
Sinhalization of Buddhism in Sri Lanka

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Introduction

The resolution against the Human Rights violation in Sri Lanka passed on March 27, 2014 in UN Council of Human Rights, Geneva is creating ripples in the South Asian subcontinent with the arguments pitched by the United People's Freedom Alliance (UPFA), Sri Lanka's ruling coalition led by President Mahinda Rajapaksa, that this is the West's alleged conspiracy for regime change. The rhetoric that all the animation in Geneva is based on false claims and it is part of the larger western propaganda and ploy to control the world. Sri Lanka, over the period of time has been the hotbed of conflicts and disputes between the various communities. The ethnic communities of Tamils and Sinhalese celebrate their distinct identities on the basis of culture, religion and language. The relation between the two has been one of

adversity, constantly pitching each other as the *adversarial other*. The different identities that came to become the markers of distinction over a period of time became extremely rigid and became the very reason for conflicts. The politics of difference which could be expected to have led to a secular and tolerant nation went on to become one of the flashpoint in the South Asian region. This culminated in the longstanding dispute between the Tamils and the Sinhalese; it also led to a different course that Sri Lanka as a nation and polity took.

However, it would be improper and inadequate to generalize the cause of the dispute on the ground of ethnic identity alone, rather one needs to look at the way the identities were created, evolved and pitched. The political situation in Sri Lanka needs to be contextualized in a certain past. This paper attempts to look at the way Sinhala as an identity

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was created and the role Anagarika Dharmapala played in the making of this identity and concretizing in a way that the impact can be still felt in the form of tremors with the rise of nationalist organizations that emerged in the post-war period like the Bodhu Bala Sena, Warriors of the Buddhism celebrating the Sinhala identity as the dominant one.

The Nation Building process

The experience of post colonial societies in the process of nation making and Nation building have been distinct and different from its western counterparts. There are two reasons for these distinctions, firstly the catalyst of colonialism and secondly, the politics of culture in making of the Nation. Sri Lanka, like the other post colonial societies, witnessed the transformation in its working as a polity because of the two reasons. The idea that Sri Lanka as a Nation belongs to Sinhala and they being the repository/vanguards of Buddhism has been the predominant theme in the politics of the island nation. This idea was mooted for the first time during the 19th century as part of Buddhist revival movements. These movements were part of the larger critique of British colonization which in the form of colonial modernity

were imposing their religion over the faiths and beliefs of the masses. These movements were seen to be safeguarding the religion and culture of the masses. It is in this context that Dharmapala rose to glory and became the central figure in the normativism of the Sinhala future. His centrality in the making of the nation can be understood from the fact that he is seen as the 'Father of modern Sri Lanka' with the National government of the Independent country which commemorated his life with his writings which were published by the ministry of Culture in the form of a book, *Return to Righteousness*¹ for the populace to know his ideas and live his vision. It were these very ideas that the markers of the Sinhala identity became pronounced.

Every nation has its heroes and heroines; the point is which one of them and which of their ideas succeed in terms of making impact of a certain kind. Indian National movement for independence had large number of exemplars, or in the words of Charles Taylor², 'Authoritative Horizons'. Dharmapala went on to become central in the making of this identity as he attempted to bring Buddhism to the centre stage in the politics of the nation, as he invented the Sinhala identity by going to the past in the

history and at the same time creating it in the form of critiquing two kinds of *others*, the external in the form of colonizers and the internal in the form of Tamils and the Muslims. This paper would look at some of his critique of British Colonialism and his imagination of the nation. Gombrich and Obeyesekere argue that Dharmapala's centrality in the process of Sinhalization of Buddhism in Sri Lanka can be located in his '*Protestant Buddhism*'³, which was similar to Weberian Protestant Ethic, whereby he used Buddhism as a tool of protest against the colonizers and other religious denominations and at the same time used resources from within the Buddhism in the new Imagination of the Nation.

