hindu –Buddhist intermingles religious and cultural relationship has been triggered within the Sinhala Buddhist society science the pre Buddhist era. As well as we put forward the historical and archaeological factors in this paper for discussed with conjectural justifications based on the hypothesis of Upulvan and Vishnu were two different characters of gods. Ipso facto we try to recognize here that by analyzing the placement pattern of the gods Upulvan and Vishnu within the space of Buddha image house with their own devalas have been dedicated to them and related other factors available in Buddhist archaeological sites from the allocated period in 7th to 19th century.

Key words- Upulvan, Vishnu, Sanctum, spiritual, Buddha image

Research problem

The major question was highlighted as is the Upulvan and Vishnu either separate two different characters of gods or two names were alias for single character of god. Science middle 20th century many pioneer researches who attempted in several occasions for dissolve this intricate problem, even so some of them who put forward hypotheses on that the god Upulvan was the incarnation of Vishnu (Geiger:1950; Obeysekara:1987; Cliffod:2000), afterwards who assimilated in to the

Buddhist pantheon named as Buddhist Vishnu. Both Upulvan and Saman are two pre-Buddhist Sri Lankan native deities, who again have been brought into the Buddhist fold signalize as spiritual characters even as Buddha's visit to Lanka. Verily as yet plenty of research was based on the Buddhist pantheon that was mentioned in the Buddhist literary sources, although it should be compared with the Vedic Hindu pantheon. Eventually we attempt to deliberately analyze these two different characters of gods by consuming the archaeological and historical facts from this paper. We explored 85 historical *viharas* and 38 *devalas* for fulfill this ambition.

Field explorations

Past few years we examined 85 Buddha image houses (Gamalath and Kekulawala:2019.361-385,table 1) and eight foremost Vishnu *devalas* (ibid:525-536,table5) for study of the relationship in between two gods *Upulvan* and Vishnu with Lord Buddha all were represented within the space of sanctum (Gandhakuti) alias perfume chamber as well as within the architectural limits and divisions of the Buddha image house while with the sacred precinct of the monastic organization.

In the 66 cases out of aforementioned 85 image shrines built from the period covered of 12th C AC. up to 18th C AC, that god Vishnu presented with Buddha image although in the eight cases out of this 85 god Vishnu has been placed out of the sanctum (perfumed chamber) but already under the roof of the Buddha image house. Therefore altogether in 74 cases the god Vishnu was depicted within the architectural limits of the Buddha image house, meanwhile in 21 places the god Vishnu appeared on the left-hand side of the Buddha statue although in 12 sanctums, god Vishnu placed on the right- hand side of the Buddha image. Vishnu faced on to the Buddha statue while it's positioning in front of the front wall, which built against the principle Buddha image inside the sanctum (*gandakuti*). In all these instances god Vishnu represented as a stucco statue or

painted depiction image either front wall or adjacent to the walls on both sides of the master Buddha image. Asgiriya *gandhakuti* was the most outstanding, out of these 66 places, in which god Vishnu painted on the sealing there who spot his eyes on to the Buddha statue.

Either Vishnu sculpture or painted picture has not represented in 8 image houses out of foregone 85 ancient temples such as Pilikutthuva, sath-sathi vihara at Mutiyanganaya, Gangarama at Kandy, cave shrine at Degaldoruva, image shrine at Galmaduva, *tampita vihara* at Kotasara piyangala, image house at Vegiriya natha *devalaya* and cave temple at Maniyangama although 6 in out of

these 8 have not given any space reservation for any deities in the sanctum (*gandhakuti*) except the Buddha image was forefront still in situ. The time allocation of these 8 instances was 18th to 19th C AC. which has including to Kandian period.

Mythical and structural transformation of two gods

The cave temples at Pilikutthuva and Maniyamgama out of aforementioned eight cases could be able to analyzed the figure of god Upulvan on behalf of Vishnu, has been characterized so near to the head of recline Buddha image. In some image shrines out of total 85 instances had been noted back two hands were deliberately later added with its usual symbols chakra and chunk, to the foregoing image of Upulvan for integrated in to god Vishnu. Finest example for this, observation is the cave temple at Rakshitakanda in Ella area there was a very immature and crudely embodied of the back two hands behind the shoulders and its symbols were painted on the wall in early or late 19th century period. The embodiment of the original statue have only two hands with bearing the symbols of blessing (*ashinsana mudra*) and the colour is slightly light blue. Exactly the god Upulvan embodied of this image but later on in 19th century pious kings, monks and the creators who converted Upulvan figure into Hindu god Vishnu. Cave shrine at lenavara in Raigama erected an Upulvan image which also appeared in two arms although bird *Gurula*, the vehicle of Vishnu has been painted on rock surface behind the statue for combination purpose in to Vishnu in early 19th century. Image house at Koskadavala Sunandaramaya and *tampita* temple at Bihalpola are two other examples for this integrated Vishnu images were including to aforementioned period. One of the most remarkable instances on for this converted Vishnu images was is in the statue at

the present Vishnu *devalaya* at Devundara, it has allocated only two arms as we recognize has been originally manufactured, then two very small rear arms showed with usual symbols of Vishnu, all were not proportionately match for the principle image, setup behind the shoulders and an adjacent to the back wall of the chapel. The significant revealed from this seated statue which may have converted in late 18th or early 19th century. Along with this integration factors, we should be able to assume the trend this invariably leads towards to “Vishnavism”, and then the Upulvan credence has been dispel from the Buddhist pantheon spontaneously.

This conversion activities of god Upulvan into Vishnu has been practiced in many Buddha image

houses soon after the transformation of Kandy main *devalaya* into the creed of Vishnu. We confirm these forgoing facts firmly by giving the evidence from the table which express the space using pattern inside the image house for placing the gods with the master Buddha image. (Gamalath and Kekulawala: 2020.386) therefore every Upulvan devalayas facing this conversion threat due to given the forefront to the popular faith of Hindu Vishnu and Buddhist Upulvan credence has been intermingle with that in between 16th to 19th Century period. (Obeysekera: 1987.319; Dharmadasa and Tundeniya: 1994.70)

Nevertheless we able to conclude by forwarding the evidence from above mentioned table, has not converted every Upulvan images, those were settled inside the image houses (Gamalath and Kekulawala: 2019.399) elsewhere in the country. Rendering to Nandasena Mudiyanse's comment, creators of Vishnu images they removed older coating of paints of the Upulvan images and applied dark blue colour on those when they wishes to introduced as Vishnu image to the Pilgrim. (Mudiyanse: 1965.84) Chulavamsa commented the Upulvan faith has been gained worldwide popularity in the time of King Kirti Sri Rajasinghe (1747-1760AC) era in the 18th century while this king was pious devotee on that faith as he given many offerings to this creed. (Cv: 99.44) Therefore the Upulvan faith of the country has not been abandoned after 17th century, although images of this deity were found from inside the image houses those were has been erected was credible within the period of King Kirti Sri Rajasinghe in 18th century.

The dark blue colour Upulvan images has been noted in image house at Totagamuva Ranpath viharaya and cave shrine at Maniyangama however seven feet high light blue colour Upulvan figures have been examined in the image shrines at Padeniya and Paramakanda, were also including to the late Kandy period. The tallest Upulvan figure has been recorded from the

Totagamuva Ranpath viharaya which height is 9feet. In accordance with foregone Chulavamsa reference, all these Upulvan images could be able to speculate including to the period of king Kirti Sri Rajasinghe.

