

# The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register



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EDITED BY

H. C. P. BELL & JOHN M. SENAVERATNE

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# The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

JULY, 1915.

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## EXPLANATORY NOTE.

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### TRANSLITERATION.

*Pending the employment of regular accented and diacritical type for transliterating Sinhalese and Tamil words neither accents over, nor dots under, letters will be used, but native words, where considered desirable, will be italicised.*

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### PART I.

*For reasons beyond the control of both Editors and Publishers, it has not been possible to include all the Papers specified in the Prospectus.*

*Of these, with the exception of Mr. Abraham Jayawardana's Paper (Translation of "Kavyasekharaya"), the following are already in type, and will be published in Part II (October) :—*

*The Dutch Thombo-Holder. - By Edward W. Perera.*

*Fa Hien and Buddhaghosa :*

*Dates of their visits to  
Ceylon*

*- By John M. Senaveratne.*

*Kelani Vihare and its  
Inscriptions*

*- By H. C. P. Bell and  
A. M. Gunasekara,  
Mudaliyar.*





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# The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

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## BUDDHAGHOSA AND HIS WORK.

By HIS EXCELLENCY SIR ROBERT CHALMERS, K.C.B., LL.D. (Glasgow), M.A., (Oxon.)

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**B**UDDHAGHOSA'S name stands so clearly pre-eminent in the history of Ceylon scholarship that it is proper that the first volume of *The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* should bear witness to the debt Ceylon owes to its distinguished visitor of some fifteen centuries ago. Others can discuss with fuller information than I can claim the numerous problems which James Gray has left unsolved with regard to Buddhaghosa's scanty biography and voluminous bibliography; my present aim is to touch on some aspects of his work which appear to me to have to-day a particular message and inspiration across the centuries for those of us in Ceylon who care for things of the mind.

Of the actual details of his life we know little that is not either nebulous or legendary. From Talaing sources, it is probable that he was a Brahmin by birth and certain that he became a Buddhist bhikku bent on attaining to ampler knowledge than his environment afforded; it is improbable that he was a Behar Brahmin despatched from the home of Buddhist learning to seek the Buddhist Canon in Ceylon; it is to my mind most probable that he came—viâ Gayâ—from Thaton with a mission to bring back to a country still without written Scriptures and still dependent on oral tradition an authentic copy of the Canon from this Island, where six hundred years earlier "the most wise bhikkhus" had first "written down in books the Three Pitakas and the Atthakathâs." I venture on the confident opinion that, although it was probably at the Mahâ-Vihâra in Anuradhapura (where he would meet Ceylon's most accomplished scholars) that Buddhaghosa began by writing three editions of his own expository *Visuddhimagga*, it is surely an impeccable tradition that makes him journey for his authentic copy of Pitakas and Atthakathâs to Aluvihâra—renowned as the venerable birthplace, and still the faithful custodian, of the written record he had come so far to



seek. For, in these things sentiment counts for much, and to none more than to a zealous and reverent scholar such as Buddhaghosa undoubtedly was.

It was at Aluvihâra then that Buddhaghosa set himself to his task of transcribing for the edification of his unlettered countrymen first the Three Pitakas and secondly the Commentaries thereon. Of his edition of the Pitakas we know nothing directly; of his edition of the Atthakathâs we know a good deal. We know that he found these latter written in Sinhalese so far as the prose portions were concerned (the actual dialect used being probably nearer to Pali than to Elu), with Pali verses interspersed. It was manifestly no service to unlettered Thaton to transcribe for them these Atthakathâs in their Sinhalese shape, and moreover there was not the same sanctity attaching to the work of scholiasts as to the Word of the Buddha. Accordingly, in dealing with the Atthakathâs, Buddhaghosa, after an initial decision to write in Pali, determined not to translate but to rewrite the Commentaries which he found existing in Ceylon. We can only conjecture what led him to make this resolve and to set himself so herculean a task. It was certainly no iconoclastic spirit that prompted Buddhaghosa to supersede the early scholiasts; on the contrary his books show how carefully he had studied what his predecessors had written and with what pious care he incorporates the work of these ancient authorities,—the innominate porânâ. My own suggestion is that, being the author of so systematic and coherent a synopsis of Buddhism as is contained in his *Visuddhimagga*, Buddhaghosa could rest content with nothing less systematic and coherent in the Commentaries on the Canon, and therefore did not shrink from rewriting the Atthakathâs so as to expand what he found into a fuller and richer form, embodying with the old material of the Commentaries proper everything that he could find elsewhere that could illuminate the text on which he was commenting and enforce the conclusions of the *Visuddhimagga*. On this view, we can regard Buddhaghosa's literary work as forming a synthetic whole, deliberately conceived as a consistent scheme for dealing with the Samgha's inherited and growing exposition of the Canon on lines of encyclopædic uniformity laid down by himself alone.

Be this as it may, the fact remains that, singlehanded, this heroic scholar faced the vast task that he had set himself and completed a whole library of books expository of the Tipitaka. We shall not accept the legend that, armed with Sakka's iron stylus for speedy penmanship, he took only three months (or even three years) to accomplish this monumental work—even if not all the Commentaries attributed to him are from his pen. Nor need we accept literally the statement in the *Buddhaghosuppatti* that, his own recension completed, Buddhaghosa made a bonfire "as high as seven average-sized elephants" of the Sinhalese translations which Mahinda had originally given to Ceylon circa 250 B. C.; we may be content to rationalise this statement as indicating the recognition—probably in his own time and certainly to-day—of the complete supersession of the porânâ by Buddhaghosa. He had eclipsed all others—

*Buddhaghose patitthante pannavanta pi ye janâ  
Tesam pannapabhâ n' atthi Râhumukhe va candimâ.*

For now nearly fifteen centuries Buddhaghosa has remained the unchallenged expounder of Buddhism for the theravâdin or "Southern" school. In the evolution of Buddhist thought he marked an epoch; he restated thought for his own day and has stereotyped it ever since for the orthodox; but all philosophic analogy is against the assumption



that a future restatement may not result from the broadening outlook which new ideas are opening for the East as for the West.

But to revert to Buddhaghosa, viewed now as a scholar rather than as a philosopher, there is ample evidence on nearly every page of his Commentaries that he was incidentally what we call a critical scholar; he consulted manuscripts of various "MS families" and faithfully recorded the various readings which he found in the contemporary text of the Canon. From the point of view of textual criticism this help is invaluable to modern editors of Pitaka texts, for, through Buddhaghosa's record, they are able to base their text on the best manuscripts which were in existence fifteen hundred years ago; and, where Buddhaghosa's reading is certain, it is an almost unerring guide in these latter days. We have to get back through Buddhaghosa's Commentaries to his text of the Canon, and beyond this for practical purposes we can never hope (and probably do not need) to penetrate in restoring the Pitaka texts as first written down at Aluvihâra. It was for this reason that in addressing the School of Oriental Studies on 27th February last<sup>1</sup> I laid stress on the primary necessity for beginning with Buddhaghosa's Commentaries and for printing a scholarly critical edition—based on the best manuscripts of the chief "families"—of each Commentary before proceeding to edit the Pitaka text on which it comments. Only thus, in my judgment, can definite texts of the Canon be settled and the existing textual material of to-day be garnered for the use of future generations of scholars. The sheets of one such critical recension (of the *Papanca-Sudani*) are now passing through the press and I cherish the liveliest hopes that similar recensions will follow soon. If my hopes are realised, and if in a printed form the soundest scholarship of Ceylon is made available in a critical recension both of Canon and of Commentaries, the Ceylon of to-day will have done something not unworthy either of her own unique achievement at Aluvihâra two thousand years ago or of that distinguished scholar and thinker whom that achievement attracted to Ceylon six hundred years later.

ROBERT CHALMERS.



<sup>1</sup> The full text of His Excellency's speech on this occasion is reproduced elsewhere.—EDS. C. A.



## OUTLINES OF SINHALESE FOLKLORE.<sup>1</sup>

By DR. H. MEERWARTH.

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THE Sinhalese people have had the good fortune to find their Grimm in good time. Mr. Parker has, like his great model, searched the mines in which the gold of the ancient folk-tales was hidden; and before the great wave of western civilisation—the wave which brings machines, cheap clothes and other useful things but carries away old simple wisdom and the beautiful play of imagination—floods the last village, he has carefully collected these old treasures. His three volumes of Sinhalese Folk-tales are an eternal monument both of Sinhalese life and way of thinking and an Englishman's great love for them.

Grimm had his predecessors and his followers. Something in the way of collecting village-tales had been done before Parker, especially in *The Orientalist*, and a good deal remains still to be done: and it must be done soon. If all the educated men who are in continuous touch with the villager, as teachers, Government officials, and, last but not least, the workers of the Christian Missions, would follow the splendid example of Parker, the folkloristic material relative to Ceylon would be complete in a very short time. It only requires some interest and some patience; and it must always be borne in mind that the beauty of the folk-tale lies, not in perfect literary form, but in the poetical, if simple, expression of popular thoughts.

It is an exceedingly attractive occupation to analyse a folk-tale. It is like wandering through an old English castle. The grey, uncouth building, erected in the time of the Norman conquest or earlier, nearly disappears in the wings and towers which the times of the Tudors, the Stuarts, the Georges have attached to it. And still, the castle with all its irregularity is beautiful and venerable. In the folk-tale we see an amazing accumulation of various motives, a sequence of details which seems sometimes bizarre. Each detail in itself is traceable to a clear idea, but the puzzle begins when all the different features appear on the same plane. If we can see, how, beginning with one fundamental myth, the tale gradually grows in course of time, how, borrowing from a standing stock or freely inventing, each story-teller enlarges what he has heard, we gain an insight into the work of a people's soul. The perspective is there. Instead of one plane we have several, different in time and importance.

One story may illustrate it. It is "The Frog Prince."<sup>2</sup> It runs in short, as follows: Near the King's Palace lived a widow. Once she bore a frog and reared it. When it was grown up, the King made a proclamation: "I will give half my kingdom and goods amounting to an elephant's load to a person

1. [The following article is the Introduction to a series of Essays on Sinhalese Folklore. It is one of the aims of this Periodical, not only to give new scientific material, but also to recruit new workers in the different fields of Ceylonese research. Therefore, much of what had to be said in this Introduction, will perhaps be common-place to the scholar, though it may be not without use for those who could help in collecting new and important folkloristic material.—H.M.]

2. Parker, Vol. I., No. 5.



who brings the Jewelled Golden Cock that is in the house of the Rakshasi (Ogress)." Nobody would dare to fight the Rakshasi, except the frog. With a bundle of rice cooked by the mother he went forth. From a wild date-tree he took a leaf and strung the rice on the mid-rib of the leaf. He became soon afterwards a handsome prince, found a horse and clothes and went to the king to offer his services. They were gratefully accepted, and the king gave him a piece of charcoal, saying: "If you should be unable to escape the Rakshasi, while returning, tell this piece of charcoal to become a fire-fence and cast it down." On his way the prince came to another king who presented him with a stone, which, in case of danger, would become a mountain. He came then to a third king, who gave him a thorn, which eventually would become a fence and keep off the ogress. The prince went to the house of the Rakshasi, but she was not there. Only her daughter saw him and asked him where he was going. He explained that he had come to get the Jewelled Golden Cock. The girl replied: "I can't give you the cock to-day, wait till to-morrow. But, now, hide yourself, otherwise my mother will see and eat you." She put him in a large trunk at the bottom of seven trunks and shut him up in it. When the ogress came back, she saw the prince's horse and asked her daughter whose it was. The girl gave a satisfactory explanation, and the mother went to sleep. During the night she smelt the sweet odour of human flesh, and asked the daughter for an explanation. She said: "You are constantly eating fresh bodies, what wonder if there is an odour of them?" This satisfied the ogress. The next morning, when the mother had gone away, the daughter released the prince, asked him to tie her up fast so as to delay the pursuit by the Rakshasi, to take the cock and to ride away as quickly as possible. The prince did what she ordered him to do. The girl called for help, and when her mother came and unfastened her, they both ran after the prince. He, seeing that he could not escape otherwise, used one after the other the thorn, the stone, and the charcoal, and the ogress with her daughter, after they had jumped both over the fence and the mountain, were finally burnt by the fire. The prince came back to the date-tree, ate from the rice and became a frog again. After he had become a frog, the horse, the clothes and the cock vanished, and the frog died of grief on the spot.

The central idea of this tale is the deliverance of the golden cock, which is in the power of the Rakshasi. It is a story of the "Sleeping Beauty" type and is one of the manifold developments of the solar myth. The sun disappears for weeks behind the heavy black clouds. To the primitive mind it appears to be in the power of an evil enemy. But after the rains the golden disc appears again, the clouds are torn asunder and vanish. This eternal, but always amazing, spectacle, with which the sky provides the astonished human mind, originates the myth of the capture and deliverance of the sun. It was the starting point in the myth of Sigurd and Brunhild. Another possible explanation is: the moon now chased and covered by clouds, now again shining in golden splendour. But, as the period of its disappearance is very short and does not affect the life of man, I should prefer the first explanation.

The first step from observation to myth is personification. The gigantic black clouds become giants, or, as in our case, a Rakshasi, a supernatural being with murderous



instincts. The sun becomes a golden cock. This is very near. The rising sun and the joyous crowing of the cock are closely connected, and so the golden, sparkling bird stands for the sparkling, golden disc. The sun does not free himself, a delivering hero must do it. So arise the great heroes of the ancient mythologies, Achilles, Sigurd, to become gradually the beautiful prince of the folk-tale.

This original myth, spread all over the world, is like the old Norman building in the English castle. The imagination of generations adds to it. The hero is, of course, superhuman. His birth is a miracle. Either a parent or an ancestor is a god, as it is the case in the Hellenic and Northern mythology, or his birth is miraculous, as it is the case with Buddha and Krishna, or the history of his childhood is full of wonders, as it is with Moses, Cyrus and Romulus. In the folk-tale all these miraculous qualities are there, but they have lost their grandeur, just as the awful fire-ring in the Sigurd-myth has become a thorn-hedge in the "Sleeping Beauty." Our Prince is born a frog, and his mother is a widow. The old idea of the virgin mother, *i.e.*, a virgin, chosen by a deity to be mother (Rhea Sylvia, Danae, Krishna's mother) is there, but it has taken more homely features. Moreover, the introduction of the frog is easy to explain. We nearly always find that the hero fills the world with wonder after a childhood spent in very lowly surroundings. Krishna, Romulus, Cyrus were shepherds: here it is a very insignificant animal. It may be that the continuous noise, which the frogs produce during the rains, led the primitive mind to the idea that they challenged the clouds, and that there existed a kind of antagonism between them.

So the story tells us that a golden cock was saved from the clutches of an ogress by a prince who had previously been a frog. The fight with the enemy is terrible in the myth: Indra's fight with Ahi, the exploits of Rama and Krishna remind us very vividly of the cosmic tragedies, we imagine to see in the sky. The heroic adventure has given place to trickery and good luck, though the element of danger still remains. But in the three gifts which save the prince we still can see traces of primitive observation. The ogresses jump over the fence, that is the rain-cloud sailing deep over the forest, touching the top of the trees; the image of the mountain is obvious, and the fires, which destroy the ogresses, are the flashes of lightning, which tear the thick black bellies asunder.

The fight would be impossible without miraculous weapons or help from outside. This is also an ever-returning motive in this kind of myth. Indra's *vajra*, Sigurd's sword, invisible cap, and strength-giving belt, the divine arms of Achilles, are a few instances. Gradually these arms become charms or miraculous objects, as in our case. So we see the grand picture to be observed in the skies—how the sun is freed from the heavy clouds, how, driven by the storm, the last clouds rush on the golden disc, jumping over forest and mountain, only to be torn to pieces by lightning—was first transferred to the mythic plane of human imagination. The superhuman figure of the hero was introduced; the cloud becomes a Rakshasi; forest, mountain and fire become obstacles helpful to the hero.

From this mythical conception (as we have it in the Veda, in the Sagas of the North, in the Russian Byliny) the human imagination, becoming less heroic, slips down to the pleasant, if unheroic, homeliness of the folk-tale. Details of every-day life are added, once the story is safe in ordinary human scale. The Rakshasi has a daughter and lives in a house. She has trunks and sleeps in a bed. The girl is evidently (though it is not expli-



citly said) impressed by the beauty of the prince, and saves him. The heroic prince becomes a somewhat comical figure. The old mythical idea of the fight with Rakshasi is still there, at least when he departs; but the pure human fear, which the demons cause in the mind of the villager, makes it natural to tell us, that the brave prince hid himself in a large trunk at the bottom of seven trunks. Also, the miraculous weapon gives an impulse to invent some purely human details. The prince on his way enjoys the hospitality of his equals, of two kings, and they give him the wonder-working gift, as is usually done with an honoured guest.

The end of our tale is in fact quite a different myth, which is however often enough connected with the first. The light is not always there; again, evil powers in the sky will come and hide it. This cosmic pessimism leads to the beautiful mythical tragedies of the hero's death. Achilles dies young; so does Sigurd; Hödur, the blind god of the darkness, kills Baldur the fair god of the sun. So in our story. The cock vanishes; his deliverer dies of grief, the human equivalent for the heroic or violent death in the myth.

The example, chosen to illustrate the historical development of the Sinhalese folk-tale, is comparatively simple. Often, in course of time, five, six and more mythical conceptions cross each other, are entirely or nearly obliterated by later additions; but it is all the same an attractive task, to which the following pages will be devoted to reveal and group the material, out of which the fantastic building of the Sinhalese folk-tales has been composed.

*(To be continued.)*





## THE "DHAMMAPADA" AND ITS COMMENTARY.

Translated from the Original Pali with Critical Notes

By THE REV. SURIYAGODA SUMANGALA.

### TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

**T**HE *Dhammapada*, the Word of Truth or Path that leads to Truth, forms part of one of the fifteen books constituting the *Khuddakanikaya*, the last canonical work of the *Sutta-pitaka*, and the *Dhammapadatthakatha* is a Commentary on the *Dhammapada*.

In regard to the authorship of the *Dhammapadatthakatha*, there can be very little doubt that it was written by the great Commentator Buddhaghosa himself. Not a few scholars however are of opinion that the work is "modern" and state that the author was a later Buddhaghosa who obtained his materials from the Sinhalese classical work *Ratanavaliya* (written by the Maha Thera Dhammasena), which contains many passages not found in the Pali Commentary. While it is certainly true that the style of its language justifies to some extent the assumption of its "modernity," there is evidence in the *Dhammapadatthakatha* itself sufficient to help resolve all doubts on the point. The following passage occurs at the end of the Commentary :

*Vipulavisuddhibuddhina Buddhaghoso ti garuhi  
Gahitanamadheygena katayan Dhammapadassa atthavannana.*

"*This Commentary to the Dhammapada was written by  
Buddhaghosa of eminent and lustrous knowledge.*"

The Buddhaghosa "of eminent and lustrous knowledge" was the great scholar who visited the Island during the reign of King Maha Nama (A.B. 951-973, A.C. 468-490) under whose patronage the Commentaries to the *Tipitaka* were written. The *Pujavaliya*, which also throws some light on the point, says that he (Buddhaghosa) wrote these Commentaries at the request of His Majesty the King Srinivasa and his Minister Mahanigama. That King Mahanama was known by two other names as well, viz., Srinivasa and Sirikudda, is made clear by the following stanzas occurring at the conclusion of the *Samanta-pasadika* and *Dhammapadatthakatha* respectively :

*Palayantassa sakalan Lankadipan nirabbudan  
Ranno Sirinivasassa Siripalayasassino  
Samavisatime kheme jaysanvacchare ayan  
Araddha ekavisamhi sampatti parinitthita (Samantapasadika)*

"*This Commentary, having been begun in the 20th year  
of the king Sirinivasa's reign, who was ruling the whole  
Island of Lanka undisputedly, and completed in the  
21st year of his reign, etc. . . . .*"



(b) *Vihare adhirajena karitamhi katannuna*  
*Pasade Sirikuddassa ranno viharata maya. (Dhammapadatthakatha.)*

= (Written) by me living in king Sirikudda's  
 Palace at the monastery built by the grateful king.

The *Samantapasadika* further tells us that, during the completion of that work, the Elder Buddhaghosa lived in the Ganthakara Parivena built by the great Minister Mahanigama, and on other occasions in the Palace built by the King himself, these "palatial buildings" forming part of the Mahavihara Monastery within the limits of which Buddhaghosa confined his residence at Anuradhapura.

The *Dhammapadatthakatha* is to-day used by Sinhalese students in all the *Parivenas* of the Island as a standard work for the study of Pali literature. A *Getapada Vivarana*, or Vocabulary giving explanatory notes on the difficult words in the text, is now in print. The author of this work (*Getapada*) was King Abha Salamevan Kassapa V. of Ceylon A.B. 1463-1473, A.C. 919-929, son of Sangha the twice crowned (*dehisava*) queen.\*

#### THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

The Exalted One,—whose mind is moved by the influence (feeling) of universal compassionateness,—being all skilful in discriminating between [that which is] good and evil, having attained the zenith of Sublime Truth, preached on various occasions a *Dhammapada* which increases the joy and delight of gods and men. To this (*Dhammapada*) there is in the Island called Tambapanni an erudite Commentary, which, preserved in the language of the Island by continuous scholarship, proveth not of use to persons in general. Well will it be if it promote the welfare of others (besides the most learned.)

At the wish and invitation of the Elder Kumara Kassapa, whose views are sapient, who is highly cultured, tranquil of character, and desirous of the perpetuation of the Sublime Doctrine,

After having worshipped the feet of the Blessed Enlightened One,—by whom the light of sublime doctrine was lit in a world shrouded by the dense darkness of illusion, who foresees the end of the world and is endowed with miraculous powers,—after having adored His Sublime Truth and making obeisance to His order,

Discarding that (difficult) language and [everything savouring of] the extreme, clothing it (the Commentary) in the garb of the Pali language, and explaining only the words of the stanzas which are not fully explained,

I shall recite (it) in other phraseology, embodying therein meanings and explanations, so that it may kindle joy and delight in the mind of the learned.

---

\* I avail myself of this opportunity to express my best thanks to my friend and pupil in Pali, Mr. John M. Senaveratne, whose co-operation in the present translation has been invaluable—  
*Translator.*



## VERSE I.

*Manopubbangama dhamma manosettha manomaya  
Manasa ce padutthena bhasati va karoti va  
Tato nan dukkhamanveti cakkav'va vahato padan.*

## TRANSLATION.

*(All the mental) characteristics have mind as their  
fore-runner (prime-mover) and overlord: they are formed  
of mind. Whosoever, with the mind defiled,  
either speaks or acts, him sorrow follows therefrom,  
like the wheel that follows the foot of its drawer (draught-ox.)*

## STORY OF THE ELDER CAKKHUPALA.

Where was this doctrinal discourse preached?—At Savatthi.

Concerning whom?—The Elder Cakkhupala.

There was in Savatthi a very rich householder named Mahasuvanna who had no children. One day, when he was returning home from the bathing-ghat after bathing in the river (Aciravati), he saw on the way a certain tree (*vanaspati*)<sup>1</sup> of fine foliage, and he felt assured that this tree must be the abode of (tenanted by) some deity of great power.

With this idea in his mind he got the ground round about the tree cleared, encircled it with a wall, and had white sand scattered on the compound. Then, hoisting flags and banners,<sup>2</sup> he decorated the giant tree most beautifully, and, after making a solemn vow that he would hold a great entertainment if he were blessed with a son or a daughter,<sup>3</sup> he departed.

Shortly after his wife conceived a child, in honour of which a great feast was celebrated with much pomp and magnificence. After ten months she was delivered of a son, who was given the name of *Palita* ("protected"), because he was begotten by the grace of the great tree protected by the Setthi himself. Some time afterwards the Setthi was gifted with a second son whom he named Chulla Pala, the other's name being at the same time changed to Maha Pala. These two brothers duly got married when they attained their majority.<sup>4</sup>

At this time the Exalted One, having established the Kingdom of Righteousness, exhorting the people to follow the path of Heaven and absolute Deliverance, had come at length to the city of Savatthi, and was residing in the great Monastery called Jeta's Park, built by Anathapindika at a cost of 540,000,000 (pieces of gold). The Tathagata dwelt only for one rainy season in the Monastery built by his kinsmen, who numbered 80,000 families from each side (father and mother.) He lived for 19 rainy

1. *Vanaspati*,—"lord of the forest." A Botanical term in Pali applied to trees which produce fruits without flowers. The particular tree referred to in the story may possibly be the Banyan, which, in the East, is generally regarded as a suitable abode for deities and, therefore, a fitting object of worship.

2. *Flags and banners*.—In Pali, *ketu*, *dhajo* and *pataka* are synonyms, but King Kasyapa V., who wrote the Sinhalese glossary on the *Dhammapadalhakatha*, says that the latter two terms differ in meaning.

"*Mula baenda diga harane dhvajai, Harahata yataya ha settukara bandinaladdi patakayi.*"

3. This is a very ancient custom traceable back to pre-Buddhistic times, and is prevalent even to-day in Eastern lands.

4. *Early marriages* were altogether foreign to Hindu as well as to Buddhist social customs before the Moghul invasion. This event compelled the Hindus, in order to prevent the intermixture of their women with the Mohamedan conquerors, to adopt the custom of early marriage among themselves in India.



seasons<sup>5</sup> in the Jetavana Monastery built by Anathapindika, and for six rainy seasons in the Pubbarama, built by the great Upasika Visakha at a cost of 270,000,000 (pieces of gold). Thus the Blessed One, by reason of the excellent virtues of these two families, spent in all twenty-five rainy seasons in dependence on (the alms of) Savatthi.