The British and the Other'

Dharmapala articulated his thesis as: '*Shall the military power of any nation or group of nation be suffered to determine the fortunes of people over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force. Shall strong nation be free to wrong the weak nation and make them subject to their purposes and interests? Shall peoples be rulers and dominated even in their own internal choice? Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?*

*Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observation of common rights?'*⁴

These words reflect the true essence of Dharmapala's understanding of colonialism. He raises some pertinent questions in these lines and provides an entire spectrum of thought that was represented by the nationalist movements going on in the world of colonized. Dharmapala in his writings constantly evoked the values of liberty, equality and Justice. However he was not the sole thinker of the 20th century who was doing that, there were thinkers in India and Asia too who were walking on the liberal plank in pursuit of freedom and liberation. They all employed various methods from the wide field of moderation, extremism, revolutionary terrorism and revivalism. Dharmapala belonged to the class of revival advocates, but his revivalism was distinct as it had a very strong invocation of the past tradition but he had elements of interaction with modern day sensibilities. His problems with colonialism were manifold but the intervention of colonialists in the sphere of culture caught them on a wrong foot with Dharmapala and as a result of this he started a very strong campaign against them. His writings

from 1880s to late 1920s represented his anger and resentment towards the British as colonizers and British running the government. Dharmapala in his writings emphasized on the replacement of the traditional Buddhist way of life with a foreign one that transformed the society and the people into what he called as hybrid.

Nation of Hybrids

Reflecting on the impact of colonization on the society, he argued that the inception of the so called modern era had led to a new kind of hybridization. The most damaging societal impact of the colonization according to him was the patterning the Society on western lines with europeanization of life styles which included dressing, naming and habits. He felt that the common masses had forgotten their true selves and adopted new kind of lifestyles which were unbuddhist and unsinhala. This new pattern of hybrid life was reflected in the kind of clothes they wore, the kind of food they ate and the names they took. He despised the culture of beef eating and felt that it was never a part of the dietary intake of the Sinhala prior to the arrival of the colonizers. The colonizers introduced new habits which were morally unacceptable on the Island where the Buddha taught

the virtues of non violence and compassion and here there were these brutal savages who *ate another life to satisfy their hunger*. For Dharmapala, beef and arrack consumption were unbuddhist and were completely unacceptable.⁵ He had problems with the downfall of the Sinhala values which were the edifice of the society. The middle path that the Buddha had suggested was forgotten as the hybrid anglican lives were laced with greed for material comforts, which the British had made them used to. There was excessive consumerism that Dharmapala felt was brought by the capitalism based on accumulation of more and more.

He would ridicule the Anglican names, and argued that the people should give up these names and take up Sinhala names. Mirroring his philosophy in his own life the way Gandhi did, he gave up his Anglican name Don David to Anagarika Dharmapala. He also despised the modern English clothes that people wore. Dharmapala completely disfavoured the new hybrid kind of clothing that the new Sinhala bourgeoisie took to. Ridiculing them as *sarong johnnies* in a derogatory manner, he had reservations against this unique combination of eastern and western dress which was presented in starched collar shirt, waist coat, and a tweed sarong over

trousers. The accessories were British boots, tie or bow tie, watch chain, buttonhole and cuff links.⁶ He has strong despise for one particular item, the hat, the Lanka watti hat that women wore. He ridiculed it and one finds the mention of the hat every time he writes on British colonialism and the society. He argued that people discarded their national dress and were dictated by the fashion makers of London and Paris, when the handlooms in the country were decaying and rotting. Dharmapala in his cultural revitalization argued against this new westernized clothing and made a strong plea that men and women should wear national kit⁷; the men wearing shirt with sarong and women to wear Kandyan sari.

Dharmapala lived in a kind of nostalgia and kept mentioning the good old days, the great times, glorious past and the times when the message of the Tathagato was the guiding principle. He wrote: *In the days of the Sinhalese kings and under the Buddhist rule, no liquor was sold, no animals were slaughtered; land was not sold. The people held the land in common, there being no landlords except the "Rajabhogis", who received certain grants of property for having rendered special services to the country and king.*⁸ The civilization in Ceylon was ethical and

altruistic. There were strong bonds of brotherhood and compassion which was democratic. He argued that the alien rulers could never understand these values as they were alien to them. Dharmapala argued that they had origins from clans of barbarians who fought amongst themselves. The elements of individualism were strongly ingrained in their souls and they supplanted the same in the Ceylonese society.