The only three image houses out of twenty such as cave image house at Maniyangama, image house at Totagamuva Ranpath vihara and image house no. 2 at Bihalpola were reflected close connection in between Upulvan and Buddha where inside the sanctum (*gandhakuti*),but only Upulvan figure had been noted in there, has not represented any other deities with the Buddha statue. The Vishnu image in the *tampita pilimage* at Bihalpola was another instance that food for thought, previous Upulvan figure later converted into Vishnu by adding the two rear arms were behind the shoulders in which reflect very primitive immature style rather were not tie with frontier arms by its proportions. These alternations done may be 18th century or little later likely early 19th century. However no 2 image house at Bihalpola built in 1928 with the recumbent Buddha stature

in which have an image of god Upulvan and this was conferring in its panache could be able to traced back more than the time, its shrine was built. This Upulvan figure reflected some similarities by its colour contrast light blue and esthetic value of construction, with the predetermined transformed Vishnu image placed within the adjacent *tampita viharaya*.

We noted and identified an important two images of this god in cave shrines at Paramakanda and image house at Padeniya, both these statues were painted in light blue colour, no four arms has only two, while not bearing any mythical objects by these hands, although previous scholars who interpreted that those two images as Vishnu nevertheless it was a disputable identification. (Prematileka.P.L, Chutiwongs.N, Silva.R:1990.38)

Intermingle and differences of the creed of god Upulvan and Vishnu.

Reverent Seelavimala deliberately analyze the major significance of these two gods that was Upulvan and Vishnu. (Seelavimala.Bogoda:2005.95) He insist from the second chapter of his research by giving proven evidence that Upulvan and Vishnu was the two separate gods.

We examine from the statistics lateral in table 2, in which we able to identified the actual form of god Upulvan was abhorrent in 20 image houses out of total 85, while among 16 out of that 20, placed within the image house or cave image shrines. Dharmadasa and Tundeniya completed a research in 1994 about the origin and development of Sri Lankan gods and its pantheon they reviled about the present states of the 14 major gods with their miners were in all credence in 18th and 19th centuries in our *devalas* and image houses (Darmadasa and Tundeniya: 1994.62, 63). However these scholars do not specified the factors about the provincials in those were spreading the faith of the god Upulvan and dispersion of rituals based on this deity in Sri Lanka. The Buddhist literary sources written by the clergies from between 14th to 17th century period has been given forefront to the god Upulvan while king Parakremabahu VIth in Kotte (1412-1467AC) who has given homage to both these gods (Gamalath and Kekulawala:2019.400). The Tamil inscription at *Naimana* near Matara in which this king engraved the emblems of god Vishnu was the fair evidence for prove this point (Paranavitana:1953.70-740). The writers of Buddhist poetic literature who had given the title of “*Dev Raja*” (King of gods) for Upulvan in their literary works from 14th century, although temple at Devundara was the good archaeological substantiation on for homage have been received to both gods point from the Hindu and Buddhist people in the same period and these devotees who received patronage from the pious kings who ruled the country in this epoch (Gamalath and Kekulawala:2019.120-140). By the time of 1410AC, Devundara temple borne the world renowned prestige about the creed of Vishnu , verily able to prove this from the lithic record named the trilingual slab inscription from Galle in which mentioned the emperor in China who provide the supplementary donations to the credence of Vishnava and

Shivate in Devundara (EZ;Vol.II I,331-341). In our foregone discussion we noted about the world renowned status of god Upulvan at the time of king Kirti Sri Rajasinghe (1747-1760AC) but meanwhile in this period god Vishnu who gained the “Deva Raja”(king of gods) status for as much by make a splash from its flag which displayed a figure of god Vishnu(Sannasgala:1973.fig2). Therefore soon after the god Upulvan who spontaneous dispelled from the pantheon

of four protection gods of Lanka from 18th century, god Vishnu who became the king of the gods (*Deva raja* position) and its flag has been reserved for the figure of him.

Nevertheless the Upulvan credence has been activated arou

the Buddha image house science 8th up to 18th century in the province of Ruhuna and many other parts in the country as we forward the data in the map, hence then it signalized had been intermingle with Vishnu credence. Thus we noted many interlude differences between the ancient admiration and present popularity of these two gods. This can be able to dissect within the theoretical frame work in time and space.

Early research's commented the Vishnu creed has become very popular (Dharmadasa and Thundeniya: 1994.62) as well as in Gall, Matara and Hambantota in the province of *Ruhuna* (ibid:62-63), specially that they probably deliberate around the religious situation of Devundara and its vicinity after 15th up to 19th century period. Nevertheless as we mentioned above, according to our observations carried out in island wide the credo on Vishnu cannot be able to restricted any provincials of the country and it was disperse all parts in the island especially in the *singhala* Buddhist areas, they create Vishnu images inside the Buddha image house while erected separate *devalas* within or relates to the Buddhist monastic precinct (Gamalath and Kekulawala: 2019.476-504). Rendering to the data which showed dispersion pattern of the Vishnu *devala* and image house in those were housed Vishnu images in Sri Lanka (map no.1&2). The Upulvan faith gained comparable reverence science along aforementioned period with the Vishnu credence. Therefore we do not ability for named specific areas in connection with the credence of Vishnu even in ancient time or present days in Sri Lanka, although we spot on the acceptance of Vishnu faith in ancient *Ruhuna* from 15th century onwards which propensity of intermingle with credence of Upulvan (ibid:120-138).

According to the data revealed in map2, dissemination of credence on god Upulvan at the end of 18th century, was the image house at Gonameriyava in the northern most position near Kebitigollewa, Totagamuva and Devundara was southernmost spot, far eastern position was the Bogoda cave shrine in Badulla district and Paramakanda cave image house at Anamaduva in Putthalam district was the western location except northern and eastern provinces, dominate that popularity in all other parts in the country till the end of 18th century. King Dappula (659AC) who built the Upulvan shrine at Devundara which has been identified as Devundara *Galge* (Paranavitana:1953) was the most oldest archaeological evidence on availability of this faith in Sri Lanka (Gamalath and Kekulawala:2019.506-507,515). The same king who erected a shrine at

Gonnava near Variyapola now so called Vishnu *devalaya* at Gonnava after 18th century originally built for the credo of god Upulvan and an inscription has been discovered from this venue which was under gone to the period of king Dappula and literary based evidence caught from Rajavaliya also spot about the history of the place by the authority of the department of archaeology (ibid:506). Therefore we alludes this shrine has been create for credence of god Upulvan in 7th century period but later on from 18th century that was the period of integration into the creed of Vishnu. Here after in 13th century king Parakramabahu the IInd (1236-1272), who re-organized three Upulvan shrines named Aluth Nuvara near Mavanella, Devundara near Matara and Gonnava. Meanwhile many virtuous kings who create statue or painted pictures of Upulvan by the side of principle Buddha image inside the image house ie *gandhakuty*, Thotagamuva was the most oldest evidence it has been highly treated in the literary sources related in to 15th century. Paranavitana suggested the earliest literary records on this god may have including to that period (Paranavitana:1953), even so the foregone Mahavamsa record written in 5th century, therefore his suggestion should be disproved. We have not any clear evidence find so far to prove the *singhala* Buddhist rulers who ruled after 12th century, do not built separate shrines for god Vishnu till 17th century period. But we have indication for substantiate the popularity of Vishnu creed of Buddhist society in Sri Lanka from 11th century, that was the earliest representation of Vishnu revealed as a painted picture from the relic chamber of Mahiyangana stupa (Paranavitana: 1951.17-18) Nevertheless trio of present Vishnu *devalas*, named Lankatilaka, and Gadaladeniya were built by king Bhuvanekabahu IVth (1351-1354AC) and Hanguranketha originated by king Senerath (1604-1635AC), originally dedicated to the Buddhist creed of god Upulvan and after the period in second half of 17th century all were converted in to as Vishnu shrines. The flag in which embodied the figure of god Upulvan has been borrowed from Upulvan *devalaya* at Devundara for establishment

of the Upulvan shrine at Hanguranketha in the time of king Senarath of 16th century quoted from poetic massage called Mandaram pura Puvatha (Ma.Pu:804vers). Later on king Rajasinghe IInd who ruled in Kandy transformed this shrine for the credo of Rama-Vishnu (Seelavimala.Bogoda:2005.205,278-299,189-191). As well as present Vishnu shrines in Kandy and Dambulla also has been erected in the same era utilized for Upulvan faith.