Anathapindika as well as Visakha were in the habit of repairing twice a day to minister to Buddha's wants and they never went empty-handed, for they thought: "The little novices will see our hands." When they went before the midday meal, they took with them eatables (sweetmeats, etc.), while, after the midday meal (they took) five kinds of medicines and eight varieties of drinks.<sup>6</sup> In their residences there were always seats ready for 2,000 monks. Whenever a monk wished to have any food, drink or medicine he got what he wanted.

Out of his exceeding great love for the Buddha, Anathapindika had never asked any question from the Exalted One, for he thought: "Both as a noble prince and as a Buddha the Blessed One has been and is so delicate (constitutionally) that he ought not to be over-troubled, at least not by me who is His favourite supporter." But the Exalted One, whenever he was seated there, preached to him always a doctrinal discourse, the burden of which was as follows. "This Setthi seeks unnecessarily to save me the trouble of preaching. Verily, by giving away my ornamented head, by pulling out my eye, tearing out my heart, and giving away my wife and children dear to me as my life itself, I have throughout four hundred thousand *asankheyya kappas* earned perfection no more than for the purpose of preaching the doctrine to others."

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5.—*Rainy seasons.* The Buddha himself was accustomed to take up permanent residence in some particular abode during the rainy season, though, for the rest of the year, he had to journey about from place to place, living by alms and preaching to and exhorting the people. For the first twenty years from his Enlightenment the Tathagata lived a kind of nomadic life (*anibaddhavasa*), moving about constantly for the propagation of his doctrine in the world, and so had to spend the rainy seasons in diverse places. These rainy seasons were spent as follows:

(a) *First* at the Isipatana, dependent however on the alms of the citizens of Benares. This was after the Buddha had established the "Kingdom of Righteousness" and led "180,000,000 Brahmas" to the haven of Nibbana.

(b), (c), (d) *Second, Third and Fourth* at the Veluvana (Bamboo-grove) in Rajagaha.

(e) *Fifth*, in the Kutagara hall of the great forest at Vesali.

(f) *Sixth*, on the mountain Mankulapabbata.

(g) *Seventh*, in the heaven Tavatihsa.

(h) *Eighth*, in Bhesakalavana in the country of the Bhagus.

(i) *Ninth*, in the city of Kosambi.

(j) *Tenth*, in the forest Parileyyaka.

(k) *Eleventh*, in the Brahmin village Nala.

(l) *Twelfth*, in the city of Veranja.

(m) *Thirteenth*, on the mountain Chaliya.

(n) *Fourteenth*, in the Jetavana Monastery.

(o) *Fifteenth*, at Kapilavatthu.

(p) *Sixteenth*, at Alavi where he had subjugated Alavaka, the Demon chief.

(q) *Seventeenth*, at Rajagaha.

(r), (s) *Eighteenth, Nineteenth*, on the mountain Chaliya for the second and third times.

(t) *Twentieth*, at Rajagaha for the second time.

Thenceforward, for the last 25 years, Buddha resided permanently (*nibaddhavasa*) at Savatthi, in the two Monasteries, Jetavana and Pubbarama, in dependence on the alms (bounty) of Anathapindika and Visakha. On some days, after spending the night at Jetavana, he was accustomed to visit Pubbarama the following morning, surrounded by a multitude of Bhikkus. Entering the city, for *pindapata*, through the Southern gate, he spent the day in Pubbarama and departed from the Eastern gate. On other days he spent the night in Pubbarama, and entering the city for *pindapata* through the Eastern gate and departing from the Southern gate, tarried at Jetavana for a day [*Manorathapurani*.]

6. *Medicines and drinks.* The medicines were of five kinds, viz., ghee, butter, sesamum oil, honey and sugar, while the eight varieties of drinks were:—honey, grapes, olu or buds of a kind of lotus, bananas, wild bananas, mangoes, jambu and uguressa.



At that time there were 70,000,000 people in Savatthi, of whom about 50,000,000, by listening to the doctrine of the Buddha, became His noble disciples; the rest, about 20,000,000, remained of the world worldly. The noble disciples had only two duties to perform, viz., before the midday meal to distribute alms, and in the evening to go with cloths, medicine, drinks, perfumes and flowers in their hands and listen to the preaching of the Buddha.

Then, one day, Mahapala, seeing the noble disciples taking perfumes, flowers, etc., in their hands, asked whither they were going. On being told that they were proceeding to hear the doctrine, he went along with them, and, after saluting the Exalted One, seated himself in the outer circle of the Congregation.

The Buddhas, when they preach the doctrine, generally behold (with their mind's eye) the capacity of their audience for taking refuge<sup>7</sup> in the Triple Gems (*Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha*), and they discourse so as to suit the requirements of the individual hearer. Thus, on that day, the Exalted One, noting Mahapala's particular bent of mind (capacity), began to preach the doctrine in His usual narrative style, the subject of the discourse being alms-giving, the precepts and the heavenly life, due emphasis being laid on the disadvantages, vanity and impurity of the sentient pleasures and the advantages of self-abnegation.

After listening to the discourse, the householder Mahapala reflected thus: "Neither son, nor daughter, nor wealth follows him who goes to the other world; nay, even his body does not go with him. What use is there in the household life? I shall renounce it and become a monk."

At the close of the discourse Mahapala approached the Exalted One and begged for his admission into the Order. Then the Buddha enquired whether he had not any kinsman whose consent it was necessary to obtain.<sup>8</sup> "I have a younger brother," he replied. Whereupon the Buddha said: "Go and get his consent." "Yea, Sire," said Mahapala, and, after saluting the Exalted One, he repaired to his house. Calling his younger brother, Mahapala said:

"Brother, whatsoever property, animate or inanimate,<sup>9</sup> there is in our family, take thou charge of it (henceforth)."

"Why, what may be your intention, my Lord?"

"I shall become a monk under the Exalted One."

"What is it that you say, my brother? You became my mother when my mother died, my father when my father died. There is great wealth in our family, and we can earn merits while leading the life of a householder. I pray you, give up your intention."

7. *Taking refuge in the Triple Gems*:—As Buddhism is opposed to "simple faith" as well as to divine grace and appeals to reason, its adherents are required to establish themselves at least in the Three Refuges, *Buddha, Dhamma* and *Sangha*, for their spiritual welfare, while exercising their powers of reasoning quite independently. It is then that they can be called Buddhists.

8. *Kinsman's . . . . . consent . . . . . necessary*:—When Prince Rahula, the only heir to the Sakyan throne, was admitted into the Order (of monks), King Suddhodana was greatly moved, and, coming to the Buddha, begged him for a special favour which he deemed very necessary. He said to the Buddha: "When the Blessed One became a monk, I was stricken with the greatest grief, as I am now over Nanda's renunciation and Rahula's admission into the Order. Affection for a son, O Lord, penetrates the outer skin and inner skin, the flesh, the nerves, the bones, and remains imbedded, as it were, in the very marrow. Well will it be, therefore, if the Noble Ones will not admit into the Order a son who has not secured the consent of his parents." Upon this entreaty the Buddha laid the injunction on the Order that no son be admitted who has not secured his parents' consent. In the absence of parents it was necessary that the candidate should obtain the consent of his next closest relatives or guardians. [*Mahavagga*].

9. *Savinnanakavinnanakan*:—literally, "that which has life and that which has no life."



"Brother," replied Mahapala, "I have listened to the teaching of the Master who preached to me a doctrine which was throughout excellent, in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end; (a doctrine) dwelling strongly on the three characteristics of the world.<sup>10</sup> It (the doctrine) can never be observed well at home, therefore must I secure renunciation."

"Brother, you are still of tender age," said the younger brother. "You can become a monk when you grow old."

"Nay, brother," replied Mahapala, "to the old man, even his own hands and feet neither become obedient nor remain under his sway. What need is there, then, to speak of his relations? Therefore it is that I do not act according to thine advice, but shall practise the discipline of a recluse."

How can the weak old man  
Tread firm the righteous way,  
Whose aged limbs, time-worn,  
Are tottering in decay?<sup>11</sup>

I must, O brother, seek renunciation."

In spite of his (the younger brother's) entreaty, Mahapala went to the Master, secured entrance into the priestly Order, and, after obtaining *pabbajja* and higher ordination, lived under the guidance of his immediate superior and preceptor for a period of five years.<sup>12</sup> After the observation of *Was*,<sup>13</sup> he approached the Blessed One, worshipped Him and enquired how many processes leading to *Nibbana* there were in this religious system.

"There are, O Bhikku, two processes only, *ganthadhura* and *vipassanadhura*."

"What, O Sire, is meant by *ganthadhura*? What is *vipassanadhura*?"

"The thorough study of one *nikaya* or two or even the whole of Buddha's word contained in the *Tipitaka*, the bearing it in mind, preaching and teaching it is called *ganthadhura*. Living entirely in meditation, dwelling frugally and piously in a quiet abode remote from the haunts of men, and, after full realisation of the transient and dissolving nature of all corporeal existence, the attainment of Arhatship by the development of one's insight into the true characteristics of his own condition, this is called *vipassanadhura*."

10. *The three characteristics of the world*, i.e., of everything that exists in the world, are *anichchata*—impermanency, *dukkhata*—sorrow, and *anattata*—non-self (selflessness).

11. The Pali verse runs:—

*Jarajajarita honti hatthapada anassava  
Yassa so vihatatthamo kathan dhamman charissati?*

12.—After receiving full ordination a Buddhist monk must lead a dependent life under a qualified master or preceptor, whose own ordination must be at least five years anterior to his. For his preceptor he must cherish the same affection as he would for his own father, and for his pupil the same affection as he would for a son. For a period of five years at least he must, whenever he goes out, or wishes to do anything unusual or important, secure his preceptor's permission first. After this period of five years he is entitled to receive permission to lead an independent life, provided his preceptor is quite satisfied in regard to his conduct. If otherwise he must continue to serve under his preceptor, even till death. A monk, failing to find a qualified older preceptor, must still go through this period of training even under a younger one who is otherwise adequately qualified. [*Mahavagga*; *Pali-muttaka-vinaya*].

13. *Was*.—The fully ordained Bhikkus are required to take up permanent residence at a suitable place for the first three months of the rainy season, during which period they are expected to subsist on the pharitable offerings of the neighbourhood and to lead a strictly active life devoted chiefly to meditation, preaching and exhorting the people. This practice, which was introduced into the Order by the Buddha a long time after the establishment of his monastic Order, had its origin in the remonstrance made by the people who strongly disapproved of the monks wandering about in the wet weather. [*Mahavagga*.]



"Sire, I became a monk in my old age and am unable to fulfil the requirements of *ganthadhura*. I shall, however, fulfil those of *vipassanadhura*. Please, therefore, instruct me on an object of meditation."

Then the Master instructed him on an object of meditation quite adequate to attain Arhatship.

Thereupon, after paying due obeisance to the Master, he searched for suitable companions to follow him and secured sixty monks. With these, after sojourning (at a spot) twenty yojanas from the city (of Savatthi), he arrived at a large village in the interior, where they went for *pindapata*.

The people, observing their pious demeanour, were so pleased that they prepared seats for them and provided them with a delicious meal. They then enquired whither the noble ones were proceeding. When, in reply, the latter said they were going to a favourable place, the intelligent people understood that they were searching for a suitable abode to spend their rainy season (*Was*) in, and said:

"We will establish ourselves in the faith and practise the precepts if you dwell here for these three months."

The monks accepted their invitation (offer), thinking that, by living upon the charitable offerings of these families, they could (eventually) obtain freedom from re-birth. Then, after securing their consent, the people built for them a Monastery equipped with suitable dwellings for night and day and offered it to them. (Thereafter) they (the monks) repaired daily to this very village for *pindapata*. A certain physician next came to them, requested that he be informed whenever they required the aid of medicine, and voluntarily offered them his services.

On the day they took the vow to spend the *Was* there, the Elder (Cakkhupala) called together his companions and enquired:

"In how many postures will you, brethren, spend this *Was*?"

"Lord, in four postures" <sup>14</sup> (each replied).

"Would it be sufficient, O brethren? Why should we not be more strenuous? We have come here after obtaining an object of meditation from the living Master. The Enlightened Ones can never be pleased by fraud; they can be satisfied by good-will alone. To the indolent, the four states of unhappy existence are like their own homes. Therefore, brethren, be strenuous," he advised.

"How will you, O Sire (spend the *Was*)," asked the monks.

"I shall spend (it), brethren, in three postures only, and shall not lay my back on a bed (i.e., sleep)."

"It is well, Sire. May you be strenuous."

When the first month was over, the Elder (Cakkhupala) had eye trouble as a result of his not obtaining sleep. The tears began to pour down like the drops of water from a cracked vessel. After performing his duties for a whole night, he entered his room at dawn and seated himself therein. When the time for going out for alms drew nigh, the Bhikkus went to the presence of the Elder and informed him of it.

"Then, brethren, take my bowl and robes," said he, and departed.

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<sup>14</sup> *Iriyapatha*.—"Way of movement." There are four *iriyapatha* or postures, viz., walking, standing, sitting and lying down.



The monks, seeing the tears streaming from his eyes, asked the cause of it. "The air distresses my eyes, O brethren," he said.

"Have we not been invited by a physician? Lord, let us tell him."

"It is well, brethren."

They informed the physician who prepared (a medicinal) oil and sent it. The Elder, in a seated posture poured it into his nostrils, and proceeded to the midst of the village. The physician, seeing him, asked whether the air was hurting his eye.

"Yes, *Upasaka*." (was the reply).

"Lord, I prepared an oil and sent it. Have you poured it into your nostrils?"

"Yes, *Upasaka*."

"How is it (the eye) now?"

"It hurts still, *Upasaka*."

The physician, reflecting thus: "The oil that I sent could have cured it at once, but why was not the trouble mitigated?", enquired whether it (the oil) was poured into the nostrils while (the monk was) sitting or lying down. The Elder became silent and did not speak even though questioned again and again.

Thereupon the physician, resolving to go to the Monastery and see the dwelling-place of the Elder, let him depart. Then, visiting the Monastery, he enquired where his (the Elder's) dwelling-place was, and found therein only places for walking, sitting and standing. Not seeing a place for sleep he asked again whether it (the oil) was poured while (the monk was) sitting or lying down. Even then the Elder kept silence.

"Do not do so, Lord," (the physician said). "The duties of a recluse can be performed when the body is healthy," and he begged him repeatedly to pour the oil (into his nostrils) while lying down.

The Elder said: "Go, brother, I shall consult and resolve."

The Elder had neither relatives nor kinsmen. With whom, then, could he consult? Consulting with his own physical body and speaking to himself, he said: "Tell me first, O Brother Palita, whether thou wilt look to (have regard for) the eyes or the commandment of the Buddha. Without computation is the number of times that thou hast lost thine eye while thou wert being tossed about in the *Sansara* which has no beginning. Many hundred Buddhas and thousand Buddhas hast thou passed, but not one of them hast thou realised in thine own self. Now, thou hast made a vow that thou never wilt lie down during these three months. Therefore, whether thine eyes perish or break, thou must follow the commandment of the Buddha alone and not think of thine eyes."

Advising his own physical body he uttered the following stanzas:

"The eyes beloved (by men) perish, as do the ears and body. Every thing that concerns the body perishes. Why art thou, O Palita, indolent?"

"The eyes beloved (by men) decay, as do the ears and body. Every thing that concerns the body decays. Why art thou, O Palita, indolent?"

"The eyes beloved (by men) break, as do the ears and body. Every thing that concerns the body breaks. Why art thou, O Palita, indolent?"

Thus did he advise himself in these three stanzas, then poured the oil into his nostrils, seated as he was, and repaired to the village for his alms.



The physician asked him whether the oil had been poured into the nostrils.

"Yes, *Upasaka*" (was the reply).

"How is it (the eye) now, Lord?"

"It hurts still, *Upasaka*."

"Have you done (poured) it seated or lying down?"

The Elder kept silence and did not speak even though repeatedly questioned.

Then the physician (said): "Lord, you do not do what is advantageous for yourself. From today you must not say that an oil was prepared for you by such a man. I too shall never say that I prepared an oil for you."

Forsaken thus by the physician, the Elder repaired to the Monastery and said to himself: "Thou art forsaken by the physician, but thou must not give up thy posture, O recluse. Thou art denied (abandoned by) the treatment and forsaken by the physician. Thou art subject to the sway of the King of Death. Why wilt thou be indolent?"

After advising himself with this stanza, he performed his duties. Then, at the end of the middle watch, his eyes as well as his passions simultaneously came to destruction. He became an Arhat called *Sukkhavipassaka*,<sup>15</sup> and, entering his chamber, seated himself therein.

At the time for going out for alms the Bhikkus informed him:

"Sire, this is the time for going out for alms."

"Is it time, O Brethren?"

"Yea, Lord."

"Then you may go."

"But you, Lord?"

"I have lost mine eyes."

They examined his eyes, and were so sorrowful that tears streamed from their own eyes.

"Lord, do not think of it, we will take care of (nourish) you," they said.

After soothing him and attending to all his wants, they proceeded to the village. The people, not seeing the Elder, enquired after him, and, on learning that he had lost the use of his eyes, felt deeply grieved.

They first sent him rice-gruel; then went themselves taking with them a meal for him, worshipped him and cried, throwing themselves at his feet. They soothed him, and departed saying: "We will take care of (nourish) you. Be not disheartened." From that time they sent gruel and meals every day to the Monastery. The Elder also continued always to impart further instruction to the other sixty Bhikkus, who, following his advice, at the close of their *Was*, attained to Arhatship with the four *Patisambhidas*.<sup>16</sup>

*Was* being over and being desirous of seeing the Buddha, they said to the Elder:

"Lord, we are desirous of seeing the Exalted One."

<sup>15</sup> *Sukkhavipassaka*.—There are two orders of Arhats, the *Sukkhavipassaka* and *Samathayanika*. The former are so called because only their passions are dried up or extinct, and they are devoid of the four *Patisambhidas*; while the latter are those who have annihilated their passions and are gifted with the four *Patisambhidas*.

<sup>16</sup> *Patisambhidas*. Modes of perfect realisation or attainments peculiar to the higher order of Arhats, viz: (a) *Attha* = the meaning of any matter in its analytical state, (b) *Dhamma* = the doctrine of the Buddha, (c) *Nirutti* = the power of grasping the truth intuitively without the aid of either study or tuition, (d) *Patibhana* = the power of, or capacity for, properly understanding things as they are, with their roots and properties.



The Elder, on hearing their word, thought to himself: "I am feeble, there is (on the way) a forest haunted by non-human beings. When I go along with them (the Bhikkus) all will have to suffer; they will not be able to obtain even food. I shall therefore send them away first." Then he said to them:

"Brethren, you had better go first."

"But you, Lord?"

"I am weak. There is on the way a forest haunted by non-human beings. Should I go along with you, all of you will have to suffer. Therefore, you had better go first."

"Do not do so, Lord. We must go along with you."

"You must not desire it, for it will cause me inconvenience. When my younger brother sees you, he will enquire after me and you can inform him of the loss of my eyes. He will then send someone to fetch me, and I shall come with him. It is my request that you worship the Enlightened One of ten-fold power and his eighty great disciples." And he sent them away.

They obtained pardon<sup>17</sup> from the Elder, and proceeded into the midst of the village. The people offered them seats as well as meals.

"How is it," they enquired, "that the Elders would seem to be going away?"

"Yes, *Upasakas*. We are desirous of visiting the Buddha."

They begged them repeatedly to stay; but, finding their desire for departure greater, followed them a short distance, lamenting (wailing), and then stayed behind.

The Elders arrived, gradually, at the Jetavana Monastery and worshipped the Exalted One and the eighty great Elders as instructed by the Elder (Cakkhupala).

The next day they went for alms into the street in which the Elder's younger brother was living. The householder, recognising them, offered them seats, and, after the usual greetings, enquired regarding the whereabouts of his brother the Elder. They then narrated to him the news; whereupon, throwing himself at their feet, he cried and asked what he should do for the time being.

"The Elder is expecting someone from this place" (they said), "and he will come along with him when he goes there."

"Here is my nephew, Palita by name. Lords, let us send him."

"We cannot send him in this manner. There is danger on the way; it is advisable to send him (only) after admitting him into the priesthood."

"Please, do so and then send him," he replied.

They then made him a novice, and, teaching him how to wear robes, etc., and (pointing out) the way leading to the Elder's Monastery, despatched him.

He (the novice) came at length into that village, where he met an old man from whom he enquired whether there was a Monastery there in the forest.

"Yes, Lord, there is."

"Who lives there?"

"The Elder Palita, Lord."

"Show me the way."

<sup>17</sup> A feature of Buddhist monastic life is that monks have to approach their preceptor three times each day,—in the morning, at midday, and in the evening,—and to ask him for pardon for anything calculated to offend, or displease, which they may have done, or omitted to do, even unconsciously. On these occasions it is customary for the preceptor himself to obtain pardon from each monk who so approaches him. This rule is observed even in the case of a monk leaving his place of residence for another, when, before departing, he goes to his preceptor and humbly asks "pardon."



"Who are you, Lord?"

"I am the Elder's nephew."

Then he (the old man) led him to the Monastery. The latter worshipped the Elder and served him for about a fortnight, attending to all his wants; after which he informed him that his uncle was awaiting his (the Elder's) arrival.

"Come let us go," he said.

"If so, take my stick."

Then, taking the end of the stick, he entered the heart of the village. The people, after offering them seats, enquired:

"Why, it seems that you are going away?"

"Yes, *Upasakas*, I shall go and worship the Exalted One."

In diverse ways they begged him to stay; but, as he did not avail himself of the opportunity (invitation), they went half-way to see him off, and, crying, remained behind.

The novice, proceeding with the Elder on their journey through the forest, arrived at a village called Katthanagara wherein the Elder had resided formerly. After leaving the village his attention was directed to (he took notice of) the voice of a certain woman who was picking up firewood and singing there in the forest. There is no other sound which so strongly thrills the whole system of males as that (the voice) of females. Therefore, says the Blessed One:

"I do not know (conceive) of any other sound which attracts so strongly the mind of males as that (the voice) of females."

The novice, making it (the voice) his object and letting go (his hold of) the end of the stick, asked the Elder to wait there for awhile as he had some work (to do); then went into her presence. She, seeing him, became silent: he, through her, committed a breach of the precepts.

The Elder thought: "I heard just now a voice singing, and it was that of a female. The novice also tarries; he must have committed a breach of the precepts."

The latter, after his lapse from virtue, came back and said:

"Let us go, Sire."

"Hast thou become a sinner, O novice?" the Elder enquired.

He (the novice) kept silence, and did not utter a word though he was repeatedly questioned. Then the Elder said to him:

"It behoves me not to take my stick (to walk) with the aid of a sinner like unto thee."

The novice feeling repentant (for his act), took off his yellow robes, and, wearing then in the form of a layman, said to the Elder:

"O Sire, I have now become a layman. When I became a monk I did not do so willingly. I became a monk owing to the dangers on the way. Come, let us go."

"Brother, a lay-sinner is also a sinner; a priest-sinner is also a sinner. Thou wert unable to observe the precepts even while remaining in the priesthood. What merit wilt thou perform as a layman? It behoves me not to take my stick (to walk) with the aid of a sinner like unto thee."

"O Sire, the way is beset with danger from non-human beings. Also, you are blind. How will you dwell here?"



“Brother,” said the Elder to him, “thou must not think thereon. There will be no journey of mine with thee even if I needs must die here, lying down on this spot, or roll to and fro,” and he added the following stanzas:—

“Verily, I am blind and have to perform a long journey, but I shall not go, though I sleep here. Never can I like the company of the sinner.

“Verily, I am blind, have come a long way, and shall die here but never shall I go. I have no confidence in the sinner.”

The other, hearing this, felt repentant, and, thinking: “The act I did is certainly serious, grave, and unsuitable,” ran crying into the forest with his hands folded upon his head, and did not come back again.

By the power of the Elder’s piety, the divine seat of the King of Gods, Sakka, which is 60 *yojanas* in length, 50 *yojanas* in width and 15 *yojanas* in depth, which has the colour of the Jayasumana flower (*Pentapetes Phoenixea*) and which becomes lowered and elevated whenever he sits and rises,—showed signs of heat (became hot). Sakka, thinking: “Who is it that seeks to remove me from my position,” cast his gaze upon the world, and with his divine eye saw the Elder. The ancients say what follows:—

The thousand-visioned Lord of Gods observed with his divine eye: “This Pala despises sinners and has purified his righteous life.”

The thousand-visioned Lord of Gods observed with his divine eye. “This Pala respects righteousness and loves the commandment.”

Then a thought arose in him (Sakka). “If I go not to the presence of a Noble One who respects the doctrine and despises sin, my head will split open into seven pieces. I shall go to his presence.”

The Lord of Gods who possesses the divine kingdom and thousand visions, starting at once, approached the Elder (Cakkhupala). Drawing near he made a sound with his foot close by the Elder. Then the Elder asked:

“Who is there?”

“I am, O Lord, a traveller.”

“Whither goest thou, *Upasaka*?”

“To Savatthi, Lord.”

“Thou may’st go, brother.”

“Where doth the Elder go, O Lord?”

“I too am going to the same place.”

“If so, Lord, let us go together.”

“I am weak. To thee, going along with me, there will be delay.”

“There is no urgency for me. I, too, while going with the Noble One, shall be able to obtain one of the ten kinds of merits.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, Lord, let us go together.”

