

The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register

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H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S. (Retired) & JOHN M. SENAVERATNE

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PRESS NOTICES.

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The First Number of "The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register" is marked by a high level of scholarship. "The Ceylon Antiquary" promises to be a valuable addition to the Periodicals dealing with the results of Oriental research, and as such is assured of a hearty welcome all over the civilized world.

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The Ceylon Antiquary

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Part 2.

ANCIENT MEMORIAL STONES IN INDIA.

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.

Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore.

THE subject of Memorial Stones is one amongst a number of curious ancient Indian customs, and of some ethnographical interest. The material representations thereof are to be found practically over the whole of India and in greater abundance in the Southern Presidency.

The Memorial Stones which go by the names *Vira-katkal* and *Masti-katkal*¹ are set up in honour of deceased heroes and heroines respectively. The circumstances in which these stones are generally erected, and the attendant ceremonies, are described in detail in several ancient classical Tamil works.²

The ancient Tamils had, as is well-known, an individuality of their own. Their civilisation and culture had so far advanced in the early centuries of the Christian era that they have left behind several valuable works describing the various human activities of the age to which those works belong. An ardent student of ethnography will find in these works ample material for a study of the manners, customs, and institutions of a bygone age.

With the help of that monumental work on Tamil Grammar and Rhetoric—the *Tolkappiyam*—and a few other classic works,³ it is proposed to give the origin, etc., of the custom of setting up *Vira-katkal* and *Masti-katkal*.

The erection of a Memorial Stone in honour of the dead is a very ancient custom in South India. The *Tolkappiyam* (the date of which is ascribed to the early centuries of the Christian era) has some *sutras* dealing with this subject.⁴ If it be granted that this

1. வீரகல், மஹாஸ்திகல்.

2. Works on rhetoric, logic, philosophy, medicine, astronomy and astrology are numerous. We have genuine history in such works as the *Kalingattup-parani*, the *Ulas* in honour of three Chola Kings, in the Introductions to the Inscriptions of Kings, etc.

3. *Tolkappiyam*, *Irattayanar-agapporul*, *Virasoliyam*, etc.

4. See the Introduction to *Virasoliyam* by Mr. C. W. Damodaram Pillai, B. A., B. L., and *Sendamil*, Vol. III, p. 151.

work is as old as the Christian era, the custom referred to must have existed even earlier. Though we do not hear of the custom in later times, it has become usual to devote one or two *sutras* to its description in every later work on Grammar and Rhetoric. Even the *Ilakkanavilakkam*, a modern work, has a reference to it.

I. VIRA-KATKAL.⁵

Vira-katkal are met with either (1) in the form of rough stone-slabs, showing a single bas-relief picture of the hero carved upon them, sometimes accompanied by inscriptions; ⁶ or (2) as nicely dressed stones bearing three or four sections of sculpture, with, or without, inscribed portions between the sections.⁷

In (2), the latter kind of stones, the bottom panel represents the cause of the hero's death. Usually the hero meets his death in battle; in rescuing cattle from cattle raiders, or in killing wild animals. He is represented as fighting against a number of enemies, some of whom are shown as having been pierced with arrows, some cut to pieces, some discharging arrows from their bows, or brandishing swords and other weapons of war. The cattle are generally shown as going towards the back of the hero, in order to indicate the fact that he, in rescuing them, fell dead. The figure of the hero is always sculptured to a larger size than those of the other combatants.⁸

The second panel above this depicts the hero floating heavenwards, borne on the shoulders of two divine damsels (*apsaras*) who fan him with *chauris*.

The third, or topmost, panel portrays the scene in the *Vira-svargga*, or the heaven attained by the heroes. In the middle of this panel is carved a *mandapa*, in which the god (Siva, Vishnu, or Jina, according as the hero is a Saiva, Vaishnava, or Jaina) is seated. The hero is sculptured either standing, or sitting with folded arms, in the presence of the deity.

In the inscribed portion is recorded a brief account of how the hero came by his death, the time when it occurred, and the name of the person who set up the Memorial Stone.

As specimens of such inscriptions the translations of three are given below:—

A.

Hail! In the twenty-ninth year of the reign of king *Parakesarivarman* who conquered *Madirai*, when cattle were lifted at *Mukkuttur* by the *Perumanadigal*, *Vadunavaran Varadan Tandan*, having recovered them, fell.

B.

Hail! In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of the King *Vijaya Nripalunga Vikramavarman*, when the army of the *Nulamba* attacked *Amaiyur*, a village in *Mel-Adaiyaru-nadu*, a sub-division of the *Paduvur-kottam*, in order to lift cattle, *Sanan*, the son of *Akalankattuvarayan*, who was the chief of *Kondan* of *Perunagar-Agaram* and a servant of *Pirudigangaraiyar*, not yielding (in fight) fell and died.⁹

C.

Be it well! When the *Bhujabala Chakravarti Bijjana Devarasa* was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom when by order of the *Banavasi-nad Dandanayaka Padmarasa, Vumasaktideva*, worshipper of the god *Dakshina Kedara* was seized, the *Meragara* of *Tonavatti, Babaya Nayaka*, fought and attained *Svargga*. His nephew set up this stone for him.¹⁰

5. Plate I. 1, 2, 3.

6. For specimens of these simple *vira-katkal* see Plates facing pp. 178 and 180, *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IV.

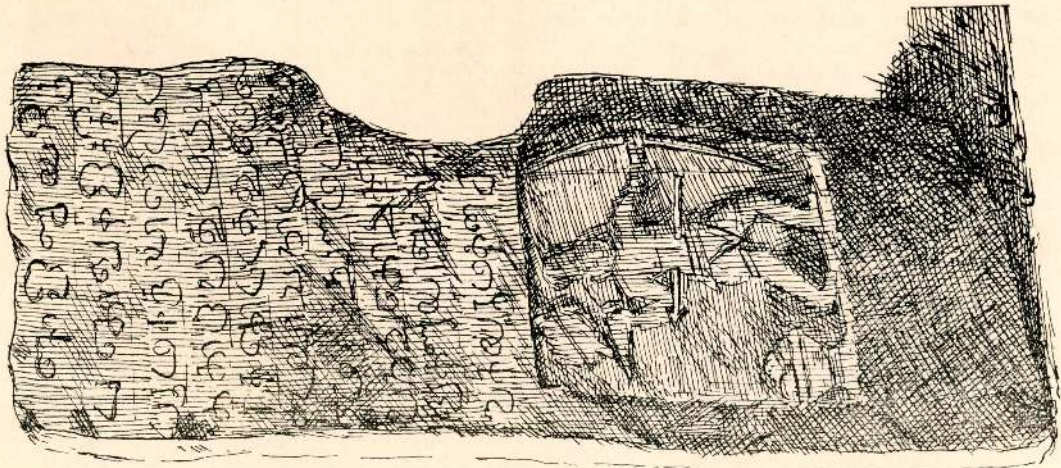
7. See Plate facing p. 48, *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. VI. It is also a *sati* stone, as proved by the pillar, somewhat like a sign-post, underneath which stands a woman—probably the wife of the hero who fell in the battle. Dr. Fleet considers this "sign-post" a flagstaff; but it is not.

8. See Plate facing p. 2 of the Translations, *Epigraphia Carnatica* Vol. VIII.

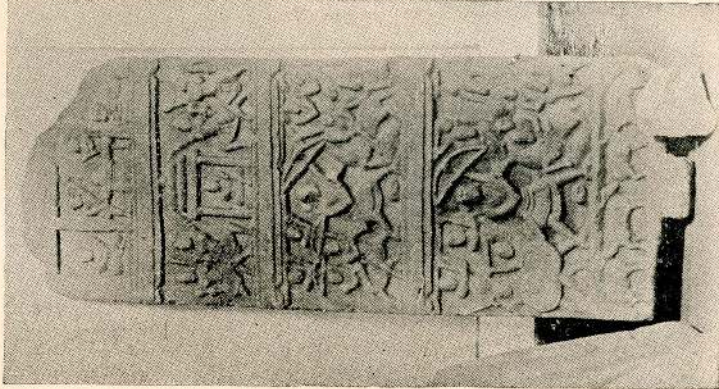
9. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, pp. 179 and 182. The Translations are by Dr. Hultzsch.

10. *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII, p. 190.

VIRA-KATKAL.



I



2



3

At the end of some of these inscriptions a *sloka* is appended to the following effect:—

By the victor is gained spoil; by the slain too, the celestials nymphs. What fear then of death in war to him who for a moment seeks close combat?

The ceremonies preparatory to the planting of Memorial Tablets are briefly mentioned in the *Tolkappiyam*:—First, the stone is selected, then the image of the hero sculptured upon it; and finally proper inscriptions engraved. After bathing the finished slab in water, and setting it up, the soul of the deceased is invoked to dwell in that stone thenceforth.¹¹ The stone is, at times, surrounded with a platform called *vira-salai*.

The following Commentary contains fuller details of the various portions of the ceremony:—

As soon as the stone is selected, it is removed and dressed, the image of the person who died the death of a hero is carved, and his praises also engraved, upon it; then it is bathed in scented water, a thread is tied round it (*koppu-nul raksha bandha*), smeared with ghee, and covered with flowers. Incense is offered next, and the spirit of the dead is invoked to take its residence in the stone. Finally the friends and relations of the deceased sing praises of the man and the ceremony comes to an end.¹²

The relatives of the deceased later on get some bard to recite verses in praise of the dead hero. The poet *Uraiyur Kanda Pottiyar* has some touching verses composed on hearing that his friend and patron *Kop-Perum-Solan* had died and his soul entered the memorial stone.¹³ This is but one of several poetic effusions of grateful, and sincere, bards of the Courts of the innumerable ancient Kings of the Tamil country.

In the *agamic* literature it is stated that, when an image of a god is set up, the same ceremonies, (namely, selecting a proper stone for the purpose, sculpturing the image, bathing it in water and finally erecting it with due rites) are prescribed: they are known by the names *silā-parigriha*, *jala-dhivasa* and *pratishthā*. It appears, therefore, that the *agamic* rules were followed even in the case of *vira-katkal* and *masti-katkal*.

The term *kal-nadu*, occurring in Kannada inscriptions, is used to denote the setting up of these Memorial Stones.

It is thus commented upon by Mr. Rice:—

Another interesting term is *kal-nadu* which is not easy to explain, as it has long been obsolete and only occurs in the oldest inscriptions. So far as the word goes, it means, “stony-tract.” But from the way in which it is used, as signifying the land granted for the support of the family of a man who had fallen in battle or been otherwise killed in public service, it seems to designate what is now known as Government Waste, that is, land that has been abandoned.¹⁴

Dr. Fleet accepts Mr. Rice’s explanation, and translates the term occurring in an inscription accordingly.¹⁵

In the light of the facts described in this Paper, it will be easily seen that *kal-nadu*, in Kannada as in Tamil (Kan. *kal-natu* or *nadu*, Tam. *kal-nadu*) means “planting the stone”: cf. Tam. *koḷ-padu*—“that which is held” (e.g. opinion); *purap-padu*—“the act of coming out”: *nadu* is the verbal form from which the verbal-noun *nadu*, the act of planting, is derived. Thus it is clear that *kal-nadu* does not mean “stony-tract,” as interpreted by Mr. Rice. It is true that a small plot of land is allotted when a *kal-nadu* takes place; but nowhere is it said that it was intended for the maintenance of the bereaved family of the

11. *Tolkappiyam*, *Porul-adigaram*, *Purattinai-iyal* sutra, 5.

12. *Porul-adigaram*, *Purattinai-iyal* pp. 121-123.

13. *Purananuru*.

14. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III. Introduction p. 8.

15. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 43, footnote 1.

deceased. If Mr. Rice's surmise were correct it would follow that the king, who granted a "stony-tract" patch for the support of the family of the loyal subject who shed his blood in the discharge of his duty towards his sovereign, would be an ungrateful monarch.

II. MASTI-KATKAL.¹⁶

Passing on to *masti-katkal*. The word is a compound of *maha*, *sati*, and *kal*, and denotes a stone set up in honour of a *maha sati*, or a greatly devout wife. *Sati* was the name of the daughter of Daksha (the progenitor of the human race, according to the Puranas), and wife of Siva. Seeing that her husband was slighted by her father, who consciously omitted to honour her husband in a great sacrifice, she committed herself to the flames and ended her life. From that time forwards any woman who died for her husband came to be known by the name of *sati*.

The sculpturing of a *masti-kal* is quite dissimilar to that of the *vira-kal*. For a *masti-kal* an upright pillar is shaped. At the top of this pillar, attached horizontally, is shown a human arm, of which the forepart is bent upwards at right angles: the palm is kept open; and between the thumb and the first finger a lemon fruit is placed.

This is the carving generally found on *masti-katkal*; but some have, underneath this arm, figures of a husband and a wife standing hand-in-hand; or the pillar with the cross-arm is omitted, and the man and woman are sculptured seated under a canopy, the hand of the woman being held open, with a lime between the thumb and the forefinger, and the right arm bent and held up.

Occasionally these stones bear inscriptions giving the name of the lady in whose memory they are set up.

The ceremonies attendant upon the planting of this form of stone are also precisely the same as those for a *vira-kal*.