Therefore the faith of Buddhist Vishnu in Sri Lanka has begun in the interlude session from 17th century thereafter regularly Vishnu embodiments were housed with the Buddha figure in every image house and cave image shrines. Thus in the beginning of 19th century small chambers erected

god Upulvan who still bearded his interpersonal link with the Buddha, only inside the sanctum (perfume chamber) and his other partner was the god Natha, who frequently stands by the side of Buddha figure inside the sanctum (perfume chamber) and a few occasions Natha was placed adjacent to the frontal *mandapa* or circumambulatory passage, Karadeniya Tapodanaramaya and thotagamuva are the instances for this. Erection of independent *devalas* for dedicated to god Vishnu within the Buddhist cultural environments in elsewhere in the country. (Gamalath and Kekulawala:2019.507) map no.1showed the dissemination of Vishnu credence by analyzed the GIS positioning which reveled from Devundara to Isurumuniya at Anuradhapura may have far beyond upto Jaffna was identified as Buddhist Vishnu who received offerings from pious Buddhist pilgrims.

Hindu Buddhist interaction and impact to the native Upulvan credence

We dissect about the Hindu impact and influence dominate on the every sections of the *singhala* Buddhist society and sovereignty have seemingly contradictory trends from 14th century AC onwards up to more than 500 years (ibid:120-146) in Sri Lanka. This Hindu influence in Sri Lanka nurtured by groups of Brahmans, whose numbers increased during these centuries. They enjoyed patronage of the rulers especially Parakramabahu VIth and backing of the people. In contrast, the *sangha's* influence with the kings and nobility of Kotte declined steadily after the death of Parakramabahu VIth and the upper crust of Sinhalese society was fast becoming Hindu in outlook. Hindu shrines proliferated in the Kotte kingdom (ibid:120-136) For Buddhism, then this was a period of trouble. As the 'official' religion it shared in the vicissitudes of the state, with recurrent episodes of political instability and intermittent revivals when strong rulers imposed their authority on the country. The most notable examples of the latter were Parakramabahu IInd and Parakramabahu VIth. During the small patches of stability against the large canvas of political decline, unstable conditions and a general loss of vitality, dynamic rulers could infuse the official

religion with renewed vigor. But the limits of this renewal must be emphasized, it was a series of intermittent flashes rather than a sustained or prolonged effort, and the official religion had long since ceased to be purely Theravada. Despite all this, reasons have a point for spontaneous

intergrade credence was the Upulvan in to god Vishnu. According to the Mahavamsa record, god Upulvan designated by supernal *Sakkra* as the protection deity of Lanka regarding request by the lord Buddha, (Mv: Vii.v.5) this god stands a native Buddhist origin which was revealed from that Mahavamsa information and in addition an indirect speculate of the character of Upulvan has been bear sound popularity in 5th century period of Anuradhapura reign. The Panchasudani one of the *atthakata* texts has been written period before Mahavamsa, clearly mentioned the chant or perceive of the parable stories in Mahabharata and Ramayana had been criticized, from this indication we able to speculate the spiritual faith of gods in this period highly based and stands out on the native god Upulvan, not Hindu Vishnu (Gamalath and Kekulawala:2019.251). Vamsatthappakasini defined another story that correspond Upulvan, this time Vijaya who has been begged on help from Upulvan for destroy native yakkha in Lanka. (Vam.Tika:7). An idea of this account firstly make with pleasure of Upulvan via observing ritualistic activities and moving weapons, from which alludes the inherent pre- Buddhist faith has been followed, when the time of chronicle has been written in medieval Anuradhapura era. Hence then after this maiden record written in Mahavamsa has an interlude period up to 13th century was absent the information regards on this native deity in Culavamsa was the part two of Mahavamsa. The chronicals were Pujavali and Chulavamsa written in 13th century included some information about god Upulvan. The latter was mentioned the privileges donated by Devapatiraja was a minister of the king Parakramabahu IInd (1236-1272AC) for Upulvan shrine at Devundara, from this description alludes the credence of Upulvan has been gained more popularity in *ruhuna* particularly in the province Devundara as was the provincial faith followed by both Hindu and Buddhist pilgrims who were residing out of *Rajarata* region and rendering to the aforementioned description in the chronicles this faith came to know and experienced in medieval Anuradhapura era at least 5th to 7th century in *Rajarata* and *Ruhuna* even possibly all parts in the country. The new center after 13th century has been fixed for the credence of god Upulvan, which became well-known in later centuries, was at Alutnuvara near Mavanellain four *korales* by Parakramabahu IVth (1302-1326) who ruled in Kurunegala.

The god Upulvan has been crowned as Devaraja (king of the gods) in the 14th century even as he

has been elevated to the status of the national god of the Sinhala Buddhist. That information's quoted from the chronicle Nikaya sangrahaya and poetic message Tisara Sandesaya both were

completed in consequence of patronage given by the king Wickramabahu IIIrd ruled in Gampola. According to Tisara Sandesaya god Vibhishana who lived with beloved to Deva raja Upulvan (Tisara:107.p.154). As well as ambition of the work Tisara poetry was send a message to god Vibhishana for pay homage to god king Upulvan (ibid:p.155) even as from this message the king Wickramabahu III, who has given his heartiest wishes to god king Upulvan (ibid:p.187,239). Meanwhile Alagakkonara when he built the fortress in Kotte, has been erected four shrines on the rampart for the deities who had protected Lanka, were *Kihireli* Upulvan, Vibhishana, *Saman Boxxel* and Skanda Kumara (Nika: 26). God Vishnu not intrinsic factor in the Buddhist society in this period. The Lankatileka rock inscription of king Bhuvanekabahu IVth (1351-1354AC) mentioned the god Upulvan was the king of the gods at that time (Paranavitana: 1953.21). Meanwhile the Gadaladeniya rock inscription also pointed out the erection of *devalaya* dedicated to the king of gods ie.(Upulvan) for protection of vihara in its precinct by rev. Dharmakeerti in the period of same region (EZ:Vol.Iv.90-110).Thus this god signalize the superlative rank in the Buddhist cultural society science middle Anuradhapura period up to the 14th century.