<sup>18</sup> *Danan silan bhavana pattidanan*  
*Veyyavaccan desana canumodo*  
*Ditthijjuttan sansuti ca pacayo*  
*Neyyo evan punnavatthupphabhedo*

The ten meritorious acts are: (1) Alms-giving, (2) Practice of the Precepts, (3) Meditation, (4) Giving away to another merits earned by oneself, (5) Attending to the wants of a master or preceptor, (6) Preaching, (7) Acceptance of merits offered by another, (8) “Straightening” one’s views, (9) Listening to the doctrine, and (10) Entertainment of guests.



The Elder, thinking that the other must be a good person, said :

"If so, take (hold of) the end of my stick, *Upasaka*."

Sakka, after doing this and folding the Earth (shortening the distance by his divine power), arrived by evening at Jetavana. The Elder, hearing the sound of drums and other musical instruments, asked whence it came.

"In Savatthi, Lord."

"*Upasaka*, when before this we journeyed it took us a long time."

"I know a direct path, Lord."

At this moment the Elder thought that this was not a human being, but a Divine person. The thousand-eyed Lord of Gods possessing the kingdom of heaven, folding the way (by a miracle), immediately arrived at Savatthi.

Then Sakka led the Elder to the Monastery which was built for him by his younger brother, and, seating him on a *pallanka* (couch), went to Pala's presence in the guise of a beloved friend.

"Dear Pala," he called him.

"What is it, dear friend?" Pala asked.

"Knowest thou not of the arrival of the Elder?"

"I do not know it. Is the Elder really come?"

"Yes, dear friend. I went just now to the Monastery built by you and saw the Elder seated within, and I came away." Then he (Sakka) went away.

The householder betook himself to the Monastery, and, seeing the Elder, threw himself at his feet, and cried: "Foreseeing this I was disinclined to let you become a monk."

Pala then released two lads from slavery and had them admitted into the priesthood. He asked them to get gruel, rice, etc., from the interior of the village and arranged that they should serve the Elder. The novices, attentive to his wants, served him diligently.

One day some Bhikkus, residents in the provinces, came to the Jetavana Monastery to behold the Exalted One, and, after worshipping the Buddha, saw also the Eight Great Elders. In the evening, after wandering about the Monastery, they were about to proceed towards the dwelling-place of the Elder Cakkhupala, whom they desired to see. At that moment a heavy shower of rain began to fall. Then, as the rain continued to fall, and evening had set in, they postponed their visit for the morrow and remained there.

The rain continued throughout the whole of the first watch, and ceased during the middle watch. The Elder, being in the habit of exerting himself unceasingly (strenuously) and accustomed to go for walks, began exercise by walking about during the last watch of the night. On the ground, wet with new rains, many red worms had come up; and the Elder, while walking, trampled these down and killed many. The residential novices did not sweep the Elder's walking-court early in the morning. The other Bhikkus, having come to see the Elder's dwelling-place and seeing the dead worms, enquired who it was that was accustomed to walk there.

"Our preceptor, O Lords," said the novices.

"Behold the work of the recluse!" they said in reproach. "During the time he had the use of his eyes he slept continually without doing anything; now when he has lost



his eyes, he has killed so many worms by his exercise of walking. Thinking: 'I shall do what is advantageous,' he has done that which is disadvantageous."

They then went to the Exalted One and related the matter to him.

"O Sire, the Elder Cakkhupala has killed many worms while walking about."

"Have ye seen them being killed by him?"

"No, Sire."

"As ye saw it not, so also he did not see the worms: in the passionless ones, there is no will to kill, O Bhikkus."

"But, O Sire," they asked, "having the capacity (destiny) to attain Arhatship, why has he become blind?"

"(It is) in accordance with an action that he (once) committed."

"What was that action?"

"Listen, O Bhikkus: In the past, during the reign of a King of Benares, a certain physician who wandered about through villages and hamlets, giving medical aid (to people), saw a woman of weak eye and enquired what her complaint was."

"I cannot see," she said.

"I can give thee medicines."

"Please (give), Lord."

"What wilt thou give me?"

"If you succeed in curing my eyes permanently, I shall become a slave under you with my sons and daughters."

Accepting her offer and saying, "It is well," he prescribed a medicine which of itself permanently cured her eyes. She then thought: 'I promised this man to become a slave under him with my sons and daughters; but he will never treat me mildly. I shall (therefore) deceive him.' So, when the physician came and asked her how it was with her eyes, she said.

"In former days my eyes used to hurt me a little; now they hurt me more and more."

The physician thought: 'This woman is going to deceive me without giving me anything; her fee is of no use to me. I shall now make her blind,' and, returning home, he communicated the matter to his wife too. She kept silence. He prepared a medicine, went to the woman (of defective sight) and got her to apply it to her eyes. (The lights of) both her eyes were extinguished like the lights of lamps. This physician became the Elder Cakkhupala."

"O Bhikkus," concluded the Buddha, "The deed which was then committed by my son pursued him unceasingly. An evil deed follows (man) like the wheel that follows the foot of the bull bearing the yoke."

After narrating this story, and linking thereto its connections, the King of Righteousness, like sealing a letter with the Royal Seal on wax, uttered this stanza:—

*Manopubbangama dhamma manosettha manomaya  
Manasa ce padutthena bhasati va karoti va  
Tato nan dukkhamanveti cakkan'va vahato padan.*

"(All the mental) characteristics have Mind as their fore-runner (prime-mover) and overlord; they are formed of Mind. Whosoever, with the mind defiled, either speaks or acts, him sorrow follows therefrom, like the wheel that follows the foot of its drawer (draught-ox)."



## NOTES ON THE STANZA.

**Mano**:—"The Mind," is generally applied to four-fold thought in its entirety, viz., *Kamavacara*, *Rupavacara*, *Arupavacara* and *Lokuttara*. But here, in this particular instance, it refers to the thought animated by, or associated with, malice and anger, that arose within the physician who got the poor woman to apply a poisonous medicine to her eyes which eventually became blind.

**Dhamma**<sup>1</sup>:—In general, have four different meanings, viz., *Guna* = quality; *Desana* = the process of discoursing; *Pariyatti* = the constituents of the Buddha's doctrine; *Nissatta* = essential characteristics of doctrine which deny the existence of a being, or individual, apart from the five *Khandhas* or *Namarupa*, (and are quite opposed to the *Sammuti Dhamma*, or notions popularly held to be true). Here by *Dhamma* are meant the last category; and they signify nothing else but the three formless groups, viz., *Vedana* = feelings, *Sanna* = perception, and *Sankhara* = predispositions. These alone are called *Manopubbangama* because mind is their prime-mover.

How does the mind, which arises simultaneously—i.e. neither before nor after, but at the same moment,—with these groups, become the prime-mover? Because it becomes the cause of origin (for the others). As, for example, when many (people) gather together and set about plundering villages, etc., and investigation is made as to their prime-mover, whosoever is (found to be) their causer, depending on whom they committed that act, he is called their prime-mover, be he named Datta or Matta (i.e. whatever be his name).

Thus, as it is the cause of origin, the mind becomes the prime-mover of those groups which are called **manopubbangama**. They (the groups) cannot exist when the mind is non-existent; but the mind arises even in the absence of certain mental (characteristics).

As the mind becomes their overlord, by way of supremacy as it were, they are called **manosettha**. As the ring-leaders become the overlords of the thieves, etc., so the mind becomes the overlord of the groups.

As articles of furniture made of wood are called "wooden furniture," so these groups, because they are formed or made of mind, are called **manomaya**.

**Padutthena**:—Defiled with adventitious stains, such as covetousness, etc. The natural mind is *bhavangacitta*, and it is undefiled. As pure water polluted with adventitious colours such as blue, etc., becomes blue, etc., and is neither new water nor the former but the originally pure water, so the mind also,—which, defiled with adventitious stains such as covetousness, etc., becomes impure and is neither new mind nor the former mind,—is *bhavangacitta*. Therefore it is that Buddha declared: "Radiant, O Bhikkus, is this mind; it is also defiled by adventitious stains."

**Manasa ce padutthena bhasati va karoti va**:—Whosoever *speaks* with impure mind; gives utterance generally to the "four verbal sins," viz., lying, slander, tale-bearing and vain talk. Whosoever *does* anything with impure mind commits generally "three bodily sins," viz., destruction of life, theft, and adultery. Whosoever with impure mind neither speaks nor acts, commits "three kinds of mental sins," viz., covetousness, malice, and wrong belief. In this way he earns ten kinds of demerits.

1. The term *Dhamma*, as used here, it is difficult to render accurately into English, as many eminent scholars both in the East and the West have found. Max Muller (*Dhammapada*, p3) has translated it thus: "All that we are is the result of what we have thought." But this is demonstrably an incorrect rendering, since it expresses a view quite opposed to Buddhist philosophy which denies that "all that we are is due to what we have done in the past." *Yan kincayan purisapuggalo patisanvedeti sukhan va dukkhan va adukkhamasukhan va sabbantan pubbekatahetu.* [*Anguttara Nikaya*, III. 61. 2.]







## THE PEDIGREE OF THE PARDÃO.

By MR. H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

THE currency system of Portuguese India consisted of reis, of tangas and of pardãos of 60 and 300 reis respectively. But as in the territory of Goa the revenue accounts of the villages were kept in an older and local system of tangas brancas, barganins and leães, so also in Ceylon, where in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were at least two such systems. The first which in default of a better name may be called the "Sinhalese" prevailed in the western and south-western districts of the Island and was derived from the currency in use of the Kotte dynasty; this last consisted of base gold fanams of which in 1554 thirty went to the pardão of 300 reis.<sup>1</sup> This base gold fanam in process of time became a silver coin, and with the addition of the silver larin of 100 reis and of the xerafim of three times that value formed the "Sinhalese" currency system referred to above. The second system which we may style for convenience the "Tamil" prevailed in the northern part of Ceylon; its principal denomination was the pardão of ten chocrões (chakrams) or fanões (fanams), each pardão being rated at 300 reis. It appears to have been based upon the Negapatam fanam, the chocrão of Nunes, of which coin  $12\frac{1}{4}$ — $12\frac{1}{2}$  went to the pardão d'ouro and  $10\frac{1}{4}$ — $10\frac{1}{2}$  to the gold xerafim in 1554. Both the Sinhalese fanam and the fanam-chakram appear among the treasures looted by the Portuguese at Kotte and Sitawaka and recorded in *O Tesouro do Rei de Ceilão*, 1551.

At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in India the chief Hindu State was the great empire of Vijayanagar or Narsinga, comprising the whole south of the peninsula, of which kingdom the principal coins were the gold varaha or pagoda and its half the pratapa. The former, perhaps from the various issues being known by the name of the King who struck them<sup>2</sup> and the legends reading "*Sri pratapa Krishna raya*," "*Sri pratapachyuta raya*," and the like, usurped the name properly belonging to its half and to the Portuguese was universally known as the pardão. Barbosa<sup>3</sup> writing about 1516 states that "it is coined in certain cities of this Kingdom of Narsinga, and throughout all India they use this money, which passes in all those Kingdoms: its gold is a little inferior. This coin is round and made in a mould. Some of them have some Indian letters on one side, and two figures on the other of a man and a woman, and others have nothing but the lettering on one side." According to Domingo Paes<sup>4</sup> (c. 1520-22) "it bears impressed on it on one side two images and on the other the name of the King who commanded it to be struck." This agrees with di Varthema's description of the pagoda current at Goa between 1503 and 1508: "These pardai are smaller than the seraphim of Cairo, but thicker, and have

1. Nunes, *O Lyvro dos pesos*, p. 36.

2. Chronicle of Fernao Nunez c. 1535-1537, (A Forgotten Empire, R. Sewell).

3. Hakluyt Society.

4. Narrative of Domingo Paes, (A Forgotten Empire).



two devils stamped upon one side of them, and certain letters on the other,"<sup>5</sup> a sufficiently accurate portrayal of the pagodas of the Vijayanagar dynasty.

This coin in Barbosa's time was worth 300 maravedis at Vijayanagar and 320 in the district of Batecala, a dependency of the empire in Canara. For various reasons into which it is not possible to enter here, it would appear that by the Spanish denomination of maravedis he really designated the Portuguese reis: suffice it to say that in 1517 the pagoda was actually valued at 320 reis in Goa;<sup>6</sup> in 1520-22, however, it had risen to 360 reis both there and at Vijayanagar.<sup>7</sup> The variety current at Goa appears to have been that of Barcelor, of  $20\frac{1}{4}$  quilates fineness, as it was to represent this coin that S. Thomé was issued.

The actual pagoda, apparently to distinguish it from the pagoda of account (Bi) which retained its old rating of 300 reis, was known to the Portuguese as the *pardao d'ouro* (Ai) or gold pardão, and later in opposition to the patacão as the *pardao d'ouro redondo* or *pardao d'ouro pagode*: it finally seems to have been styled simply *pagode*. For many years it was rated at 360 reis or 6 larins; by 1554 it was equal only to 5 larins, this silver coin having risen from 60 to 72 reis, and later on rose steadily in value owing partly to the increasing cheapness of silver resulting from the output of the American mines and partly to the decreasing worth of the rei.

Between 1545 and 1548 was struck the gold S. Thomé of 43 pontos or  $20\frac{1}{4}$  quilates fineness<sup>8</sup> (84.375 touch) as the equivalent of the gold pagoda: its weight was that of the latter coin, though some issued under D. João III. are considerably lighter. For a time it would appear to have been known as the *pardao S. Thomé* (Aii).

The pagoda usually rated in the sixteenth century at 360 reis fluctuated in value, being equal at Bardez in 1546 to  $374\frac{2}{3}$  reis; hence arose the *pardao d'ouro of account*<sup>9</sup> (Aiii) of the fixed value of 360 reis. Its use was confined to the horse trade and to the purchase of gems and of the precious metals. Its real value, it is needless to say followed the downward course of the rei.

In 1550 the Viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha struck the silver patacão or silver S. Thomé as the equivalent of the pagoda of 360 reis.<sup>10</sup> This new coin was 418.07 grains Troy in weight, but was intrinsically worth only 270 reis, and subsequent issues were of still less weight and value. There now arose, therefore, a further distinction of pardãos, the new silver piece being known as *pardao d'ouro patacao*<sup>11</sup> (Aiv). Its issue ceased in 1566. The Spanish piece of eight or pataca agreed in weight, but not in value, with the first issue of the patacão and perhaps owing to this was known at Goa where it was current as *pardao de reales*<sup>12</sup> (Av.)

5.—Hakluyt Society.

6.—Aragao. *As Moedas Cunhadas*, &c. Doct. 1.

7.—Domingo Paes.

8.—Aragao, Docts. 9, 10.

9.—Linschoten, *Itinerarium* (Amsterdam; ed. 1644, cap. 35.)

10.—Aragao, Docts. 9, 10, 16.

11.—*Tombo Geral*, liv. iii., fol. 84 (Aragao, pp. 155, 156).

12.—Linschoten.



We now return to the Vijayanagar *pardao* or pagoda of account (Bi) which retained its original value of 300 reis, thus being equal to the gold xerafim of Hormuz. This sum was equivalent to five larins, chiefly those of the Hormuz mint, which in India were rated at 60 reis each, though occasionally higher by reason of *agio* or "serrafagem:" the larin being known as the tanga, this money of account was named *pardao de tangas* (Bii). By the middle of the sixteenth century the larin having risen to 72 reis, we find a *pardao de tangas larins*, *pardao de tangas de prata*<sup>13</sup> or *pardao de larins*<sup>14</sup> still equal to five larins but now of the value of 360 reis or even of 396 through the *agio*.<sup>15</sup> The tanga of 60 reis, once the larin, having now become a money of account, there arose a new *pardao de tangas* (Biii),<sup>16</sup> namely of five Indo-Portuguese tangas or 300 reis.

The gold Hormuz xerafim (Arab. *ashrafi*) at this period was, with the larin, the popular trade coin of the Arabian Sea and its coasts. As already noted, it was rated at Hormuz at 300 reis, though of a somewhat higher value in India; the new xerafim, however, issued about the middle of the sixteenth century was of less fineness and was of the fixed value of 300 reis in India,<sup>17</sup> thus being equal to the *pardao de tangas* of account (Biii). In 1568 as the equivalent of this gold piece a xerafim of silver was struck at Cochin by the Portuguese and also rated at 300 reis.<sup>18</sup> In this coin and its successors, the names of its two ancestors were united, the piece being known as the *pardao xerafim* (Biv): though always rated at 300 reis, it was constantly diminishing in weight and relative value until it finally became the half of the rupee. A variety of this in gold was issued in 1634 for use in Ceylon, Cochin and Goa and was known as the xerafim d'ouro.<sup>19</sup>

A *pardao de çadis* (Bv) is mentioned by Nunes in his description of the Hormuz currency: this was a money of account consisting of twenty çadis or sums of one hundred dinars (Persian *sad* "100") and was equal to 279  $\frac{3}{43}$  reis.<sup>20</sup> This reckoning presumably ceased with the capture of Hormuz by the Persians and English in 1622.

Nunes also tells us that the *pardao de fanoes* (Bvi) was a money of account at Pulicat, equal to ten fanams or to 288-293  $\frac{43}{49}$  reis.<sup>21</sup> This is the lineal native descendant of the pagoda of account (Bi): it was also employed at Negapatam and is the original of the

13.—Aragao, *passim*, and O Tesouro do Rei de Ceilao, p. 23.

14.—Linschoten.

15.—Nunes, pp. 25, 26. In Linschoten's time (1583-8)=420-432 reis.

16.—O Tesouro, &c.

17.—Nunes, p. 25.

18.—Aragao, Doct. 9.

19.—Aragao Docts. 83, 85.

20.—Nunes, p. 25.

21.—Nunes, p. 36.



pardão in the Ceylon "Tamil" system of currency. Under the name *pardau*, *perdau* or *pardauw* it was in use in the Jaffna district and at the Pearl Fisheries under the Dutch: it was always of ten fanams and followed the fluctuations of that coin in value. Thus in 1659 its rating was again raised with the fanam from 45 to 50 stuivers,<sup>22</sup> in order to facilitate reckoning with the guilder of 20 stuivers. It was still rated at 50 stuivers in 1661,<sup>23</sup> but by 1694 the fanam had risen to 6 stuivers and the pardau in consequence to 60,<sup>24</sup> thus becoming equal to the rix dollar, at which value it still remained in 1708 at Tuticorin. Valentyn in 1726 makes the pardau at Negapatam equal to  $43\frac{3}{4}$  stuivers. The last mention I have found is in an account of a Dutch Embassy in 1770 to Muhammad Ali Khan, Nawab of the Carnatic, who claimed a share in the pearl fishery.

Allied to this pardau is the Tanjore chakram, reckoned in 1813 as equal to 10 gold or 20 Madras fanams or  $\frac{4}{9}$  Star pagoda, as well as the old Madura *pon* in use before the Muhammadan conquest in 1736: this was composed to 10 Kali fanams of which in 1816  $16\frac{1}{2}$  and  $13\frac{3}{4}$  went to the Star pagoda and the Porto Novo pagoda respectively. In Mysore also accounts were kept in Kanthiraya fanams "and in an imaginary money containing 10 of these, by the Musalmans called chucrams, and by the English Canteroy Pagodas"<sup>25</sup>: in 1816, six Kanthiraya made five Star pagodas.

All these, though of values varying with the fineness of the fanam, were moneys of account, derived from the old Vijayanagar pagoda.

The following table giving the ratings of the pagoda, S. Thomé, the Spanish piece-of-weight and the larin in reis, demonstrates the progressive deterioration of the Indo-Portuguese silver coinage, as well as the change in the ratio between the two precious metals caused by the influx of American silver, the full effect of which was not produced until about 1640. For this latter the ratings of the Venetian sequin have been added for purposes of comparison with the piece-of-eight, the two coins being constant in weight and fineness. The Hormuz gold xerafim, once the standard trade coin of the west coast of India, has been inserted for the sake of completeness.

The variations in the value of the pagoda after the overthrow of Vijayanagar by the Muhammadan powers at the battle of Talikota in 1565,—itself one of the chief causes of the decline of Goa,—were due to the assumption of the right of coinage by the late feudatories of the empire, whence arose a profusion of pagodas and fanams all more or less debased.

The ratings except where otherwise noted are those prevalent at Goa.

22.—Dutch Council Proceedings, September 11, 1659.

23.—Instructions to Dessave of Jaffanapatnam (Govt. Press, 1908).

24.—Fishery at Arippu, Accounts of, (Ceylon Lit. Register, iii., 1888—89, p. 128).

25.—Buchanan, *Mysore* i, 129.



## CEYLON ANTIQUARY

TABLE OF COMPARATIVE VALUES.<sup>1</sup>

Year.	Pardão d'ouro (of gold) or pagoda.	S. Thomé.	Pardão de reales or Piece-of- eight.	Larin (*5=par- dão de tangas larins, p. de tan- gas de prata, p. de larins).	Hormuz gold xerafim,	Venetian.
1516	300 <i>Vijayanagar</i> 320 <i>Balecala</i>	...	...	55 <i>Hormuz</i>	300	...
1517	320	...	...	...	...	...
1522	6 tangas [360]	...	...	...	...	...
1525-35	6 larins [360]	...	...	60	5 larins [300]	7 larins [420]
1545-8	360 (6 larins)	6 larins	...	...	5 larins [300]	7 larins [420]
1546	360 374½ <i>Salsette</i>	[360]	...	60 62½ <i>Salsette</i>	...	...
1551	360	...	...	72	306-309: new xerafim 300	...
1554	360 (agio, 378- 396)	...	...	72 + agio [72]	new xerafim 300	420
1557	360	...	...	...	300	...
1565	450	...	...	...	...	...
c. 1568	[480?] <i>mainland</i>	...	...	72 forced cur- rency	...	...
1569 <sup>2</sup>	360	360	...	96 <i>mainland</i>	...	...
1580 <sup>3</sup>	old 480 new 430	...	...	72	...	420 570
1578-81 <sup>4</sup>	360 raised to 540	...	376 raised to 430	? 90	300 raised to 540	420 raised to 600
1581-4	495 <i>Bardez</i>	...	...	82½ <i>Bardez</i>	...	...
1583-8 <sup>5</sup>	over 480	420-480	436: by agio, 487½-507	84-86½: by agio	...	...
1587	...	...	450 and more	90-93½	...	600 600
1588-91	...	...	...	90 <i>Chaul</i>	...	...
1591-3	...	...	415	...	...	...
1593	...	...	400 <sup>6</sup>	...	...	...
1595	...	510: now to run at value of metal	...	...	...	...
1597	[43 pontos fine]	...	...	...	...	...
c. 1608	...	...	...	90 <i>Damao</i>	...	...
1610	6 larins [540]	...	...	90 <i>Chaul</i>	...	...
1618	570-600	600	...	...	...	690-720
1619	...	...	480	...	...	...
1622	...	...	5 larins	? 96	...	...
1624	780 [39 pontos fine]	866	480	Persian 96 other 90	...	of 2 figures 960, old 930, new 866
1629	...	{ 912 900 <i>Ceylon</i>	...	...	...	...
1630	...	...	540, 550	...	...	...
1631	852 [38 pontos fine]	912	...	...	...	...
1634	...	...	above 570	...	...	...
1638	...	...	540	100 <i>Ceylon</i> (? of account)	...	...
1640	...	1230	...	...	...	...
1645	...	...	720	...	...	...
1646	...	1350	[720]	...	...	1440 <sup>8</sup>
1653	...	...	720 <sup>7</sup>	...	...	...

1. The pardão d'ouro, pardão de tangas and pardão xerafim not included, all being of a fixed rating. 2. Attempt to revert to old ratings. 3. Balbi. 4. Debased silver xerafins issued. 5. Linschoten. 6. Agio on real abolished. 7. Rated at 5 silver larins: hence through the paper Dutch and British rix dollar, the Sinhalese *ridi paha* or 75 cents, the silver rix dollar of 1821 being three-quarters of a rupee. 8. Rating of Venetian at two Spanish dollars continued till the nineteenth century.



## THE HINDU GODDESS PATTINI IN THE BUDDHIST POPULAR BELIEFS OF CEYLON.

By MRS. LUDMILA MEERWARTH-LEVINA.

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**I**N the tenets of the Buddhist creed there is no space for gods or goddesses able to avert the results of *karma*. And yet one could scarcely find a faith more pervaded by the idea of helpful, or harmful, supernatural beings—alien, it is true—than the Buddhism of Ceylon. The explanation of this strange fact lies in the common misuse of the word “religion.” This term is applied equally to the loftiest doctrine as to the lowliest popular belief. The doctrine is evolved by a few exceptional minds; is the utmost summit that combined religious feeling, philosophical thought and ethic sense of the best in a time and race could attain. In its full extent it must needs remain the property of the chosen few who can comprehend and accept it intelligently.

The bulk of a people adheres staunchly to the faith of its forefathers, and a new creed can never entirely supplant the old one: it can only influence it. The figure of Pattini in Ceylon is a good illustration of this.

The pre-Buddhistic faith—that is, popular belief, not doctrine—of the inhabitants of Ceylon consisted of several elements.

There were, first of all, the un-Aryan inhabitants—Veddas, whose religion seems to have been mostly ancestor-worship; and, though this is not a Buddhist practice, it still exists among the people of the Kandyan Provinces at least. When the *bali-edura*, or astrologer, thinks it useful and proper the following ceremony is arranged:—

The house is swept clean, a white napkin is spread on the floor, rice with the best available curries are placed on the cloth, and the father of the family asks the ancestors to partake of the food, while he and the whole household stand in the room with heads bowed in order not to see the spirits of the deceased. After half an hour it is deemed that they have departed, and the family feasts on the remnants. It is necessary to propitiate them as they are powerful to work harm.

Not only ancestor-worship, but also Vedda gods, as *Bandara-Deviyo* or *Alut-nuwara-Deviyo*, subsist in the beliefs of the Buddhist of to-day. They are the most dreaded gods of such places as, for example, the eastern wilder parts of Sabaragamuwa.