Dharmapala argued that the Britishers overlooked some of the most pertinent issues affecting the existence of Ceylonese populace. Instead they were too busy converting the people into drug addicts and alcoholics. He constantly gave the example on the use of opium which had become rampant feature of the society and become the habit of the masses. He argued that instead looking into the financial gains (by allowing the rampant sale and trade of opium) the real government would have banned all kinds of intoxicants. The issue of opium and arrack was something that really disturbed Dharmapala and was one of the most important constituents of his critique. He was extremely critical of the sales and manufacture of intoxicants. He argued the once great race of the Sinhala who had never known the intoxicants had now become emasculated as they no

longer had either the physical or moral strength to stand up for themselves. The moral strength and consciousness had left the premise of Ceylon and made the masses so vulnerable. He wrote,

*'The religion of the Buddha prohibits drinking, intoxicating liquor and the sale and manufacture therein; and liquor was for 2358 years taboo; but the British by their excise policy have flooded the once peaceful island with the filth of poisonous alcohol and have made people into hewers of wood and drawers of water.'*⁹

Educational Policy

Dharmapala critiqued the policy of education that was undertaken by the Britishers which was superficial. He argued that one look at their education policy was a great reflection of their real intentions which was guided by greed. He argued that the Britishers were not interested in uplifting the masses by making them wise and educated, they wanted to create a class of populace that were literate enough to work for them. He argued that in the garb of educating the children about modern science they were forcing their own religion on the children. Public education and schools were the soft means of taking

their agenda of total control of the Ceylonese Society ahead. He argued that as the youth were forgetting their own roots, the system of public education was handy in catching the children young so that they would be completely unaware of something like Buddhism or national Culture. As a part of their educational policy, Britishers did three things; firstly the local Buddhist schools were kept in a disadvantaged position as children were encouraged to go only to the schools run by christian missionaries, secondly, the funding to the department of education was paltry and meager and thirdly, and this troubled Dharmapala the most, the way syllabus of school curriculum was designed which kept the history and culture of Sri Lanka out of the syllabus. Dharmapala raised this issue at several occasions and argued that a nation which was based on the edifice of *Palidhamma* would now have young children completely unaware of it. Many scholars¹⁰ argued that post independence, one of the first things that was done by the new independent state under the new leadership that religion and religious discourse as a central part of the national curriculum was introduced. Many scholars argue that this was inspired by the writings of Dharmapala to place Buddhism at the Centre in everyday life.

Dharmapala argued that education is one of the strong means through which nations can tread the path of greatness. Prior to the colonization, Ceylon had some great centers that disseminated wisdom and knowledge. It was the search for knowledge that led many Bhikkus in their journey to India. The Britishers systematically closed avenues of knowledge. He argued that the local schools were disadvantaged in comparison to the convents and christian schools. He argued that he was himself a witness to this phenomenon as he could not go to any local school due to the lack of resources and infrastructure.

Dharmapala argued that the Britishers always worked with a plan. Britishers were known for the feat that wherever they went they partitioned and divided people. He argued that how could Ceylon remain aloof from this experience and as the Britishers divided the Hindus and Muslims in India, they created rift between the masses in Ceylon. In the plantation economy as their economic model in Ceylon with tea estates and rubber plantation they favored the Tamil Hindus over the Sinhala. He argued that the sons of the soil were roaming unemployed and the sons with foreign blood were occupying the entire government job avenues.¹¹

Cultural Critique

For Dharmapala, culture represented system of Buddhist traditions that manifested itself in the forms of rituals, rites and values in one's life. Buddhism was the base of the *Sinhala* identity. For him, religion was the core of culture. He would pose argument similar to Raymond William who would place religion/culture as part of the base and not the superstructure. For Dharmapala Buddhism was the base on which the superstructure of the Sinhala society was based and erected. Any dilution or threat to this base would lead to the breakup of the society completely. He argued that colonialism which brought the Christian missionaries was threatening the edifice of Sri Lankan Society. He provided a critique of British Colonial regime that in the guise of civilizing mission they were trying to uproot traditions that went as old as history of human existence.