In the Kandy period king Vimala Dharma suriya (1592-1604AC), who transferred the Upulvan image from Aluthnuvara shrine to main *devalaya* in Kandy for as much the god Upulvan who able to maintained his Deva Raja status at the beginning of Kandian era (Seelavimala.Bogoda:2005.179). The *Sinhalese* poetic source called Kahakurulu Sandesaya written in closely related to this period has been introduced Kandy main *devalaya* as the shrine of god Upulvan (Gamalath and Kekulawala:2019.402). This Upulvan statue again shifted from the main shrine at Kandy to the Dambulla cave shrine by king Senarath (1604-1635AC) because of its protection from the forthcoming inversion arise of Portuguese (Seelavimala.Bogoda:2005.181). Here after in 18th century Kandy main *devalaya* had been converted into the faith of Hindu god Rama and shrine was allocated to the name of Vishnu (ibid:183). Therefore when mid17th century god Vishnu credence dispersed speedily became climax of its popularity in Kandy due to the direct and indirect cross cultural imprison occurred in between Hinduism and Buddhism while Deva Raja (king of gods) or superlative status of god Upulvan has been faced many challenges on its stability and finally this native character disappeared from the Buddhist pantheon of gods on behalf of god Rama-Vishnu assimilated in line with positioned to that place not only Kandy island wide

(Gamalath and Kekulawala:2019.402). The example for this comment, god Upulvan has been extolled as Vishnu in the 17th century poetic message named Upulvan Asna (Dharmadasa and Thundeniya:1994.413), which text influenced from the Hindu- Buddhist intermesh society. Meanwhile as in credibility that impact of Hindu cultural activities spontaneously dominate and disseminate on Sri Lankan Buddhist society in the period of king Weeraparackrama Narendrasinghe (1707-1739AC) thus god Rama firmly settled in the Kandy main *devalaya* which was confirmed by evidence quoted from the Aligama *sannasa* (Seelavimala.Bogoda:2005.187).

Comparable status of two gods

In between 14th to 16th century we able to trace as an intermingle period for as much god Upulvan and Vishnu gained equal status from Buddhist and Hindu pious rulers, clergies and devotees who lived forefront in Kandy with secondly other parts of the country. The Hindu mythical stories were used for extolling the themes written in the poetic essays in this period, nevertheless from this do not reflected writers personal view around their faith depend on the Hindu gods such as Vishnu, commented by Bogoda Seelavimala (Seelavimala.Bogoda:2005.25,26). As an example many poetic writings like *Paravi, Gira, Kokila, Hamsa, Selalihini* and *Sevul* were frequently mentioned the myth of churning the see of milk by the Hindu gods (ibid:26). Most stands out situation in this regards was the Kokila sandesaya extolled the dominance of god Upulvan by forwarding parable story related to the Hindu god Vishnu. The actual sentence refer in Kokila sandesaya, Upulvan such a adventurer who comparable to god Vishnu in exceptional powers (Koki:ve.23). The Lankatileka rock inscription of King Bhuvanekebahu IVth mentioned these two gods in same lithic record. Therefore they must be different gods. The inscribed commentary of that the “images of Suyama, Santhusita, sakra, Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshvara, the images of the consorts of these personages, the images of the god king *Kehireli* Upulvan, the god king Sumana, Vibhishana-Ganapathi, Kanda-Kumara and others who have assumed the duty of protecting Lanka” (Paranavitana:1960.21). The another poetic message named Dambulu vihara sannasa worked in 17th century, clearly defined the gods Upulvan and Vishnu as were two separate characters

(Seelavimala.Bogoda:2005.98). In this poetry Upulvan and Saman were treated as kings of the gods but

Vishnu has not been signified from that title. Obeysekara discussed the gammadu ritual in which, even now, mainly giving homage to Upulvan, while doing this ritual placed a Vishnu image by the side in that place (Obeysekara;1987.319).

According to the Hindu iconography Vishnu has four arms and from rear two arms bears two mythical objects were the *chank* and a sort of a wheel or discus called *chakra* (Moor.Edward:1976.24), were familiar in the Hindu pantheon and vehicle named *Garuda* (ibid:28), although god Upulvan has only two arms and no vehicle he appeared as a Buddhist human philosophical creation. Rendering to the poetic messages like *Mayura* and *Parevi* this god beared only two arms (Myura.Sa:141; Pa.Sa:189). Some scholars and the literary sources such as *Parakumbasirita* reported about the spouse and a son of god Upulvan (Paranavitana: 1972.719; Dharmadasa and Thundeniya: 1994.41; Pe.Si:78, Seelavimala.Bogoda:2005.66-67), However these researches not provide archaeological facts for prove in this regard. We suggest these supernal description should be able to pervade from the stories of the Hindu pantheon. As well as along our foregone lithic records in this regards not mentioned about a spouse of god Upulvan but all Vedic gods occurred as same.

In consequence of our observations both Upulvan and Vishnu were syncretized in six occasions, five of them were cave image houses and the other one is *tampita pilimage* at Kotasarapiyangala near Bibile the five cave image houses are as follows, *Ridee len viharaya*, cave shrine at Bogoda, cave temple at Madanvela in Hanguranketa and cave shrine at Hindagala (Gamalath and Kekulawala:2019.403), were including to King Kirti Sri Rajasimha's period (1739-1748), who gave equal eminence to both gods by painted sculptures of Vishnu and Upulvan either side of the principle Buddha image for as much these two characters were different each other (Ibid:402). Ad interim in according to our aforementioned writings the disintegration of Upulvan faith occurred mostly *devalas* within the coinciding period. The dissected conclusion of this join appearance of these two gods even as the development of Hindu credence of gods comprising Vishnu in coalesced with Buddhist religious superstition experienced with the space of Buddha image house.

Gananatha Obeysekara forwarded his hypothesis as “ Upulvan was an early Buddhist adaptation of Vishnu and was later given the title Upulvan” (Obeysekara:1987.313, 315-317), as well as Vishnu was for at least four centuries and possibly even much longer (sa Upulvan), incorporated into Buddhism, in terms of mechanism such as his conversion in to a Bodhisattva (ibid:313), he further commented. Then he was labeled the end product of these two processes as two images of

Vishnu, a Hindu one and Buddhist one, and according to Hindu iconography Vishnu can be depicted in several ways, including having only two arms (ibid:313,316). But he does not provide any archaeological or iconographical evidence those are should be based on the historical origin for prove his argument, and his research mainly created on the evidence related to the ethnographical and sociological point of view. As well as we never yet found Vishnu images with only two arms in Sri Lanka. European scholars such as Geiger and Clifford were liken and interpreted native Upulvan and Vishnu as single deity, as well as the word *Uppalavanna* has been mentioned in Mahavamsa deduce as a colour in which the person who appeared, and was a real *pali* word that used for introduced Vishnu that has interpreted by Geiger (Mv:Vii.v.5,note 2)). Clifford agreed with this Geiger's suggestion and he further commented the colour of the body of Vishnu in dark blue, that was the meaning of the name and colour has been entitled a god stated in chapter seven of Mahavamsa, who was appointed as the guardian of the Lord Buddha and then he positioned as the guardian of the Sri Lankan Buddhism, an author of this record in 5th century who has given fully tribute for Vishnu (Clifford:2000.10), must be a misinterpretation made on the foregone Mahavamsa record. Paranavitana in the year 1928, stated that pious elite Buddhist pilgrims, writers and rulers were lived in between 14th to 16th centuries, spot and considered these two gods were different each other (Paranavitana:1928.66). Although then he produced a hypothesis in 1953, that Upulvan is none other than Vedic god Varuna, Upulvan alias Varuna, the major thrust of his analysis was etymological and phonological facts, Obeysekara has been argued with criticized this suggestion in 1984 (Obeysekara:1987.313-315). The writers of Parakumbasiritha and Sevul Sandesaya were the 15th and 16th century poetic works were mentioned parable myths of god Vishnu for extolling the kings (Seelawimala.Bogoda:2005.27). Alagiyavanna in Sevul Sandesaya praised the city (pura) of Seetawaka as the abode of god Vishnu and the gonzo essay on the city wall which parable to serpentine of *Anantha naga* (Sevu:252) even though at the cave temple at Maniyangama in Seethawaka only figure of god Upulvan not Vishnu who represented by the side of recline Buddha figure reflected in 18th century style when as it re-coloured in dark blue showed only two arms which bears *ashinsana* (bless) *mudra* still in situ. Gira sandesaya was another poetic message wrote in 15th century mentioned the adventures of king Parackramabahu VIth (1412-1467AC) was stands out than the power of Vishnu as well as who had been done misconduct activities with appeared from ten spooks (Gira:212) by these criticism had given a clue was the author of that poetic work who do not trusty on god Vishnu's adventures.