Students of Tamil literature are familiar with the life and death of the great heroine *Kannagi* (the *sati* of the unfortunate *Kovalan*) through the pages of that tragic classical epic, the *Silappadigaram*. The last chapters of this work are devoted to the description of the setting up of the stone in memory of *Kannagi*.¹⁷ Several other instances of heroic women who would not suffer themselves to live after the death of their lords are recorded in ancient Tamil works. The enlightened wife of *Bhuta-Pandya*,¹⁸ and *Velli-vidiyar*, the poetess, are prominent instances of the intensely devout wives described above.

III. KARUNGAL-PARIHARAM.¹⁹

Another kind of Memorial Stone is met with only in the Malabar country, so far as is known at present. It has not been found anywhere in the other parts of the Madras Presidency.

This stone consists of two parts,—a vertical pillar, about three or four feet in height as base, topped by the sculptured effigy of a man, with his hands and legs stretched out. The effigy is morticed to the pillar, so that the back of the man rests upon it with his front facing the sky. The whole sculpture certainly represents the impalement of some delinquent.

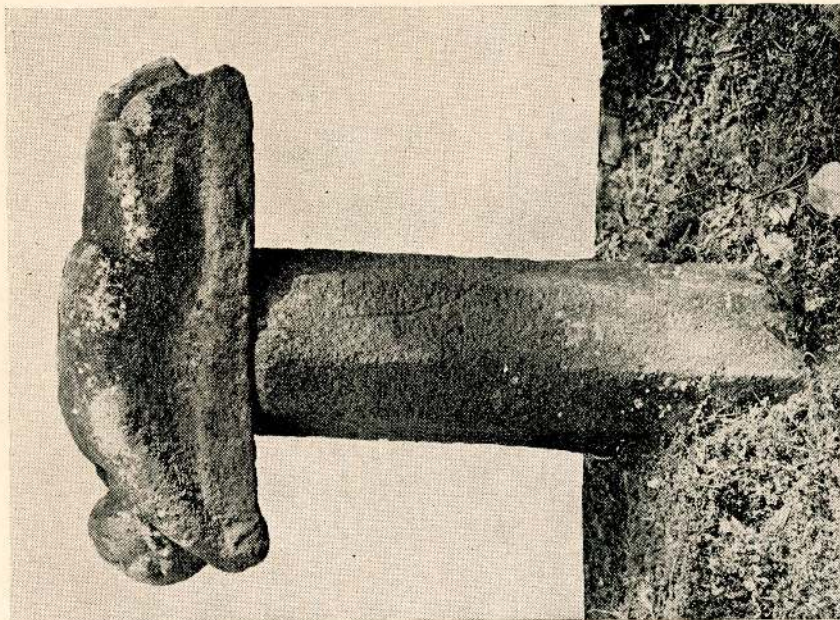
16. Plate II, 1.

17. See *Kal-kot-kadai*, *Nirppadai-kadai*, and *Nadukar-kadai* of *Silappadigaram*.

18. *Purananuru*, verse 246.

19. Plate II, 2, 3.

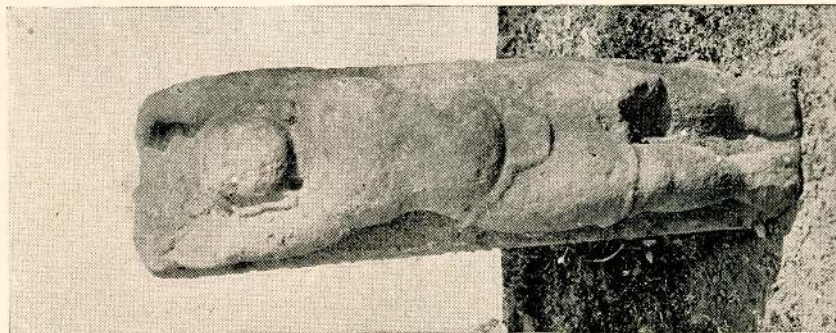
MASTI-KAL: KARUNGAL-PARIHARAM.



2



1



3

It is not easy to find out in what circumstances the actual impalements (whose material representation is commemorated in sculpture, or in ceremonial impalements for which the effigy of a person is employed) were carried out; much less is it possible to ascertain the ceremonies attendant upon the symbolic impalement.

One fact, however, is of note—namely, that these *karungal-pariharam*, or impalement-stones, are in all cases found set up in front of temples, outside the main gate and opposite to it. There is one such stone in front of the Subrahmanya temple at Harippadu; another before the Vishnu temple at Tirukkadittanam; and two others in front of the Vishnu temple at Mulikkalam. The fact that these stones are invariably situated in front of temples indicates that the ceremony of setting up this sort of stone would have been performed in, or near, the temple.

One or two tentative hypotheses may be suggested in explanation of this curious relic of the past. It may possibly represent a pious man who, for some reason, offered up his body to the god of the temple before whom his effigy is set up, and so ended his life—the sacrifice of this devotee being commemorated by the townsman who set up the memorial in his honour; or (as one of the residents of Harippadu explained to me), it may represent a hated king whose treatment of his people was harsh, and to cause whose destruction his effigy was impaled. Such form of impalement, as shown, would not end the life of the victim for a long time and after much suffering. My informant told me that the name *karungal-pariharam* is applied to the *abhicharika* (demoniacal) ceremony and that it was meant to strike terror in the minds of erring kings. It is impossible at present unquestionably to arrive at the true explanation.

IV. CARVED FOOT-PRINTS.

Another kind of memorial in stone is the sculpturing of a pair of feet of the deceased, with appropriate inscriptions mentioning the name of the person whose memory it perpetuates and the circumstances under which he met with his death. These mementos are not, in the strict sense "Memorial Stones," but rather memorial symbols sculptured upon rocks, where the deceased died.

This class of memorial always indicates the place of demise of a Jaina ascetic who practiced the vow of *sallekhana* to put a stop to his existence; and the records give, as mentioned above, the details of the name of the ascetic and the duration of his fast before he attained his end. This sort of religious suicide is prescribed for Jainas under special circumstances in their authoritative works, such as the *Ratna-karanda* and *Arungala-chheppu* evidently a literal translation of the former in Tamil. It is stated that a Jaina may end his life when he, or she, is afflicted with an incurable, or troublesome, disease, in old age, during famine, and other similar circumstances.²⁰

Regarding this melancholy act Mr. Rice writes:—

They (the inscriptions) are painfully plain as to the main object for which they were recorded. The bitterest satirist of human delusions could hardly depict a scene of sterner irony than the naked summit of this bare rock dotted with emaciated devotees, both men and women, in silent torture awaiting the hour of self-imposed death. The irony is complete when we remember that avoidance of the destruction of life in whatever form is a fundamental doctrine of the sect.

Further on he writes:—

It need scarcely be pointed out that these views regarding the release of the soul from the body were not altogether peculiar to the Jainas or to India.

20. See *Sendamūl*, Vol. V, pp. 410-11. A *sallekhana* memorial is sometimes called *nisthika*.

Writing of the Pagan Empire of Rome, Lecky says :—

The conception of suicide as an *euthanasia*, an abridgment of the pangs of disease, and a guarantee against dotage of age was not confined to philosophical treatises. We have considerable evidence of its being frequently put in practice. The act was committed under the most various motives . . . most frequently, however, death was regarded as the last physician of disease (according to Sophocles), and suicide as the legitimate relief from intolerable suffering.

Referring to a later time he says :—

We find among the Albigenses a practice, known by the name of *endura*, of accelerating death, in the case of dangerous illness, by fasting and sometimes by bleeding.²¹

The suicides described by Lecky are so exactly similar to the *sallekhana* of the Jainas that it is impossible to close without drawing the conclusion that they both had the same philosophical origin, and that probably the Romans, and others, borrowed it from the Indians—especially when we know that Gymnosophists (naked Jaina monks) have lived and died in Rome and Greece. In *sallekhana* also the victim dies of starvation, brought on by gradually decreasing the quantity and quality of food and drink, until eventually he learns to exist for a while on nothing. He continues without food till his body withers away and death claims him.



21. Inscriptions at *Sravana-Belgola*. Introduction pp. 17-18.

KING KIRTTI NISSANKA AND THE "TULĀ-BHĀRA" CEREMONY.

BY H. C. P. BELL.

AMONG the Miscellaneous Notes left by Sir Walter Elliot of the Indian Civil Service is an account of the *Tula-bharam* Ceremony obligatory on the Rajas of Travancore. It preceded the ceremony called alternatively *Hiranya-garbhā* "Birth from Gold" or *Padma-garbhā* "Birth from the Lotus."

This Note, published some twenty years ago,¹ is worth reproducing, as it goes far to explain the references made *passim* to "the scale-weighing bounties" in the lithic records of that most boastful of Ceylon Rulers, Nissanka Malla, the alien Prince from the Kalinga country of Southern India, who reigned at Polonnaruwa for some eight or nine years (*circa* A. D. 1198-1207) under the pompous *biruda*—to quote it in all its fulsomeness—*Sri Vira Raja Nissanka Malla Apratimalla Kalinga Lankeśvara Parakrama Bahu Chakravartti*.

It has been the imperative duty of every Raja of Travancore, as soon as possible after his accession to the throne of his forefathers, to perform two expensive ceremonies, called *Tula-bharam* and *Hiranya-garbhā*; for their performance alone can enable him to bear the title of *Kulasekhara Perumal*, and confirm him on his ancestral throne. Although several of the ancient Rajas are found not to have thus legally acquired the title, (perhaps from a failure of the requisite pecuniary means), yet those princes had reigned before the whole principality had acknowledged one sole sovereign. Since the reduction of the petty chiefs by Raja Martanda Varma of Attingal, all the princes seem to have undergone their ceremonies, with the exception of the two who were excluded by reason of their sex from their performance.²

Hiranya-garbhā alone can render the Prince efficient to wear the crown of Travancore, and in order to be eligible for that, the Raja must have previously performed the ceremony of *Tula-bharam*.

TULA-BHARAM.

Tula-bharam is derived from *tula* "a pair of scales," and *bharam* "weighing," meaning "weighing in a pair of scales." This ceremony is the more expensive of the two, as it not only requires a large quantity of gold corresponding with the weight of the Prince, but much more money besides to serve as donations to several Pagodas and to attendant Brahmans.

An auspicious day being previously fixed, the Raja sends his summons to all the *Namburies* (local Brahmans) to attend at the ceremony, and assist him in its performance. These people live in the southern parts of Travancore, their principal seats being Trichur in Cochin, and Trivandrum in Malabar near Calicut. Whatever may be the pursuits in which they happen to be then engaged, they must abandon them and repair without delay to the place appointed for the celebration of the ceremony. When the High Priests of these Brahmans come, the Raja is required to go forth to meet them, and to lead them to the place allotted for their residence, paying them all manner of attention and reverence.

Modern civilization, however, has introduced changes into this custom, which denoted the superiority of ecclesiastical rule. Instead of the Prince, the Head Officer of the Palace goes, and after communicating to them the ceremony for which they are required, he desires from them a memorandum of the details of its observance, the provision required and the penance which His Highness should previously perform. This is only a matter of form, for every preparation has been already made agreeably to ancient custom.

Great numbers of Brahmans, both local and foreign, assemble, and have to be fed and maintained without distinction. Prayers are periodically chanted in the Grand Pagoda at Trivandrum.

About a week before the actual commencement of the ceremony, His Highness has to perform some highly mortifying penance. Then the ceremonials, which last seven days, commence. *Homans*, or sacrifices,

1. Sewell, "Coronation Ceremonies of Travancore" (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, Vol. viii., No. 15, July, 1894.)

2. Exclusion of females did not apparently apply to Kalinga rulers, judging by King Nissanka's *tula-bhara* ceremonies. See *infra*. Sinhalese inscriptions.

together with the recital of the *Vedas*, are performed by certain Namburies, whose hereditary privilege it is to officiate on such occasions. The foreign Brahmans are not allowed to take part; they are only appointed to attend the Namburies in their duties.

As the seventh day approaches, a large temporary *pandal*, or decorated pavilion, is erected in the Grand Pagoda, well ornamented with tinsel work, mango leaves, and plantain trees, as prescribed in the Hindu *Shastras*. The four sides are secured with strong railings to restrain the crowd of spectators from entering the sanctuary. The *pandal* is built generally in an elevated spot, so that all the people may see the weighing of the Prince.

On the morning of the seventh day, the gold already collected for the purpose and converted into massive bars is taken with great pomp to the Pagoda, followed by a large number of spectators who crowd to get even a slight glimpse of the ceremonial. The gold is deposited in a particular position, and is purified by being sprinkled with sacred water by the high priest.

The Raja, after performing his morning devotion, proceeds to the Pagoda and prostrates himself before the deity in it. Then dressed in his Royal ornaments and attended by all his officers, he comes to the gate of the *pandal*, where he makes *damam*, or the giving of nearly 100 cows to respectable, learned, and poor Brahmans. Then he takes off his ornaments and replaces them by a set of new ones of less value, as they become the perquisite of the High Priest after the performance of the ceremony. Then the High priest briefly explains the necessity of the ceremony, and, after certain passages from the *Vedas* have been repeated, His Highness is slowly led to the platform where the balance to weigh him has been erected, made of wood, well painted, and covered with green tafeta.