Yet another survival of Vedda cult is the considerable number of cave temples in Ceylon. They are now mostly used as viharas, but, as there is no specification in Buddhism as to the particular saintliness of caves,—one must suppose that these caves were places of worship before they became Buddha-temples. Like all other religions, instead of conquering the unconquerable—the inbred-beliefs of a people—Buddhism



took them over, put its own statues into the hallowed places, and gave the men, who as of old brought their offerings to Him of the cave, the name of staunch Buddhists.

So far as regards the religion of the Veddas as it was incorporated in Buddhism.

Then there were also the newcomers from India, Aryans and Tamils. They too brought their faiths into the island. They brought the devil-worship, astrology, signs and omens<sup>1</sup> and the whole world of Hindu gods. All these elements, firmly welded together, constituted for Ceylon a religion of its own, but very much akin to the Hindu. At this time a great Reformer arose in India. Gautama Buddha did not really proclaim a new creed. In order to get a firm grasp of the minds of the people a new teaching has always to be strongly rooted in the old ideas. Buddha was brought up in them: he could not tear himself off completely. If one examines the New Testament, one can not find a single great idea that is wholly new. They all existed in the Old Testament, and simply got overlaid by petty ritualistic rules.

The same fate overtakes all religions, and, when the time is ripe, a Reformer comes "not to break the law but to fulfil it." Buddha unearthed the inmost kernel of every faith: its ethical and philosophical standpoint. He lived it through, bathing it in his own religious feeling—the third component part of religion; he realised it and the doctrines stood forth to him as a new faith—new because he had realised them himself. He was not the first Sage to whom realisation came; but, being a very strong personality and gifted with a great power of speech, he went out and preached his creed. His fiery words appealed to the ritual-wearied man, they moved those who yearned for faith, they stirred those who were too dulled by daily life even for yearning. They filled the world, they thrilled the world, they set the world on fire. But the bright burning logs were these same yearning thoughts, and when the bonfire burned down (as Buddha's doctrines were too high to be actually realised by the common people), the old gods welded to every day-life came back with it.

Buddhism did not pass away; but it became modified. It was no more a live faith: it was now a doctrine, a criterion to be measured by. Still, the impulse it had given was very strong, and Buddhism pervaded the old beliefs so deeply that they had to be modified in order to be reconciled to it. Not only was Buddha declared to be superior to all gods and devils. The influence of his words, in a distorted sort of way, reached deeper: sometimes it even remodelled those gods themselves.

The history of the goddess Pattini is a convincing illustration. *Pattini*,<sup>2</sup> as her name implies, is the goddess-consort. She is the *Sakti* of either Vishnu or Siva—her name does not explain of whom—a Hindu goddess worshipped in India as a goddess of small-pox and plague. There is in Madura a temple of Kali, the small-pox and plague goddess, and in this capacity she is called by the people Pattini. At an outbreak of sickness men take big earthen pots brimful of water, and remain standing

<sup>1</sup> On this subject I propose to write more another time. In the meanwhile I am collecting material.

<sup>2</sup> See Clough's Dictionary.



in the temple with the chatties on their heads as long as they possibly can, without shaking even so much as to spill a single drop. The longer the time the greater is the propitiation, and the nearer and surer the end of the epidemic. When I was there in February last, a man stood the test for forty-eight hours.

Scholars of Hindu Mythology think that this Kali-Pattini is the result of a confusion of the two goddesses.<sup>3</sup> They rest their affirmation on the story of a canonization of a certain Kannaki under the name of Pattini.<sup>4</sup> Kannaki was the wife of Kovilan, or Palanga, a goldsmith. On her husband being executed on the unjust accusation of stealing the queen's anklet, she destroyed the city of Madura by her curse. The jewelled anklets and a mango are her special attributes. The story adds that Gaja Bahu, king of Ceylon, took the sacred anklets over to this Island and instituted here the worship of the goddess Pattini. She is always worshipped in Ceylon under the symbol of her anklet or some other ornament.<sup>5</sup> I have not heard of any statue of her in any of her shrines, except the famous two wooden figures—supposed to be *Pattini* and *Palanga*—in the Nikaveva cave. Coomaraswamy in his "Bronzes from Ceylon, chiefly in the Colombo Museum" (the first publication of the series *Memoirs of the Colombo Museum*), identifies five statuettes (42, 43, 135, 171, 184) as *Pattini* figures. But he says (*ib.* p. 12.): "The identification of the images here illustrated, as well as of the beautiful wooden figure of the Nikaveva cave, appears to rest only on tradition."

This goddess, being a helper in every day calamities, like small-pox and cattle murrain, could not fail to take a prominent place in the people's mind. Her story was told me by the professional story-teller of a village near Ruwanvella in Sabaragamuwa as he tells it usually at harvest-time to the accompaniment of quaint tom-toming<sup>6</sup>.

*Pattini*<sup>7</sup> was born out of a mango and could therefore have no intimate relations with a man. But as it is usual for a woman to take a husband, she married an exceedingly handsome man called Pala-gurunnanse. As she remained a virgin, he, with her consent, used to visit a courtesan. *Pattini* gave him all her possessions, and little by little they all passed into the hands of the other woman. When Pala-gurunnanse had nothing more to give he ceased his visits. The courtesan, wishing to lure him back, asked her sister for advice. The sister said: "First of all, you must build a big *Maduwa* (dancing hall)." So they prepared a *Nekat* ceremony. After that one thousand men for seven days inspected the ground for a suitable place, and for thirty days they laid the foundations. Three hundred pillars were set up, over which forty-nine beams were placed, over these two hundred

3 Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 631 ff.

4 Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao (Travancore) informs me that this story is related in a Tamil epic *Silappadikaram* and that the internal evidence contained in the work *Tillai Nakshatra*, etc., points to the 8th century A. D. as the date of the occurrence. But as the *Rajavaliya* places the Gaja Bahu of Ceylon, named in the story, in the 2nd century A. D., the question seems to be open to controversy.

5 See *The Worship of Pattini Deviyo*, Ceylon Literary Register, V. 10, 1890.

6 My thanks are due to Mr. John M. Senaveratne who interpreted the whole of the story to me as the man spoke.

7 It would be most interesting to compare this story with the one related in *Silappadikaram*.



and two other beams were placed; over these nine hundred rafters;<sup>8</sup> and, to strengthen the rafters, nine hundred sticks. From the jungle they got the bamboo, cut them into long strips and tied them together with golden wire: with them they kept the tiles in position. Rows of carved lines (figures), also rows of *hansayo*,<sup>9</sup> went all round the *Maduwa*; golden finials were fastened on the roof. A *torana* (ornamental arch) was erected at each entrance. Beautiful walls were built: the floor was levelled and polished with a sweet oil.

Letters written on talipot leaves were sent to the countries around. Then the princes of Lanka were brought by special messengers and ministers, who were despatched thither with the letters: all kinds of people were invited to see the dances; even widows were brought. Very many royal princes and princesses assembled; only Palanga (Pattini's husband) did not come. Five *pelas* of golden chunam were measured out. Then the courtesan asked her sister: "What further can we do now?" The sister said: "Send him a letter." A letter was sent; but Pattini met the messenger, and taking it from him read it, tore it, and trampled on the remnants with both her feet, saying: "A strumpet like that sending a letter to husband of me, her superior!"

So the messenger went back, and related to the courtesan what he had seen and heard. She again asked her sister what to do: the sister advised her to send Pala-gurunnanse another letter. This was done, and on reading it he was most anxious that he should not be the only one absent from a place where kings and many other personages were present. Falling at Pattini's feet he begged for permission to go. She said: "I don't know anything about it: you had better get your parents' permission to go."

Thereupon Pala-gurunnanse went to his parents, who also said: "We don't know anything about it: you had better get Pattini's permission." Pala-gurunnanse came back, fell at his wife's feet and besought her permission. She then answered: "Well, if you

8 This description the story-teller gave me in verse.

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9 *Hansa*—Sacred goose.



wish it so much, go of your own free will: I know you will come back empty-handed." She then got ready two thousand men,—one thousand to go in front, the other thousand to follow him with flags in their hands; also beautifully caparisoned elephants. She asked the men to take care of her husband, whom she herself advised not to leave them but remaining in their midst to watch the dances.

When they came to the dancing place the courtesan's sister went into the ring, and, while dancing, made two leaps into the air and came down. A little later, in the course of her dance, she again made three bounds into the air and, while coming down, saw Pala-gurunnanse. Struck by his wondrous beauty, she fell senseless on the ground. The courtesan rushed to the place, charmed some water, and threw it on her sister's face. The girl explained that her swoon was occasioned by the beauty of Pattini's husband. Whereupon the courtesan said: "Let me dance now;" and, at once advancing into the arena, she danced, throwing a golden necklace (*anjana malaya*) up in the air. Seeing this, each of the assembled kings wished: "May this necklace fall on my neck." But the courtesan meant it to fall round Pala-gurunnanse's neck, and she actually so contrived it. Therefore, for the rest of that day—that is, till next morning—she kept him with her as her husband. After that she forcibly took possession of all the rich apparel he had brought and drove him off.

He went back to Pattini, fell at her feet, and described what had happened. She said: "I have got nothing more to give you. There are only eight ounces of gold. Take one ounce each day and go."<sup>10</sup> When that too had passed into the hands of the courtesan Pala-gurunnanse came crying again. Then Pattini took her anklet, which was worth one hundred thousand pieces of gold, and gave it to him, saying: "Sell it and bring the money." Pala-gurunnanse took it, and was about to leave when a crow began cawing. "Don't start now," advised Pattini, "it is a bad omen." So Pala-gurunnanse cut his thigh, took some blood, and gave it with a little rice to the crow who ate it.

Thereupon he started on his journey, but Pattini, feeling much grieved at his departure, followed unseen at a short distance behind. Pala-gurunnanse stopped for the night near the houses of some Gopala-men (shepherds), and Pattini came there likewise. Her husband seeing her, felt greatly annoyed. "When a man," he shouted, "goes forth on trading bent can he take wife and children with him?" And, dashing the anklet on the ground, he told Pattini that she could take it home. But Pattini had come not because she was anxious about her ornament but out of love for her husband. Mollified by this explanation he assured her that he would not fail to return within eight days. Then, taking back the anklet, he started forth again.

He came at last into the city of the Pandiyan king, and reached the street of the goldsmiths. He entered a goldsmith's house, and proffered the anklet for sale. The goldsmith, taking it into his hands, ran straight off to the king's palace and handed it to the queen, saying: "This is Your Majesty's lost anklet." The queen took it but it burnt her hands and fell on the ground. Whereupon the queen declared: "This is not my

<sup>10</sup> A man of Dippitiya village, Kegalle District, gave this variant:—instead of an ounce, Pattini gave her husband five hundred gold pieces, till she had no more left to give.



anklet; it is the goddess Pattini's." The goldsmith, however, remarking: "It is like the story of the short man,"<sup>11</sup> took the anklet to the king, who was thus induced to believe Pala-gurunnanse a thief.

The king decided to execute Pattini's husband, and, having made an elephant drunk with toddy, sent him to kill the offender; but though he was fuddled the animal bent his knee to Pala-gurunnanse, and went off without doing him any harm. Then the king sent a pack of dogs to tear him to pieces; yet even the dogs only worshipped him and ran away. So the king ordered his executioner to behead Pala-gurunnanse. When the order was taken to the house of the executioner the latter was away; but his wife, who was sleeping, had had a strange dream. She related it to her husband on his return, and it was as follows: "I saw the lightning flash when the thunder rolled; I saw the glittering *ran-kota* fall; I saw the golden palace become a heap of ruins. These three things I saw in my dream."<sup>12</sup> The executioner, on hearing this, at once said: "Either some great evil is about to befall the people, or there is a king or queen to be slain." Shortly after the executioner led Pala-gurunnanse to a *kohomba*<sup>13</sup> tree and slew him.

Pattini, after waiting vainly for eight days for the return of her husband, made up her mind to go in search of him. After preparing various kinds of food and provisions she put them in a basket, and, getting her servant girl to carry it, started forth on her quest. The basket was so heavy that the servant girl, after a short distance, complained of great pain in her head. Pattini then volunteered to carry the load herself, but the servant would not let her; and they went on. Shortly after she complained of shoulder-pain, and Pattini suggested that they should rest for a while in a shady place. They started again. The servant once more complained—that her feet were aching, and Pattini again proposed to relieve her of her burden; but the girl said she could not think of allowing her august mistress to carry such a load and she idly to walk by. So they again rested under the shade of a *nuga* tree.<sup>14</sup>

At length they came to an *ambalama* (choultry) that was haunted by a flesh-eating *Yaksani*. The latter had gone out in search of human flesh and was soon returning. Pattini, seeing her at a distance, spoke thus to her servant: "Look, girl, do you see a *Yaksani* coming here with teeth like *na* trunks? She comes to devour us." "Mistress," begged the girl, "leave me alone in the *ambalama* as an

<sup>11</sup> It is the story of a queen who fell in love with a cripple because of his wonderful singing and preaching. The king, her husband, discovered the intimacy and punished her in an indescribably filthy way. Mentioning this story, the goldsmith hints at the possibility of love between the Pandiyan-queen and the handsome Pala-gurunnanse and scares her into acquiescence in his words.

<sup>12</sup> This dream the story-teller again gave in verse.

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<sup>13</sup> *Kohomba* :—Azadirachta Indica (Meliaceae), margosa. (Clough's Dictionary).

*Nuga* :—Milky fig tree, Ficus altissima. The banyan, Ficus bengalensis, is called *maha-nuga*, (Clough's Dictionary.)

*Na* :—Iron wood tree, Mesua ferrea, (Ibid).



offering to the Yaksani, and do you proceed on your journey." Pattini replied: "What! don't you know that I am Pattini!" (meaning that she was all-powerful). And by reason of her power she made the Yaksani stop at some distance from the *ambalama*, and halt unable to come a step forward. Then Pattini jeeringly asked her: "Why, Yaksani, don't you come? Why do you stop there?" The Yaksani answered: "My feet have lost the power of motion: I cannot walk." So Pattini gave her permission to come, and asked her why she was sinning in this manner. "The raging pain in my stomach (hunger) is so strong that I am compelled to eat men and women," was the reply. Pattini said: "Henceforth you must eat no human flesh in my land. Be as gracious as I am, and take charge of, and protect, my devals: be a friend of men instead of their enemy in this land."

Thereupon Pattini continued her journey. She came to a stream, which at the wish of the Pandiyan-king of Madura, who knew of her approach, became swollen by floods without rain. The boatman, who usually ferried people across, was idling at the time; and when Pattini asked him: "Boatman, why are you not ferrying people across?" he replied: "What are you asking, impertinent wench? Don't you know that the king has forbidden any ferrying of people?" On her inquiring for the reason of this order the boatman said that he did not know. Then Pattini, after making an invocation to heaven as well as to earth, took her ring from her hand and dropped it into the river. The waters forthwith divided, and a passage covered with white sand was left open for her to cross the river. As soon as she got across, the boatman found that he and his whole family had been afflicted by small-pox. He went to her, fell at her knees, and besought her to forgive him and restore their health; which she did. Pattini next, in order to get back her ring, held out both her hands, and the ring rose from the waters and fell on her outstretched palms.

Then she proceeded on her journey, and came into a street where Gopala-men and women used to reside. Meeting a woman she inquired for any news of a man answering to the description of her husband: "Such a person," the woman replied, "has been arrested and executed for being in wrongful possession of an anklet belonging to the queen of the Pandiyan king of Madura-city." As Pattini went a little further some of the Gopala-men, seeing her, asked where she was going: she said that she was going in search of her husband. Fascinated by her great beauty, these men entreated: "Stop and rest the night here; we will give you bracelets for your arms, necklaces for your neck, rings for your toes, and a bed covered with a golden cloth to sleep on." She replied that she would rest only with her husband when she had found him. Then the Gopala-men abused her, saying: "Here is a beautiful woman but a strumpet, going on an evil errand." Pattini, addressing her servant, bewailed the fate which compelled the separation from her husband and the necessity which forced her to hear this kind of abuse. She expressed the wish that the indignities heaped on her would not be counted as bad *karmas* of her husband whose sinful longings had brought them about, and that he would not have to expiate them in some future life. She then proceeded on her journey.

After covering some distance she saw a big stone in a shady grove and stopped to rest on it. While she sat there, two little royal princes, sons of the



Pandiyan king of Madura, were returning from school. Pattini accosted them and asked where they were going. They replied: "What concern is it of yours, you impertinent woman? We are returning from school because we are hungry." Pattini then offered them food that was in her basket, but they declared: "This kind of food prepared by others is unclean for royalty like ourselves." She then tore off a piece of the rich cloth she wore round her body, and, handing it to her servant, asked her to go to the bazaar and bring in exchange some plantains and jaggery, as the royal princes said they would eat these.

One of the boutique-keepers, seeing the cloth and noting its priceless value, said, he could not afford to give change for it; but the servant told him to keep it altogether and give some plantains and jaggery. These were then brought by the servant to Pattini who distributed them between the two royal princes. After eating, the princes said that they were thirsty, and the servant brought them water from the village-well. They refused to drink water from so unclean a source. Thereupon Pattini, who was standing on a big stone, raised her foot and implanted it firmly on the stone: at once a lotus-like fountain appeared. The princes quenched their thirst, and the younger one asked his elder brother: "Who is this person?" The elder prince replied: "It must be some learned person." But the younger prince, not satisfied with this explanation, said: "No, it must be a person of superhuman powers." They asked her what they could do for her, and Pattini inquired what news they could give her of her executed husband. The elder prince replied: "A thousand persons are executed each day in the city; how can we describe the man you speak of?" The younger prince however protested, and said: "We have eaten her food; we must show our gratitude." They then informed her that the person she spoke of had been beheaded near a *kohomba* tree.

Pattini went to that place and gave way to wailing and lamentation. So bitter was her grief that Pala-gurunnanse came back to life in the midst of her lamentations, and approached Pattini to touch her. But she drew back, saying: "Chi! chi! you are an unclean thing." She pierced the *kohomba* tree, entered it and tried to escape. Pala-gurunnanse followed her by the same way, but he got wedged in the two divided parts of the tree and the tree became whole again. As Pattini had said: "Chi! chi"! to her husband, she committed a sin, and therefore, to this day, she is seated on the edge of a needle in *Divya-loka*, heaping up merits to expiate her sin.

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So far the story as given by the professional, the man who had learnt it from his predecessor. The most interesting part of it all is the construction the Buddhist villager puts on it. People of the same place, as well as from elsewhere, gave me an identical explanation of this story.

They say Buddha himself was a woman. By dint of heaping virtue on virtue and merit on merit she secured the permission of her husband to be born again as a man. This permission is essential: it is the only way for a woman to change sex: without such freely given leave all merits are of no avail. The argument that the husband may be a scoundrel and grudge his virtuous wife the happiness of being born as a man is pointless. A bad husband can not be anything else than the outcome of some previous *karma* of the wife.



Pattini, they say further, is in the same position as that woman. She is the *Maitri Buddha*, the Buddha who is to come. She was born as Pala-gurunnanse's wife to perform in full the wifely duty of unchanging love, untiring patience, all-forgiving temper. And because of this, though Pala-gurunnanse was anything but a good husband, he could not withhold from her the permission to become a man.

They corrected the version of the story-teller, inserting an explanation of Pala-gurunnanse's resurrection. Pattini wanted to tell him that she forgave him all the unhappiness he had brought on her. The reason for this wish is the Sinhalese Buddhists' belief, that, if the offended forgives the offender before he dies, forgives freely and wholeheartedly, the offence need not be expiated in any future time. Though this idea is certainly opposed to Buddha's teaching (every *karma* breeds its reward), it is nevertheless quite common.

And it was in answer to this releasing word that Pala-gurunnanse gave her leave to become a man. So now, though she sits on a needle, it is in *Divyaloka* where she listens to *bana*-preaching. When her expiation is completed she will be born on earth again, this time as man and Maitri-Buddha.

Thus the goddess Pattini is a fair example of how the un-Buddhistic belief of everyday life is construed in order to reconcile it with other motives due to the acceptance of a new doctrine. The Hindu goddess remained the same as in India, and yet the teachings of Buddha, the Great Reformer,—as they are understood in Ceylon,—left their strong imprint on her and gave her and her worship a new meaning, a new soul.





## SARANANKARA SANGHA-RĀJĀ : The Last Buddhist Hierarchy.

By THE VEN. SRI NANISSARA, HIGH PRIEST.

THE chief events in the life of this great Buddhist Monk are recorded in many Sinhalese manuscripts. As these, however, are not readily available, a brief life-sketch of the illustrious Hierarchy,—the last of a long and noble line,—may prove generally interesting. The main sources of information, besides the *Mahāvansa*, which I have utilised are the *Sangha-rajotama-sadhuchariya*, a Sinhalese prose work, and the *Sangha-rajawata*, a Sinhalese poem.

Saranankara, the son of Kulatunga Mudaliyar of a Govi family of the same name, was born on Sunday, the 8th of the lunar month Poson in 1621 of the Saka Era, at the village of Velivita, in Tumpane; which hamlet has in consequence become famous. He had an elder brother, who was known as Kulatunga Patabendi Mudiyanse.

At the age of sixteen Saranankara entered the priesthood as a *Samanera* (novice) under Suriyagoda Maha Thera, in the reign of King Narendra Sinha, and studied the *Balawata*, a Pali Grammar, up to the chapter on nouns, under Lewke Ralahami, known also as Vihare Ralahami, who had himself studied it under Watabuluwe Maha Thera, High Priest of Pogamalu Vihara, nephew of Edanduware Disamahatmaya, and was proficient enough to converse in Pali with the Arrakan priests who came to the Island to establish *Upasampada* Ordination in the reign of King Vimala Dharmma Suriya. Saranankara's study of the remainder of the Pali Grammar was completed under Palkumbure Atthadassi, a *Samanera Guru* (novice teacher) who had himself been a pupil of the same Watabuluwe Maha Thera. What Saranankara had learned from these teachers he imparted to the *Samaneras* Sitanamaluwe and Ilupengamuwe.

At that time Saranankara had many friends and well-wishers. Among them Kaderagoda, Isipitiya, Kappagoda, Nagolla, Alutnuwara, Medewela, Kumbaldivela, Vevagedara, Ahugoda, Pahankumbura, Dahingamuwa, Malagammana, Aragoda, Ganegoda, Lindepitiya, Watawana, Halpe, Wellawa, Galatombuwe, Deliwala, Botale, Opagoda and others.

From time to time Saranankara took up residence in various places such as the rock cave of Alagalla, Pushparama Vihara, Hanguranketa, Kundasala, Poyamalu Vihara, Niyamakanda near Embekke Dewalaya in Udunuwara, Aranya Vihara, on Hantana-kanda, etc. He was usually known as "*Pindapatika*," which implies that he depended on alms for his daily meal.

In the latter part of the reign of King Narendra Sinha, there being no ordained monks in Lanka, Saranankara cherished the hope of establishing the priesthood in full strength with ordained priests from abroad.



At this time, in Saka 1662, Sri Vijaya Raja Sinha ascended the throne; and this Sovereign, who warmly seconded Saranankara's efforts for the preservation of the Buddhist religion, ordered his ministers Doranegama Muhandiram, Mideniya Muhandiram<sup>1</sup> Vilbagedara Muhandiram, with their retainers, to proceed to Siam in order to bring over ordained Bhikkus to Ceylon. When, however, the Ambassadors arrived in Siam, they heard the sad news of the untimely death of their King, and the Embassy had to return to Ceylon without fulfilling its mission.

In due time Kirti Sri Raja Sinha ascended the throne in 1669 Saka, and Saranankara made the same request to the new King, viz., to send an Embassy to Siam to invite ordained priests. The King willingly acceded to his request and appointed Vilbagedara Muhandiram, Ayittaliyadde Muhandiram, Pattiyapala Rate-rala, Ellepola Vedikkara, Mohottala, as Ministers extraordinary to the Court of Siam to secure ordained Bhikkhus.<sup>2</sup> They embarked in 2293 B.V. (A.D. 1750) and returned with a number of ordained Bhikkhus led by Upali Maha Thera,<sup>3</sup> the Siamese King Parama Dhammika having granted them permission to depart.

In 2296 B.V. (A.D. 1753) on the full-moon day of Esala month, the Sinhalese Samaneras, Kobbekaduwe (who was the chief of Poyamalu Vihara at the time) Hulangamuwa, Bambaradeniya, Velivita Saranankara, Tibbotuwawa, Navinne, (then chief of Asgiri Vihara), were ordained by the Siamese *Sangha* in the *Uposathagara* of the Malwatte Monastery as in *Visungama-Sima*, Kandy. Afterwards, at Malwatte and at Asgiriya, they were provided with two *Baddha-Simas*, and many monks received the *Upasampada* Ordination in these *Baddha-Simas*.

Some time after, Upali Maha Thera, the head of the Siamese priesthood, died at Poyamalu Vihara, and his body was cremated at Asgiri Vihara. Saranankara, now an ordained monk, was appointed *Sangha-rajā* ("King of the Sangha"), and Tibbotuwawa Siddhatha, Buddharakkhita and Urulewatte Dhammasiddhi were appointed *Maha Nayakas* of Poyamalu and Asgiri Viharas respectively by the King Kirti Sri Raja Sinha.

These facts clearly go to show that, during this period, Saranankara Sangharaja was the mainstay and support of Buddhism in Ceylon. Thanks to his fostering influence Oriental languages and sciences, which had been greatly neglected, began to revive in the Island.