The Parevi Sandesaya was another poetry written in same period mentioned the spouse of god Vishnu disgusted him even as beloved and lived with king Parackramabahu VIth due to god Vishnu appeared from ten spooks, was another evidence for prove above suggestion. Rev. Dharmasena of Saddharmarathanavali in Dambadeniya period at 13th century included the forbidding notes with renounce of the faith on Hindu gods like Vishnu. The Siyabaslakara written in the period of king Sena 1st (826-846AC) in mid-9th century described god Vishnu's mastery from which indirectly reflected the influence has been took from the similar stanza of Kawyadharsa was written (Seelavimala.Bogoda:2005.10-11) in the period before of the relevant text. By the 15th century deity worship, the Buddhist had reached a high water- mark. This is evident particularly in the *sandesaya* (massage) poems which appear during this century. As the above description indicates the period 13th to 15th centuries saw deity worship among Buddhists reaching a high-water mark which also led to a backlash from the orthodox Buddhists. Among literary historians there is a view that the author of Budugunalankaraya and Hamsa Sandesaya are one and the same Veedagama Maithreye, who having criticized the deity worship together with creed of Vishnu in Budugunalankaraya at 15th century period (Budu:126) while the author extols the virtues of Buddha. In the Hamsa Sandesaya there was no rejection of the existence or efficacy of gods. Their worldly powers are also acknowledged. But they are made subservient to the Triple Gem.

Therefore we cannot be able to assume that the every Buddhist pilgrim who lived in this period were followed the credence of Vishnu. Nevertheless another fact was for this discussion has been quoted from an inscription related to the king Mahinda IVth in tenth century (972-982AC), engraved a pious *bhikkhu* who lived with *Dhamma* like god Vishnu lay extended asleep on the serpentine of Anantha *naga* with his spouse Laxmi (Sirikata) in Abhayagiri monastery (Gamalath and Kekulawala:2019.403). Nevertheless reason for this record that the monastery at Abhayagiri in above period had become the head quarts of the tantric sect in Mahayana Buddhism (ibid:69-98). Again through this syncretized Buddhist religious environment signified the remarkable development of the Mahayanist religion sects were activated along the limits of architecture and the aforementioned aesthetic elements in 12th century in Polonnaruva period. Verily the struggles between orthodox and the Mahayanists had long science been resolve by the absorption within the "official" form of Buddhism of some of the doctrines, rituals and deities of heterodoxy. Thus along

with the veneration of Mahayanist deities, the worship of Vedic and post Vedic Hindu deities was firmly established as part of the religious practice of Sri Lankan Buddhism (De Silva:2005.121-123). In consequence of this religious mixed bag situation activated in this period produced such a literary work named Sasadavata has been extolled god Vishnu as ‘sak pana’ (Gamalath and Kekulawala:2019.404). As well as several other Vedic gods Yama, Varuna, Vishravana, Brhma, Maheshvara, Balabhadra, Ganesha and Skanda were attendance, worshipping the Buddha, thus making the greatest gods in the Hindu pantheon subservient to the Buddha (Sasa:v.180,182). Obviously, the poet was intent an extolling the greatness of Buddha in relation to the gods of the Hindu pantheon. We need remember that author was writing after math of the fifty three year Cola rule of the Polonnaruva kingdom (1017-1070), in which Hinduism would have been dominant.

Conclusion

Therefore hitherto we proceed this discussion with the evidence for prove that the Sinhala Buddhist society much depend on the variable social factors were assimilated by the cross cultural influence specially Hindu belief tie with the superhuman and supernatural beings from incipient pre Cristian times up to early 19th century in Sri Lanka. Many scholars who emphasized this syncretism as the significance in the Sinhala Buddhist culture. Thus in consequence of this Hindu –Buddhist intermingle religious activities spontaneously occurred in Sri Lankan history, put up the intrinsic factor on intricacy of native Buddhist pantheon of the gods with the extraordinary Vedic Hindu gods, who with the efflux ion integrated to space in the Buddha image house and the precinct of the Buddhist monastery as *devala* chapels. By way of we dissect on our archaeological factors liken with the literary based records this mix bag religious inspirations clearly reviled from 7th century AC in Anuradhapura period, we aforementioned the relevant instances for this, hereafter all along we able to traced on the erection of images and chapels within Buddha image house while *devalas* constructed was separate from the Buddha image house but within its sanctify precinct for the gods of Hindu pantheon such as Siva, Vishnu and other deities were intermingle with the Buddhist divinities were mainly Upulvan and Saman.

Therefore even though from the 11th century we able to revealed many archaeological data for dissect around the popularity of Hindu faith and its credence in the *Sinhala* Buddhist society specially when the period of Kotte (1412-1580AC) and Seetavaka (1530-1592AC) (Gamalath and Kekulawala:2019.120-138),although the credence of Buddhist gods (Upulvan and Saman) still maintain its credibility till early 19th century. For as much predetermined facts some authors of poetic massages who wrote the stanzas of invocation the blessing of Hindu faith including Vishnu, even so many Buddhist writers such as monks of poetic massages they disregards the creed of Vishnu and other Hindu deities from their writings, already mentioned above.

Reason for this interplay situation stands out in between the writings of literal sources and the authenticity in the social religious activities that the Vishnu belief spontaneously assimilated into the Sinhala Buddhist society in island wide. Which was prove in consequence from our resent archaeological explorations (table 2) was the god Vishnu had been placed in 75 image houses out of 85 listed in table no.2 . However the god Vishnu not reached the dominant status within the Sinhala Buddhist society until he has entitled to the pantheon of gods in four warrants, such were as Vishnu, Skanda, Patthini and Natha in Sri Lanka at the 17th century in Kandy period.

Therefore in accordance along with all foregone evidences the interlude period of 700 years from 6th century up to 13th century AC in the Buddhist literary sources do not mentioned any information about the god Upulvan , in consequence of Hindu *Tantric* influence signified in the development of Mahayana Buddhism in medieval Sri Lanka. When time was the chronicle Mahavamsa had written by the Rev.Mahanama who was residing in the headquarters of the orthodox Buddhism in 5th century (Mv:vii,v.5-7), gods Upulvan and Saman were signalize as native supernal characters although reflected the dominance and the dispersion of the centers of two Mahayanist sects named Dharmaruchi and Sagala in every monastic territory within the forgone 700 years eventually in consequence of this foreclosure the dominance of the orthodox Mahavihara fraternity in island wide. Thus after 7th century the Mihintale monastery spontaneously assimilated to the Mahayana sect *Dharmaruchi*, likewise in Abhayagiriya monastery was the center of that religious quarters as well as later on Sithulpawva and Polonnaruva attached to the same Mahayana fraternity. Therefore the credence of the native Buddhist gods Upulvan and Saman

had become insignificant trivial status while disappeared from the Buddhist literature and the belief of the Buddhist pilgrims.