Dharmapala's most staunch critique emanated from his views on colonial Christianity. The biggest damage that was done by the colonial powers was to the national religion of the Island, i.e., Buddhism. The revenues and resources going to the British pockets seemed smaller in front of the systematic destruction of the religion that bonded the

civilization for such a long time. People were forced to forget their history and past and were being subjected to new kind of British/Christian institutionalization by the missionaries who were converting the masses with new the forms of schooling, bottles of arrack and bible. The worst kind of loss was the loss of their most basic right- human right of freedom to religion. Dharmapala had big problem with the way the Christian missionaries went on with conversions in the entire country and he questioned it as a cultural assault and argued that arrack and bible cannot buy the souls of the poor masses who had conviction in their great religion. Challenging the myth of the *whiteman's* burden and their moral imperative of spreading the western civilizational values as part of their civilizing mission, that acted as the edifice of their cultural interventions which for him were flawed as these civilizations were savage and in their history only bloodshed could be recalled. So how could they become authorities on civilization and teach values to civilizations that always followed the path of non violence and righteousness?

He argued against the Christian missionaries and British colonizers and said, 'Christianity is a political camouflauge. Its three aspects are politics, trade and imperial

expansion. Its weapons were the Bible, barrels of whisky and bullets.¹² According to him, the established Churches of England with its various sects like Anglicans, Methodists, Wesleyans, Baptists, Presbyterian along the padres of the Roman Catholic Church hailing from Ireland, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Canada and Australia had caught hold of the illiterate natives. Ceylon had become the paradise of Jesuits. The missionaries according to him fed the natives with the *ecclesiastical pabulum* and had enticed the government officials too into their audience as it suited the larger system which he referred as *Planter Missionary Development*. The two gifts that the Christian missionary gave to the poor masses were alcoholism and bestialism.

Dharmapala argued against the way Christianity was being imposed by the state on the lives of the masses. All the important institutions had developed various means to establish the religion of the missionaries. He gave various examples. If a child was born and one had to take the birth certificate, the names written on these certificates were Anglican names as they had a policy whereby they would not issue the birth certificate with Sinhala names. The kind of education that was provided in the public Schools

had no place for religion of the natives as they taught Bible and biblical principles. The Buddhist schools did not exist or were forcibly shut down. If one had to find a job, one had to have an Anglican name with the schooling in one of the missionary run school. Dharmapala argued that a nexus existed between the state and the missionaries whereby they had pledged to destroy the religion of the nation, Buddhism, and replace it with their own religion which was part of their master plan to take over the entire world and let the British/ Christian flag fly high. For Dharmapala this was a conspiracy that the Britishers had planned in almost every colony to establish themselves forever.

Dharmapala challenged the argument that many of the missionaries provided that their task was to emancipate the poor and illiterate natives from swamps of poverty, misery and backwardness. Dharmapala argued that it was a false claim to hide their real intentions which was to control and plunder. They arrived in the colonies not for any kind of progress and emancipation. He argued that Christianity failed to uplift the conditions of people living in Europe, the very land from which it emanated then how they could bring that healing touch in other colonies? He

argued that '*The 18th century plutocracy robbed the poor people of their land making them vagabonds in their own lands. They failed to uplift their own poor. Could we expect that they would help the alien race.*'¹³ He wrote on the condition of the Europe and argued that morality had been long ignored. There was barbaric perspective of life that the Christian doctrines could never change. Ethics of Christianity had failed and had not even helped Europe to sublimate their ideas which affects the progress of humanity. He argued against Christianity and said, '*It is a religion of ethical contradictions.*'¹⁴ It could never replace the religion of the land, Buddhism. Dharmapala argued that he could not find any traces of civilizing intent in the ways of Christian missionaries. He wrote on the real intent of colonizers in these words: '*Buccaneering piracy in the high seas, a consummating gadalism which sees nothing aesthetic in what they destroy had been characteristics of their adventures, they sailed to distant lands in the search of gold.*'¹⁵

Critique of 'the other'

Dharmapala's writings on the Sinhala and the Sri Lanka as a Buddhist nation had an understanding of the other, which included Tamils, Malayali and the

Muslims (Moors). The way he perceived them and constructed their position in the larger imagination of the nation was the *Adversarial other*. The *other* who he had large reservations against, who he perceived as a major economic threat to the prosperity of the Sinhala, the *other* who should return back to their native lands.