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Mideniya, J. P., Dissave of Sabaragamuwa, is the present head of the family, descended from Mideniya Muhandiram.

<sup>2</sup> According to Ratanapala Sthavira's Sinhalese translation of the *Vimana Wastuwa*, the full composition of this Embassy was as follows:—(1) Pattapola Mohottala, the Atapattu Lekama; (2) Ellepola Mohottala, the Vedikkara Lekama; (3) Iriyagama Rala, the Yatinuwara Muhandiram of the Nanayakkara Lekama; (4) Wilbagedara Rala, the Tumpanahe Muhandiram of the Padikkara Lekama; (5) and Ayittaliyadde Rala, the Dumbara Muhandiram of the Vedikkara Lekama. The following were commanded to accompany the above Ministers on board ship: (1) Pinnapata, Dissave of Matale; (2) Angamma Mohottala, the Maha Lekama; (3) Dodanwela, Rate Rala of Yatinuwara; (4) Nilawature Rala, Muhandiram of the Lekama of Musketeers; and (5) Usgiriya Rala, Muhandiram of the Nanayakkara Lekama. For a full and interesting narrative of the Embassy see Mr. P. E. Pieris' paper in C. A. S. Journal No. 54, 1903, "An Account of King Kirti Sri's Embassy to Siam in 1672 Saka (1750 A.D.)."—ED., C. A. & L. R.

<sup>3</sup> The same *Vimana Wastuwa* gives us the names of these Bhikkus, who numbered "twenty-one Theros and eight Samaneras." They were, besides Upali Maha Nayaka Thero and Arya Muni Maha Nayaka Thero, the Maha Theros Anu, Kammavacha, Upasampada, Indrajotassa, Chandrajotassa, Kotthita, Kuyavu, Bojunama, Thuluva, Thousuvannana, Janna, Prakyavuthan, Lokot, Dabut, Premak, Prami, Kruvakya and others.—ED., C. A. & L. R.



Some of Saranankara Sangharaja's erudite disciples were Tibbotuwawa Siddhatha, Dhutangadhara Dhammarakkhita, Ginigatpitiye Dipankara or Sangharakkhita, Wirasara Rambukwella, Moratota Dhammakhandha, and many other priest-pupils. Attaragama Bandara was one of many of his lay-pupils.

Saranankara was the author of the following well-known works:—

*Muni-gunalankaraya*, a Pali poem; *Sarartha-sangrahava*, a treatise on Buddhist doctrine; a Commentary in Sinhalese on *Bodhi-wansa* (Pali); a Sinhalese paraphrase of *Chatu-bhanawara* (Pali); *Rupa-mala*, a Grammatical work; and a Sinhalese paraphrase of *Bhesajja-manjusa*, a great medical work in Pali.

The Sangharaja Saranankara Maha Thera's pupillary succession and its sub-branches are:—

- (i) Ginigatpitiye Sangharakkhita, High Priest of Seven Korales and his successors.
- (ii) Medawala Ananda of Medawala Vihara and his successors.
- (iii) Galagedara Indajoti and his successors.
- (iv) Tibbotuwawa Siddhatha, High Priest of Ridi Vihara and his successors.
- (v) Sitinamaluwe Dhammajoti of Kahandawe Vihara, Matota, and his successors.
- (vi) Kadiragoda of Diyasunnata Vihara and his successors.
- (vii) Ilupengamuwe and his successors.
- (vii) Malimbada of Velagama Vihara and his successors.

After leading a very active and useful life, entirely devoted to the cause of Buddhism in Ceylon, this great monk, the Sangharaja Saranankara, breathed his last aged 81, at Malwatta Vihara on Thursday the full-moon day of the lunar month Asalha (Esela), 1700 Saka (A.D. 1778) or *Wassapagamana* day of that year. The cremation took place on the grounds of Ampitiye Vihara, and a monument to his memory was erected in the premises of the same Vihara.





## BUDDHIST ATOMISM.

By W. T. STACE, C.C.S.

IT is a mistake to suppose that the essential thoughts of Western and Eastern philosophies are so widely different as to set an impassable gulf between them. In methods of expression, in details of development, and in manner of proof, they are indeed widely divergent. But these things constitute only the externals,—the outer garments, as it were,—of the philosophic spirit. The human mind is solidary with itself all over the world; and all over the world the same fundamental spiritual and intellectual problems face it. Therefore it is not surprising that thinkers in the East and in the West should have arrived independently at similar conclusions. There is no really essential guiding principle of thought anywhere in Indian philosophy which will not be found also in the philosophies of the West. Probably there is no leading idea in the West, the germs of which at least will not be found in the books of the East. Even the triple movement of Hegel seems to be vaguely hinted at in the *Upanishads*, though it remains a mere hint.

Buddhism affords no exception to these remarks. It runs into Western philosophy at almost every point. Perhaps, therefore, it may not be uninteresting to enquire into what general philosophic category it falls, with what systems it ought logically to be grouped, and what is its proper place in the general movement of speculation.

The history of philosophy extends back now for between two and three thousand years in the West, and perhaps longer in the East. The great names in the philosophic world are associated with a great variety of theories, opinions, views of life and of the world. Theories seem infinite in number and variety. Of the making of philosophies, as of books, there is no end, and philosophers are notorious for their disagreement among themselves. Nonetheless, when we survey this long history of thought, we find that that from the myriad seemingly conflicting systems, there emerge clearly two main tendencies, and only two. These we may call "atomism" and "universalism." Every coherent system of thought reduces itself in the last analysis to one of these. And one is led to think that these two streams of thought flow from the two fundamental types of human temperament. The history of philosophy is nothing but the story of the conflict of these two tendencies, between which the human mind, in the East as in the West, perpetually oscillates. Now one predominates, now the other, so that we find distinct atomistic and universalistic periods which tend to follow each other alternately.

Thus after the atomism of Democritus came the universalism of Plato and Aristotle, which again was followed by the atomism of the Stoics and Epicureans. In India the universalism of Hindu thought was followed by Buddhist atomism as a reaction, and this in its turn gave way to a revival of Hinduism.

Atomism is that philosophy which explains the whole by reference to the parts, universalism that which explains the parts by reference to the whole. These are the only two conceivable modes of thought, and they proceed respectively from the two



fundamental types of human temperament. For the problem of philosophy has, since the beginning of the world, been, in truth, always the same, namely, the reconciliation of the whole and the parts. These twin terminals of the problem reappear again and again throughout philosophy as different pairs of opposites. They appear in the guise of the One and the Many, the Universal and the Particular, the Absolute and the Relative, the Infinite and the Finite, Form and Matter, God and the World, Mind and Matter, Soul and Body; in social philosophy as the Community and the Individual.

Every known philosophy proceeds by positing one of these terminals as the ultimate self-existent reality, and then explaining the other as a function of it. Atomism sees the world essentially as *multiplicity*, and explains the one simply as a summation of the many. Universalism sees the world essentially as one and seeks to develop difference and diversity out of the primal unity. Atomism posits the particular as ultimate reality and attempts to derive from it the universal. It posits the finite and explains the infinite as a mere endless assemblage of finites. It posits matter and considers mind to be a function thereof. In general, it posits the parts and explains the whole as a summation of parts. Universalism assumes as ultimate reality mind, the infinite, the absolute, god, and seeks to exhibit as developments or manifestations of these, matter, the finite, the relative, the world. In general it posits the whole as real and explains the parts by reference to it.

In political philosophy the extreme limit in one direction is Anarchism, the assertion of the individual as primary and only reality. This is political atomism. The extreme limit in the other direction is Socialism, the assertion that the community alone is real, and that the meaning of the individual is only to be found in the community. This is political universalism. In political and economic history too we find alternating periods in which the dominant social philosophy is atomistic or universalistic.

To show that the history of philosophy contains essentially nothing but the conflict and oscillation of these two general modes of thought is, of course, impossible in a brief article. But a few examples may make the subject clearer.

We do not, of course, here use the word atomism in the narrow sense in which it is understood in chemistry. Theories of the physical constitution of matter are irrelevant to our subject.

The following may be given as examples of atomistic and universalistic thought. We have the ideas of infinite space and of finite spaces. Which is prior? Which is derived from the other? Psychologically, no doubt, the idea of limited areas is prior, is gained by experience, and by adding up finite spaces endlessly we get the idea of infinite space. But according to Spinoza this psychological order is the inverse of the true or logical order. Logically, limited spaces presuppose infinite space, from which they are cut out by the assignment of boundaries. By limiting the infinite we obtain the finite. Here the infinite is posited as ultimate reality and the finite derived from it. This thought is universalistic.

All forms of materialism are atomistic. All matter consists of parts juxtaposed to parts; so that materialism, in asserting that matter is the ultimate reality of which mind is a function, affirms the reality of parts, of individual units. The unit possesses in itself independent and absolute being. For its reality it requires no other unit; certainly it requires no consciousness to perceive it. Now it is obvious that a mere assemblage



of units does not make a universe. There must be imposed upon them a network of relationships. They must be organised into a cosmos. Thus the problem of materialism, which assumes the units alone as real, is to show how the relationships of space, time, causality, etc., can be deduced from the bare idea of matter, that is, from the units themselves. The problem is a particular case of the general endeavour of atomism, namely, to explain the whole from the parts. Of course atomism and materialism are not interchangeable terms. Materialism is one case of atomism: atomism includes and transcends it. Buddhism, for example, is a case of atomism; but it would be foolish to confound Buddhism with, for example, the materialism of Ernst Haeckel.

The system of Fichte, again, affords a good example of universalism. The diversity of the world is therein explained from unity of the ego. Matter is the self-limitation of the ego. The world considered as a whole is ego; considered as parts it is matter. And the parts are explained by reference to the whole.

Hinduism again, in its less superstitious and more philosophic forms, is universalistic. It begins with the thought "All is One." This One, Brahman, is the sole reality: multiplicity is illusion. Brahman, the whole, is real: multiplicity, the parts, are illusion. The parts are explained by reference to the whole.

Now Buddhism opens with the announcement that it will have nothing to do with metaphysics. As to what is ultimate it makes no attempt to explain. Gotama expressly affirmed that all speculations as to the ultimate are useless, and even harmful to the religious life. But as a matter of fact it is impossible to eschew metaphysics in this way. Direct discussion of philosophic problems may be avoided, explicit assertions as to the ultimate may be absent, but every coherent thinker is bound to rest his thought at least on an implied metaphysic. Buddhism is not without its metaphysic, but its metaphysic is unrealised by itself. I shall attempt to show that this unrealised, unstated, metaphysic of Buddhism is in reality atomism.

The first position in Buddhism is the famous analysis of the idea of the ego. Men imagine a permanent substratum, which they call the soul, underlying the transient elements of consciousness. Thus, suppose I have a feeling of anger. This is transitory and ceases to exist in a period of time greater or less. I distinguish myself, my ego, from the feeling of anger. The anger is not "I." The anger and the "I" are different, and the "I" has the anger as an attribute of itself. And whereas the anger passes away, the "I" remains permanent, to become the subject of other modifications of consciousness, such as joy, pain, desire, mental and bodily sensations. The soul is identified with none of these, but is conceived as having a separate existence.

It was this idea which Gotama criticized. Whence comes this idea of the ego, he asked. Clearly it can only be derived from introspection, from looking into myself and finding there a permanent something which I designate soul or ego. But as a matter of psychological fact introspection reveals no such thing. Looking into myself I find nothing whatever except states of consciousness. These may be feelings, volitions, desires, ideas, or sensations. Now each of these considered by itself is a fleeting phenomenon. The perception which I now have of a house quickly passes away and its place is taken by the perception of a tree, a man, a sheet of water. Similarly my present desire for food passes off when my hunger is satisfied and gives place perhaps to a desire for sleep. And the same is true of the other elements



of consciousness. They are all transitory and quickly perish. And when I look into myself I find nothing whatsoever, but these transient phenomena. I find no permanent ego. Introspection does not prove the existence of a soul. Therefore, since introspection is the only possible channel by which we could become aware of a soul, if one existed, it follows that we are not aware of it at all. And this is equivalent to saying that we have no knowledge of its existence. In other words it does not exist. "I" am not a permanent something to which are attached states of consciousness: I *am* my consciousness. I am nothing but a bundle of sensations, ideas, feelings, etc.

Now this contention, as is well-known, is the one fundamental position of Buddhism. All else is erected as a superstructure upon this foundation. This is the first *premiss* of Buddhism. Every other thought of Gotama was developed out of, and depended upon, this one. The whole religion grounds upon this, is true if this is true, is false if this is false. This is the root of the religion. All other doctrines and propositions which Buddhism affirms are but the branches and the leaves. It is here, therefore, at the basal thought of Buddhism that we should look, if we wish to ascertain into what philosophical category Buddhism should be placed. If this basal thought depends upon an atomistic interpretation of the universe, then the whole religion is atomistic. If this thought is universalistic, then we may expect to find all other parts of the religion, all other thoughts which develop from this, universalistic also, whether in their ethical, their social, or their purely devotional bearings.

Now in conceiving the soul as nothing but a bundle of states of consciousness, what is implied? Is it not clearly that the whole is equal to nothing more than the sum of the parts? The states of consciousness, feelings, volitions, ideas, these are the parts. Added all together they make the soul, the only soul the existence of which Buddhism admits. This is the whole. Just as, from a psychological view-point, addition of an endless number of finite spaces makes up infinite space, so the simple addition of the elements of consciousness makes up the only "I" which is admitted in Buddhism. We begin with the parts and from them we explain the whole. This is atomism.

Now suppose on this same principle we analyse any work of art, say, a cathedral. Gotama's method of analysing the soul was simply to take it to pieces, and then to say "There are the pieces. You see, there is nothing else." Take your cathedral to pieces and you will find it also consists of parts, and these parts are nothing else but blocks of stone. But it does not follow that in the cathedral there is nothing else than blocks of stone. Pile them all together again higgledy-piggledy and you will not make a cathedral. You will make a pile of rubbish. Yet all the parts, every particle of stone, may be there. Clearly the whole is more than the mere summation of the parts. In the cathedral there is something else than the mere blocks of stone. There is in addition, the order and arrangement of the stones, the relations which the parts have to one another and by virtue of which they constitute a whole.

The soul is like a cathedral. We must remember, when we say that Gotama identified soul with consciousness, that consciousness is really identical with the world. We perceive a tree. The tree is in fact nothing but our perception of it. The tree is simply part of our consciousness. It may be said that this is not so, because the tree exists outside us, whereas our consciousness is internal. This is incorrect. The tree is not outside of *us*, nor do we perceive it as being outside of us. We perceive it



as being outside of *our bodies*. But our bodies are also simply parts of our perception. So that when we say that our perceptions are outside us, *i.e.*, outside our bodies, all we really mean is that one perception (the tree) is outside another perception (the body). Consciousness therefore is identical with the world, as the world is for us.

Thus the Buddhist argument really implies that the world is made up of parts, and contains nothing except those parts. As to the relations between parts, they must on this basis be either denied any existence at all, or they must be explained as functions of the parts. In either case the parts, the individual units, are conceived as alone ultimate realities. The whole is explained as an aggregate of the parts.

Let us place the universalist and the atomist conceptions of the soul beside each other, and then we shall see clearly that Gotama's analysis depends for its force upon an atomistic assumption. According to universalism the whole is the ultimate reality from which the parts must be deduced. Applying this to the doctrine of the ego it would follow that the soul is real, and that the states of consciousness are derivative. This does not at all mean, as Gotama assumed, that the soul is considered a "thing"—merely one among many mental phenomena to be found by introspection. That is as absurd as to suppose, in the case of a cathedral, that the "whole" is one of the parts, and that by pulling down the cathedral and searching among the stones you will somewhere come across the "whole"! The whole is something which transcends the parts and which consists in their organised relations each to each. So the soul transcends consciousness, and consists in just those relations of the elements to each other which constitute them a whole and single mind. These elements of consciousness being, as before explained, really the elements of the world,—consciousness and the world being identical—the soul is conceived as that ultimate relation of all parts of the universe to each other by virtue of which the universe is conceived as one and whole. Thus the soul becomes practically identified with God. You will no more find the soul by splitting up the mind into its elements, as Gotama did, than you will find consciousness by cutting up the body. And it will be just as foolish to conclude that there is no soul as to conclude that there is no consciousness.

It is not part of my purpose to defend this line of thought, but merely to explain it in order to show what is the universalist point of view and what the atomistic. The universalist conceives the whole as possessed of a reality distinct from that of the parts, and as not to be found among the parts. Atomism conceives that there is nothing real except the parts. According to that view, if an entity cannot be found among the parts then it is not real. And it is obvious that Gotama's contention about the soul depends precisely upon that assumption. If the soul cannot be found on the analysis of consciousness into its parts, then the soul has no reality. This is the argument of Buddhism. It clearly implies that the parts alone possess reality, and that the whole is derived from the parts. The fundamental proposition of Buddhism thus depends for its force upon an assumption of the truth of atomism. If atomism is not true, then the Buddhist argument has no force.

Precisely the same thing may be seen in the common comparison made by Buddhist writers between the soul and a wave on water. The wave, they explain, has no reality. The only real things are the particles of water. The wave appearance is caused by a certain rhythmic motion of water-particles. Just so the soul: the only thing



real about it is the states of consciousness. Now it is obvious that a wave is constituted not merely by particles of water but also by the peculiar spacial and temporal relations which they bear to each other. The Buddhist, however, ignores this. To him the only real things are the water-particles. It is the unit which is real, the individual, the part. Atomism again.

It will be remembered that the Buddhist theoretically denies that he has any metaphysic, and affirms that all speculation about the ultimate is useless. Now in practice this really means that he disbelieves in any ultimate. It is true that Gotama did not say this, that, on the contrary, he hinted that he possessed knowledge of the ultimate denied to other men, which it would be useless for him to communicate. But a distinction of that sort is not likely to be appreciated by the masses. Consequently, whatever Gotama thought, Buddhism as a religion practically conceives the ultimate as non-existent. Therefore, as the Buddhist cannot reach beyond immediate phenomena towards any ultimate reality, he is bound to regard the immediate as a sort of substitute for ultimate reality, as itself real to all intents and purposes. But the immediate consists of parts. As he is denied any transcendental reality he is compelled to regard the whole universe as merely a summation of the individual parts which he sees around him. The atomistic character of Buddhism is therefore a natural result of its rejection of all metaphysic. And this result is seen not only in the case of Buddhism but in every case where metaphysic is rejected. To eschew metaphysic is inevitably to land yourself in an atomistic metaphysic, implied, if not stated. For example, the purely unreflecting man, the man devoid of knowledge or education, is invariably an unconscious atomist. The one thing he thinks to be real is the solid thing which he can feel and touch, that is, the separate parts of the universe. The universe is, to him, merely the addition of all these things together.

The foundations of Buddhism being atomistic we shall not be surprised to find that in its ethical and social aspects it is atomistic also. Socially and ethically we find that the individual human being is considered all-important. The very idea of the community is in Buddhism non-existent. The ethics of Buddhism are individual ethics only. A man is to do right, to follow the noble eight-fold path, solely for the behoof of his own personality. He is to exercise love and charity to all men, not in the slightest degree for the advantage of other men, but purely for his own. He does good only because he believes that what he does for others will bring merit, and therefore happiness, to himself.

Now this is, indeed, the only rational basis for morals, provided we consider society as nothing but an aggregate of individuals. Society being such, each individual is self-contained and self-existent. Social relations, properly understood, do not exist. "Enlightened self-interest" is the only possible basis for morals.

It is not unimportant to note that, not only in Buddhism but in every atomistic system in the history of thought, enlightened self-interest is made the basis of morality.

The close relations subsisting between Church and State in Europe are incredible in Buddhism. This religion has no political side whatever, which accounts for its tolerant character. As each individual exists in and for himself it is no concern of his what other people believe, think, or do. There is no footing for intolerance. If your neighbour thinks



or acts wrongly, what is that to you? You may indeed feel compassion for him. But if so your compassion is a sort of work of supererogation. When Gotama first attained Buddhahood he is believed to have harboured for a short time the almost incredibly selfish thought of at once ceasing to exist without imparting his enlightenment to the world. In fact it took a supernatural being to over-persuade him on this point!

The Buddhist monk, or *Bhikkhu*, has absolutely no counterpart in the priests of Europe. He is in no sense a "minister." He does not minister to his fellow-men: he has absolutely no duties to them. He is a recluse, self-centred, and self-contained. He takes the robe, not with any idea of helping the world but solely that he himself may tread the paths and attain unto *Nirvana*.

Thus it will be seen that the whole social and ethical character of Buddhism is atomistic. It is the individual alone who counts. There is no community. It is the social unit alone which is real. There is no social whole. Even the Buddhist *Sangha* is scarcely more than an aggregate of individuals all living in the same way. The unit, the part, alone has reality. The whole is a summation of parts and no more.

The doctrine of rebirth, it is at least arguable, is really dependent upon the same atomistic bias. The chief reason which can be alleged for believing in rebirth is the impossibility of full development and perfection of personality in the space of one life, and the corresponding impossibility of obtaining full justice during one life. But the thought that each life must individually be perfected and receive its merits puts really an undue importance upon the individual. Nature is unjust to the individual, and utterly disregards his claims. She recognises only the claims of the race. The universe tends forwards perfection. Evolution is the law of the world; not however the evolution of the individual but of the race. The individual is but an incident, an episode. Is it to be expected that he himself will even reach perfection, can even claim justice? He is but a part of the picture, and nature, the painter, thinks not of him but of the total effect. The individual indeed has no claims, because he has no reality. The race alone possesses reality. The individual's only reality is that which accrues to him because he is part of the race. Nature, clearly, is a universalist. She regards only the whole as having a valid claim to reality, and the parts as having no meaning in themselves, but only when considered as parts.

But the doctrine of rebirth is founded upon the belief that the individual is real, and has claims to justice and to perfection of his personality. The race is considered as the summation of individuals. The parts are real, the whole a mere aggregate: this of course is atomism.

It may be replied that reincarnation, which is a parallel doctrine to rebirth, ought on the same principles to prove Hinduism atomistic, whereas we have said it is universalist. Hinduism, however, is everything, as its adherents lose no time in pointing out! It includes every conceivable tendency of human thought, even those which are contradictory of each other.

Thus from every point of view, whether we consider the metaphysical basis of Buddhism, its social, ethical, or political aspects, whether we consider the root or the branches, we find that it everywhere develops an atomistic view of the universe.



## PARAKRAMA BAHU VI. AND HIS "ALTER-EGO."

By W. F. GUNAWARDHANA, MUDALIYAR.

WHEN we speak of King Parakrama Bahu VI., there is but a single individual present to our imagination, and we believe that, in reading the story of that individual, we are following the fortunes of one man. But the story is so full of contradictions, and of facts so utterly irreconcilable with one another, that we feel completely puzzled and endorse the remark often made in respect of the history of this period that it is "a tangled web."

The object of this Paper is to unravel that web, as far as seems to the writer possible, by showing that the tangle is due not so much to the presence of perplexing elements in the account itself as to confusion of two distinct Princes under the one name of Parakrama Bahu VI., and to the inharmonious combination of their divergent stories in one conglomeration. For the sake of a good perspective it is advisable to go back sufficiently far in the history of the period.

Bhuvaneka Bahu V. ascended the throne of Ceylon in the year 1915 of the Buddhist era,<sup>1</sup> that is to say, in the year of Christ 1372. The great and dominant figure in the land during his reign was not the King himself, but his minister Alakesvara or Alagakkonara, who held his Court at Rayigama and later moved on to New *Jayawardhana Pura* (Kotte) which he had built.

This Minister must claim some part of our attention before proceeding further. Our chief source of information regarding him is the *Nikaya Sangrahava*, from which we gather sufficient evidence to show that his family must have originally come from the city of Conjeveram in Southern India, where they were apparently great nobles of a tribe known as *Giri Vansa* ("The Hill Race.")<sup>2</sup> But at the time that Alagakkonara first appears in Ceylon history we find the family already long-established in the Island, with Sinhalese connections and their seat at Rayigama, where they held lands and commanded high social status. One daughter of the family, apparently an aunt of Alagakkonara, was married to Migantaru senior, the lord of Dalasengamuwa,<sup>3</sup> a man of considerable standing in the country. Another daughter, a sister of Alagakkonara, was married to Senalankadhikara Senevirat,<sup>4</sup> a prince of the blood<sup>5</sup> who was Commander-in-Chief under Bhuvaneka Bahu IV. (1348-1357,<sup>6</sup> A.C.)<sup>7</sup> and the maternal uncle of another King to be presently named. Still another, also a sister of the great man, was married to Arthanayaka Migantaru of Dalasengamuwa, son of the lord already named, and himself a man of note.

1 *Nikaya Sangrahava*; *Saddharma Ratnakaraya*. See Appendix A.

2 Appendix B.

3 Appendix C.

4 Appendix D.

5 Appendix E.

6 See Table at end.

7 A. C. throughout the Paper—Anno Christi not Ante Christum.



Alagakkonara (whom we may style the Great as the most conspicuous man in the family), came into power as an able Minister and Provincial Ruler in the reign of Vikrama Bahu III of Gampola (A. C. 1357-1372), and continued to be the pillar of the State during that reign and the reign of the next King, Bhuvaneka Bahu V (A. C. 1372-1391). The times were full of trouble arising chiefly from the aggressive ambition of the Tamil King of Jaffna, who, through the enterprise of his subjects, had grown great in resources and power, had a great fleet and a numerous army, and was aiming at virtual suzerainty over the Sinhalese country. But Alagakkonara had a stout heart and a strong arm; and with these he kept the enemy at bay, and the house in which he was the steward in order. Though virtually master of the land, power did not seduce him from the path of duty. He was as wise as he was brave. He recognised that he had risen to power as the King's servant; and he used that power in the King's name, and for the country's good. But though he had himself no intentions on the Crown, the country was getting accustomed to his beneficent sway, and learning imperceptibly, as we may well imagine, to regard his family with that respect which is due to those who wield the supreme authority.