The scales are of silver, some three feet in diameter, and are suspended by means of ropes made of twisted silken cords, entwined, and covered with gold thread. In one of the scales, destined to bear the weight of the Royal person, a small cushion is placed, and on it a few *darbhas*, or pieces of sacred grass. His Highness, after falling at the feet of the High Priest and Brahmans generally, is slowly led, amidst loud acclamations, to his appointed scale, which stands at the height of a yard from the ground to facilitate his mounting it.

When the lucky hour has arrived the members of the Royal family, the priests and officials are allowed to enter within the railings; His Highness slowly places himself in one of the scales; while the gold is brought, amidst the beating of tom-toms, and put into the other scale. The sound of the clapping of hands and the peculiar strain of music convey to the eager crowd the information that the Raja has been placed in the balance. Then follows a rush to have a glimpse of the extraordinary scene. The crowd is so immense that, should proper measures be by chance neglected, many are likely to be trodden to death. The gold continues to be poured into one scale till the other in which the Prince is seated, rises aloft. His Highness must remain nearly half an hour in the scale, when certain sacrifices, etc., are made: then the High Priest proclaims that the ceremony is over.

The Raja thanks the local Brahmans for the trouble they have taken and, as a reward, distributes half of the entire gold among the priests. Then His Highness is triumphantly led, amid the acclamations of the people, to the presence of the deity; where, after paying certain prescribed gold coins, His Highness is congratulated by the High Priest in the name of the deity, and receives some trifling presents.

The remaining half of the entire gold is taken to the mint and coined into special coins bearing the inscription, in Malayalam letters, *Sri Padma-nabham*. Every Brahman, without regard to his rank, receives a certain number of these golden coins, in proportion to the number of the members of which his family consists. The Brahmans are fed well during several days, and are then dismissed with suitable presents. The share which the local Brahmans receive is a quantity of gold, which they take home. Great festivities commemorate the occasion, and no circumstance that would enhance its pomp is neglected.³

The above account makes it clear that the *Tula-bhara* Ceremony is distinctly Hinduistic. It seems to have formed no part of the *Abhiseka*, or Coronation Rites, of Sinhalese Kings.⁴ Some of these monarchs appear, however, to have practised it;⁵ but there is no known reference to such distinctive largess in the inscriptions of rulers of the Island other than Nissanka Malla. That past-master of braggadocio was unique in harping *ad nauseam* on his unrivalled munificence in this and the like respects; as recorded in all the more important of the bombastic epigraphs which he has left scattered broadcast throughout Ceylon,—from Kantalai on the North-East as far as the Southern limits of the Island.⁶

3 *Tula-bharam* prepares the Raja for undergoing the ceremony of *Hiranya-garbhram*, which is similar in the fixing of a lucky day, and the issuing of the Royal summons to the Namburies; but this ceremony does not last longer than a couple of days.

4 Fernando, "The Inauguration of the King in Ancient Ceylon" (C. A. S. Journal, Vol. xiv., No. 47, 1896.)

5. Thus it is said of Dapulu III. (827-843 A. D.) in the *Mahavamsa* (XLIX., 79.) that "he commanded gifts equal to his weight in the balance (*tula-bhara vasayen danayak*, lit. 'tula-bhara-like almsgiving') should be given to the poor."

6. Kantalai, (Trincomalee District): Keligatta, Wandurupa Vihare, (Hambantota District.)

We cannot be expected to take on trust every claim in the allusions to Nissanka Malla's ostentatious disbursements occurring in the several inscriptions wherein they find place; for these exhibit *crescendo* lavishness—a suspiciously marked gradual increase—in the *tula-bhara* offering, both in regard to the members of Royalty who mounted the balance, as well as the number of times the ceremony was repeated.

One assertion at least of the King having performed this bounty is reasonable enough—if, that is, we are to believe that Nissanka Malla actually carried out that successful expedition to Southern India, for which he prides himself on stone, though the *Mahawansa* makes no reference to it whatever. He claims to have signalled his victorious campaign, ere he left India, by carrying out a *tula-bhara* ceremony at Ramesvaram.⁷ This would be an isolated and special exercise of the function, quite independent of the asserted regular practice followed by this King (to which reference is made in most of his inscriptions) of performing four⁸ or five⁹ *tula-bhara* donations every year.

Most frequently the wording is curt:—

A.

Text.

කවුරුදු පතා පස් තුලා භාරයක් දී

Translation.

“Donating yearly five *tula-bhara* (lit. “weight,” *scil.* of coin) in the balance.”

This leaves it a little uncertain whether the King mounted the balance alone periodically every year, in addition to the occasions on which he had himself weighed an equal number of times together with certain members of the Royal family. It is most likely that the stone masons usually clipped the full record; for otherwise the *tula-bahra* weighing would have become almost a bimonthly, and much less impressive, ceremony, recurring ten times a year with the King alone as actor.

Further, there is doubt as to the full number of Royal personages permitted to share the honour of the balances with the Sovereign. These are made to vary in the inscriptions from two to three, four, and even to seven persons.

The Chief Queen Subhadra, and the Crown Prince Vira Bahu, were always so favoured. Once these two are mentioned as accompanying the King to the scales by themselves.¹⁰ Once, too, both queens (Subhadra and Kalyanavati) as well as the Prince, but that annually (*havurudu pata*); twice we find added to these three the Princess Sundari;¹¹ finally, in one record, Vikrama Bahu *Epa*, Chandravati (the Ex-Queen), and Parvati (perhaps the King's mother) are joined with the King and four other Royalties.¹²

7. Nissanka-lata-mandapsya, Kiri Vehera (Polonnaruwa); Gallella, (Tamankaduwa).

8. Slab near Thuparama (Polonnaruwa);—*sata-tula-bharayak*.

9. Council Chamber, Rankot Vehera, Thuparama (Polonnaruwa); Dambulla Vihare (Central Province); Ramba Vihare (Southern Province).

9.13. Ruwanveli Dagaba (Anuredhapura); Muller, *Ceylon Inscriptions; Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II., pp. 70-83.

10.14. Wata-da-ge, Rock near Devales (Polonnaruwa); Annual Report. A. S. 1911-'2, pp. 104-5.

11.15. Galpota (Polonnaruwa); Wandurupa Vihare (Southern Province).

12.16. “Beta-da-ge” (Polonnaruwa) *Epigraphia Zeylanica loc. cit.*, pp. 84-88

The following extracts from Nissanka Malla's inscriptions bring out the gradations in the extent and magnificence of the *tula-bhara* alms-givings from the simplest form of reference quoted above :—

Text.

A.

Translation.

මා දවසැ කාන් නොසිඟා සුවසෙ විසුව මැනැවැසි පෙර රජදරුවන් නොකළ විරු ලෙසෙකැ නු ලාභාර නැගෙමි සිනා වදුරා උරෙහි දු විරබාහු මහපාණන්වහන්සෙ හා අග මෙසුන් කාලිග සුභද්‍රා බිසොවුන්වහන්සෙ හා සහ වොටුනු අබර ණින් සැදි නමන්වහන්සෙ හා තුන්දෙනාවහ න්සෙ තුලාභාර නැගී සන්රුවන් හා ඇතළු රිදි තිරම් හා අනන්ත කොටු රාජ විවිසෙහි නෙස්වමින් මහා දුන වම් පවත්වා.¹³

(His Majesty being pleased to express the hope) : " May no one be in want during my time but live happily," (and) resolving " I will mount the balance valiantly as no former kings have done," having adorned himself with the Crown and (Regal) insignia, (the King) together with His Highness Vira Bahu *Mahapana*, his son, and Her Majesty the Chief Queen Kalinga Subhadra—three persons—mounted the scales, and caused lavish largess to be showered in the Royal Street, inclusive of the seven kinds of gems and silver *tiram* (coins).

Here we have the King, Chief Queen, and Crown Prince, or three persons.

Text.

B.

Translation.

අග මෙහෙසුන් සුසංවිභ කාලිගසුභද්‍රා මහ දෙවින් වහන්සෙ හා ගගවභක කලිගණ මහ දෙවින් වහන්සෙ හා යුව රජවැ සිවි උරෙහිදු විරබාහු මහපාණන්වහන්සෙ හා සමැනැ සහ වොටුනු රජබරණින් සැදි පෙර රජදරුවන් නොකළ විරලෙසැ හවුරුදු පතා තුලාභාර නැගී මහා නවරත්න දුන වම් පවත්වා දිළිඳු හය දුරු කොටු.¹⁴

(His Majesty), accompanied by the Chief Queen Kalinga Subhadra Maha Devi of the Solar race, and Kalyana Maha Devi of the Ganga race, and Vira Bahu *Mahapana*, his legitimate son, who was the Crown Prince (*Yuva Raja*), being arrayed in Royal insignia including the Crown, donated *tula-bhara* gifts every year in heroic manner as former kings had not done, and pouring down showers of valuables (*lit.* gems) of the nine kinds, relieved the people from fear of poverty

The Second Queen is now added, making with the King, four Royalties.

Text.

C.

Translation.

අග මෙහෙසුන් කාලිග සුභද්‍රා මහා දෙවින් වහන්සෙ හා ගගවභක කලිගණ මහ දෙවින් වහන්සෙ හා සහ වොටුනු රජ බරණින් සැදි උරෙහිදු දරු (විරබාහු) මහපාණන්වහන්සෙ හා දු සසිභාග සුඤ්චින්වහන්සෙ හා එක්වැ තුලාභාර නැගී හවුරුදු පතා පස් තුලාභාරයක් බැගින් දී නවරත්න දුන වම් පවත්වා.¹⁵

(His Majesty), wearing the Crown and other Royal insignia, caused himself to be weighed in the balance every year, as well as the Chief Queen Kalinga Subhadra Maha Devi, Kalyana Maha Devi of the Ganga-vansa, his son (Vira Bahu) *Mahapana*, and his daughter Sarbbanga Sundari ; (thus) he donated five *tula-bhara* offerings, bestowing showers of wealth of the nine valuables (gems, &c).

The Princess Sundari is included, raising the number of persons weighed to five in all.

Text.

D.

Translation.

කාලිගසුභද්‍රා බිසවුන්වහන්සේ හා කලිගණ මහ දෙවින්වහන්සේ හා (මහපා)ණන්වහන්සේ හා වික්‍රමබාහු ඇපාණන්වහන්සේ හා වජ්‍රා (බිස වුන්)වහන්සේහා පසිභාගීන් වහන්සේ හා සසිභාග සුඤ්චින් වහන්සේ ඇතුළුව අවදෙනාවහන්සේ තුලාභාර නැගී හවුරුදු පතා මෙලෙසැ දී.¹⁶

(His Majesty), together with Queen Kalinga Subhadra, Kalyana Maha Devi, (Vira Bahu) *Mahapana*, Vikrama Bahu *Epa*, Queen Chandra, and (their Highnesses) Parbbati and Sarbbanga Sundari—eight persons (in all)—ascended the scales ; (and) in this manner made annual *tula-bhara* donations.

Eight personages. The whole adult Royal family perhaps may have been associated in the function—a *tour de force* limited to a single exceptional ceremony in the course of the year.

Independent of the antiquarian interest afforded by the fact of these Royalties being connected with the *tula-bhara* ceremony, a certain modicum of definite value also attaches thereto historically; inasmuch as the occurrence of their names in these inscriptions confirms the accuracy of the mention in the *Mahawansa* of Vira Bahu, the son of Nissanka Malla, of Vikrama Bahu, the King's younger brother, and of Queen Kalyanavati. To the Chief Queen Subhadra Maha Devi, and Princess Sarbbanga Sundari, daughter of the King, there is no allusion in any known history.

Her Highness Parbbati was not unlikely Nissanka Malla's mother,¹⁷ the wife of Sri Jayagopa of Kalinga.

Queen Chandra, or Chandravati (probably another name for Queen Rupavati, "fairest of beings, like the moon"),¹⁸ rose from Second to Chief Queen of Parakrama Bahu the Great. She rebuilt the Vihare at Polonnaruwa, now the ruined *Potgul Vehera*, "after being installed in the kingdom,"¹⁹—a pregnant statement which may also possibly identify her with Queen Lilavati, who, aided by Minister Consorts, reigned intermittently for four years and seven months in all during the early years of the 13th century.

Queen Subhadra of the Suryaya-vansa probably died before the King; for the *Mahawansa* speaks later of Kalyanavati as Kirtti Nissanka's Chief Queen. The latter was of the Ganga-vansa. She survived five successive rulers before herself being made Queen Regent by the Commander-in-Chief Ayasmanta. The King's son, Vira Bahu, "reigned one night only before he yielded to the power of death;" next Nissanka Malla's younger brother, Vikrama Bahu, "held possession of the kingdom for three months;" then his slayer, Chodaganga, the King's nephew, ruled for nine months; after which he was deposed and blinded by "the great and powerful Commander Kirti," who is said (perhaps cynically) to have held the reins of Government "in great security" for three years, with the help of Lilavati, Queen of King Parakrama Bahu.²⁰

The fifteen years of hovering unrest which followed the death of Kirtti Nissanka witnessed the rise and fall of eleven rulers.²¹

Of these, the two Queens Lilavati and Kalyanavati held sway, partially subservient to Ministers, for nearly eleven years, or two-thirds of the period. Both did well; and both have left stone inscriptions to perpetuate their zeal for the Religion of the Teacher.