The one common argument that he propagated went on to become central in terms of being springboard in the nationalist quest. The idea of Sinhala as the *sons of the soil* and the others as being *parangi*, alien and foreigner. This idea became central in almost all acts with regard to Sri Lanka as a Buddhist nation with Sinhala as the sole ethnic Identity. This idea gained popularity with common Buddhists as time progressed. The idea was adopted on all platforms associated with nationalist churning, whether it was in print in the form of a poem, a national poetry, and nationalist pamphlets, the newspaper articles or in the theatre. There were dramas based on the theme of the suffering at the hands of the foreigners like the Tamils or Malayalis who were patronized by the Britishers. Piyadasa Sirisena, an ardent follower of Dharmapala, worked very closely in propagating Dharmapala's thesis.

Dharmapala perceived them as

threat as they came from outside and took all the jobs which were originally meant for the Sinhala. He argued that the plantation economy was created for the material gains of the Britishers who in their search of cheap labour hired these *parangis*. They were flourishing and were taking control of the economy and were running all the important business. The Sinhala were in abject poverty and despair with the other reaping all the benefits. The system of colonialism was such that the natives were to be good as *hired coolies*. He addressed the minorities in derogatory manner in his writings in his diary entries, *Sinhala Baudhahya* or in Maha Boddhi Journal. The idea became central in the Buddhist revitalization movement that the natives should be given jobs rather than the others. He argued on cultural lines that they belonged to alien systems of religion and cultures which would soon take over the entire island. There was a very strong sense of superiority that guided his line of reasoning.

He deployed the idea of the *Great Arya Sinhala* who belonged to racially superior breed. He would address the Tamils, Moors and Malayalis as belonging to the stock of the Dravidians who were inferior and weak in comparison to the Arya Sinhala. For him, 'Arya' was a racial

category identifying with the northern India as according to him the present 'Sinhala' traced their ancestry to the great Kalinga dynasty, who were the lion hearted or belonged to the lion race. Many scholars argue that the concept of 'Arya' that he deployed was a Buddhist one which meant 'noble', as understood in the Arya path which meant the noble Eightfold path, but Dharmapala did not refer to this understanding. His understanding was definitely a racial one which he substantiated from his sense of history whereby he explained the lineage that Sinhalas draw from the northern India, the bed of the Arya. He established the commonality between the Sinhalas and Sanskrit and Pali which had close links. He pitched this idea on the basis of superiority of Buddhism *vis a vis* other religions. His lecture in the World Congress of Religions held in Chicago where he represented Buddhism had a print of that. His idea of revitalization of the present nation was based on the idea of the glorious past, the past of a certain kind as it was solely based on Buddhism and did not have influence of other religions. He argued that the present state is so dismal and pathetic because of the corrupting influence of other religions which are no match to Buddhism. These influences could be seen in the culture of the nation

which he called as hybrid culture. It was so influenced by the other cultures that the values and rituals central to Buddhism had disappeared. These were the arguments that became the plank of the Buddhist revival that he was undertaking.

The past that he constructed was a glorious one with great Kings and rulers like *Dutugemunu*. According to Dharmapala the Kings never worked with selfish motives and intentions but worked for the preservation and protection of the religion. His historiography had only Sinhala rulers and periods that represented the rule by the Sinhala. He very cleverly never mentioned that part of the history which had any Dravidian links, never mentioned the good works undertaken by the Dravidian rulers. He would always present their rule as the one which had series of Buddhist persecutions. He would give example of one such Dravidian ruler named Elahala, who he called the wretched Shaivite who persecuted the noble Buddhist monks. *Dutugemunu* becomes the great Buddhist hero and saviour as he had defeated the Elhala and restored Buddhism in the Island. Dharmapala therefore in his message to the youth and the nation argues that one should try to be like *Dutugemunu* who saved Buddhism.