This situation has been become deteriorate from the 11th century due to the impact of Hindu cola inversion that directly resulted for the political instability within the Sinhala Buddhist royal court, and mainly Hindu cola influence and its characteristics had been reflected on the social, social administration and religious complication in the Sri Lankan Buddhist society, (Gamalath and Kekulawala:2019.100-120) and due to in consequence of this pathetic perversion representations in social-religious works create by the rulers with their creators most of them who were followed Hindu-Buddhist intermingle faith which highly contrast in the creations of tantric Buddhism as an example in this regards the aforementioned wall paintings discovered within the relic chamber at Mahiyangana stupa, has been painted in the 11th century, the subject was depicted the gods Vishnu and Shiva both who pay homage to the Lord Buddha (Paranavitana: 1953). This was the oldest evidence yet ever found regarding Hindu gods who received homage from Sinhala Buddhist kings and pilgrims lived in post Anuradhapura era on behalf of the gods Upulvan and Saman were pioneer characters in the Buddhist depictions. Thus in this way inspirations should be able to observed from the embodiment of Vijjadhra cave at Polonnaruva in 12th century personified Vishnu on behalf of Shakra, ipso factor is Shakra and Brhma are the invariable partners of Lord Buddha who were depicted either side of principle Buddha image although in this instance the Sakkra has been disappeared from the scene due to the influence of Hinduism. The foregone source, Sasadawata written in the period of Queen Leelavati (1197- 1200 AC) extolled Hindu gods Shiva and Vishnu nevertheless Buddhist gods such as Upulvan and Saman were not intrinsic characters of the religious culture at that time.

Therefore gods Upulvan and Vishnu were time-honored comparable patronage from Sinhala Buddhist pilgrims in 13th century till the end of 17th century period that was analyzed by our previous observations based on the chronicles and poetic writings (Gamalath and Kekulawala:2019.120-142). However end of 17th century in Kandy era the gods Vishnu ,Natha, Pathhini and Skanda were dominate as the gods of four warrants, who protected Lanka with entered the tradition of four *devalas* in consequence of this creed of Upulvan had become trivial unpopular. This vicissitudes situation of two gods resulted towards for renounce of Upulvan faith though kings

with leading Buddhist monks who were gave religious acceptance for Vishnu creed, which was stand out in this period, thus the Buddhist pilgrims who were spontaneously assimilated for the Vishnu faith (ibid:404). Even though as foregone factors have a point this social religious issues has been propitiated by king Kirthi Sri Rjasimgha's era who had given fullest patronage for Upulvan faith as previous kings who ruled before the interlude period.

However the gods who were gained supernatural powers in the Hindu pantheon has been assimilated in to the Buddha image house and venerated in high superlative eminence in all island within the Gampola and Kandy periods except very few instances such as Gangarama, Hindagala, Asgiriya, Galmaduva and Degaldoruva, all were situated in the periphery of Kandy city area erected in 18th century (ibid:407). The god Vishnu had become the intrinsic factor due to perversion of amalgamation activities between the Hindus and Buddhists within the Sinhala Buddhist society, in this way eventually have been embodied 75 Buddha image houses out of 85 that have we examined (ibid:386, table 2). The foregone image shrine constructed and developed by the pious kings who ruled in Kandy Sri Vijaya Rajasimgha (1739-1747AC), Kirthi Sri Rajasimgha (1747-1760AC), and Sri Vickrema Rajasimgha (1798-1815AC) all were including to the south Indian elite sect called Nayakkara either do not embossed Hindu gods or sufficiently in sense with the Buddha image within the space of the sanctum (perfume chamber) for as much they wants to won the reliance of the chief incumbents and the Sinhala Buddhist chieftains in Kandy (Devaraja:1997.162ff). An eighteenth century manuscript re-affirms connection between Sinhala monarchy and Buddhism when it says that the ruler of the island should be a Buddhist of the *suriyavamsa* (ibid:163), have a point in this regards the super mundane status of Lord Buddha has been reflected with Buddha image which was highlighted neatly in the image house at Gangarama in Kandy, work paternity by king Kirthi Sri Rajasimgha as well as image shrines at Degaldoruva and Galmaduva followed in same philosophy while the image house built or renovated by the same king in the rest of the island where do not keep in this manner, for as much the god Vishnu figure embodied either sculpture or picture on the left or right hand side of the principle Buddha image within its house (Gamalath and Kekulavala:2019.386, table 2). Ipso facto we would be able to classified Vishnu figure depicted in several varieties according to its placement pattern inside the Buddha image house deliberately dissect in table 2 as follows,

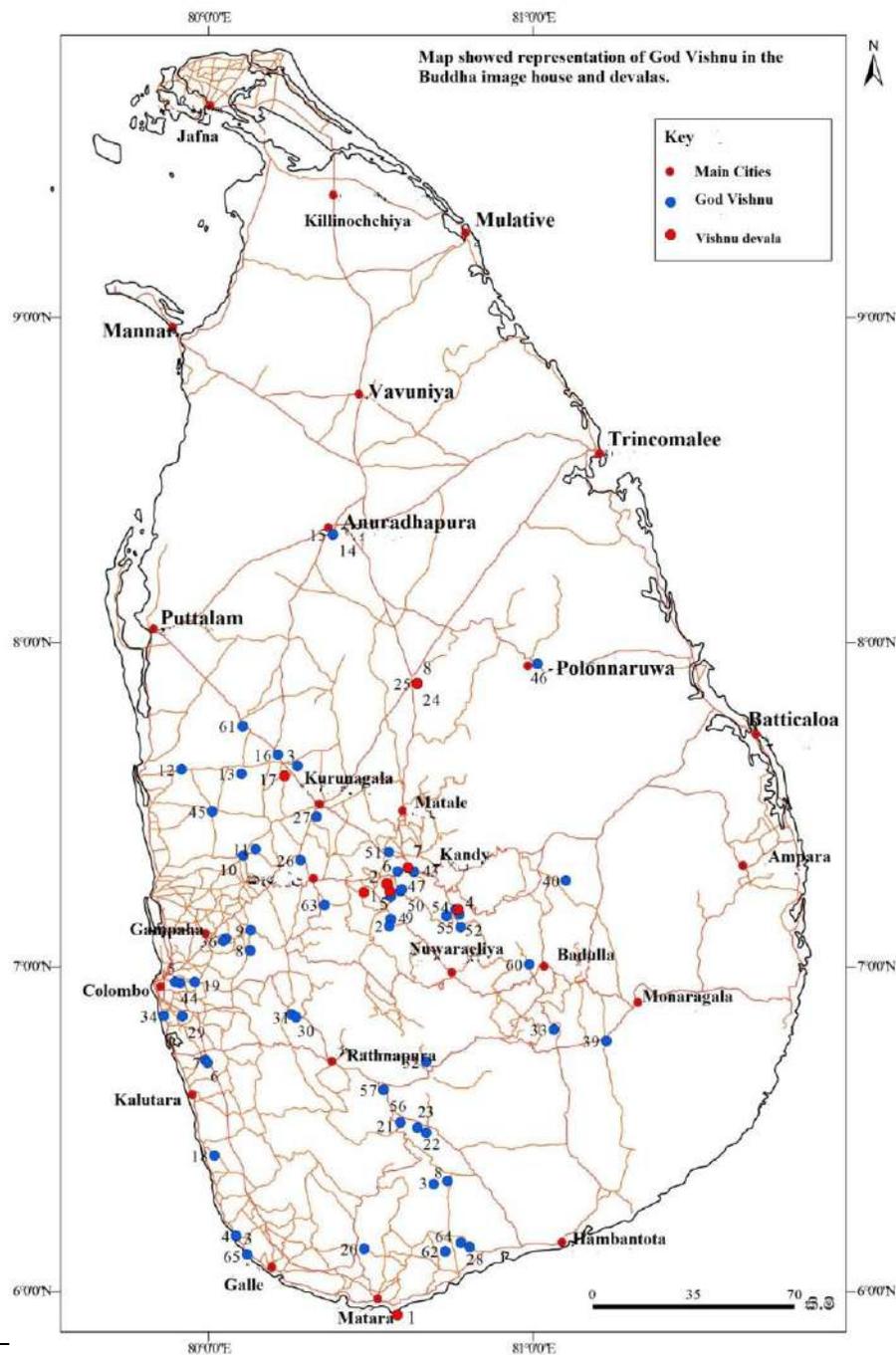
- ❖ Left hand side of the principle Buddha image in the sanctum alias *garbhaghara*