A stone slab still existing at the old capital, records the erection by "Abha Salamevan Lilavati" of an Alms-house for the use of "the poor who throng into Anuradhapura from various quarters."²²

17. Galpota, (Polonnaruwa).

18. *Mahawansa*, LXXIII., 136-8.

19. "Potgul Vehera" Inscription. Annual Report, A, S, 1906, p 16.

20. *Mahawansa*, LXXX., 27-31.

21. *Loc. cit.* 27. These were Vira Bahu, Vikrama Bahu, Chodaganga, Lilavati, Sahasa Malla, Kalyanavati, Dhammasoka, Anikanga, Lilavati (restored), Lokissara, Lilavati (restored).

22. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. I, pp. 176-182.

Of Kalyanavati three or four inscriptions have come to light. Far the longest is on a huge slab let into the pavement of the *maluwa* (raised platform) round Ruwanveli Seya, Anuradhapura. It details offerings made to that Dagaba, to Thuparama, to the Sacred Bo Tree, and to the Seven Monastic Establishments, by the Minister Vijayanawan, his mother, and nephew, in the second year of "Her Majesty Abhaya Salamevan Kalyanavati."²³ In addition, the *Mahawansa* specifies the "Pannasalaka" and "Valligama" (Veligama) Vihares among those built by this Queen.²⁴

A word or two as to King Nissanka Malla himself.

Despite such insufferable vapourings as the preposterous claim to have conquered nearly all the chief kingdoms of India, and to have found no prince willing to meet him in single combat—despite the puerile vaunt, provocative of mirth, that he constructed in forty-five days a palace, the like of which had occupied a predecessor five and forty years, it is but just to examine the shield of his achievements on its bright side. This clearly reflects regal administration of a high order.²⁵

No Ceylon monarch ever travelled so widely through "the rough places of his kingdom," including in his circuits visits to Kelaniya and Adam's Peak.

Of the pilgrimage to *Samanala* it is recorded:—

Being moved thereto by faith this Ruler of the land went up to *Samantakula* with the four divisions of his army, and worshipped at the shrine.²⁶

He left an inscription to commemorate his visit and religious fervour.

Agriculture was not neglected. The King formed gardens of flower trees and fruit trees throughout the Island;²⁷ remitted all taxes for five years; and relinquished for ever the *chena* levy (*keti aya*, lit. "the bill-hook tax.")^{28, 29}

Irrigation progressed steadily, *pari passu* with the construction of "many embankments, tanks, and canals."²⁷

Officers of Justice were appointed in several places to suppress crime; though, it must be confessed, their efforts would be greatly discounted by the subsidising of thieves from a motive of mistaken philanthropy.²⁸

Right to property was better secured by an order that grants of land should in future be engraved on copper plates in lieu of *olas*.²⁹

Finally (as we have seen above), he regularly distributed lavish wealth among the poor and deserving; besides erecting numerous undenominational Alms-halls for the needy, and several notable shrines for votaries of the Buddhist faith.

Altogether Kirtti Nissanka Malla undoubtedly earned for himself and his liberal-spirited rule much more notice than has been doled out by any of the Sinhalese Chronicles to the comparatively short reign of this able, energetic, and broadminded sovereign, who became "Lord of Lanka," albeit a native of India. Even the *Mahawansa* devotes but nine lines to one of Ceylon's most admirable Monarchs, but veiledly hints at much more than it expresses:—

Thus did this King heap up merits of divers kinds, day by day, and rule the Kingdom wisely for nine years.³⁰

It would be difficult to sum up any Ruler's encomium more pithily.

23. Journal. C.A.S. Vol. No. 25, 1882, pp. 181-6.

24. *Mahawansa*, LXXX., 36-38.

25. It is, however, not yet definitely established that Nissanka Malla, with his comparatively short reign, did not usurp to himself much of the credit which rightly appertained to his famous uncle, Parakrama Bahu the Great.

26-27. *Loc. cit.* LXXX., 24-25.

28. Rock Inscription near Devalas, Polonnaruwa. Annual Report A. S. 1911-12, pp. 104-5.

29. Slab Inscription. (*loc. cit.* p. 103.)

30. *Mahawansa*, LXXX, 18-26.

THE SCHOOL THOMBO-HOLDER.

By EDWARD W. PERERA.

PERHAPS the most important village official in old Ceylon during the Dutch rule was the Thombo-holder and Headmaster of the Parish school generally called the School Thombo-holder. With the proselytizing zeal of the Hollanders, they organized a Board of Education (*Scholarchen*) under the direction of which schools were opened in well-nigh every village throughout the lowland provinces and in Jaffna. The primary object was the spread of (Lutheran) Christianity among the rural population, so that the children of the people might be sufficiently educated—as one of the Dutch Governor's put it,—“to read and understand the Word of God.”

To carry out this scheme the office of Thombo-holder and Headmaster was created. It combined the task of teaching in the Parish school with the custody of the Parish records. The Thombo-holder was generally chosen from the country gentry so that his family influence should help him in his work; and the control of the Parish Registers enabled him to wield a power in the country-side which can scarcely now be realized. The registering of names in the Thombo Roll was looked upon as an enrolment in the Herald's Book; and there could be no greater infamy for a village, as it was for more educated people in other climes, to have his name struck out of the pedigree; for that signified that he had stained the family name, or was otherwise unworthy to have his name recorded. In addition, the school Thombo-holder wrote out and attested deeds and performed the duties of a Notary¹ on palm leaves with a style-pen:—

There are also brought to the Secretariat every year all sorts of native protocols such as those kept by the schoolmasters at the respective Churches, deeds, contracts, *ola* deeds of sale, and other instruments as may have been circulated among the natives which it is not possible to attend to at the Dutch Secretariat.

His book-learning, such as it was, gave him a predominant voice in a rural community where his figure would be the most conspicuous. Schoolhouses sprang up in the countryside. The school was a rectangular building and followed a uniform plan:—

The walls are raised about five feet from the ground all round. On these stone pillars are raised, supporting a tiled roof, and the space between the columns is filled with small rails supplying the place of windows. All the furniture consisted of stone benches built along the walls, and one chair and one desk, which the schoolmaster never uses, and the visiting pastor seldom occupies.²

There were gardens attached to the schoolhouses and Churches, and the Dutch Commandeur Zwaardcroon thus complains of their condition in 1697:—

He (the Dissawa) must also be aware that the schoolmasters and *merinhos*³ have neglected the gardens attached to the houses, which contain many fruit trees, and formerly yielded very good fruit, especially grapes, which served for the refreshment of the clergymen and *Scholarchen*⁴ on their visits.

There were generally two, and sometimes three, masters at the Church schools. The Thombo-holder and Headmaster was addressed honorifically as *Ralahami* by the villagers, and was appointed for several villages, or may be for one, according to their size and

1 Zwaardcroon *Memoirs*, pp. 10, ~~27~~ 47
 2 Cordiner, *Ceylon*. Vol. i., p. 172.
 3 Zwaardcroon *Memoirs*, p. 57.
 4 Pupil teachers (?), authors.

population. The school Thombo-holder (*Palliye Maha Gurunanse*) of the Wolfendhal Church School was created *Maha Mudaliyar* by the Dutch.

The costume of these grave signiors was such as to inspire awe and respect for their calling. "The masters wore coats of a grave colour, of the ancient Portuguese and Dutch fashions, white vests and a sheet of printed cotton in place of breeches;"⁵ on highdays and holydays a rich *Sofoman* cloth took the place of the cotton, and the white vest was fastened with amethyst, or gold, buttons, and a high tortoise-shell comb, such as the old-time Mudaliyars wore with their long hair, surmounted his head.

In inverse proportion to his dignity and influence was the amount of his remuneration. His fee for registering a birth was three fanams⁶ and six fanams for a marriage; but if he was taken to the bride's house for celebrating the wedding he charged four rix-dollars.

Beside teaching he had to prepare candidates for baptism, for the Clergyman's (*Scholarchen's*) visitation made once in six months: the Proponent (Catechist) came every three months.

These were red-letter days in the uneventful current of village life; and the children, including the Headmaster, were decked in their Sunday best. This was especially the case when it was the visit of the Clergyman, who was usually a Dutchman sent by the *Classis*. He travelled in state in a palankin, and was greeted with enthusiastic welcome from his parishioners. It was only on these occasions that marriage could be celebrated. He baptised the infants, examined the children and addressed the adults. The school was inspected, the Clergyman and the Proponent, who was sometimes a Ceylonese, were feasted. They were regarded as high Government officials—as in fact they were—and the headmen had to attend to their wants. At each school, according to a letter of 1861:—

A register is kept of the names of all the Christians of that station, as also of school children and their parents. These registers are carefully inspected once a year, when the children born in the intervals, as also persons who come to reside in the villages, are noted down. Those who are lately admitted to school are likewise marked, and a separate list is kept of all who have left as *largurden*. These are re-examined at each visitation to see that they have not forgotten what was learned at school. They who desire to enter the married state appear with their respective friends before the schoolmaster and other respectable inhabitants of the place: the consent of the friends of the betrothed being ascertained, and also the knowledge of the parties in the Christian Religion and other particulars according to written instructions given in Sinhalese being attended to by the master, the banns are published thrice, and at the next visitation of the Clergyman the marriage is solemnized.⁷ (*Memoir of Van Goens*, jun).

The School Thombo-holder's (*Palliye Gurunanse*) Christianity, like that of his parishioners, was very often but skin-deep; with his family he attended the Buddhist temple to offer vows (*panduru bandinda*). It also happened more often than not that there was a *Budu-ge*, "image-house,"—a Buddhist chapel—in his very premises. It was the pay and influence which often induced the Thombo-holder to accept the office; and similarly it was in many instances the Dutch regulations of non-Christians being ineligible for office and the forbidding of the regulation of their marriages that persuaded the adults to accept the "Government religion," and send their children, both boys and girls, to school. The entry of the names in the School Thombo Roll was a further inducement. The control of the Register, as previously noted, provided a formidable weapon ready to hand. The

5 Cordiner, *Ceylon*, Vol. i., p. 175.

6 A fanam was equal to six cents.

7 Palm, *Account of the Dutch Church in Ceylon*, C. A. S. Journal (1847-1848) page 119.

rank, position, status, the very legitimacy of the villager, was involved in a proper filling up of the Register. The School Thombo-holder knew his power, and exercised it. Woe to the wight who dared to offend the schoolmaster. His very whims had to be respected; for he could blight their future by reporting their real, or, imaginary, recusancy to the authorities, and have their names expunged from the Parish Thombo Roll.

Many strange stories are still told in the countryside of these grim old-world schoolmasters of a by-gone age.

A rustic appears before the schoolmaster to have his name registered in the Parish Roll: awed by the presence of the great man he loses speech, when questioned, and without giving his name stands fidgeting in the excitement of the moment. "Fellow, you wriggle like a rat-snake (*gerandiyek*).⁸ You must be of reptile breed!" thunders the schoolmaster; and promptly the offender's name is entered in the book as of "the Tribe of the Rat-snake," under the eyes of the victim who writhes in shame under the humiliation.

Again, a lad is absent from school, and the cause of his absence is demanded by the truculent schoolmaster. "I kept away for a devil ceremony (*preta veda*)." "Fellow, are you and your father foul goblins (*preta*) to do goblin work (*preta veda*)?" bursts from the indignant instructor of youth. The incident reported at home is the subject of an action for slander by the aggrieved parent against the school-magnate. The legend has it that the schoolmaster swore that he attributed the foulness not to the parent but to the foul fiend himself whose works he deprecated. He was discharged; and twenty dependants, who accompanied the wise man from the village, took up the cry, and hurled the words back in chorus at the head of the man who dared go to law against the *Palliye Gurunanse*.

Quaint family (*ge*) names, or nicknames, borne to this day by villagers may be traced to the eccentricity, or grim humour, of these Thombo-holders. Sometimes the schoolmaster got his deserts. Zwaardcroom, Commandant of Jaffna, thus writes:—⁹

I heard only lately, while I was in Colombo and the Dessave in Negapatam, that a certain Lascreeen with the knowledge of the schoolmasters of the Church in Waerany, had been teaching the children the most wicked fables one could think of, and that these schoolmasters had been summoned before the Court of Justice here and caned, and the books burnt.

The Governor Ryclof Van Goens, Jun. (1657-1673), decided¹⁰ that the Churches and Schools must be regularly visited and inspected. A correct list was to be made that year of all Christians, old and young, male and female.

The School Thombo-holder lingered on till British times, but, with the Churches gradually falling into disrepair, and the neglect of rural education in the chaos of upheaval that followed a change of Government, his power was broken and his occupation gone.

When the atmosphere cleared, and a new scheme of education took the place of the old, a different style of schoolmasters took their place. Perhaps the new men were better informed, but they lacked the prestige of the old and were drawn from a different class.

A good many early *Sittu* written by these schoolmasters are to be met with still. They illustrate, to some extent, how village life in eighteenth-century Ceylon centred round the Parish Church and the Parish Schoolmaster. Two samples are given below.

8. *Ptyas Mucosus*. *Gerandiya* is used as a term of contempt by the Sinhalese.

9. *Memoirs* 1697, p. 51.

10. *Memoir* left by Governor Ryclof Van Goens.