Thus, towards the close of his career, we find two prominent facts standing out in relief in the political situation, viz. (1) Bhuvaneka Bahu V., practically a dependent on his great Minister, with apparently no issue to succeed him; (2) Alagakkonara, nominally Viceroy but in reality supreme ruler, with a son, and nephews,<sup>1</sup> who from their youth, were accustomed to look upon themselves as the nearest to the throne. The situation was one charged with much danger to the land in the near future. It is not unnatural that Kumara Alakesvara, the son of the great man at the seat of power, may have looked upon himself as the next ruler with a diadem on his brow when in good time there would be no other master. It is also natural to presume that his two cousins, Vira Alakesvara, and Vira Bahu *Epana*, sons of Senalankadhikara Senevirat,<sup>2</sup> and, therefore, of the blood royal, should look upon themselves as having the better right to preside over the destinies of the country. A conflict was inevitable though not likely to occur so long as the presence of the Great Viceroy held the gathering storm in check, and kept forces in equilibrium.

What exactly happened we do not know. In A. C. 1386, when the *Nikaya Sangrahava* was compiled, Alakesvara was apparently still living, but that is the last glimpse we have of him; after that date his predominant figure entirely vanishes from view. Then the threatened convulsion—the struggle for power between his son and nephews—begins. As may be surmised, the son would be first in the field. The long virtual dictatorship of his father must have educated his mind to draw a distinction between the real substance of regal authority and the shadow implied by the name of King. If he could have the substance, he was content to leave the shadow respectfully alone. Thus we find that nowhere is mention made of any violence offered, or intended to be offered, to the dignity of the King in office. For constitutional purposes, the King's authority was still supreme, only the great channel of that authority, his powerful shogun, had disappeared from the foot of the throne, and his place was now taken by his son;<sup>3</sup> but though the place was taken by the son, his keeping it was another matter.

<sup>1</sup> and <sup>3</sup> Appendix A, for the devolution of power.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix D.



For, immediately, his elder cousin Vira Alakesvara, the senior member of royalty nearest to the King, enters the lists, and overthrowing his rival Kumara Alakesvara, steps into his place. But in so doing he too finds a more formidable opponent. His brother Vira Bahu had been *Epana*<sup>1</sup> sometime or other, and having thus been closely associated with the government of the country, now contests the right to rule. The two brothers meet at the head of their forces at Rayigama, the seat of their maternal interests. In the battle which ensues Vira Alakesvara is defeated and driven across the seas.<sup>2</sup> The victorious Vira Bahu can now take the situation in hand as a practical man. The two rivals whom he had replaced may, or may not, have thought it necessary to conserve to the King his semblance of authority, and to continue to keep him on the throne. But in Vira Bahu's case, such show of generosity would not be necessary, even for the politic purpose of conciliating public opinion. For he had faced the worst danger—war; he had fought out his right to rule, and had won. The further preservation of the make-believe that the King was still supreme, could lead to no good: it could only create opposition to him, and raise him rivals. "Let him who has the power of King have the name also" said Pope Zacharias, when a similar situation arose in old France. That was sound philosophy, its morality be what it may. It was convenient, worked no additional hardship on any one, and had the merit of solving a perplexing problem. On the same practical principle Vira Bahu seems to have acted. He would not, indeed, as did Pepin of France, go so far as to depose the King, nor would he even ask him to abdicate. The King was his old relative, and most probably the gracious master under whom he had served as *Epana*: from all considerations, his feelings should be spared.

So he left the King in the imaginary enjoyment of all his honours, with practically no alteration in his tenor of life; but for constitutional purposes, he, in the 20th year of the reign of Bhuvaneka Bahu V, took his seat resolutely on the throne as King Vira Bahu II (A. C. 1391)<sup>3</sup>, effective ruler of the land. By this change at the seat of power Bhuvaneka Bahu V., not being deposed, automatically sank to the position of "sleeping partner" in the concern of the State; but, being "senior partner" nevertheless, all State documents still continued to be dated by his reign. We see the last vestige of this in the Vegiriya inscription,<sup>4</sup> where reference is made to a grant dated the 34th year of his reign (A.C. 1405). Thus Vira Bahu treated his relative most handsomely, while having all he wanted, viz., that of being supreme ruler of the land, with crown on head and seat on the lion-throne. Nor was precedent wanting in his favour for this procedure. When Bhuvaneka Bahu IV came to the throne in 1348 he had almost immediately taken the next eligible member of the royal family to sit by his side as Parakrama Bahu V. After the latter had become sole King he, in A.C. 1357, had similarly taken his nephew to share the imperial burden with him as Vikrama Bahu III.<sup>5</sup> So that by the time Vira Bahu steps on the imperial dais, the country had been accustomed to the sight of *gemini* Kings on the throne, for nearly

<sup>1</sup> The first Staff Officer of the King. The office was usually conferred on the Heir Apparent

<sup>2</sup> Appendix A.

<sup>3</sup> *Nikaya Sangrahava, Mahavansa* Chap. 91 (Pali.)

<sup>4</sup> Journal C. A. S. No. XXII, pp. 294, 336. The reading of part of the year is faint, but according to Mr. H. C. P. Bell it is undoubtedly either *sulis* (thirty-four) or *satis* (thirty-six). Mr. Bell's inclines to the opinion that it is the former.

<sup>5</sup> Virtually a joint reign in the case of these last two Princes, though the *Mahavansa* speaks of it in a general way. Journal C. A. S. No. XXII, p. 293, (iii); *Mahavansa*, Chap. 91.



half a century.<sup>1</sup> As *Epana* Vira Bahu had enjoyed every opportunity of making himself popular with the country, and that he had used those opportunities to no mean advantage, is seen from the encomiums passed on him, which have come down to our own<sup>2</sup> day. When he came to the throne he still courted popularity, and kept himself well with the Church.

But his brother Vira Alakesvara had not taken his defeat as final. He had fled, it is true, but he had fled to Southern India, where he probably visited the Courts of reigning princes, in order to enlist their sympathies on his behalf.

In the meantime Vira Bahu had made his son Vijaya his *Epana*, and reigned in peace till the year A.C. 1396, when we read that he summoned a Convocation of the Buddhist Church; after which he too, like his great uncle before him, entirely disappears from view, without anything to prepare us for his evanescence. Vijaya *Epana* appears to have succeeded him, and that is all we know of him.<sup>3</sup> Evidently he was the King of a day. So long as a strong man holds the throne, there is no trouble: everyone cultivates the virtue of contentment. But the moment his commanding personality is withdrawn, the old forces of lust of power sweep the land like a whirlwind. This is what happened now in all likelihood. So long as Vira Bahu II was on the throne his arm was known to be strong and the land enjoyed peace and tranquility. When he disappears his son succeeds him, it is true, but simultaneously the furies of strife are let loose on the land. The new king Vijaya appears on the stage only to disappear; and his place is taken by his younger brother Tunayesa,<sup>4</sup> who disappears with equal quickness.

For their uncle Vira Alakesvara, hurrying back from abroad, and clearing his way to the throne, firmly establishes himself as King (A.C. 1396.)<sup>4</sup> This was the monarch who in the 12th year of his reign<sup>4</sup> was taken captive by Ching Ho, the Chinese General, and deported to China (A.C. 1408.)<sup>5</sup> A prince on coming to the throne sometimes kept his civil name, sometimes assumed a ceremonial one at his coronation. King Vira Alakesvara seems to have assumed at his coronation the ceremonial name of Vijaya Bahu (VI); for it is by this name that he is spoken of in the *Rajavaliya*, in which Sinhalese history the story of his capture and deportation is told. In the Chinese Chronicles we find him referred to by his earlier name of Alakesvara (Alagakkonara).<sup>6</sup>

On the deportation of Vijaya Bahu VI we find that Parakrama Bahu *Epana*, a grand-son of Senalankadhikara Senevirat, ascends the throne.<sup>7</sup>

This is the King who is rightfully entitled to be called Parakrama Bahu VI in our histories. Unfortunately his identity has been completely lost in the glamour of that of his illustrious successor, who bore the same name and by his successful reign of 52 years, is better known to history and to the world. The result is that we have two different histories, coming from different sources, with only one discernible hero between them. These stories coincide in nothing but the name of the hero: though in direct conflict among themselves as referring to one individual, they are equally well attested, and both have to be accepted as true. And that is not all: their earlier associations have also

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix K.

<sup>2</sup> *Nikaya Sangrahava.*

<sup>3</sup> and <sup>4</sup> Appendix A.

<sup>5</sup> and <sup>6</sup> Tennent, Ceylon, Vol. I., Part V., Chap. III.

<sup>7</sup> Appendix A.



to be taken as true with regard to either account alternately. The result is what may be expected—a transcendent puzzle with ramifications and complications running back to a considerable distance, and throwing a good long chapter of the history of Ceylon into utmost confusion.<sup>1</sup> This is part of the “tangled web” of our antiquarians, and certainly its intricate character could admit of no better description.

But restore Parakrama Bahu, the grand-son of the Senevirat, to view at the proper place, and some of the confusion disappears, and the web partially unravels itself.<sup>2</sup> That he was the true King, and the ruling head of the nation, admits of no doubt. His accession to the throne was hailed by the country with delight, and two congratulatory poems, the *Vutta Mala* in Pali and the *Tisara Sandesaya* in Sinhalese, were addressed to him at his Court at Dedigama. The terms in which these poems refer to him are direct and definite. The *Vutta Mala* speaks of him as the chief of Kings at whose feet tributary princes come and make their obeisance.<sup>3</sup> In the *Tisara Sandesaya* the tutelary god of Dondra is invoked to shower all blessings on the King, and enable him to protect Lanka by reducing it under his sole *chhatra*.<sup>4</sup> But his sovereign position within the realm is placed beyond all doubt by the fact that the greatest of the hierarchy of the land, including the *Sangha-Raja* (the Pontiff) and the great Wanaratana to whom the *Hansa Sandesaya* was addressed during the next reign, had taken up their residence at Dedigama, where the King held his Court.<sup>5</sup> Such a galaxy of luminaries at his capital is unaccountable unless as in attendance on the chief luminary of the day. The mother of this King was Sunetra Devi;<sup>6</sup> his father, according to the Chinese Chronicles, was the King carried off to China,<sup>7</sup> that is to say Vijaya Bahu VI;<sup>8</sup> and his grandfather, as we have seen, was Senalankadhikara Senevirat of the *Mehenavara Vansa*.<sup>9</sup> These facts it will be useful to remember, as they have an important bearing on our subject later on.

To make the understanding of the rest of this Paper easier it is advisable now to speak of the two branches of the royal stock which had survived up to this day.

Vijaya I, founder of the Sinhalese monarchy, died without issue, and was succeeded on the throne by Panduvasadeva, the son of his younger brother. During the reign of this King a contingent of royal princes arrived in Ceylon from India—members of the Solar Dynasty, close relatives of the Buddha, and brothers of the King's consort Bhadda Kachchana. One of these princes was Dighayu, whose son Dighagamini became the progenitor of the next line of kings who were to rule Ceylon in continuation of the *Maha Vansa* or Great Dynasty. After a romantic episode, this young prince Dighagamini married his cousin Ummada Chitta, the daughter of King Panduvasadeva and of queen Bhadda

<sup>1</sup> For an instructive study of the times, see Journal, C. A. S., 1912, which is taken up for the most part with investigations of eminent scholars.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bell has touched this point, but left it unsettled:—“Were there two Richmonds in the field, viz. (i) *Parakrama Bahu Epana*, grandson of Seneviradun, and (ii) Sri Parakrama Bahu, afterwards *Maha Raja*, son of Vijaya Bahu and Sunetra Devi, crowned King in 1958 A. B. (1414–15, A. D.?” Journal C. A. S. No. XXII, p. 345, footnote. See also my Introduction to the *Nikaya Sangrahava* (Englished.) 1908, p. xvii.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix E. (i).

<sup>4</sup> Appendix E. (ii).

<sup>5</sup> *Vutta Mala*, stanzas, 42–58.

<sup>6</sup> Appendix F.

<sup>7</sup> Tennent, *Ceylon*, Vol. I., Part V., Chap. III.

<sup>8</sup> *Rajavaliya*.

<sup>9</sup> Appendices, A. G.



Kachchana. The son of this union was Pandukabhaya, who wrested the crown from his uncles, and henceforward transmitted it in his own line. Mutasiva, the son of Pandukabhaya, succeeded to the throne in 302 B. C., and 60 years later was succeeded by his son Devanampiya Tissa (242 B. C.)

In the reign of this King, his friend the great emperor Asoka of India, sent over to Ceylon a branch of the sacred Bo-Tree under which the Buddha had attained his omniscience; and in charge of this sacred relic, there came to Ceylon another contingent of royal princes, also of the Solar race, and originally of the same stock as the reigning Dynasty of Ceylon, viz., the Sakyas. With these princes, most of whom were brothers-in-law of the Emperor, came also princesses in attendance on Sanghamitta, the Emperor's daughter, who came over as lady-missionary.

Of the members of this party four persons become important for our story, viz., the two senior princes Bodhigupta and Sumitra, and two princesses Sunanda and Sumana. King Devanampiya Tissa, after giving a hearty welcome to the mission from India and shewing royal honours to the two senior representatives, appointed the elder of them, Prince Bodhigupta, to be Lord High Steward to the Sacred Bo-Tree, with the title of *Jaya Maha Lena*. Grand Secretary of Victory. The younger brother, Prince Sumitra, was appointed Master of Ceremonies at the Sacred Tree, with the superintendence of the large host that had come in the service of the tree: he too had the title of *Jaya Maha Lena* given to him. This title does not seem to have been conferred on any one outside royalty: its bestowal on the two princes not only made them peers of the realm, but made them nobles of the first order. After thus confirming these two princes in all the honours due to their high rank, the King made them select brides for themselves: their choice fell on the two princesses above named. Princess Sunanda, who was a nun, had to renounce her yellow robe, and became the bride of Bodhigupta; while Sumana similarly returned from attendance on the royal lady-missionary, and became the bride of Sumitra.<sup>1</sup> Each of these marriages was the beginning of a line destined in later times to occupy the throne of Lanka. From the fact that the bride of Bodhigupta was a nun, the line descending from her and him came to be known as the *Mehenavara Vansa*<sup>2</sup> "the line of the noble Priestess." For reasons which are not so obvious, the line founded by Prince Sumitra and Princess Sumana, came to be called by three different designations, viz.—*Lemani Kula*<sup>3</sup> (*Lamba-karni-vansa*, "the race with hanging ears") probably in allusion to an actual appearance of the ears hanging with heavy ornaments; *Savulu Kula*<sup>4</sup> "the new Dynasty," a name probably having its origin with the coming of the house into power; *Ganavesi Vansa* "the race residing with the host," probably in allusion to the fact that Sumitra was the superintendent of the host. But in addition to these separate names for the two houses, they seem to have also had a general appellation, viz., *Siri Sangha Bodhi* "of the Illustrious Retinue of the Bo-Tree," a title which Kings of either house in later times added to their names as a mark of honour serving at the same time to indicate their illustrious descent. The history and the etymology of these names, however interesting as a study, are here of

<sup>1</sup> *Maha Bodhi Vansa*, Chap. XII.

<sup>2</sup> See also *Raja Ratnakaraya*.

<sup>3</sup> *Saddharma Ratnakaraya*, Chapter XII.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the authority in Appendix H. *Raja Ratnakaraya* would make the *Savulu Kula* to be descended from a still younger Prince named Suryaya Gupta. But in the best authorities Parakrama Bahu of Kotté is spoken of as of *Savulu Kula* or *Lemani Kula* alternatively.



importance only from the fact with which we are now concerned, viz., that as between the two princely houses *Mehenavara Vansa* and *Lemani Kula*, they were founded by two different ancestors and were entirely distinct from each other. This is the cardinal fact which should be kept in mind in following the rest of this Paper.

King Vijaya Bahu VI was captured and deported to China in the year 1408 A. C.<sup>1</sup> It was not till the year 1411 that the Chinese Emperor ordered the release of his son, the *Epana*, and the prince's return to the Island to reign as King. We may reasonably suppose that he actually arrived in the Island and assumed the sovereignty in, or about, the year 1412.

Was the land then without a master during the four years 1408-1412? The story of the *Rajavaliya* at this stage is unfortunately fragmentary and disconnected: apparently begins, after a long gap, from the deportation of Vijaya Bahu VI. If we do not account for the gap, its narrative would lead us to believe that the country was in the hands of an usurper, no less than the great Alagakkonara, with a notice of whom this Paper opened. But as he had by this time long disappeared from history, giving place to his son and nephews and their sons, it is absurd to presume that he still held the stage at this date. Moreover the sensational story that he was murdered to make way for a prince who had been brought out of his hiding place within the Island, is flatly contradicted by the authoritative evidence of the Chinese Chronicles, which show that the prince who succeeded was not in hiding in Ceylon but was sent by the Court of China from among the captives.<sup>2</sup>

But if we take the obvious gap into account we find that the story of the *Rajavaliya* stands on a foundation of undoubted fact. It is reasonable to suppose that, after the King and his Court were carried away, the Government continued to be administered by the local officers of the deported King, until the country could make other arrangements. Probably the Senior among these officers assumed the chief control. In any case we may be sure of the central facts of the situation, viz., that the Government came to be provisional, and the country began to look about for a suitable candidate for the throne. That candidate, as we shall see later on, was found in a prince named Parakrama Bahu, whom we will call by the additional appellation "of Kotte," to distinguish him from the other prince of the same name, Parakrama Bahu "of Dedigama."

Now, this Parakrama Bahu of Kotte was a scion of the *Lemani* race,<sup>3</sup> his father was *Jaya Maha Lena*<sup>3</sup> and so was his grandfather before him.<sup>4</sup> His mother was Sunetra Devi,<sup>3</sup> a princess of Kalinga stock.<sup>5</sup> These particulars are given to show the flagrant character of the confusion which has arisen between this prince and the other of that ilk, whose house and parentage, as we have seen, were entirely different.

But though a suitable candidate was thus found in this prince, it is not likely that the whole country and the provisional Government would receive him at once with open arms. Quite probably his supporters tentatively put his name forward in 1410.<sup>6</sup> By the year 1411 decided progress had probably been made in the candidature.

<sup>1</sup> Tennent, *loc-cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Tennent, Ceylon, Vol. i, *loc-cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Appendix H.

<sup>4</sup> *Kavyasekharaya*, XIII, 90.

<sup>5</sup> *Vritha-Ratnakara Pancika*.

<sup>6</sup> Deduced from the date assigned to his accession in the *Mahavansa*, *Siddharma Ratnakaraya*, &c.



But in 1412 all is upset by the arrival of the new King designate from China. The son of Vijaya Bahu VI is at once recognised by his subjects, makes Dedigama his seat of Government, and begins to reign. It is here that the story of the *Rajavaliya* logically fits in. The grave situation created by the arrival of the new King may well have forced Parakrama Bahu of Kotte, to seek safety by placing himself in concealment. But the seed had been sown in the mind of himself and of his adherents, who now look upon the Crown as his legitimate right by the gift of the nation. Here then we see in their incipient stage all the elements of a deadly struggle, the King on the throne, a Pretender in concealment yet at large, and the nation given to varied reflections on the political situation.

Since the days of Parakrama Bahu I disintegrating influences had unfortunately found their way into the social fabric of the Sinhalese nation, and, as a result, it had become disunited and lost its former strength. Yet with all their national decay, and the internal strife ever accompanying it as both cause and effect, the Sinhalese had still preserved their character as a sovereign people, never yet accepting the humiliating position of vassalage to a foreign power. But now things had altered. The King still sat on the throne, it is true, but had become vassal to the Court of China, burdened with an annual tribute.

We can conceive how the friends of the Pretender would have taken advantage of this fact, and tried to alienate popular favour from the King. But the country knew the circumstances of the case; they knew that the King was in no wise responsible for results ensuing from the perfidy of a Chinese Mandarin, who, under false pretence, had captured his father and carried him away; that no chance had yet been given to the King to shake off the Chinese yoke and resent the insult offered to the nation; and that, in the circumstances, the King was entitled to be treated by his subjects not with hostility but with respectful sympathy. Probably under this generous impulse the nation stood by the King, and everywhere, in the earlier stages of the struggle, the forces of the Pretender were routed. But though the Pretender was beaten his spirits were not overcome, nor those of his friends. They knew that perseverance is necessary in all great undertakings. The King's father, a Royal Prince, happened to be the nephew on his mother's side of the Great Viceroy Alakesvara, and had taken the name of that mighty man as his *praenomen* or individual name. In this the friends of the Pretender found a handle to work with. They converted the *praenomen* into a *cognomen*, and though the King was every inch a Royal Prince, as much descended from the central celestial luminary as the Pretender himself, yet it could be given out that he was an Alakesvara, and thus a usurper on the throne. And the friends of the King became alarmed. Thus we find one of his best well-wishers, the incumbent of the Vihare at Dondra, praying to the tutelary god of that place so to protect the King that he may be able again to crush his foes and restore tranquillity.<sup>1</sup> The word "again" here is suggestive, shewing that the Pretender had already met with reverses. But while in that word we hear the echoes of a past conflict, we would seem to hear in the rest of the prayer the clang of coming arms. Evidently the decisive part of the contest was approaching. And while one hierarch was here praying for the King, we find from the account of the *Rajavaliya* another

<sup>1</sup> Appendix E. (ii.)



hierarch, Visidagama, shewing his benevolence to the other side. The Pretender, it is said, was sheltered from the vigilance of the authorities by Visidagama, the elder, who not only found safe hiding places for the fugitive, but also seemingly used his influence to dispose the army in his favour. This last part of the story may be true or false, but it can leave no doubt in our minds that the priest's name was freely used to win for the Pretender favour with the army.

Following the *Rajavaliya* the rest of the story is soon told. Treachery had prevailed. The King was in some way entrapped and foully assassinated before his very army; and Parakrama Bahu of Kotte now ascends the throne of Lanka unopposed (1414),<sup>1</sup> to reign thereafter gloriously for 52 years. It is right to state, however, that he claims to have ascended the throne as conqueror in fair fight. The *Rajavaliya* says that the Prince who was slain was an Alakesvara, which proves our statement that that was the impression which had been successfully created on the mind of the country.

The question now arises "When did Parakrama Bahu of Kotte ascend the throne? Various dates are assigned to this event ranging from 1410 to 1415.<sup>2</sup> Which of them is the correct date? The answer seems to be that they are all correct, each from a different point of view, the following probably being the explanation:—his name, as we have surmised before, was probably put forward as a candidate in 1410; in 1411, decided progress had been made in the candidature; in 1412, the new King arrives, and so the claimant has to proclaim his challenge to the Crown and take to flight; in 1413 he was merely a fugitive Pretender, and therefore we find that year a blank, as far as he is concerned; in 1414 he had gathered strength, developed from a fugitive Pretender into a powerful rival, and finally triumphs over the King. The year 1415 sees his coronation amidst the joyous shouts of his subjects.

One further question now remains. What is the number to be assigned to this King in the numerical series? Is he still to remain as Parakrama Bahu VI on our histories, or should his number be changed into VII? As we have already seen, there is every evidence to show that he claimed the Crown in 1410, and that Parakrama Bahu of Dedigama only assumed the sovereignty in 1412. But there is no evidence whatever that the former (*i.e.*, Parakrama Bahu of Kotte) was ever *de facto* King before 1414. It would seem good history to restore the name of Parakrama Bahu of Dedigama as Parakrama Bahu VI, and to renumber his victor and successor as Parakrama Bahu VII. On the other hand the latter has so long been known as Parakrama Bahu VI in our histories, that to change the number now might lead to great confusion. It is best, therefore, to accept the year in which he may have become King nominally, *i.e.*, 1410, as sufficient for the purpose of nomenclature and allow his number to remain undisturbed. In theory then he began to reign, if not to rule, in 1410. In 1412 he is temporarily displaced, and Parakrama Bahu of Dedigama, whom we are bound to number Parakrama Bahu VII, ascends the throne. In 1414 Parakrama Bahu VII is slain, and his nominal predecessor returning to power begins his effective reign—to last for the long period of 52 years from the date of his coronation in 1415.

<sup>1</sup> Appendix H.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahavamsa*, 1410, *Saddharma Ratnakaraya*, Chap. I. do. *Namavaliya*, 1411, *Panchika Pradipa*, 1412 *Ruvanmala*, 1414, *Kavyasekharaya*, 1415, *Saddharma Ratnakaraya*, Chap. XII. do.



My conclusions are summarised in the Table below. It will be observed that they necessitate the recognition of three duumvirates during the period under survey, and the addition of four new names to our list of Kings, with the shifting of the names of all the Parakrama Bahus from the present VIIIth in our histories, one place forward in the numerical series. The numerical series itself is in some confusion, owing to Turnour adopting one system of numeration, Sumangala and Batuwantudawe another. I follow the numeration of the latter; but they fall into the error, which long prevailed, that Bhuvaneka Bahu V was Alagakkonara the Great who had become King.<sup>1</sup>

## APPENDIX A.

## SADDHARMA RATNAKARAYA.

*Translation.*

“In the days of the great King Vikrama Bahu, who attained to sovereignty in that city (Gampola), there was a Minister by the name of Alagakkonara, born of the *Giri Vansa*, who was world-renowned for his surpassing influence, power and might. He had heard of different persons—men of family, who, in different places, had entered the priesthood but were living after their own pleasure. He brought this to the notice of our noble spiritual preceptor, the illustrious Dharmakirti Maha Swami; and, having caused the great elders of the Council of the two Colleges to be assembled, in the year 1912 from the *Parinirvana* of the Buddha, he caused inquisition to be made before the assembled priesthood according to Canon; thus purifying the Church, he established it in peace to endure for a time.