- ❖ Right hand side of the principle Buddha image in the sanctum
- ❖ In front of the principle Buddha image in the sanctum
- ❖ On the *Makara thorana* in collaboration with the other deities which was erected above the head of principle Buddha image, while *Makara thorana* erected above the door jamb of the frontal *Mandapa* alias Vestibule within the image house. The principle Buddha figure and its embodiments such as *Makara Torana* pantheon discussed under this variety has been begun speculate from the period of king Bhuvanekabahu IVth (1341-1354AC) in the 14th century at the Lankatileka and Gadaladeniya image shrines.
- ❖ *The Makara Torana erected above the door way of porch outside the sanctum, right side wall of the circumambulatory passage within the image house and inside the separate glass cages or separate devala chapels were erected both inside and outside of the sanctum (ibid: 407).*

These five types are clearly spotted in the table 2, in which were we able to analyzed god Vishnu where was sitting inside the Buddha image house.

Thus even so that the 13th century instances in the image houses at Vijesundararamaya in Dambadeniya and *tampita pilimage* at Kotasarapiyangala were not intricacy depictions in *makara torana* those were signalize in unadorned erection above the principle Buddha image (ibid:407). In this way the origin of the pantheon of Hindu gods who were assimilated in to the Buddhist *makara torana* in 14th century period under the patron of king Bhuvanekabahu IVth and foregone 12th century emboss of Vishnu, Brahma in Vijjadara cave at Polonnaruva was the inspiration with precedent for the 14th century creations. There was a large *Chattha* alias umbrella on behalf of the *makara torana* has been emboss above the head of the seated Buddha image as well as Vishnu and Brahma appeared either side of it as the pantheon of gods who pay homage to the Buddha. In this way this was an evaluation process of *makara torana* which gained vast improvement when assimilation of Hindu and Buddhist gods for its inspiration in 14th century.

| No. | name of the Gods and demons | Inside the temple place which comparative with the principle Buddha image | | | Inside the Buddha image house and its precinct |
|-----|-----------------------------|---|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| | | left | Right side of the Buddha image | In front of the Buddha image | |
| 1 | Vishnu | | 67 | | |
| 2 | Upulvan | | 16 | 13 ¹ | 11 |
| | | 6 | 7 | 1 | 2 |
| | | | | | 4 |



¹ The picture of Vishnu painted on the sealing, who spot his eyes on the Buddha at Gedige temple of Asgiriya.

1. Valallahagoda
2. Totagamuva Ranpathvihara
3. Kotte Rajamaha viharaya
4. Kelaniya
5. Veedagama temple
6. Kolamadiriya
7. Tampita vihara at mahalloluva
8. Pathiraja Rajamaha vihara Aththanagalla
9. Meddepola
10. Vijayasundaramaya
11. Tampita vihara at Bingiriya
12. Panduvasnuvara
13. Isurumuniya cave temple 1
14. Isurumuniya cave temple 2
15. Padeniya Rajamaha vihara
16. Vellegala Kaballelena
17. Galapatha vihara at Benthota
18. Sunethradevi Rajamaha viharaya Papiliyana
19. Marabha Rajamaha viharaya Akuressa
20. Aththalavala purana Rajamaha viharaya
21. Tampita vihara at Godakevela
22. Gangarama temple at Balavinna
23. cave no.3 at Dambulla
24. Cave no.5 at Dambulla
25. Cave no.2 at Ridee vihara
26. Nagolla rajamaha viharaya
27. Naigala rajamaha vihara at weeraketiya
28. Vipashyarama vihara at Maharagama
29. Madarasinharama temple at Ehaliyagoda
30. Vehera temple at Ehaliyagoda
31. Tampita Temple at Elugala Balangoda
32. Cave temple at Rakshitakanda Ella
33. Subodarama at Karagampitiya
34. Havenivala Temple at Ambilipitiya
35. Koskadavala Sunandarama temple at Yakkala
36. Tampita vihara at Omalpe
37. Tampita vihara at valallahagoda
38. Image house at Yudaganava stupa
39. Rajamaha vihara at Senasungala Bibile
40. Asgiri vihara gedige

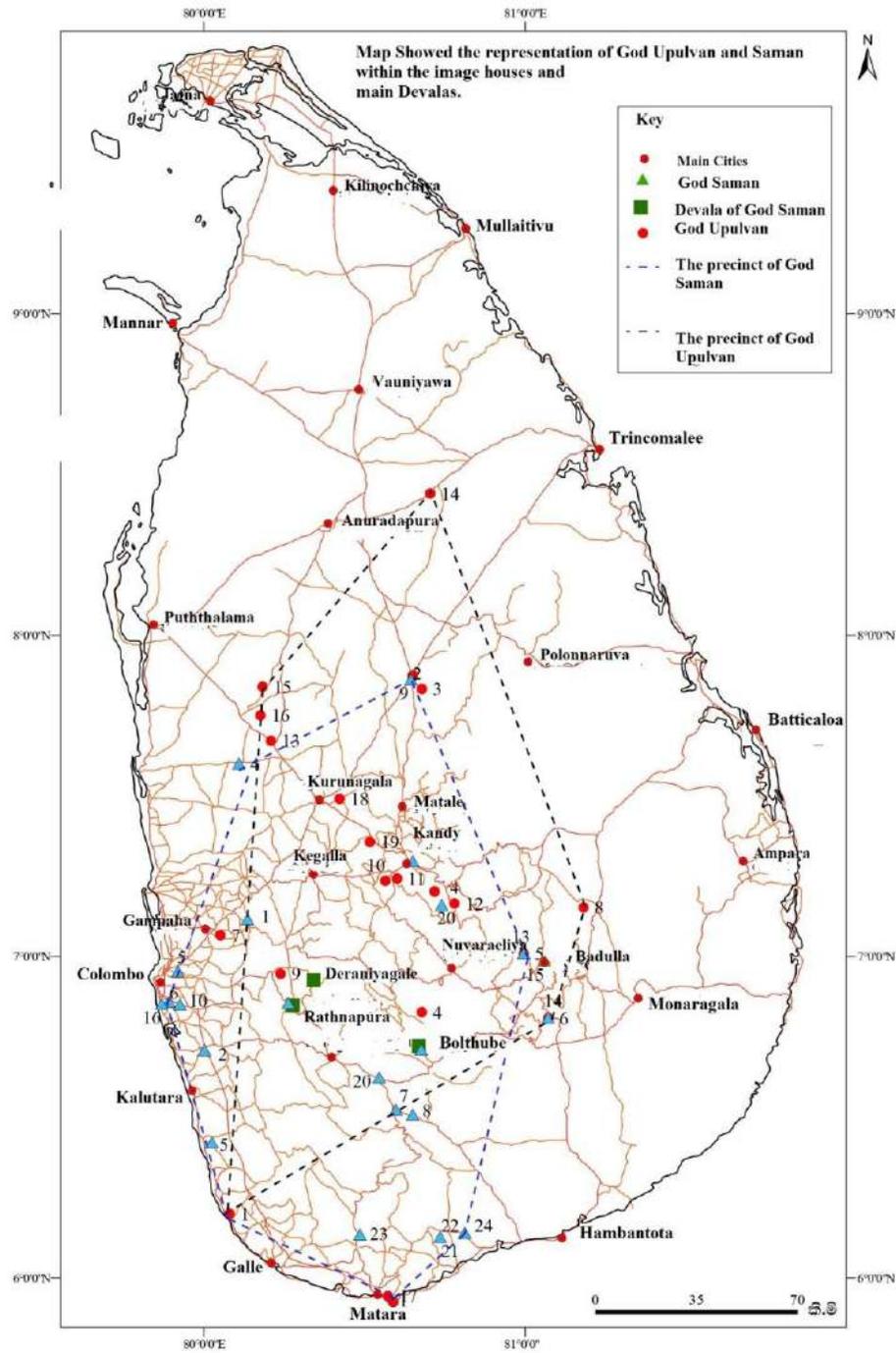
41. Tooth relic temple at Kandy
42. Image house at Mahanuvara Nathadevala
43. Paramartha Darmakara viharaya at Kelaniya Petiyagoda
44. Kaballava Rajamaha viharaya at Kubalwala
45. Cave Vijjadara at Polonnaruva
46. Lankatilake image house at Handessa
47. Gadaladeniya image house
48. Image house at Ambakka devala
49. Cave temple at Hindagala
50. Tampita vihara at Madavala
51. Madanvela Rajamaha viharaya
52. Kithulpe Rajamaha viharaya
53. Araththana Rajamaha viharaya
54. Vilwala Rajamaha viharaya
55. Palmadulla Rajamaha viharaya
56. Tampita vihara at Palmadulla
57. Mulgirigala-1
58. Mulgirigala-2
59. Bogoda
60. Rasvehera
61. Mulgirigala 3
62. Humgampola
63. Kasagala
64. Kumarakanda