Sittawa No. 1. (March 7th, 1736.)

Text.

සෙසුස්කියා දෙවි ස්වාමීන්වහන්සේගේ ව
 ශ්‍රීගෙන් එක්වා දහස්සත්සිය නිස්සයක්වූ මාර්තු
 මස සත්වෙනිදින මෙවකට දොළොස් දස් කො
 රළේ වැල්ලබඩ පත්තුවදබද, තලල්ල යනගමේ
 පුවෙනි කාරසින්වන අපි ඉහල(ගමගෙ)...රිකකා
 ක්‍රියනිතා යන අපි දෙනනාගේ දුදරුවන්වන
 අන්දික්කු ජුවානීනි සිල්වැසුනු ජුවානිස් මනෝ
 ස් අදියම් අනෝනා සුසානා යන අපි සහ කපු
 ගෙහි පුන්විඵනනා අමන්ඵනනා යන අපි දෙ
 නනාගේ දුදරුවන්වන නොමිකෙකෝ දුම්ගෝ
 ක්‍රියෝවූ නීන්තිඅප්පු ඉහප්පු ක්‍රියෝවූ ටි
 කිරේ සුසානා කඵභාමී අනුගරා අදෙහාමී
 යන අපි නොයෙකුත් දෙනා පුවෙනි සැලැස්
 මෙන් පැවතවන තලල්ලහරියේ නිබෙන කෝ
 න්ගහසේන ඉදිකැටියේගේන මෙවෙනි බිත්වා
 සිදෙක විකුණ මිලි සිල්වාරමක් ගන්ඩ මිනැවි
 නිබෙන සෙහින් මෙවෙනි බිත්වාසිදෙක ගනෝ
 කවුද ගනෝ කවුද කියා අභව්වාරා මඬුඩුව
 ඇවිදිනනු මහබේ කුප්පතිකම සහ ලේකම
 ඇතුලුව හුලබේ ගේවාපන්නේ කරවන කාර්ලි
 දෙ රිරැසු සමරසිංහ සෙනෙවිරත්න මුහාදිරම්
 රාලභාමී මමගනිමිකියා පොරොක්කුව වැපාරසින්
 පස්දෙනෙකු ඉදිරියේ, මීට අගයමිලකර මලැසු
 කකාර මුදලෙන් රිදිපස්පහක් ගැණබලා සමන්
 වා අරන් මෙකියන බිත්වාසි දෙකට නියම
 කල සහරමාඉන් දැනගතහොත් නැගෙනඉරන්
 මහමාවතද දකුණුදිගින් මුලකි අප ඉහලගමගෙ
 වත්තේ වැව්වැලලද බටහිරින් කනම්පියියේ
 වෙලද උතුරුදිගින් බෙරවාඉන්නේ ගේන
 සහ හලාගම පනිවුඩවසම් ජාමුන්නි අමන්ති
 ලේ වවනවතද මෙකියනර මාඉම් ඇතුලත්වූ
 ගේන් බිත්වාසිදෙකට මින්මතු අපිවත් අපගේ
 දරුවුනුබුරු බැබුක්නැසිය කෙනෙකුන්නෙන්
 වත් මබ්බය නෝමබ්බය කින්වත් බලේට
 බලන්කාරයකින්වත් අවුලක් උඩුරනයක් නො
 කියන නොකරණ නොකරවන ලෙසට ගිවිසු
 මෙන් එක්වෙනුව දෙවෙනුව තුන්වෙනුව සුදස්
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 සහ ලේකම ඇතුළුව හුලබේ ගේවාපන්නේ
 කරවන කාර්ලි දෙ රිරැසු සමරසිංහ සෙනෙවිර
 ත්න මුහාදිරම් රාලභාමීගේ දරුවුනුබුරු පරම්ප
 රාව දක්වා වලාදිගාකර බුන්තිවිදිනා සැවියට
 මේ කැරයපත්‍රය ලියවා අත්හන්තබවා දුන්නේ
 මුලකි අපිසැමදෙනවෙමු මීට සාක්‍ෂි රුණ මහ
 බේකි ගේවාපන්නේ ජුලියන් දෙ සිල්වා අබය
 සිංහ විරරත්න මුහාදිරම් රාලභාමී සහ පේදෙ
 මේසුස් රුණමහබේකි විදුනේ රාලභාමී තලල්

Translation.

On the 7th day of the month of March, in the
 year 1736 of (our) Lord Jesus Christ we freeholders of
 the village Talalla of the Vellaboda Pattuwa in the
 Dolodas Korale the children and grandchildren of
 us two Ihala (Gamage) . . . rikka and Christina,
 to wit, we Andrikku, Juwartti, Silvestri, Juvanis,
 Mattes, Adriam, Antona, Susana, and the children
 and grandchildren of us two Kapuge Punchi Etana,
 Aman Etana, to wit, Nomikko, Domingo, Christobu,
 Dingi Appu, Ingi Appu, Christobu, Tikire, Susana,
 Kaluhami, Anuggara, Adohami, we the (aforesaid)
 several persons who have uninterruptedly possessed
 as our inheritance Kongaha hena and Indiketiye
 hena lying close to Talalla. As out of the proceeds
 sale of these two lands it is necessary to buy a
 silvarama while the mandeduwa was going about
 crying and enquiring "Who will buy these two lands?
 Who will buy?" Carlu de Mirando Samarasinha
 Seneviratna Muhandiram, who being Interpreter
 and Secretary (*Lekam*) of the Mahabadda was pre-
 siding over the Hewapanma Militia of the Hulan-
 badda, saying "I will buy," promised in the pre-
 sence of five sureties. Wherefore the value was
 assessed, five into five rix-dollars of Dutch
 coinage was counted and received, the four bound-
 aries fixed for the said two lands, ascertained, viz :—
 on the East by the High Street, on the South by the
 fence of the garden belonging to us the aforesaid
 Ihalagamage family, on the West by the field
 Kanampitiya-vela, on the North by the chena of
 the Beravayo and the garden that is being
 planted by Jamunni Amangile of the Salagama Pani-
 vuda Wasam. To the two lands within these four
 boundaries, we agree that hereafter neither, we,
 nor our children, nor grandchildren, not any relative
 of ours by word, by show of force, nor assertion of
 force, by us or through others, shall claim any title
 or raise any dispute once, twice, thrice, herein
 hereby now thrice vested. The aforesaid seven of
 us have signed and granted this deed to the said
 Carlu de Mirando Samarasinha Seneviratna, who is
 administering the Hulanbadda Hewapanne, with the
 offices of Interpreter and Lekam of the Mahabadde,
 to him and his descendants to hold and to possess.

Witnesses hereto are Julian de Silva Abayasinha
 Viraratna Muhandirama in charge of the Ruhuna
 Mahabadde Iascarins, Pedro Mendis Vidane of the
 Ruhuna Mahabadde, Philippu in charge of the Talalle
 Ganwasam, Dikvellege Migel in charge of Vitarun,
 Hendrikku who writes *Lekam*, Juan in charge of

ලේ ගන්වසන් කරණ පිළිපු විහාරනිකරණ
 දික්වැල්ලේගෙයි මිගෙල් ලේකම් ලියන හෙයි
 ක්කු විහාරනිකරණ පුවන්රුණ මහබඩේ ජා
 සිංහ බසනියන් මහාදුරාහේ හුදුහිග දිනෙස්ලින
 දුරාහේ වාවවේ දුම්භ දුරාහේ ජාමුනිනි ඉබේරුදු
 රාහේ ලියනදුර බසනියන් දුරාහේ, මෙකුත් සහ
 ගිවිස්වීමෙන් මේකැරය පත්තුය ලිවුබවට නලල්
 ලේ පල්ලියේ කරුකන්කරණ ජෝතිමුනිනි
 සලසෙරු.

Vitarun, Jasinha Bastian Maha Durahe of the Ru-
 huna Mahabadde, Huduhinga Dines Lina (Liyana)
 Durahe, Domingo Durahe, Wavve Jamunni Ideru
 Durahe, Liyanadura Bastian Durahe, these (wit-
 nesses); and in confirmation of the fact of writing
 the deed, Jotimunni Salyadoru, Master of the Talalla
 Church School.

[Signatures omitted].

Sittuwa No. 2. (July 10th, 1773.)

Text.

වසී 1773 ක්වු පුලිමාසේ දහවෙනිදිනට ලිය
 වාදෙන සින්නක්කර වගනම් හේවාගන් කොරලේ
 පල්ලේ පත්තුවේ නලංගම පදිංචි කනේවලහේ
 වැවිස් පේරා අප්පහාමි යන මට සල්පිටිකෝ
 රලේ පලලපත්තුවේ පිටකෝට්ටේ යනගමින්
 උරුමව ඔහුදි බුන්තිවිද එන වෙලමද කුඹුරෙ
 න් වි.....වපසරයේ මගේ සිත් කැමැත්තෙන්
 පනාග විසිපහකට මිලනියමකර පිටකෝට්ටේ පදි
 මි වාහල නන්තිගේ සලමොං පේරා අප්පහාමි
 සින්නක්කරවිකුණ ඉහතකි පනාග විසිපහ බාරග
 න්නාඇන ඉන්තිසා මේ ඉබම ගන්අයට මනා
 පයක් කරගනන හැටියට බලේදෙමි. මට එදිව
 මමවන් මගෙන් පැවතඑන දරුමුහුපුරු කො
 සියන් කෙනෙවන් වින්තිවසමක් නොකොරනො
 කියනහැටියට ගිවිස පොරොන්දු වෙමින් මට
 ඔප්පුවකට වෙනුවමේ සින්නක්කර කොට්ටේ පල්
 ලියේ ලියවා දුනාබව දනනා සාක්කි ඇතුල්
 කොට්ටේ පදිවි මුහන්දරන්ගේ අදිරං රුලිගෝ
 අප්පහාමිද එමගසි පදිවි කන්කානිගේ දැනියෙ
 ලේ පේරා අප්පහාමිද ලිවුබවට කෝට්ටේ පල්ලි
 යේ සිමන් බොනේජු ශට්ඨ කරුන්නාන්සේය.

Translation.

(This is) the purport of the bill of sale caused to
 be written on the 10th day of July, 1773. I, Kane-
 walage Lewis Perera Appuhami of Talangama in the
 Palle Pattuwa of Hewagam Korale having of my own
 free will fixed the price of 25 rix-dollars, the paddy
 sowing extent of of Velameda
 kumbura in the village Pita Kotte in the Palle
 Pattuwa of the Salpiti Korale, which is inherited and
 possessed by me on payment of one-tenth share (*otu*),
 I have sold outright to Wahala-tantrige Solomon
 Perera Appuhami of Pita Kotte, and received the
 said sum of 25 rix-dollars. Wherefore I give the
 person who purchased the land authority to do what
 he pleases (with it). In testimony that hereafter
 neither I, nor any of my children, nor descendants,
 shall raise any claim, or dispute thereto, this bill of
 sale was written in the Kotte Church School.

Witnesses who know the (above) fact, are
 Muhandiramge Adrian Rodrigo Appuhami of Etul
 Kotte, Kankanige Daniel Perera Appuhami of the
 same village: to the fact of writing (the deed)
 Siman Boteju, Master (*Sattambi Gurunnanse*) of the
 Kotte Church School.

[Here follow the signatures of seller and
 witnesses.]



BUDDHAGHOSA AND FA-HIAN: DATES OF THEIR VISITS TO CEYLON.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

BUDDHAGHOSA'S VISIT.

IN what year did the famous monk Buddhaghosa arrive in Ceylon? There is a multiplicity of dates, quite as plentiful as for the *Pari-nirvana* of Gautama Buddha. The following list,¹ arranged in chronological order with the authorities on which the dates are given, is fairly comprehensive² :—

<i>Dates.</i>	<i>Authorities.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>	<i>Authorities.</i>
B.C. 543	- Calcutta Review, Vol. IV., p. 276	A.B. 953	- Turnour, <i>Mahāvansa</i> , p. LXII; <i>Jour. R. A. S.</i> , Vol. VI, p. 416; <i>Jour. A.S. Bomb.</i> , Vol. V, pp. 13, 177; Fergusson, <i>loc. cit.</i> pp. 70, 71, 161, 172.
B.C. 307	- Crawford, <i>Siam</i> Vol. II, p. 91	A.B. 953	- <i>Jour. A. S. Beng.</i> , Vol. XVII, p. 615.
A.B. 650	- Hardy, <i>Manual of Buddhism</i> , 512: but see Ward, <i>Hindoos</i> , Vol. II, p. 210	A.B. 953 to 975	Turnour, <i>loc. cit.</i> p. XXX; <i>Jour. A. S. Beng.</i> , Vol. VI, pp. 338, 423; 1 N. S., p. 462; Max Muller, <i>Buddhaghosa's Parables</i> , p. V. note.
A.B.	- 1st or 2nd century,—the time of the Andhra kings,— <i>Jour. A. S. Bombay</i> , Vol. V, p. 5; with <i>Rep. Archæol. Survey, West. India.</i>	A.B. 963 Hardy,	<i>Eastern Monach.</i> , pp. 167, 171; Cunningham, <i>Bhilsa Topes</i> , p. 74; <i>Sacr. Bks. of the East</i> , Vol. X, p. XXXIX.
A.B.	- An early century. <i>Ind. Ant.</i> , Vol. VI, pp. 229, 321.	A.B. 973	- Max Muller, <i>Chips, &c.</i> , Vol. I, p. 197; Fytche, <i>Burma</i> , Vol. II, pp. 169, 170.
A.B. 929	- Crawford, <i>Siam</i> , Vol. II, pp. 10, 11; <i>Ava</i> , Vol. II, 123, 278, App. p. 59: see also <i>Jour. A. S. Bengal</i> , Vol. XXXVII, p. 81.	A.B. 975	- Bart. St. Hilaire, <i>Buddha et sa Rel.</i> , p. 354.
A.B. 930	- The 6th year of King Maha Nama. Upham, Vol. III, p. 115; Mason, <i>Pali Gram.</i> , p. V.	A.B. 993	- Phayre, <i>Burma</i> , p. 21; Rhys Davids, <i>Buddhism</i> , p. 231.
A.B. 931 to 956	Phayre, <i>Hist. Burma</i> , p. 20; Burnell, <i>Aindra Gram.</i> , p. 61	A.B. 993	- Or A. B. 1008 <i>cir. East Mon.</i> , pp. 183, 184.
A.B. 940	- Carpanius, Burnouf, Lassen	A.B. 1000	- <i>Enc. Brit.</i> , Vol. IV., p. 724.
		A.B. 5th century	<i>Jour. A. S. Beng.</i> , Vol. V.,

1. Foulkes, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX., 1890, pp. 120-121.

2. Foulkes' list gives the A.D. dates which the present writer (accepting the new date, 483 B.C., for the Death of Buddha, recently adopted by Dr Fleet and others), has converted into A.B. dates to avoid confusion.