The harmony of the Order which was then brought about continued in existence, conformably to the times, till the fifteenth year of the reign of Bhuvaneka Bahu V. Up to the fifteenth year of this King Bhuvaneka Bahu one thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine years had elapsed from the death of our Buddha. After that—

Kumara Alakesvara, the own son of that Viceroy,  
Vira Alakesvara, nephew (sister's son) of his father,  
Vira Bahu *Epana*, his younger brother,  
Vijaya *Epana*, his son,  
Tunayesa, his younger brother,

The aforesaid Vira Alakesvara, his uncle (*i.e.* father's elder brother), who having been defeated in battle with his younger brother Vira Bahu *Epana* at Rayigama had fled the country, returned and reigned twelve years. In consequence of his acts in a previous life, he fell into the Chinese snare and had to go; being succeeded by Parakrama Bahu *Epana*, the grand-son of the Senevirat aforesaid. . . . After these seven had passed away it was the month of *Poson* in the year one thousand nine hundred and fifty-eight from the death of our Buddha, when 1,722 years had been completed from the date the Buddhist religion was established in Lanka. Then the great King Parakrama Bahu of endless fortune and valour, descended from the Sakya Race, attained to the sovereignty of the Island of Ceylon.

## APPENDIX B.

There is also a theory that the family of Alagakkonara was purely Sinhalese, from one passage in the *Nikaya Sangrahava* which is claimed to speak of him as of *Amaragiri Vansa*, “of the race of Devanagala.” But the accepted reading is *Amaragiri vesi*, which would mean “residing at Devanagala,” that place having probably been their original seat of residence. In any case the name Alagakkonara, which is Tamil, and the connection with Conjeveram, clearly shows Tamil origin—to say nothing of the unanimity of authority with regard to the name *Giri Vansa*, which cannot be set aside.

In the Sagama Inscription,<sup>2</sup> mention is made of two Ministers of King Bhuvaneka Bahu, presumably the Vth, who were brothers and were known as Alakesvara and Deva Mantri. The names undoubtedly refer to Alagakkonara the Great and his brother and lieutenant Deva Swami mentioned in the *Mayura Sandesaya*.

But the main point of interest to us in the inscription is as to what was intended by its framer, when, after mentioning the King, he spoke of these two Ministers as illumining the world by their resplendent glory like unto the Sun and the Moon on the two rocks Yugandhara and Isadhara represented by the maternal line *Ganavasi Kula* and the paternal line *Menavara Kula* respectively, which came as escort to the Sacred Bo-Tree. By the two *Kulas* did he mean those of the King or of the two ministers? The figure of rhetoric seems to leave no doubt that the latter meaning is intended. Were the Alagakkonara then descended from

<sup>1</sup> Mahavansa, Pali, Chronological Tables.

<sup>2</sup> Journal C. A. S. Vol. xxii., No. 65, p. 364.



the two royal stocks implanted in Ceylon with the arrival of the Bo-Tree? The answer clearly is that in a direct line they were not; though, by the time we see the brightest star of the family in the horizon, they had been long enough in Ceylon to be connected by marriage with branches of the royal blood and to claim for the progeny undoubted royal descent.

APPENDIX C.

Regarding the inter-relation between the two families, the Migantarus of Dalasengamuwa and the Alagakkonar, our sources of information are two, viz. (i) a slab inscription at Keragala, and (ii) the poem *Hansa Sandesaya*.

The passage in the latter bearing on the subject is unfortunately in much confusion, and, although an excellent recension of the poem as a whole has been made by the eminent scholar the High Priest Sri Dharmarama, still the particular passage has received no improvement at his hands, but has on the contrary suffered. The learned High Priest, in the Preface to his edition<sup>1</sup>, says that the revision was made with aid derived from the Keragala inscription.

The inscription is now before us in print (Journal C. A. S. Vol. xxii., No. 65, page 352), and on comparing it with the passage of the poem referred to, it becomes plain that the eminent scholar approached his task with previous misconception on the subject. He seems to have had a strong notion that the Primate Wanaratana, with whose genealogy the passage in question deals, was a Royal Prince, and his revision (which was more in the nature of a reconstruction as far as this passage is concerned) has been influenced throughout by that theory. The result is that not only has the prevailing confusion become intensified but it has even re-acted on the stone inscription, leading it to be interpreted in the light supplied by this passage of the *Hansa Sandesaya* revised from the inscription itself.

I now give the unrevised version of that passage, as obtained by collation of six manuscripts which I made some years ago before the printed edition appeared.

<i>Text.</i>	HANSA SANDESAYA.	<i>Translation.</i>
වන්තල් (මහ)² වෙහෙර—වැඩිලන් වනවාසයෙහි		“Bow thou to the chief Hierarch Wanaratana,
නාගසේන මහ තෙරිඳුන්ට මුනුබු	රු	Minister to King Buddha, who received (this) Island
බෝග ඉසුරු දළසෙන් ගමු මිගන්ත	රු	of Gems (as an offering); (bow thou) to him who
ඔහු වෙත උන් උතුම්—අළුගක්කෝණාර ලද		shines in lustrous beauty like unto an image of
වැදු අත්තනායක මැතිස	දු න් ගේ	precious stones, him who expounds the text (of the
එදු සොදුරු පරවලෙන් ල	දු න් ගේ	scriptures) in pleasing speech as if a second com-
හි මි ව න සිභානා සුදසුන් මහලේ	න	mentator had descended (from heaven), and who
වැර්ඹෙන ලොමැණි කුලයෙන් සිරිලැබ යෙහෙන		thereby spreads his fame; (bow to him) who has
සිවු ව න ලොව යසස් පිරිසිදු කුලෙන් එ න		made his faultless word as nectar to all persons, who
නිසි ව න ඔහුට මුනුබුරුවන මනනද	න	by his munificence gives an idea of the cow of plenty,
දුල් සියපත් පතුල්—නිරිඳුන් මුදුන් මල්කළ		of the celestial tree, and of the wish-conferring gem,
නුවණින් සියල් විදුදනනට මු	දු න් ව න	who is, in wisdom, supreme among men of learning,
නිලිනෙන් සුරඹි සුරතුරු මිණි අ දු න් ව න		and who has made his lotus feet flowers for the
නිරවදු නමාබස—අූමටම කළ අමාරස		head of Kings; (bow thou to him) who is the soul-
බටුවා ලෙසින් අටුවා ඇදුරකු දෙව	න	delighting grand son of the worthy Sudassana, Grand
සිටුවා යසස් තුටුවා පෙලරුන් දෙස	න	Secretary and Sword-bearer, prosperous under
පසිදු වනරත්න හිරිමෙන් මුළු ලොව	ට	favours received from the Lemani Race, who comes
මුරුදු වනරත්න රුවමෙන් දිලිරුව	ට	of a pure stock illustrious in its fame in the world,
මැතිදු වනරත්න දිවි ලද මුනිරදු	ට	of colour the fourth—Sudassana the husband of that
නමදු වනරත්න මාසිම් හිමිසදු	ට	winsome daughter who lived <sup>3</sup> (with him Sudassana)
		at Paravala, of the noble squire Attanayaka, born
		of the noble lady Alagakkonara, who lived (as
		spouse) with (lord) Migantaru of Dalasengamuwa,
		possessor of wealth, grand nephew to the Maha
		Thera Naga Sena who graced by his presence the
		Wanavasa establishment of the great Wattala
		Vihare; (bow thou to him of such descent, the
		lord chief Hierarch.)”

<sup>1</sup> Kollupitiya Press, 1902.

<sup>2</sup> Supplied to preserve the metre, with little or no difference in the sense.

<sup>3</sup> The word in the text is “that was” or “that lived.” If it has reference to a woman living with a man, it always mean that she lived as his spouse, unless the context shews otherwise. Compare *Saddharma Ratnakaraya* (ed. 1912, page 296.) :—“Prince Mihindu, whom she got by living with him (Dharmasoka).” In the Keragala Inscription the word is used once, and in this passage twice, in all three cases in connection with a man and a woman.

[For opinions *contra* see Journal C.A.S. Vol. xxii., No. 65, 1912.—ED].

[For Dharmarama's text and translation by A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mudaliyar, see Journal C.A.S. Vol. xxii., No. 65, 1912, pp. 348-9.—ED.]



From this excerpt we find that the lord Attanayaka of Dalasengamuwa was the son of a lady of the family of Alagakkonara, and from the Keragala Inscription No. 1, we find that he was himself married to Patnavati, another daughter of the same family. So that on the evidence before us the Alagakkonar were twice connected by marriage with the Migantaru family of Dalasengamuwa.

With regard to the name of the latter family, it must here be stated that the reading *Hunannaru* (which we had hitherto followed on the supposition that it had been derived by High Priest Dharmarama from the Keragala Inscription), now seems inadmissible. Mr. Bell says that the name in the inscription consists of six letters, half of which are much worn (Journal C. A. S. XXII., p. 347, last footnote): he takes it that it is certainly not *Humannaru* but something nearer *Mantrivarun*. As *Mantrivarun*, however, is not a surname (as the place requires) the correct reading seems to be *Migantarun* which is the name found in most manuscripts of the *Hansa Sandesaya*. At any rate, in the absence of any authority to the contrary, this reading in the *Hansa Sandesaya* seems entitled to stand. With regard to the name of the seat of the family, there seems now no possibility of doubt that it is Dalasengamuwa, and not Alasengamuwa as we have had it heretofore from the recension of the *Hansa Sandesaya* above referred to. Mr. Bell's authoritative text of the Keragala Inscription settles that point.

APPENDIX D.

The *Nikaya Sangrahava* says that King Vira Bahu II, who was of the *Mehanavara Vansa*, was a cousin *suhurubadu* of Bhuvaneka Bahu V. The *Mahavansa* says *salo*, which is the same thing in Pali. Now *salo* is the son of one's mother's brother or father's sister; from which it follows that Bhuvaneka Bahu V and Vira Bahu II were the sons of brother and sister. King Vira Alakesvara was the brother of Vira Bahu II (Appendix A.), and was therefore of the *Mehanavara Vansa*. According to the *Rajavaliya* he was Vijaya Bahu VI, who was deported to China, and Parakrama Bahu *Epana* was his son, who, according to the *Saddharma Ratnakaraya* (Appendix A.) was the grandson of Senalankadhikara Senevirat. As his father's son, Parakrama Bahu *Epana* was, of course, of the *Mehanavara Vansa*. Now, the Senevirat was of the same *vansa* (Appendix G.); from which it follows that he was his grandson's ancestor on the paternal side, that is to say Vijaya Bahu VI was his son. Hence Vira Bahu, brother of the last, was his son also. These two princes again (Vijaya Bahu and Vira Bahu II) were the nephews of Alagakkonara on their maternal side (Appendix A.) Hence the Senevirat was married to a sister of Alagakkonara. But their relationship to Bhuvaneka Bahu V was clearly not through their mother, who was not a royal princess, but through their father who was a member of royalty. Hence it would follow that Senalankadhikara Senevirat and the mother of Bhuvaneka Bahu V were brother and sister.

These results are set out in the Genealogical Table, Appendix J.

APPENDIX E.

<i>Text</i>	Vutta Mala.	<i>Translation.</i>
ඉන්ඵභුත විභුති භාර භරිතෙනස්මිං පබා නොදිතෙ		"In that City (Dedigama), thus full of accumu-
සාමන්තජ්ඣ ගතිඤ මොලිරනනාලී සෙවි පාදම් බුජො		lated prosperity and famous as the Capital, there
භුසෙනෙනා රනනන්තයං සමකුටෙ කන්වාන වුලාමණිං		lives the Chief of Kings, Parakrama Bahu, on whose
ලක්ඛිවාස භුජො පරක්කම භුජො රාජාඛි රාජාභුභු		arm dwells the goddess of fortune, who wears the
		Triple Gem as an ornament by making it the crest-
		jewel of his Crown, and whose lotus feet are frequented
		by bees in the shape of the gems adorning the
		diadems of tributary Kings."
<i>Text.</i>	Tisara Sandesaya.	<i>Translation.</i>
සවිභුසුරන් සුසැදි-කිතිරුලිපුල් සුරිඳුස ද		"(That monk) standing before the God fervently
සුරිඳුන් අනීන් නේවර ලදුවන් සුදු ස		prays thus: Oh, God <i>Kihirelipul</i> , resplendent in all
නිරිඳුන් ඇතෝතින් ලකැකුමට පා ස		favours of divine fortune, although thou hast
එබැවින් වැජඹීමෙහි-පැරකුම්බා නිරිඳුස ද		received various boons from the King of the Gods,
වෙත යොමුකර නිතිවනනම කුලුණු ඇ ස		still it will be easier for thee to protect Lanka if
සතුරු කලක එකසන්කර නිති වනනම කුලුණුඇ ස		there be proper Princes. Wherefore, bend thy eyes
ලසනොට විරිඳුසෙන් මන්බිදිමින් නැව න		ever full of mercy on King Parakrama Bahu living
යස නෙදදිනා රූසිරි දෙවමින් සම න		here (at Dedigama), and, by again breaking the
ලෙසසුන රකුකු මැන වැසි එ සුරිඳුගෙ වෙ න න		power of the hosts of his enemies without delay,
වැසමෙම ලෙසට අයදිති දියුණමින් සි න		help him to protect the people and bring Lanka
		under one <i>chatra</i> . Grant the King fame, glory,
		long life, beauty of person; give him all these
		blessings, Oh God, and protect him like a son."







APPENDIX K.  
TWO DUUMVIRATES.

According to *Saddharma Ratnakaraya* (Chap. XII.) and *Mahavansa* (Chap. xc.), the fourth year of the reign of Bhuvaneka Bahu IV coincided with the year 1894 A.B., that is to say he came to the throne in 1891 A.B. = 1348 A.C.

According to the Hapugastenna Inscription (Journal C. A. S. No. XXII., p. 362), the 11th year<sup>1</sup> of Parakrama Bahu V was the Saka year 1281 = 1359 A.C.; so that Parakrama Bahu V ascended the throne in 1349, i.e. in the second regnal year of Bhuvaneka Bahu IV; from which date they were, of course, joint sovereigns.

From the Gampola Inscription (Journal C.A.S. No. XXII., p. 363), we find that the Saka year 1282 (A.C. 1360) was the fourth year of the reign of Vikrama Bahu III.; from which it follows that this prince became King in 1357, that is to say in the ninth year of the reign of Parakrama Bahu V as above found; and the two Princes were therefore from that date joint Kings.

TABLE OF KINGS.

KING.	REIGN.		REMARKS.	AUTHORITIES.
	Commencement.	Termination.		
Bhuvaneka Báhu IV.	A. C. 1348	A. C. 1357	Formed a duumvirate in 1349 with Parákrama-Báhu V.	Initial date deduced from <i>Saddharma Ratnakaraya</i> , Chap. XII., and <i>Mahá-vansa</i> , Chap. 90; final date from <i>Mahá-vansa</i> , Chap. 91, and from the date of accession of Vikrama Báhu III, below. See Appendix K.
Bhuvaneka Báhu IV. Parákrama Báhu V.	1349	1357	Duumvirate.	Appendix K.
Parákrama Báhu V. Vikrama Báhu III.			Duumvirate.	
Vikrama Báhu III.	—	1372	Sole King with Alakésvara as prominent minister. Alakésvara holds a Convocation in the King's name in 1369.	Date deduced from that of the next King in the <i>Nikáya Sangrahava</i> .
Bhuvaneka Báhu V.	1372	1391	Alakésvara all powerful as viceroy, with his seat first at Rayigama, and then at Kótte. Alakésvara disappears from history after the year 1386.	<i>Rájavalíya</i> , <i>Nikáya Sangrahava</i> . The latter work in its continuation implies that Alakésvara died in 1386. A. C. Conf:—  එකල්හී කරවු සහිස සාමන්ත්‍යය පස් වැනි භුවනෙකබාහු පසළොස්වකු පෙරවා කාලානුරූපව පවත්වමින් සිටියේය.  "He (Alakésvara) lived up to the 15th year of Bhuvaneka Báhu V., preserving, according to the necessities of the times, the integrity of the Order thus effected."

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bell reads it as *palos*, and considers it a mistake for *pasalos* fifteen. But from the estampage, it is as likely *elos*—a mistake for *ekalos* eleven. If *palalos* (fifteen) be taken, Parakrama Bahu V would have ascended the throne before Bhuvaneka Bahu IV; which, according to all our chronicles, is impossible. Either reading, however, does not contradict their duumvirate during a certain period.

[The difference between the Sinhalese *pa* and *e* in the Hapugastenna inscription "squeeze" (given in Journal C. A. S. Vol. xxii., No. 65, Plate D) is very well marked; but, to satisfy himself that the reading *palos* (*scil. pasalos*) is correct, the Mudaliyar has only to inspect the rock record itself, which is close to Matale. The Lankatilaka and Gadaladeniya Inscriptions, both contemporary, give the date of Bhuvaneka Bahu IV's accession as *Saka 1206*, (A. C. 1344-5). The *fifteenth* year of Parakrama Bahu V is, therefore, correctly given in the Hapugastenna Inscription as *Saka 1281* or A. C. 1359-60.—Ed.]



## TABLE OF KINGS.—(Continued.)

KING.	REIGN.		REMARKS.	AUTHORITIES.
	Commencement.	Termination.		
Kumára Alakésvara (son of Alakésvara the Great)	A. C. 1386	A. C. —	Dictator.	<i>Saddharma Ratnákara</i> Chap. XII., with inference from the silence of the <i>Nikáya Sangrahava</i> .
Vira Alakésvara (cousin of the last. ( <i>Mehenavara Vansa</i> .)	—	1391	Do	Do do
Vira Báhu II (son of Senálan-kadhikára Senevirat.)	1391	1396	Ascends the throne as duumvir with Bhuvaneka Báhu V. in the 20th year of that King's reign.	<i>Nikáya Sangrahava</i> .
Vijaya (Son)	1396	1396	Succumbs in the struggle for power.	<i>Saddharma Ratnákara</i> , Chap., XII.
Tunayesa. (brother)	1396	1396	Do	Do
Vijaya Báhu VI. (uncle)	1396	1408	Civil name, Vira Alakésvara. Captured and deported to China by Ching Ho.	<i>Rájavaliya</i> , <i>Saddharma Ratnákara</i> Chap., XII. Tennent, <i>Ceylon</i> , Vol. I Part V., Chap. III.
Interregnum <i>Lemani Kula</i> .	1408	1410	Country presumably administered by the officers of the last King.	
Parákrama Báhu VI. (son of <i>Jayamaha Lena</i> , a descendant of Prince Sumitra and Princess Sumana. <i>Mehenavara Vansa</i> (restored)	1410	1412	The country being kingless and the reigning house in captivity, this prince comes forward as a candidate for the crown. But in 1411 Parákrama-Báhu of Dedigama, of the reigning house, is appointed King at the Chinese Court.	Inference from the date in the <i>Mahávansa</i> and <i>Saddharma Ratnákara</i> , Chap. I, Tennent, <i>Ceylon</i> ., <i>loc cit</i> .
Parákrama Báhu VII. (son of Vijaya Báhu VI. <i>Lemani Kula</i> (restored)	1412	1414	Appointed King at the Chinese Court in 1411. Landed in Ceylon presumably in 1412. Held court at Dedigama. Assassinated.	Tennent, <i>Ceylon</i> , <i>loc cit</i> . <i>Vutta Mala</i> , <i>Tisara Sandesaya</i> , <i>Rájavaliya</i> .
Parákrama Báhu VI.	1414	1467	Returned to power, after the assassination of the last King. Crowned 1415.	<i>Ruvanmala</i> , <i>Kövyasékharaya</i> , <i>Saddharma Ratnákara</i> , Chap. XII.







## Notes & Queries.

### THE RING-FINGER.

THE term used for this finger in Sanskrit and Pali is *anamika*, which literally means "nameless (finger)." According to the Hindu belief, Siva cut the neck of Brahma with his ring-finger, and for this reason the ring-finger became so unclean that it was considered unfit to receive a special name; hence it came to be called "nameless finger."

There is no term in Sinhalese with which such a notion is associated. This idea appears to be a very ancient one; for it has migrated to Europe as evidenced by the fact that the terms used for the ring-finger "in Hungarian, in Vogul, in Ostiak, in Esthonian, in Finish, in Votiak, in Morduin, in Jurak-Samojed, in Turkmen, in Jakut and in Manchu"<sup>1</sup> bear the literal sense of *anamika* "nameless finger."

How is it that such terms are found in dialects or languages of Europe which belong to the Turanian family, and not, it is believed, in those appertaining to the Indo-European family?

The terms used in Sinhalese for ring-finger are *vedangilla* (or *vedengilla*) and *mudungilla* (or *mudengilla*). The latter (which literally means "ring-finger") appears to have come into existence after the arrival of the Europeans in Ceylon in the 16th century, while the former is more ancient and is found in standard authors.<sup>2</sup>

Although the terms used by the Greeks and Romans for this finger literally meant "medical finger," like the Sinhalese term *vedangilla*, and, although they like the Sinhalese, used that finger for stirring mixtures<sup>3</sup>, under the notion that "nothing noxious could touch it without its giving instant warning to the heart," the Sinhalese term does not appear to have derived from the west the cognate idea involved in it.

A. MENDIS GUNASEKARA.

### KUVENI HELLA.

THE traditions and stories connected with Kuvani, the Yakka Princess of Lanka, are given in several Sinhalese works. Some of these accounts differ from the versions given in the *Mahavansa*.

The *Mahavansa* relates how Prince Vijaya and his seven hundred followers arrived as ship-wrecked adventurers and on the day of their landing at Tammana wilderness met Kuvani. It gives the circumstances of the marriage of Prince Vijaya to

<sup>1</sup> See *Transactions of the Second Session of the International Congress of Orientalists*, p. 91, London, 1874. The different terms are given there.

<sup>2</sup> It occurs in *Abhidhanappadipika Sanne*, a work written before the time of Sri Rahula Sangha Raja, who flourished in the reign of Parakrama Bahu vi (1410-1462 A. C.) and who has referred to the work in his *Panchika Pradipa*.

<sup>3</sup> It is still a very general notion in England that it is bad to rub on salve, or scratch the skin, with any but the ring-finger—Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*.



Kuveni, the attack next day on Siri-watta-pura, and the subduing of the Yakkas. The history also mentions that, before Prince Vijaya married Kuveni, he made her take an oath that she would be faithful to him. At a later period, after the conquest of the land, Prince Vijaya, having allied himself with a Princess of Pandi, sent Kuveni and her children into exile, where Kuveni was killed by one of the Yakkas.

*The Kuveni Asna*, written in Sinhalese, gives the same story in detail; but mentions that Kuveni made Prince Vijaya take an oath that he would marry her and make her his Queen. It also says that, on being sent away, she attempted to kill Prince Vijaya by taking the form of a tigress.

The *Sinhala Asna*, another Sinhalese work, briefly gives an account similar to that in the *Kuveni Asna*.

There is another short work in Sinhalese dealing with the story of Kuveni, where the account differs materially from that given in the books quoted above: as such it is of some interest. The work is known as *Kuveni Hella*, and consists of about a hundred lines of about thirty letters each. It is recited in connection with devil ceremonies, and no doubt contains a traditional story handed down from remote times.

According to the *Kuveni Hella*, Prince Vijaya, being attacked with a virulent skin disease, had to leave the abodes of men and live in the wilderness attended by his followers. He was greatly depressed and contemplating suicide ate an unknown fruit, which turned out to be a "king-cocanut" (*tembili*); this cured him of his disease. One day, as he was thirsty, his followers went in search of water and came to a lake which was held by Kuveni. She captured the men and hid them in the lake amid the lotus leaves. Prince Vijaya attired in his royal dress, searching for his companions, came to where Kuveni was engaged in spinning cotton. Threatened Kuveni agreed to give up his companions if he would marry her. She showed her powers by transforming herself into a handsome form, and gave an account of other powers she possessed. Prince Vijaya married her, and had two children by the marriage. After a time one night he heard great noises: inquiring of Kuveni what they were he learnt that it was the celebration of the festivities of the marriage of a Yakka youth of Loggala with a maiden from Laggala. Prince Vijaya then said that he did not desire to live among the Yakkas, and prepared to leave Kuveni: thereupon with a shining sword *vidura kaduwa* in hand, mounting a swift steed, she went among the Yakkas and started hacking them, until one of her uncles stopped her. A second time Prince Vijaya, deeming that it was not proper for him to live among the Yakkas, was leaving the place, when Kuveni with a shining dagger attempted to attack him; but Sakra, seeing it, interfered and saved the Prince.

This account in the *Kuveni Hella* distinctly states: (i) that Vijaya was living in the forest for sometime before he met Kuveni; (ii) that the Yakkas were not attacked the very next day after his marriage; (iii) that Kuveni did not transform herself into a mare, but went forth to fight the Yakkas on a steed; and (iv) does not mention the arrival of a princess from Madura, nor the killing of Kuveni by her uncle.