Vishnu Devala

1. Deundara
2. Aluthnuvara
3. Gonnava
4. Hanguranketa
5. Lankatilake
6. Gadaladeniya
7. Mahanuvara
8. Dambulla

Map -1 Image houses



Map 2 Image houses

Upulvan

1. Deundara Thotagamuva Ranpath Rajamaha viharaya at Thelwaththa
2. Cave temple at Dambulla
3. Vishvakarma Cave at Dambulla Devaraja viharaya
4. Ridee viharaya
5. Bogoda ancient temple at Ketavala Haliiala
6. Cave temple Rakshitakanda at Alla
7. Pilikoththuva Rajamaha viharaya
8. Tampita vihara Kotasara piyangala- Bibila
9. Maniyangama Rajamaha vigara
10. Lankatilake Rajamaha vihara- Handessa
11. Cave temple at Hindagala
12. Madanvela Rajamaha viharaya- Hangurankete
13. Padeniya
14. Gonumariyava
15. Paramakanda
16. Bihalpola X

Saman Devi

1. Kelaniya
2. Kolamadiriya Rajamaha viharaya
3. Patiraja Rajamaha viharaya at Attanagalla
4. Panduvasnuvara Rajamaha viharaya
5. Bentoto Galapata viharaya
6. Sunethradevi Rajamaha viharaya
7. Aththalavela purana Rajamaha viharaya at Godakavela
8. Godakavala Tampita viharaya
9. Dambulla Rajagiri len viharaya
10. Vipashyarama viharaya- Maharagama
11. Madarasimharamaya
12. Elugala tempita viharaya- Pinnavala Balangoda
13. Bogoda purana viharaya- Ketawala Haliiala
14. Cave temple at Rakshitakanda- Ella
15. Mutiyangana Rajamaha vihara
16. Karagampitiya Subodarama
17. Gedige Asgiriya vihara- Kandy
18. image house at Kandy nata devala
19. Kitulpe Rajamaha viharaya
20. Palmadulla Rajamaha vihara
21. Mulgirigala
22. Cave temple nu.3 at Mulgirigala
23. Marimba Rajamaha viharaya
24. Kasagala

Saman Devala

1. Rathnapura
2. Boltumbe
3. Deraniyagala

Bibliography

Chulavamsa, Part I, II, Wilhelm. Geiger, Colombo (Cv)

Clifford. John, 2000, *The Hindu Buddha and Buddhist Vishnu; religious Transformations in India and Sri Lanka*, The Numata chair in Buddhist Studies University of CALGARY.

Dharmadasa, K.N.O., *Religious in contact syncretism of beliefs, Deities and rituals in Sri Lanka and South India*, Chennai.

Darmadasa, K.N.O.; Tundeniya, H.M.S., *Sinhala Deva Puranaya*, Panaluva.

Deepavamsa, 1970. edit. Kirialle ganavimala, Colombo. (Dv)

Devaraja, L.S., 2008. *The Kandian kingdom of Sri Lanka (1707-1782)*, Pannipitiya.

Edward. Moor, 1976, *The Hindu pantheon*, California.

Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol.II, 1912, 1927, D.M.Z. Wickramasinha, London.

Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol.IV, 1934, 1941, S. Paranavitana, London

Gamalath, Dananjaya and Kekulawala, Nayomi, 2019. *Hindu Baudha agamika sanhidiyava saha ravana maha raja vivaranaya (in sinhala)*, Makola.

Gira Sandesaya, 2001. D.A.S. Gunavardhane edit, Samayavardhane. (Gira)

Kokila Sandesaya (in Sinhala), 2009. Gunavardhana, V.D.S., Colombo

Mandarampura Puvatha, 1958. Lankananda, Labugama, Colombo. (Ma. Pu)

Mahawamsa, 1950, Wilhelm. Geiger, Colombo (Mv)

Mayura Sandesaya, (Mayura)

Mudicyanse. Nandasena, 1965, *Art and Architecture of Gampola period*, Gunasena, Colombo.

Nikaya Sangrahaya, Buddha V. 2478, Munidasa Kumarathunge, Rathnasara Prakashana (Nika)

Obesekare, Gananatha, 1984, *The cult of the Goddess pattini devi*.

Paranavitana, 1928. Mahayanisum in Ceylon, Ceylon Journal of Science, Section (G), vol. II.

Paranavitana, S., 1951. *Archaeological survey of Ceylon, Annual Report (ASCAR)*.

Paranavitana, S., 1953, *The Shrine of Upulvan at Devundara*, memories of the Archaeological survey of Ceylon, Colombo.

Paranavitana.S.,1960January,Lankatileka inscriptions, University of Ceylon Review,Vol.Xviii,No.1and 2.

Paranavitana,S, 1972,*History of Ceylon*, Vol.II, Part.II

Parakumba Siritha(in Sinhala), 1970.,De Silva Sri Charls, Gunasena. (Pe.Si)

Prematileka, P.L, Chutiwongs,N, Silva. R, 1990, *Paintings of Sri Lanka*, Sesseruwa, Colombo.

Sasadavatha,Munidasa Kumarathunga,Gunasena.

Sannasgala Punchibandara, 1973. *Soragune devala puvatha (in Sinhala)*,Colombo.

Sevul Sandesaya,1955.Rapiyal Tennakoon edit, Colombo. (Sevu)Silva, K.M., 2005. A History of Sri Lanka, Delhi.

Seelavimala, Bogoda, 2005. *Bauddha pratimagruhaya thulata pivisi hindu deviyo (in Sinhala)*,Godage.

Thisara Sandesaya, 1996. Tilakesiri, Colombo. (Tisara)

Vansaththappakasiniya, 1994. Akuratiye Amaravansa, Hemachandra Disanayake, Kelaniya(Vam.Tika)