Dates.	Authorities.	Dates.	Authorities.
A.B.	- 4th century. Burnell, <i>Aind. Gr.</i> , p. 61		<i>Jour. A. S. Bombay</i> , Vol. XVI., p. 276; Max Muller, <i>Chips</i> , Vol. I, p 196; Mason, <i>Pali Gram.</i> , p. 8; <i>Sacr. Bks. of the East</i> , Vol. X, pp. XII, XIV, XXIV; <i>Enc. Brit</i> , Vol. IV, p 437, V, p 622.
A.B.	- End of the 4th century. Bigandet, p. IX.		
A.B.	- Beginning of the 5th century <i>Jour. A. S. Beng.</i> , Vol. XXVI., p. 24; XXXVII, p. 80 ff; Bigandet, p 351, n.		
A.B. 943	- Bigandet, pp. 381, n, 389 n, 392.	A.B. 1100	- Or A.B. 1150. Ward, <i>Hindoos</i> , Vol. II, p. 210; Upham, Vol. III. p. VII.
A.B. 946	- <i>Jour. A. S. Beng.</i> , Vol. XXXVII, p. 105; XLII, p. 28	A.B. 1181 (?)	Crawford, <i>Siam</i> , Vol. II, p. 91.
A.B. 951	- Fergusson, <i>Tree and Serpent Worship</i> , p. 195, p. 534;	A.B. 1809	- Upham, Vol. I, pp. 344, 345; but see Vol. II, p 106.

To the above dates may be added the following taken from some rare and valuable MSS having reference to Talaing history and tradition:—

According to the *Mhannanyazawin*,³ the *Great Yazawin* says it was in the 42nd year of the reign (*i.e.* A.B. 930) of the Thaton King Thinligyaung (A. B. 888-931) that Buddhaghosa went to Ceylon.

The *Tathagatuppattivatthu*⁴ says:—

After the lapse of 930 years from the *Nirvana* of Buddha, Buddhaghosa arrived in Ceylon from Jambudipa in the reign of Maha Nama, the 66th king.

The *Vamsadipani*⁵ is even more precise:—

On the death of Buddhadasa his son Upatissa became king. On his death, after a rule of 42 years, his younger brother Maha Nama ascended the throne in A.B. 915, and in the 15th year of his reign (A.B. 930) Buddhaghosa arrived in Ceylon from Buddhaghosa village in Suvannabhumi, and reduced the *Pitakas*, together with the *Atthakathas*, into Magadhese from Sinhalese palm-leaf manuscripts.

The *Sasanavamsa*⁶ says:—

In A.B. 930 Buddhadatta crossed from Sudhammavati (Thaton) to Ceylon. He remained with Sinhalese teachers and composed the *Jinalankara* and its *Tika*. Having a strong bias for secular (*loki*) writings, he returned from Ceylon without making a copy of the *Pitakas*. In the same year, A.B. 930, the Thera Buddhaghosa arrived in Ceylon, remained with the teachers of the Maha Vihara, and composed the *Visuddhimagga* commencing with *Sile Patilthaya naro*.

The Kalyani Inscription, *Nissaya*,⁷ has:—

In the year of Religion 903, in the reign of the ninety-ninth king of Ceylon, Maha Nama, the Thera Buddhaghosa went to Ceylon from Jambudipa and made a transcription from Sinhalese to Magadhese.

But the *Thathanaasinasek*⁸ or *The Progress of Religion*, a MS of some value based on Talaing chronicles, says that it was in the reign of Dhammapala, A.B. 930, that Buddhaghosa, a priest of Thaton, crossed over to Ceylon; where, having devoted himself to the study of the Sinhalese language, he copied the whole of the three portions of the *Pitakas* with their Commentaries, and brought them over to his native place.

3. Gray, *Buddhaghosuppatti*, 1892, p. 14.

4. *Id.* This MS was written in A. D. 1775 by Dhammananda, and is described as appearing to be based upon the *Tathagatuppatti* of a South-Indian *rahan*, Nanagambhira, written during or before the 10th century.

5. *Id.*, p. 19. Written by Jinalankaradhaja.

6. *Id.*, pp. 19-20.

7. *Id.*, p. 20. "Ninety-ninth" is obviously a mistake for "sixty-sixth." Mr. Gray, in a note, speaks of 'the sacred Kalyani river near Anuradhapura' The "Kalyani," or Kelani, River is, of course, near Colombo.

8. *Id.*, p. 21.

Now, whatever may be said in regard to the other dates,—and Foulkes gives them “without attempting to explain or to reconcile them”⁹—the year of Buddhaghosa’s arrival in Ceylon is fixed by Talaing history and tradition at A. B. 930. How far is this borne out by Sinhalese history and tradition?

With a few obviously impossible exceptions,¹⁰ the dates assigned to Buddhaghosa “group themselves in the main around the reign of King Maha Nama of Ceylon, and depend upon the date of that reign.”¹¹ What, then, were Maha Nama’s regnal years? Happily, there is not much difficulty in working them out accurately.

Firstly, let us take Maha Sena¹² with whom the *Mahavansa* or the “Great Dynasty” ends.

The *Rajavaliya*¹³ tells us :—

It is noteworthy that at the close of the Great Dynasty, 844 years 9 months and 25 days (i.e. 845 years, roundly) had elapsed since the death of our Buddha ; and that the Great Dynasty ends with Mahasen.

The *Pujavaliya*¹⁴ says :—

Up to the end of the *Mahavansa* (the Superior Dynasty), 846 years, 9 months and 25 days had lapsed since the death of our Buddha.

And the *Rajaratnakaraya*¹⁵ :—

Mahasen Raja ascended the throne of Ceylon on the day that Buddha had been 844 years, 9 months, and 20 days dead (roundly, 845 years).

While the *Nikaya Sangrahawa*¹⁶ says :—

“He (Sanghamitra) then approached his pupil, King Maha Sena, who had succeeded to the throne, 818 years after the death of Buddha.”

As Maha Sena ruled for 27 years, his reign ended in 845 (818 + 27) A. B.

Now, the Sinhalese chronicles being unanimously agreed that Maha Sena ceased to reign in 845 A.B., let us find out how long each of his successors up to Maha Nama governed the country.

According to the *Mahavansa* or, rather, *Suluvasa*, Siri Meghavanna or Kit-siri-mevan ruled for 27 years;¹⁷ Jetthatissa II, 9 years;¹⁸ Buddhadasa, 28 years;¹⁹ Upatissa. II, 42 years;²⁰ and Maha Nama, 22 years.²¹ To quote from my *Table of Sinhalese Sovereigns* :²²—

No.	Sovereign.	Years Regnal.	Buddhist Era.
61.	Maha Sena	27	818-845
62.	Siri Meghavanna (Kit-siri-mevan)	27	845-872
63.	Jetthatissa II.	9	872-881
64.	Buddhadasa (Bujas Raja)	28	881-909
65.	Upatissa II.	42	909-951
66.	Maha Nama	22	951-973

9. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, 1890, p. 120.

10. Such as B.C. 543, B.C. 307, A.B. 650, A.B. 1100, A.B. 1181, A.B. 1809.

11. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, 1890, p. 120.

12. No. 61 of my *Table of Sinhalese Sovereigns*, Maha Nama being the 66th. Vide Senaveratne, “*Date of Buddha’s Death and Ceylon Chronology*” pp. 6, 7.

13. B. Gunasekera, (Ed. 1900.) p. 52.

14. B. Gunasekera, (Ed. 1895), p. 25.

15. Upham, *Sacred Books of Ceylon*, Vol. II, (1833), p. 67.

16. W. F. Gunawardhana, (Ed. 1908), p. 14

17. The *Rajavaliya* and *Pujavaliya* both give him 23 years.

18. The *Rajavaliya* gives him 10 years, but the *Pujavaliya* 9.

19. According to the *Pujavaliya*, he “reigned righteously for 29 years.”

20. The *Rajavaliya* and the *Pujavaliya* are here in agreement with the *Mahavansa*.

21. The *Rajavaliya* says he “reigned 29 years,” but the *Pujavaliya*, like the *Mahavansa*, gives him “22 years.”

22. Senaveratne, *Date of Buddha’s Death and Ceylon Chronology*: pp. 6, 7.

We have, then, A. B. 951-973 for the regnal years of Maha Nama; and the *Vamsadipani*²³ tells us:—

Maha Nama ascended the throne in A. B. 915, and in the 15th year of his reign (A. B. 930) *Buddhaghosa* arrived in Ceylon from Buddhaghosa village in Suvannabhumi, and reduced the *Pitakas*, together with the *Althakathas*, into Magadhese from Sinhalese palm-leaf manuscripts. On the completion of this work, Maha Nama had seven years to reign.

According to the Sinhalese chronicles, therefore, Buddhaghosa arrived in Ceylon nine hundred and sixty-five years after the *Pari-nirvana* of Buddha, *i.e.*, in A. B. 966.²⁴

FA-HIAN'S VISIT.

Which of the two first visited Ceylon,—Fa-Hian or Buddhaghosa? Not a few scholars²⁵ have been, and are, of opinion that Buddhaghosa's visit to Ceylon preceded that of Fa-Hian; but this view is untenable.

There is no dispute about the year of Fa-Hian's visit. He arrived in Ceylon in 412 A. D.; and the late Mr. Ayrton has shown good reason²⁶ why we must assume that the visit took place in the reign of King Buddhadasa.

Mr. Ayrton's conclusions are based on three cogent grounds:—

(1) Fa-Hian's statements about the "Tooth-Relic" which had been brought over from India in the reign of Siri Meghavanna, the predecessor of Buddhadasa's father, Jetthatissa II.

(2) Identification of Fa-Hian's *Ta-mo-kiu-ti* with the *Dhammakathi* of Buddhadasa's reign, who "translated the Suttas (of the *Pitakattaya*) into the Sihala language,"²⁷ and

(3) Fa-Hian's description of "the *parivena* called Mora,"²⁸ which Buddhadasa built for the congregation of priests of the Mahavihara.

But there is one more argument at least, which Mr. Ayrton omitted to state, that is quite as important as any of the above in determining the question at issue.

The prevalent opinion to-day, certainly in Ceylon, is that Fa-Hian arrived here in the reign of King Maha Nama, the process of ratiocination being probably as follows:—

The year of Fa-Hian's visit being 412 A. D., the corresponding *Buddha varsha* would be (412 + 543 =) 955, and 955 A. B. falls in the reign of Maha Nama;²⁹ therefore, Fa-Hian arrived while Maha Nama was ruling!

Now, apart from the three grounds on which Mr. Ayrton places Fa-Hian's visit in Buddhaghosa's reign, there is another which should clinch the matter.

Says Fa-Hian:³⁰—

The King practises the Brahmanical purifications, and the sincerity of the faith and reverence of the population inside the city are also great. *Since the establishment of government in the kingdom, there has been no famine or scarcity, no revolution or disorder.*

23. *Supra.* p. 95. According to Upham, Vol. III, p. 115, Buddhaghosa arrived "in the sixth year of the reign of the King Maha-Naone.

24. This is 36 years in excess of the date (A. B. 930) fixed by Talaing history and tradition. Bishop Bigandet, however, in his *Legend of the Burmese Buddha*, reduces the difference to 23 years, his date (based upon MSS which state the period of Buddhaghosa's stay in Ceylon) being A. B. 943. Cunningham's date, A. B. 963, approximates closer still. See his *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 74, and Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, pp. 1, 167, 171; also *Sacr. Bks. of the East*, Vol. X, p. XXXIX.