In his construction of *Dutugemunu* as the great son of Lanka, he gives message in both implicit and explicit terms; the explicit that nation should work towards safeguarding Buddhism and taking it back to the previous glory and the great times and implicit adopting the way *Dutugemunu*- the great, annihilated the Dravidian shavite Ehlala, one should not tolerate any other religion attempting to replace Buddhism.

He constantly pitched the superiority of Buddhism in relations to other religions. He attacked Christianity and argued it being inferior on the ground that it was a barbaric religion which had nothing of its own. It picked all its elements from other religions and folk cultures. He argued that it was a religion which was fixated with power which got epitomized by the Papal church. Throughout the history of the evolution of Christianity it had been enmeshed in the quest for power. It was an unscientific religion which had no scope for human reason or agency. With regard to Hinduism he challenged the *Avtaar* notion of God and argued that it was one religion that steeped its followers to superstition and priesthood. The religion that makes people turn into blind followers again fails to provide agency to human kind. The critique that he posed against the muslims

was being, 'cunning and malicious. He understands their history as barbarism, history of looters and plunderers, those who failed to establish their order, went on to invade other countries and destroyed the native religions and established their religious order with their own'. Buddhism in comparison to all these religions was superior as it never attempted to establish itself with force; however Buddhists conquered with the values and principles. There was never a fixation for power, they never wanted position of power, and it wanted the moral upliftment of masses. They worked towards that with the help of the *Buddh Sasana*, bhikkus and dhamma. He argued that infact Buddhism believed in renouncing.

Being the most scientific and rational religion in the world, Buddhism provided agency to the common laity to attain peace and *nibbana*. *Tathagato*, - the great enunciated the noble eightfold path for everyone and did not confine it in the hands of the choosen few. Challenging the supremacy of the Priest and the Church he argued that Buddha had the realization that giving the control in the hands of the few would make the religion corrupt. He argued that the position and the role of the Bhikku was very different from the way a priest, Imam or the

father worked. The role of the Bhikku was to spread the message of the great one by leading a certain kind of life with the final aim to become a Boddhisattva. He had no understanding of material wealth and prosperity as he had renounced all these in the beginning itself. Dharmapala argued on these lines to establish the superiority of Buddhism with regard to the other existing religions.

It was in the critique against the colonizers and the other that Dharmapala had posited his vision of the Sri lankan Society which had predominant position of Buddhism. The Sinhala as a race which had a glorious past had to relive that past. In his act of revivalism he was intentionally picking Sinhala elements whether in the form of activist or militant role for the Bhikkus who had to play an important role in the politics of the nation or by creating a new social code for the laity. The rule book for the new society would not be constitutional documents but the *Maha kosha* tradition whereby the Vinaya rules had to dictate the functioning of the society or the *Mahavamsa* and *Cullavamsa*. It was only the Buddhist epistemology that would act as the base and foundation of knowledge in the new society. This involvement of the ordinary masses in the acts of religion was seen to be

new. By creating the category of *Anagarika*, he provided the opportunity to lay masses to interpret the religion on their own. Dharmapala reads Buddhism in a selective manner and appropriate a certain rendering of Buddhism which many would argue was not even Buddhism but the interesting bit is that it became popular and was interpreted as Buddhism in Sri Lanka. Religions have always been distorted for selective gains and this appropriation did work for both Dharmapala and some other nationalists in Sri Lanka.