## DHAMMA CHAKKA.

What should be the correct English rendering of "Dhamma Chakka"? It used to be translated "Wheel of the Law," which is no unsatisfactory translation; for it has not only the merit of retaining the Buddhist figure of speech but also the further advantage of being in harmony with the emblematic signification of the Wheel in Buddhism. But Professor Rhys Davids in "*The Buddhist Suttas*" (S. B. E. XI.) rejects this traditional rendering, and translates *Dhamma Chakka-ppavattane Sutta* by "*Discourse on the foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness.*" As an attempt to paraphrase in modern ideas the underlying thought of the Buddhist writer it may perhaps be called a happy rendering; but these attempts to express Buddhist thoughts "in the language of the Nineteenth Century" seem to do violence to the simplicity of the Buddhist narrative. The learned Professor justifies his version in the Introduction (S.B.E. XI, pp. 140 *et sq.*) and in his "*Buddhism*" (p. 45.)

But his suggestion "that the praying wheels of Thibet might have led to the misrepresentation and mistranslation now so common" itself appears to be a misrepresentation. Neither Da Cunha nor Alabaster should be held responsible for the "mistranslation." If the expression has been rendered "Wheel of the Law," it is solely because it is a literal translation of the phrase. That the Buddhists from the earliest times adopted the Wheel as the emblem of the Law is undisputed. Cunningham says (*The Bhilsa Topes*, p. 352.)

"The symbol of Buddha, was, I believe, the Wheel, which in its revolution was emblematic of the passage of the soul through the circle of the various forms of existence. Hence the Wheel, or whole circle, was typical of anyone who, after obtaining *Nirvana*, or emancipation from this mortal coil, had completed the circle of existence and was no longer subject to transmigration. Such a person was the Buddha, who was commonly called *Maha Chakkravartti Raja*, or Supreme Lord of the Universe, or more literally "the great King who hath turned the Wheel (of transmigration.)"

In the *Institutes of Manu* transmigration is compared to the wheel of a car; and again in the *Vishnu Purana* the mark of Vishnu's discus is said to be visible on the hand of one who is born to be a universal monarch (*Chakkravartti*. Cf. also the Professor's own "*Buddhist India*" and Simpson "*The Buddhist Praying Wheel*," ch. iii. and the Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal *passim*, e.g. 1880, p.127 and sq.

The Buddhists of countries other than India always translated it as "Wheel of the Law," (cf. Legge "*Travels of Fa Hien*" p. 68), and Professor Davids is, as far as I know, the first to give it any other than the traditional translation.

The Professor derives the meaning of *Chakka* from the consideration of the word *Chakkaravartti* which, in his Dictionary, means "he who makes the wheel of his chariot roll unopposed over all the world, *i.e.*, universal monarch." But this is not the only, nor, as I venture to submit, the best explanation of how *Chakkravartti* came to mean an emperor. It may be as well because an emperor is one "born with the mark of



Vishnu's discus on his hand" (Dowson Dictionary), or because "he abides in or rules over an extensive territory called a Chakkra" (Wilson), or because "he is the ruler of a Chakkra or country described as extending from sea to sea" (Monier Williams.)

*Chakka* seems to imply extension or universality rather than dominion, for the wheel is generally represented with 4, 8, 16 or 32 spokes to signify the four cardinal and the intermediate points. Hence wheel=in all directions=universal. This explanation is borne out by the *Sutta* itself; for when the Wheel of Truth had been set rolling onwards "the gods of the earth gave forth a shout. . . the attendant gods of the Four Great Kings (the guardian gods of the four quarters of the globe) gave forth a shout. . . ; in short the great ten-thousand-world-system quaked and trembled and was shaken violently and an immeasurable light appeared in the *universe*."

One thing is clear, that the expression can not be rendered by "Kingdom of Righteousness" elsewhere in the *Sutta*; nor does the Translator attempt to do so. For instance, the shout of the gods occurred when "in Benares, at the hermitage of Migadâya, the supreme *Wheel of the Truth* has been set rolling by the Blessed One—that *wheel* which not by any Samana, or Brahman, not by any god, not by Brahma or Mara, not by anyone in the universe can be *turned back*" (*op. cit.*) Is this not a distinct reference to the signification noted by Cunningham?

The translation of *Dhamma* by "righteousness" has a rhetorical effect in the phrase and sounds well, but as the Professor has himself pointed out it is not easy to render it into English. Usage at least has made "Law" the best rendering, as in the similar case of the Hebrew "*Thorah*" of the Old Testament. *Dhamma*, in the passage under consideration, evidently does not stand for "righteousness," but rather for the Noble Truths,—what we now call Buddhism: it should more properly be rendered "doctrine" than "law."

I should be glad if some Pali scholar in Ceylon would bring his learning to bear on the point.

Yours truly,

S. G. P.

Kurseong, India, June 3rd, 1915.





## THE SANNAS MINISTER.

THE creation of the office of *Sannas* Minister to the Sinhalese King seems to have been a fairly modern development, dating apparently no further back than the 14th century A.D.

The first record traceable of such a Minister is to be found in the Hapugastenna Inscription of Parakrama Bahu V, which is attested by Sival kolu Lakdivu Adhikara. The following are all the grants the writer has so far met with which give the name of the attesting Minister:—

APPROXIMATE Date.	GRANT.	KING.	ATTESTING MINISTER.	AUTHORITIES.
A. B. 1903	Hapugastenna Inscription	Parakrama Bahu V	Sival kolu Lakdivu Adhikara	Journal, C.A.S. Vol. XXII, No. 65, p. 362.
A. B. 1904	Gampola Inscription	Vikrama Bahu III	{ Sival kolu Lakdivu Adhikara Senalanka Adhikara Parakrama Adhikara Jayasiha Patiraja Virasiha Patiraja Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumal	Kegalla Report, p. 79.
A. B. 1919	Mámpe Sannasa	Bhuvaneka Bahu V	Do	Journal, C.A.S. Vol. XXII, No. 65, pp. 271-2.
A. B. 1925	Demaladuva Sannasa	Do	Do	<i>Id.</i> , pp. 272-3.
A. B. 1941	Ganógoda Sannasa	Do	Do	Kegalla Report, pp. 91-4.
(A. B. 1956)	Devundara Devale Sannasa	Vijaya Bahu (6th)	Do	<i>Id.</i> , pp. 96-98
(A. B. 1958)	Kappagoda Inscription	Do (6th)	{ Vijaya Sinha Ekanayaka Perumal Vijaya Adikára Garuda Perumal Gampola Perumal Mundalipote [ . . . ] thara Lijana Náihá	<i>Id.</i> , pp. 86-87.
A. B. 1958	Beligala Vihare Sannasa	Parakrama Bahu VI	Do	<i>Id.</i> , pp. 94-96.
A. B. 1964	Wataragóda Inscription	Do	Do	<i>Id.</i> , pp. 82-83.
A. B. 1969	Kérégala Inscription	Do	Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumal	Journal, C.A.S. Vol. XXII, No. 65, pp. 352-3.
A. B. 2017	Veligama Vihare Inscription	Bhuvaneka Bahu VI	(Kalu Parákrama?)	Journal, C.A.S. for 1870-71, pp. 21-4.
A. B. 2020	Dedigama Inscription	Do	Sanhas Tiruwarahan Vikrama Sinha Adigar	Kegalla Report, pp. 84-85.
A. B. 2052	Galgane Vihare Sannasa	Vikrama Bahu of Senkhandagala	Sanha Siwatte Wakele Perumal	Laurie's <i>Gazetteer</i> , Vol. I, p. 339.
A. B. 2052	Kuttangal Vihare Sannasa	Do	Sanhas Siwanta Kula Perumal	<i>Id.</i> Vol. II, pp. 757-8.
A. B. 2070	Kelaniya Vihare Inscription	Dharma Parakrama Bahu IX	Sanhas Tiruwarahan Perumal	<i>A.I.C.</i> No. 162; C.B.R.A.S. Journal 1871-72, pp. 36-44.
(A. B. 2072)	Wannipola Sannasa	Vikrama Bahu of Senkhandagala	Sanhas Siwanta Nainar	Laurie's <i>Gazetteer</i> , Vol. II, pp. 910-11.

The above list does not include (i) the two incomplete Alutnuwara Devale pillar-slab inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> one of which is attested by "Vikrama Bahu Epa" and the other by "Sanhas Sivattá Nayinár" (ii) the Niyamgampaya Inscription,<sup>2</sup> the signatories to which, after the king Vikrama Bahu Deva, are "Vijaya Bahu Epa, Parakrama Bahu Epa, Alagakkonara, and Jaya Maha Le Sitana."

Now, two things seem clear: (1) that the Minister dealing with *Sannas* and Inscriptions was almost invariably a Tamil; (2) that he bore the appellation of *Sanhas* or *Sanhas Siwanta*.

Why was this office peculiarly restricted to the Tamils, and when and why was it discontinued? None of the later Sinhalese kings had, apparently, any special *Sannas* Ministers.

JOHN. M. SENAVERATNE.

1. Kegalle Report, pp. 80, 81.

2. Journal C.A.S., Vol. xxii, No. 65, p. 344 note.



## Reviews of Books.

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THE DHAMMAPADA, New edition, by the REV. SURIYAGODA SUMANGALA. Pali Text Society, 1914.

Fausboll's *Dhammapadam* edition, so familiar to every Pali-student, is becoming unobtainable. It was, therefore, in good time that the Pali Text Society entrusted the well-known Pali scholar, Suriyagoda Sumangala Thero, with the task of preparing a new edition of this all-important collection of Buddhist ethics.

He has fulfilled this task in a very scholarly way. The chief manuscripts and editions have been carefully used, and different readings are given in foot-notes. The orthography and prosody, not always clear in Fausboll's edition, have been simplified. The editor gives also references to different works of the sacred Pali and Sanskrit literature, where a *gattha* or the idea expressed in it occurs.

A welcome help are the two indexes—one of the initial words of the *gathas* (by Professor Cowell) and one general word-index.

It is a model-edition, for which all Pali-students will thank the learned editor.

H. MEERWARTH.

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A GRADUATED PALI COURSE, by The REV. SURIYAGODA SUMANGALA. Colombo Industrial Home Press, Wellawatta, 1913.

In the first issue of this Periodical—which, as we hope, will help very much to further the interest in Ceylon History and Antiquities—attention should be drawn to this book, the study of which will more than anything else enable the student to go back to the original sources and documents. It combines profundity of knowledge with very clear and easy method of teaching.

Following the example of Bhandakar's Sanskrit Grammar, the author gives ample means of practising the grammatical rules by translations from Pali into English and English into Pali. The difficulty is gradually increased; after some lessons easy parts of the Scriptures are introduced. The study of the language has been made as much a pleasure as possible.

It would perhaps be advisable—and would enable the pupil to start the reading of *Dhammapadam*, and other easy works, a good deal earlier—if the chapter about Compounds was not given at the end of the Grammar but somewhere after the 20th lesson. Once the pupil has mastered the Declensions there seems to be no difficulty in explaining the different Compounds.

For European pupils it would be easier, if the Verbal Roots were given without the final vowel, e.g., not *gamu*, but *gam*, not *kara*, but *kar*. The formation of grammatical forms would thus appear much clearer, and so too the formation of derivatives. It is easier to



understand how *kar-o-ti* and *tan-o-ti* are formed from the roots *kar*, or *tan*, than from the roots *kara* and *tanu*. Besides, in a Grammar on European lines, it seems an unnecessary difficulty to introduce the way of the old Indian grammarians.

The Grammar will certainly give a new impulse to the study of Pali and Buddhism, and deserves to be a *vade mecum* for everybody who takes a deeper interest in the sources of Ceylon history.

H. MEERWARTH.

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MEMOIRS OF THE COLOMBO MUSEUM, edited by JOSEPH PEARSON, D. SC. F.L.S., Director of the Colombo Museum. Series A. No. I. *Bronzes from Ceylon, chiefly in the Colombo Museum* by ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY D. SC., Ceylon, 1914.

The title of this publication is a promise. It makes us hope that, in a not too remote future, the great treasures of the Colombo Museum will be scientifically published, and made accessible to those who cannot study them on the spot.

Dr. Pearson has done everything to make this first issue as representative as possible. Though the subject does not come into the scope of his special interest, he has taken much trouble to have the rich material reproduced in a series of first-class photographs. The twenty-eight plates will be welcomed by every student and lover of this fine branch of Ceylonese and Indian art.

The Introduction has been written by Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. One expected more from the author of *Mediaeval Singhalese Art*. He should be the one man to write an authoritative historical essay about the development of this art in Ceylon, about the influence of Southern India, about the religious thoughts which find expression in these bronzes, about different styles and schools. What he gives is a rather dry enumeration and explanation of each single figure, a kind of *catalogue raisonné*. One ought to make more out of the material as presented by the Colombo Museum. Of course, much may be found in the other publications of the author; but he need not have been afraid to repeat himself. To say the least, he would have saved the reader the trouble of hunting for information through different, and not always accessible, publications.

He has—and this must fairly be placed to the credit of his work—identified nearly all the bronzes and given, as far as it is possible, their age. The comparison with some similar figures of the British Museum is also a very happy idea.

H. MEERWARTH.

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ELEMENTS OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY, by T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., Superintendent of Archæology, Travancore State. Published under the Patronage of the Government of His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore. Vol. I., Parts 1, 2, Madras. The Law Printing House, 1914, 400 pp. text and 3 app.

To a superficial onlooker the "Hindu-Pantheon," as Moore calls it, represents a chaos of many-armed images with many attributes and fanciful names, overwhelming in its variety, puzzling by the contradictions it shows.

The student who, attracted by the fascinating phenomon called Hinduism, looked for a guide through this labyrinth, had several at his disposal—Moore, Monier Williams and



others ; but they helped him only for part of his way. It is now, thanks to the monumental work of Mr. Gopinatha Rao, not only possible, but easy, to understand the complicated system of Hinduism in all its parts.

The one Universal Spirit realised in its true nature only by a few chosen souls, the *nirgma* deity must needs become *sagmna*, i.e. assume visible and conceivable forms, to suit the mental faculties of the worshippers. Endless are the manifestations of the Universal Spirit, and endless—in theory—are the forms under which He can be worshipped.

Starting from this highest philosophical standpoint the author gives us one end of the thread to lead us safely through the labyrinth. He shows how the manifestations find their expression in different deities, male and female, in attitudes, attributes, number of limbs. His explanations corroborate the idea of Havell that the beauty of Indian art lies in the faithful expression of the highest spiritual conception.

The great force of Gopinatha Rao's work, however, which will make it an authority for a long time to come, is that it is based on a unique knowledge of the *Silpa sastras*. This extremely important branch of Sanskrit literature has long been neglected by European scholars, mostly because it demands a very deep knowledge of the subject—art and crafts—as well as mastery of the language.

The work of Coomaraswamy shows clearly how much our ideas of crafts and craftsmen are altered, if we know the handbooks and rules which ruled and rule all artistic production in India.

The author adds some new *sastras* to the number already edited by the Trivandrum school of pandits. It is only a pity that he has not translated them. There are many students of art and religion who would like very much to get exact information about the rules of the *Silpa* and do not know the language of the original. It may be hoped that Mr. Gopinatha Rao will give us a translation in a separate edition.

All the details concerning measurements, proportions, colours, attributes, as given in the *sastras* form a very useful, if somewhat dry, part of the work, and make it very reliable. Extremely practical is also the short and concise enumeration and explanation of all the weapons, symbols, attitudes, with their technical terms in Sanskrit. This "skeleton-grammar" of Iconography will be a welcome support for everybody whose task, not always easy, it is to classify and describe Indian images.

The author possesses not only an enviable knowledge of the complicated theory of Indian art, but is at the same time fully acquainted with Indian archæology and the existing specimens of artistic production. His descriptions of masterpieces of the past and present are vivid and clear, and are supported by a rich selection of illustrations. It would, however, have added to the exactness of the descriptions, if the author had mentioned whether the image explained exists or existed in reality, or is only a theoretical postulate of the *sastras*.

It is superfluous to say that all the mythological material available—the *Vedas*, epics, *Puranas*—has been fully made use of to explain the different religious beliefs connected with a deity. But not only the Indian way of explaining things—*Sastras* and Holy Scriptures—is adopted by the author; he also applies the ethnological and historical methods of modern European science to explain religious facts. A very instructive example of his method may be given here:—



The killing of Mahishasura, the demon-bull, by Devi has been described according to the tradition. The author continues: "The destruction of Mahishasura is considered to be allegorical; the *Padma-Purana* says that in the *Svayambhava-Manvantara*, Mahishasura was killed by Vaishnavi on the Mandaragiri, that he was once again destroyed by Nanda in the *Vaivasvatamanvantara* on the Vindhya mountain, and that thus personified ignorance was killed by Inanasakti, which is the same as personified wisdom." So far the pure Indian explanation.<sup>1</sup>

This is a very plausible theory and if the author would take this line and study the manifold traces of animal-worship in Hinduism, as the *Vishnu-avatars*, the *vahanams*, a part of the symbols, from an ethnological point of view, he could surely arrive at most interesting results. This would, of course, be another monumental work, but it would be a worthy continuation of the *Iconography*.

The second Part of the "Elements," as the author very modestly calls his work, is to be expected soon and will close the "Pantheon." The first Part contains Ganapati, Vishnu and the ten *avatars*, and the Saktis.

H. MEERWARTH.




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<sup>1</sup> "It may also be that this story indicates the substitution of the buffalo-to tem worship by a form of goddess-worship among certain early primitive tribes in the country." (p. 354)



# Literary Register.

## PALI LITERATURE IN CEYLON.

SPEECHES By H. E. SIR ROBERT CHALMERS.

**W**E make no apology for reproducing two important speeches, which Sir Robert Chalmers delivered in Colombo recently, on the subject of a project of His Excellency for the advancement in the Island of the higher Pali Studies. Readers of *The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* will find the speeches of peculiar interest.—*Editors.*]

### A

On Saturday, February 27th, 1915, His Excellency, addressing the School of Oriental Studies at the Public Hall, said:—

“Before we proceed to the distribution of prizes won during the past year by successful students in Oriental studies, I should like to take this opportunity, as I am addressing an audience so intimately interested in promoting such studies in Ceylon, of communicating to you a project of my own for the advancement of the higher Pali studies in the Island.

“You will all be aware of the vast extent of Pali literature and of its profound significance, not only to Buddhists but also to all students of the evolution of thought. You will also be aware that for the study of this literature in Ceylon there are even today inadequate facilities in the shape of scholarly editions readily available in a printed form. My object is to help to supply precisely these facilities for the Ceylon of our day. In doing so, I remind you that thus we shall be only endeavouring in our generation to maintain Ceylon’s ancient pre-eminence in scholarly enterprise; for it was here in Ceylon that, just two thousand years ago, Sinhalese scholars first committed to writing the text of Canon and Commentary.

“The *Mahavansa* tells us that it was in the reign of Vattagamini Abhaya that this sweeping revolution took place. In the words of the 33rd Chapter of our Ceylonese Chronicle, “the text of the Three *Pitakas* and the *Atthakathas* thereon did the most wise *Bhikkhus* hand down in former times orally; but since they saw that the people were falling away (from religion) the *Bhikkhus* came together, and, in order that the true doctrine might endure, they wrote them down in books.”

“To you, as to me, the rocky gorge of Alu Vihara, impressive though nature has left it, must be always more impressive still as the scene of the fruitful labours of these seven hundred *Bhikkhus*—labours that mark an epoch in the history of the scholarship of the world, and that six hundred years later drew that encyclopædic scholar Buddhaghosa to the same venerable scene, there to study the authentic tradition of the *Theravadins*, which writing had safeguarded and preserved amid wars and rumours of wars in Ceylon.

“It has always seemed to me that, with this unique tradition of scholarship in her past, Ceylon has failed in modern times to assert her historic claim to leadership in her own proper field. For instance, Siam, under the auspices of the late King, has taken the lead by issuing the *Tipitakam*, in the printed yellow-bound volumes which many of us



know; and Siam has made at least a beginning with the printing of the *Atthakathas* in Siamese character. What lesson does this teach us? Why, the lesson that Ceylon must follow, but, in following, ought to improve upon Siam's example. Here in Ceylon we must have, in Sinhalese character, an edition both of Canon and of Commentaries which will be worthy of the pre-eminent traditions of Pali scholarship in Ceylon.

"Now, as it happens, I have had the practical experience of collating, for my edition of the *Majjhima Nikaya*, not only Sinhalese manuscripts but also the Mandalay manuscript from the Royal Library in Burma and the King of Siam's printed edition; and, as a result of that experience, I have no hesitation in affirming, as I know that the most distinguished of Pali scholars in Europe will also affirm, that it is in the best Sinhalese manuscripts that the soundest traditions of Pali scholarship will be found. So far, then, we have got to this position—that we in Ceylon owe it to ourselves to re-assert our leadership in Pali studies, and that here in Ceylon we have the best manuscript material for a printed edition, which might hope to form a landmark in scholarship comparable with the first written record of two thousand years ago at Alu Vihara.

"Have we the men to do it? Yes: we have. We have lost, it is true, Sri Sumangala; and the burthen of years is too heavy now on Subhuti for us to hope to secure the continuous co-operation of that veteran scholar. But other scholars of proved competence are available to carry on the torch; and, while I look forward to securing the co-operation of other leading Ceylonese scholars, such as the learned Sri Nanissara of the Vidyodaya College, when the first practical start has been made, I have secured to edit the first volumes of what I should like to call the "Alu Vihara edition" the sound learning of a *thera* whose conversation first originated the idea in my mind—that is the *Padhana Nayaka*, Sri Dhammarama of the Vidyalankara College.

"I trust that I shall not be wearying you if I now proceed to indicate, quite briefly, my own conception of the proper sequence of the work; which is both vast in its scope and impossible of fulfilment without the strenuous labours and long continued co-operation of many minds. The most difficult part of the task lies in the *Atthakathas*, or Commentaries, written by Buddhaghosa, Dhammapāla and so forth; because the text here is much more corrupt than is the text of the Canon. But at the same time the Commentaries are indispensable, not only for the interpretation of the canonical books but also for settling the authentic text of those Canonical books themselves. Accordingly, it is with the Commentaries that we shall be wise to begin our enterprise, if its foundations are to be well and truly laid; and you will readily understand that, in selecting the first Commentary to be edited, I proposed the *Papanca Sudani*, because it is Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the *Majjhima Nikaya* which I had myself edited for the Pali Text Society. It is thus on an edition of the *Papanca Sudani* that Dhammarama has now for some months been engaged, basing his work on the faithful collation of some dozen manuscripts drawn from the chief centres of independent tradition, and aiming in this way at the production in Ceylon of the first truly critical recension of a Pali book by an Eastern scholar on Western lines. You will be interested, I am sure, to be informed that the learned *thera* has practically finished his difficult task, and that the earlier pages are already set up in print: so we may look to publication at an early date.

"I shall do myself the pleasure first of paying the printer's bill for the thousand copies of the two volumes of Dhammarama's edition of the *Papanca Sudani*, and secondly of asking the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society to accept as a gift



from me the thousand copies, the sale proceeds of which will form a reproductive fund for the future publication of successive volumes of *Pitakas* and *Atthakathas* by Ceylon's most eminent scholars in our "Alu Vihara edition." Mark the name "Alu Vihara Edition," to which I attach special value both as recognising our debt to those 700 Ceylon scholars who laboured at Alu Vihara two thousand years ago, and also as recording our own aspiration in these latter days to follow in their foot-steps by giving to Ceylon in a printed form a recension worthy alike of Ceylon's traditions and of her scholarship today. *Subham atthu.*"

### B

On Thursday March 25th, 1915, His Excellency, after presiding at a prize distribution at the Vidyodaya Oriental College, spoke as follows:—

"For the benefit, if I may say so, of the gentlemen on my right (the reporters) I proceed to say what I have so far said in Pali—namely with what pleasure I find myself able to visit this College, the foundation of which by the learned Sumangala Thero I had long known of. I know too, that today that College is flourishing under the learned Nanissara Thero, and I wish well to the College for the future.

"I have preached a little sermon rather to the *Mahā Sangha* than to the *gahapatis* I see around me—a sermon on the subject of applying yourself strenuously both to teaching and to learning; and I ended up by saying that, if elsewhere in Ceylon there is the strenuous zeal shown in this College, the future of scholarship throughout Ceylon may well be a distinguished one—distinguished and fruitful in good both for the people of Ceylon and for other people—scholarly people—that dwell elsewhere throughout the world. So much I have said already in the Pali tongue.

"I now proceed to say a word or two in my own mother-tongue, on a subject which springs naturally from what I have said. It is the subject of the importance of scholarship in Ceylon taking its proper place at the head of the Pali Scholarship of the world, and many of you that are here today know that it is both near and dear to my heart to see Ceylon Scholarship showing itself—insisting on showing itself—in the very forefront. (Applause.)

"Elsewhere, on a previous occasion, I dwelt on the importance of garnering scholarship in Ceylon in an edition which I hope to see called the "Alu Vihara edition." I then said that I had taken the first step with my learned friend, Sri Dhammarama, and that I had arranged to make a beginning on the Commentary of one of the three *Pitakas*.

"After conversation that I have had with Nanissara Thero, I think I can say that we, he and I, have arranged that, under his learned auspices, further steps should be taken, by proceeding to the editing of a second *Pitaka*—the *Vinaya Pitaka*. (Applause.)

"The third *Pitaka* I leave for future announcement. Sufficient for me it is that in a work which I regard with the greatest interest, I had been able to secure the co-operation of two scholars of the distinction and sound scholarship of Sri Dhammârâma and Nanissara Thero. Happy is the Governor who, wishing to have an Alu Vihara edition, has so rapidly placed at his disposal the services, the sound scholarship, and *appâmada* of scholars so distinguished. (Applause.)

"With these few words on a matter which perhaps brings all of us gathered together here into some sympathy with the advancement of the Scholarship of Ceylon and of placing Ceylon on the proper pedestal that her ancient and distinguished traditions deserve, I thank you for the attention that you have given to my bilingual utterances."



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