25. For example: Mr. Beal, in his *Travels of Fa-Hian* (p. 104, note), suggests the great probability that Fa-Hian alludes to Buddhaghosa when he speaks in his travels of the eminently learned Brahman of Pataliputra. Gray, in his *Buddhaghosupatti*, (p. 32, note) speaks of "Fa-Hian who visited Anuradhapura after Buddhaghosa."

26. Ayrton. *J.R.A.S.* 1911, "The Date of Buddhadasa of Ceylon from a Chinese source," pp. 1142-4.

27. *Mahavamsa* (Ed. Wijesinha), p. 153, with correction of note 7. 28. *Id.* p. 153.

29. Turnour, *Epttome of the History of Ceylon*, p. 289. 30. Legge, *Travels of Fa-Hian*, 1836, p. 104.

What does this mean but that Fa-Hian's visit to Ceylon took place *before* "the Island was afflicted with drought, disease and distress" ³¹ in the reign of Upatissa II.—the successor of Buddhadasa and predecessor of Maha Nama, and *before* the Malabar invasion which occurred shortly afterwards?

So, following Mr. Ayrton, ³² I would state the matter thus:—Fa-Hian's visit to Ceylon must be placed in the reign of Buddhadasa,—that is, of course, if we find that the dates of that monarch's reign include the year 412 A.D. I have shown, ³³ from Sinhalese chronicles, that the accession of Buddhadasa took place 881 years after the *Pari-nirvana* of Buddha.

If we take the date 544 B.C. as the initial point for this part of the *Mahavansa*, we get the dates 337-365 A.D. for Buddhadasa's reign of 28 years. This does not agree with Fa-Hian's date at all. On the other hand, if we accept Dr. Fleet's theory ³⁴ (supported by Dr. Geiger and others), that 483 B.C. is the initial date, we get 398-426 A.D., which suits the date of the pilgrim.

We may assume on good grounds, therefore, that Fa-Hian, the Chinese pilgrim, visited Ceylon *in the middle of the reign of King Buddhadasa*, for whom we may accept the dates of 398-426 A. D. until we have definite proof to the contrary. More important still is the additional evidence which we thus obtain that, for the earlier part of the *Mahavansa*, the date 483 B.C. is to be regarded as the date of Buddha's *Nirvana*.

The conclusions to be arrived at, then, are briefly as follows:—

- (1) Up to the 5th century A. D. at least, the date of 483 B. C. was regarded in Ceylon as the date of Buddha's *Nirvana*.
- (2) Fa-Hian visited Ceylon in A.B. 895 (A.D. 412) in the reign of King Buddhadasa, for whom we may accept the years A.B. 881-909 (A.D. 398-426).
- (3) Buddhaghosa visited Ceylon in A.B. 966 (A.D. 483) in the reign of King Maha Nama, for whom we may accept the years of A.B. 951-973 (A.D. 468-490).
- (4) Fa-Hian preceded Buddhaghosa to Ceylon by about 70 years. ³⁵

31. *Mahavansa*, Wijesinha, Chap. XXXVII., p. 166.

32. Ayrton, *J.R.A.S.*, 1911, pp. 1142-4.

33. *Supra*. See also Senaveratne, *Date of Buddha's Death and Ceylon Chronology*, pp. 6-7.

34. *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 984; *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, "The day on which Buddha died," pp. 1-34.

35. Gray in his *Buddhaghosuppatti* (p. 32, note), says: "Buddhaghosa's Commentaries, as they now exist in Ceylon, were taken over from Pagan in Burma. No copy of them could have been kept by the Sinhalese priests after he compiled them, otherwise Fa-Hian, who visited Anuradhapura *after* (?) Buddhaghosa, would most certainly have mentioned them and taken at least a copy of the commentary on the *Vinaya*."

Fa-Hian's omission is more naturally explained when the circumstance is remembered that he *preceded, not followed, Buddhaghosa to Ceylon*.



“HEAVY,” “LIGHT” AND “INDIAN” MONEY.

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

THE subject of “light” and “heavy” money is obscure. The following notes are merely an attempt to give some explanation of the system.

The Spanish piece-of-eight, or *reaal*, was in common use in Java, where there was no suitable native money to adopt: it was also known in the Netherlands, where it passed in 1594 for 45 *stuivers*, in 1603 for 46, in 1606 for 47, and in 1622 for 48. This last rating it was which became fixed in the possessions of the East India Company, where the piece-of-eight was popularly reckoned as the equivalent of the silver rix-dollar.

Dutch money was introduced into the East at least as early as 1617. It chiefly consisted of *payment*, or small change, often clipped and base coins demonetized at home. Such *payment* was packed in bags of fl. 300: in 1698 these *payment packjes*, purporting to be worth 10 rix-dollars each, were not infrequently found to be from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2, or more, rix-dollars short, and to contain many clipped and debased coins.¹ This small change in the East was allowed to pass for unlimited sums; and the Netherlands coins of full weight, being at a premium, were exported. Silver was also much prized in the Far East, and was largely bought up for export by the Chinese.

Accordingly, with a view to keep the lion-dollar (*leeuwen-daalder*), or 40 *stuiver* piece, in Batavia, its rating was raised locally to 42 *stuivers*, and in 1639 to 48. Other large silver coins, not being raised with it, were thus undervalued and disappeared; but, popularly, the *reaal* was also raised. This was legalized in 1640 when the *reaal* became 60 *stuivers*, as did also the Cross rix-dollar (*Kruis ryks daalder*), which in the Netherlands was rated at 50 *stuivers*.

Thus there came into existence two *reaals*,—one the actual coin of 60 *stuivers*, the other the coin of account or *reaal courant* of 48 *stuivers*, in which the books were kept.

In 1649 the home authorities, who had had the valuations of the coins current in the East under consideration, fixed the rating of the rix-dollar at 52 *stuivers*, and that of the *reaal* at 50 *stuivers*; and directed that all bad money, such as 8 and 4 *stuiver* pieces, should be treated as bullion.

The Batavian Government, however, considering that the enhanced ratings had been in use for ten years and fearing a total export of coin, contented itself with publishing, without their ratings, the list of coins authorized to be current in all the possessions of the Company.

The home authorities and the Government now entered into a controversy on the question of the currency. The latter wished to retain “light” money, as more likely to remain in the country, with the rix-dollar at 60 *stuivers*, i.e. clipped *stuivers*. The Company, on the other hand, wished to have “heavy” money (i.e. of full weight), in circulation, pointing out that the calculated profits from the employment of “light” money were illusory;

¹ *Batavia Plakaat Boek*, 28th February, 30th April, 1698.

though it realized that the course advocated by it was not pleasing to those who made a profit of 25 per cent. on the difference.

Silver was relatively more valuable in the East than in Europe; and both parties seemed to think that the only way of making this concrete was to raise the rating of the large coins in terms of stuivers,—an impossible proceeding as the stuiver was also more valuable in the same degree: according to this theory 50 stuivers in Europe were worth 60 in the East.

The home authorities persisted in their contention; and, finally, on 4th May, 1652, their scheme of rating was introduced as below, into all the Company's possessions:—

<i>Rix-dollar</i> of the United Provinces	...	...	...	...	52 st.
<i>Real-of-eight</i> (of Seville and Mexico but not of Peru)	...	...	...	...	50 st.
<i>Lion-dollar</i> or <i>Kroon</i> of the United Provinces	...	...	...	...	42 st.
<i>Schelling</i> of the United Provinces	...	...	...	...	6 st.
<i>Double</i> , and <i>Single stuiver</i> of the United Provinces	...	...	...	...	2 & 1
<i>Oortgens</i> ($\frac{1}{2}$ st.) and <i>Duits</i> ($\frac{1}{2}$ st.) coined and admitted in the United Provinces.					
<i>Brabant</i> and <i>Cross-dollars</i>	} by		...	...	50 st.
<i>Ducats</i> , "now and then come to India."	} toleration		...	...	63 st.

All other coins were to be treated as bullion. The ducatoon was that of Spanish Flanders.

On 21st May, 1652, these ratings were revised at Batavia, the silver reaal, the Cross-dollar and the provincial dollar (*i.e.* the silver rix-dollar) was valued at 51 st. and the reaal of 48 stuivers abolished. This modification was disapproved of by the Company in its letter of 15th April, 1654.

The *payment* continuing to be light little money remained in Batavia, and on 26th August, 1652, from 30,000 to 37,000 reals worth of demonetized money was put into circulation. The import of coin from Europe was stopped by the war with England; money left Batavia; and at last in 1656 the importunities of the local Government obtained a partial reversion to the old ratings. Thus the rix-dollar, the reaal, and the Brabant Cross-dollar, were now valued at 60 stuivers, and the lion-dollar of full weight at 48 stuivers. All other species of money were to be rated as by the Proclamation of 4th May, 1652, *viz.*, the schelling, the dubbeltje and the stuiver at 6, 2 and 1 stuivers respectively.

But when the home authorities had agreed to the partial reversion they had, at the same time, ordered that the *payment* should follow the ratings of the large coins. This was not carried out by the Indian Government; who objected that the rix-dollar of 60 stuivers at $1\frac{1}{2}$ stuivers each was the same as that of 48 stuivers at 1, and that, if this were done, the restoration of the old ratings was illusory: a further objection was the absence of any small coin as the unit. But the Company insisted; and, accordingly, on 4th November, 1658, the schelling became $7\frac{1}{2}$ stuivers, the dubbeltje $2\frac{1}{2}$, and the silver stuiver $1\frac{1}{4}$ stuivers.

Thus the unit became an imaginary stuiver called "light," either as representing the clipped silver stuiver, or perhaps merely in opposition to the "heavy," or silver, coin: 60 of these coins of account equalled 48 Netherlands silver stuivers supposed to be of full weight.

The whole proceeding was therefore quite illusory in reality: clipped coin was still current, passing as of full weight; and the only result was a complication in the accounts (which were thenceforward kept in "light money"), and the establishment of

a fictitious currency money such as prevailed in the English West Indies. Thus the *guilder*, or florin of account, which at home was equal to 20 silver stuivers, became in India a sum composed of 20 imaginary stuivers, each $\frac{1}{2}$ of a silver one; and similarly 6 light stuivers were reckoned as a schelling of account.

The total result was that the position of 1652 was really retained, the silver stuiver being styled the "heavy" stuiver and rated at $1\frac{1}{4}$ stuivers of account. It is, therefore, not a subject for wonder that the retired Governor-General Baron Van Imhoff wrote in 1741:—

1. De tous les articles qui concernent le service de la Compagnie, il n'y en a aucun sur lequel on ait plus écrit, et sur lequel on se soit moins entendu que sur celui-ci (*sc.* le cours des monnoyes) Loin de développer l'utile, il semble que ces calculs n'ayent abouté qu'à rendre le *Noeud Gordien* encore plus difficile à dénouer.

2. La distinction du poids des Espèces [in the Dutch, distinction between "light" and "heavy" money] en est une preuve. Personne jusqu'ici, du moins que l'on sache n'a encore pu approfondir le mystère de cette réduction; peut être même est-il impénétrable. Chacun suppose un profit de vingt-cinq pour cent, en appréciant le florin à 25 sols, on l'écu de 48 à 60, ce qui revient au même; mais lorsque les marchandises des Indes se payent en *pagodes* sur le pied de 96 sols, ou en écus de 48 ou en *roupies* de 24, le tout argent d'Hollande, le bénéfice imaginaire disparaît par l'évaluation des unes à 120 sols, des autres à 60 et les dernières à 30; ce qui n'est pas tout-à-fait juste par rapport aux roupies [which were undervalued]. . . . Toutes ces distinctions ne tendent qu'à rendre les Comptes difficiles et obscurs. Il seroit à souhaiter que les choses fussent mises sur un pied égal, et les différences proscrites des Régistres de la Compagnie.

3. La diversité du cours des monnoyes entre les Indes et l'Europe ne regarde que les Espèces, et non les Marchandises; il y a un bénéfice réel sur l'or et l'argent, et la Compagnie n'en jouira pas moins de celui qu'elle trouve dans les denrées.

4. Aux Indes la valeur intrinsèque de l'argent est estimée depuis 20 jusqu'à 22 et 23 pour cent de plus qu'en Europe parce que ce métal y est plus rare, et par conséquent plus recherché. L'or au contraire y abonde plus qu'en ces Pays; cependant il rend un gain de 10 à 12 pour cent, quelquefois plus, quelquefois moins; de sorte qu'en profitant sur l'argent dans les voyages, le Commerce des Provinces-Unies à la Chine rapporteroit à coup sur environ 40 pour cent.