Conclusion

Dharmapala's impact has been huge on the imagination of the nation and the masses. His writings on various issues has been central in shaping the future course of the nation. The thesis that he posited that Sri Lanka was the land of the lion hearted race and Sinhala had become a common theme. The *Sons of the Soil* argument was used to push people belonging to other ethnicities to the margins. Therefore one has to be extremely careful in their analysis of the present tensions to understand the role of people like Dharmapala played in the making and unmaking of the Sri Lankan nation. Sri Lanka has been recognized with the identity of being a Buddhist nation completely marginalizing the claims of other

citizens. This may be attributed to the acts of people like Dharmapala. One has to understand the historical genesis of such tensions and roles that activists play in creating and sharpening of the identities.

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1. Return of Righteousness edited by Ananda Guruge is a collection of speeches, essays and letters that Dharmapala wrote in his life time and was published by the Ministry of Education and Cultural affairs in 1965 soon after its independence as part of his birth centenary celebrations.
- 2 *The Sources of the Self*, in a very Communitarian understanding, these are the horizons and benchmarks that every society that become central in the making of the Self. The Self evolves in constant interaction and dialogue with these iconic men and women who provide values and meanings. The Self grows, in the contexts of the values that comes to define the being. There is fusion of Horizons, fusion of the Self and the Authoritative horizons.
- 3 For Protestant Buddhism see, Gombrich Richard and Obeyesekere Gananath, *Buddhism Transformed: Religious change in Sri Lanka*, Delhi, Motilalal Banarsidass, 1990

4. Dharmapala Anagarika, 'The Ceylon Scene' in *Return To Righteousness: A Collection of Speeches, Essays and Letters of the Anagarika Dharmapala*, Ceylon, The Government Press, 1965 p 471. (Originally published in *Maha Bodhi Journal, MBJ*, Vol 34, December, 1926).
5. The issue of beef and arrack were very central to his lecture campaign that he undertook throughout the Nation. It was one issue that was very close to his heart and would raise it in almost all his messages. It was the central message, No beef and arrack in his lecture campaign that he undertook in his caravan throughout the country. There was a huge poster with this message written in Sinhala on it tied around his caravan.
6. Kumari Jaywardene, *Nobodies to Somebodies. The Rise of Colonial Bourgeoisie in Sri Lanka*, Social Scientists Association and Sanjiva Books, Colombo, 2007 p 258. Jaywardene in her Book documents the impact of colonial modernity on the lives of Sri Lankans and the rise of colonial bourgeoisie against whom Dharmapala had serious reservations and referred to them as Hybrids.
7. The issue of the national Kit as part of clothing has been central in the imagination of Sinhala nation and has always been invoked everytime the issue of nation and Nationality has occupied centrality. There are two versions of the Saree, one is known as Indian and the other Kandyan. The Kandyan saree as the national dress is espoused over the Indian Saree which is seen as Tamil and alien. In the present times this issue of wearing the saree in which manner has been hotly debated. National kit/ dress becomes central in defining the distinctness of Sinhala. Mahinda Rajapaksha, the Present president wears a certain outfit at all occasions and that is what is prescribed and described as the national kit for the Sinhala male. The ancestry of the idea is traced back to Dharmapala. In the Sunday Schools children wear only the national kit and there has been a strong argument by the present day votaries of National right wing, that the school uniform for the children be replaced by the national kit.
8. Dharmapala, Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon: Buddhism, Past and Present' in *Return to Righteousness* p 495
- 9 *Return to Righteousness*, p 496.

10. Malagoda Kshitiri , *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society*, 1750-1931, Berkeley, California, University of California Press, 1976. Dharmapala's impact in the independent Sri Lanka has been argued by K M DeSilva, Amunugama, Senavirtane.
11. In his critique of colonization, Dharmapala was pitching the Sons of the Soil thesis. This issue was given huge proportion of significance in his nationalism and in concretizing the Sinhala identity which was eventually pitched against the foreigners (Tamils and Muslims).
12. Dharmapala, ' Buddhism, Science and Christianity' in *Return to Righteousness*, p 439 (Originally published in *MBJ*, Vol 32, April 1924).
13. Dharmapala, 'The Ancient Story of Gnesis as known to the primitive Aryans of India' in *Return to Righteousness* p 424.
14. Dharmapala, 'Buddhism and Christianity' in *Return to Righteousness* p.448.
15. Ibid p 442.