5. De là il s'ensuit que comme les Espèces d'argent et même les lingots sans distinction, valent aux Indes beaucoup plus qu'en Europe, il faut nécessairement de deux choses l'une; ou mettre les Espèces, dont se sert la Compagnie, à un taux proportionnel au-dessus du nôtre, ou qu'elle ne paye les marchandises, qu'elle y achète, que suivant la valeur de l'argent dans les Provinces-Unies.²

The Netherlands ducatoon, or silver rider, which was to supplant the silver rix-dollar in practice as the standard coin, was first struck in 1659, and was valued at home at 63 stuivers. Between 1676 and 1681 it had been rated in Batavia at 90 "light" stuivers, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ "current" rix-dollars, equal to 72 "heavy" stuivers. It was thus overrated, and, as the home policy was that the ducatoon in the East was to be equal to the ducatoon in the Netherlands, namely 63 stuivers, it was by *Plakaat* of 11/12 August, 1682, reduced to $1\frac{1}{4}$ rix-dollar or 75 "light" (60 "heavy") stuivers; by which valuation it was underrated: on 24th September of that year, however, owing to lack of *payment* in the Batavian Treasury, it was raised to 11 *schellings* on 66 "heavy" stuivers. By *Plakaat* of 3/7 September, 1686, the ducatoon stamped with a *ruytertje*, or small horseman, was raised at Batavia to 12 *schellings*, or 72 heavy stuivers, those not so marked continuing at the rate of 11 *schellings*. The home authorities disapproving of ducatoons of two values being current, the stamped coins were recalled by *Plakaat* of 22nd February, 1692; and all ducatoons were valued at 66 stuivers until 20/23 August, 1700, when the ducatoon, weighing 86 Japanese *condryns* or about $1\frac{3}{8}$ *reaal*, was raised to 13 *schellings* or $1\frac{5}{8}$

2. Du Bois, *Considérations sur l'état présent de la Compagnie Hollandaise des Indes Orientales* in *Vies des Gouverneurs Généraux* 1763.)

rix-dollars (78 "heavy" stuivers), in order to retain it in Batavia. In 1764 it was raised to 80 "heavy" stuivers.

The various edicts against the clipping of the coin, especially of the two-stuiver pieces, and against the import of clipped money failed to secure observance; with the result that *payment*, or small change, was insufficient for the public requirements. Accordingly *Plakaat* of 25th May, 1735 confirmed the previous legislation in the subject: it also raised the rating of single and double stuivers, and of all sorts of schellings not especially forbidden and of the proper weight, from 1, 2 and 6 to $1\frac{1}{4}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $7\frac{1}{2}$ "heavy" stuivers respectively; with the proviso that no one should be bound to accept more than a ducatoon's worth of *payment* in R.D. 100, or than R.D. 10 in R.D. 1000. All other coins remained at the old values.

As has been seen, the *Plakaat* of 1656, by which the rix-dollar and the piece-of-eight were rated at 60 stuivers, was rendered meaningless by the raising of the *payment* two years later to $1\frac{1}{4}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ stuivers. These ratings, all being in "light" money, no real change was affected; and from 1658 onwards the rix-dollar was of the same value in Holland as in the Indies, the only difference being that it was reckoned in the East at 48 instead of 50 Netherlands stuivers. The advent of the ducatoon, and its acceptance in practice as the standard coin, gradually altered the value of the "heavy" stuiver, which, differentiated from that of the Netherlands, came to be known as the "Indian."

Year.	Heavy stuivers per ducatoon.	Holland stuivers per rix-dollar of 48 stuivers.	Holland stuivers per Indian stuiver.
1682	66	45·8	'954
1686-92	72	42	'875
1692	66	45·8	'954
1700	78	38·7	'805
1764	80	38·1	'793

Other coins followed the rating of the ducatoon, either officially or popularly. The Spanish dollar, which in 1658 was rated at 60 "light" stuivers, reappears in the Batavian *Plakaat Boek* valued at 60 "heavy" stuivers. Nevertheless, as has been seen, the *payment*, or the silver schelling, dubbeltje, and stuiver, did not pass for more than 6, 2 and 1 stuiver until 1735.

At this date the system of "Indian money" may be said to be established definitely. Van den Berg (to whom the writer is indebted) considers "Indian" money to be the same as "light," and to have its origin in the rating of the rix-dollar at 60 stuivers, in 1656; and he, therefore, finds the action of the Batavian Government in 1735 difficult of explanation, as being a repetition of the raising of *payment* in 1658. But it is quite clear from the *Plakaat Boek* that the "Indian" stuiver was the "heavy" stuiver; though it is true that, owing to the rating of the ducatoon as already explained, this "heavy" stuiver practically became the equal in value of the earlier "light" stuiver.

The reckoning in "light" money, which was a useless complication, was abolished in 1743, except for the *soldy boeken*.

THE "DHAMMAPADA" AND ITS COMMENTARY.

Translated from the Original Pali with Critical Notes.

By SURIYAGODA SUMANGALA THERA.

(Continued from Part I, page 23.)

VERSE II.

*Manoṇubbangama dhamma manosettha manomaya
Manasa ce pasannena bhasati va karoti va
Tato nan sukham anveti chayava anapayini.*

TRANSLATION.

*(All the mental) characteristics have mind as their
forerunner (prime-mover) and overlord ; they are formed
of mind. Whosoever, with the mind pure,
either speaks or acts, him happiness follows therefrom,
like the shadow that never leaves him.*

2. MATTAKUNDALI VATTHU.

THE second stanza, concerning Mattakundali, was also made the subject of discourse at Savatthi:—

In the city of Savatthi there was a Brahmin named Adinnapubbaka, who was so called by people because he had never given anything to anybody. He had an only son who was fair to look upon and amiable.

In the course of time, being desirous of making an ornament for his son, he reflected that he would have to give wages if he ordered a goldsmith to make it. He, therefore, himself made and gave his son (a pair of) ear-rings, which were misshapen, and by wearing which he became known as *Mattakundali* ("he who wears misshapen ear-rings").

When he was sixteen years old he had a disease called *pandu rogo* (jaundice). The mother, seeing the son (in that condition), spoke to her husband:

"Brahmin, your son is sick; get him treated, dear."

"If I bring a physician, I shall have to pay his fees (lit.) for rice expenses. Have you no regard for the waste of my money?"

"What will you do, Brahmin?"

"I shall so act that there be no waste of my money."

He went to the physicians and enquired: "What do you prescribe for such and such a disease?" Then, when they told him the particular kind of drug, bark, etc., whatsoever it was, he brought it, and gave the medicine to his son.

While this was being done, his (the son's) disease gradually turned serious, and became incurable. Perceiving (at last) his feeble condition, the Brahmin brought a certain physician who, after examining the patient and finding the case hopeless, went away saying that he had another appointment, and (suggesting) that some other physician be called in. The Brahmin, knowing that his (son's) end was approaching, thought: "Those who come to see him will perceive all my wealth in the interior of the house; I will, therefore, remove him to the outer-verandah." So he had his son moved to the verandah, and made him lie down there.

On the same day, very early in the morning,¹ the Blessed One,—having risen from the attainment of universal compassionateness, gazing at the world with his divine eye,² for the purpose of finding out kinsmen (who are) fit to be trained and who have uplifting merits earned at the feet of the former Buddhas,—spread the net of knowledge throughout the ten thousand world-systems. Mattakundali, as he lay in the outer-verandah, appeared in its midst.

The Master, seeing him and realising that he had been moved and placed there, began to commune with himself whether there would be any use in his going to the place; and attained this (inward) perception:—

"This youth will take mental delight in me, as a result of which he will, after his death, be reborn in the Tavatinsa heaven in a golden palace covering thirty *yojanas*, and he will have a thousand celestial maidens to attend him. The Brahmin, too, after his (son's) cremation, will wander about in the cemetery, lamenting the loss of his son. The celestial being (i.e. the son), seeing his own self (become) three *yojanas* in height, decked with ornaments weighing about sixty cart-loads and surrounded by a thousand celestial maidens, will consider: 'By what deed was I blessed with this fortune?', and will realise that it was the effect of the purity of his mind in regard to the Enlightened One. Through fear of waste of money, (and) without buying any medicine, the Brahmin now goes to the cemetery and laments. Thinking 'I shall make him confused,' he (the son, the celestial being) will forthwith impatiently appear in the (original) guise of Mattakundali, and, lying down there, give vent to tears. Then the Brahmin will ask: 'Who are you?' 'I am your son Mattakundali.' 'Where were you born?' 'In the heaven Tavatinsa.' 'What deed have you done for (to merit) it?' In reply he (the celestial being) will say that it was the result of the purity of his mind in regard to Me. Then the Brahmin will ask whether there are beings who are born in heaven as a result of (their)

1. The Buddhas, wherever they may reside, never deviate from the performance of their daily duties, which are classified under the five following heads:—

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------|---|
| (i) | <i>Purebhattakiccan</i> : | the duty to be done before the midday-meal. |
| (ii) | <i>Pacchabhakkiccan</i> : | " " " after " " |
| (iii) | <i>Purimayamakiccan</i> : | " " " within the 1st watch of night. |
| (iv) | <i>Majjhimayamakiccan</i> : | " " " middle " " |
| (v) | <i>Pacchinayamakiccan</i> : | " " " last " " |

For fuller particulars of these various duties, see the *Manorathapurani*.

2. The perfect knowledge of the Tathagata is two-fold in character: (a) *Dasa-bala-nana*=knowledge endowed with ten powers, and (b) *Sabannuta-nana*=all-knowing wisdom. The former enables him properly to understand respective properties as they are in reality; the latter gives proper knowledge of them; also further enlightenment with absolute insight into whatsoever he wants to know.

By *Dasa-bala-nana*, he is enabled to realise or fathom: (i) probabilities and improbabilities; (ii) the potentiality or duration of *kamma* actions and of *vipaka* (consequences); (iii) the full result of actions (*kamma*); (iv) diverse aspects of *dhatus* (elements); (v) intentions and aspirations of beings; (vi) the subtle as well as mild nature of the senses; (vii) the trances with their defilements; (viii) succession of groups in previous births; (ix) death and re-birth of beings, and (x) the Truth.—Of these, (i) to (vii) inclusive belong to the class known as *Kamavacara*; (viii) and (ix) to *Rupavacara*; and (x) to *Lokuttara*. The *Sabannuta-nana* is *Kamavacara* and *Lokiya*.

His all-knowing wisdom permits the Tathagata to realise what can be ascertained through the medium of these aspects or directions of knowledge; but it cannot exercise all the respective functions meant for certain purposes: e.g., he is unable to concentrate his thoughts as by a trance, to exercise super-normal powers as by an *Iddhi*, to extirpate passions as by a path (*magga*). Although this all-knowing wisdom is not always being exercised, the Buddha possesses ever the power to realise anything after due investigation.

purity of mind in regard to Me. I shall, thereupon, tell him that it is impossible to enumerate the number of them,—so many hundreds, thousands, and hundreds of thousands,—who are born in heaven as a result of (their) purity of mind in regard to Me; and I shall recite to him a stanza from the *Dhammapada*. At the end of the discourse on the stanza, 84,000 beings will attain to the full realisation of the Truth; Mattakundali will attain to the first stage of sanctification; as also the Brahmin Adinnapubbaka."

Conceiving thus, that the preaching of Truth concerning this youth would be productive of great good, the Master, the next day, after attending to the wants of his body, surrounded by a multitude of Bhikkhus, proceeded to the city of Savatthi for *pinda-pata*, and gradually approached the door of the Brahmin's house. At that moment Mattakundali was sleeping with his face turned towards the interior of the house. The Exalted One, knowing his inability to see Him, sent forth a current of effulgence.³

The youth, pondering "What light is that?," and turning over to the other side (but remaining in the same attitude, saw the Blessed One. Then reflecting: "Owing to my blindly foolish father, I was not enabled to approach an Enlightened One such as this, to perform any service with my body, to offer alms, or to listen to His doctrines. Now, even my hands cannot be directed (subjected to the will); there is nothing to be done except to take mental delight in the Buddha." This he did earnestly.

The Blessed One, thinking that it (the act of mental delight) would suffice for him, departed. As the Blessed One was passing across his path of vision, he (the youth) breathed his last with delighted heart, and, like unto one who has arisen from sleep, was born in a celestial abode of gold thirty *yojanas* in height.

The Brahmin too, after cremating his son's body in the cemetery, gave himself up to tears and lamentations. He went daily to the cemetery and cried: "Where is my only son?" The Celestial Being also, perceiving his own (good) fortune, reflected (thus): "By what action have I merited this?" Then, realising that it was by the act of taking delight in the Buddha, and, (self-communing) "This Brahmin, without giving me medicines when I was sick, now goes to the cemetery and laments; I ought to make him distraught," he came, in the guise of Mattakundali, and stayed at the cemetery, lamenting with hands clasped (above his head).

The Brahmin, seeing him, (thought): "I cry, first, for the death of my son. Why is that fellow crying? I will ask." Enquiring (the reason), he uttered the following stanza:—

"Why dost thou cry in the midst of the forest with hands clasped (above thy head), wearing misshapen ear-rings and garlands, and thy body perfumed with red sandalwood and ornamented?"

He replied: "I have the body of a chariot made of radiant gold, but a pair of wheels is wanting to it. Through sorrow on this account, I shall give up my life."

Then the Brahmin answered him: "O good youth, tell me whether thou requirest a pair of wheels made of gold, or gems, or metal or silver. I shall get thee (what thou wishest)."

After listening to this and thinking to himself: "This man, without giving medicines to his son, seeing me in the guise of his son, tells me that he will get me a

pair of wheels made of gold, etc. : let it be so. I shall rebuke him."

The youth asked: "How large a pair of wheels will you make for me?"

"How large a pair dost thou require?"

"I want for my chariot the sun and the moon: give them to me," he begged. That youth also said to him: "Both the sun and the moon are shining there (in the sky). My chariot, which is made of gold, will shine with this pair of wheels."

The Brahmin replied: "Fool that thou art, O youth, who aspirest after that which cannot be obtained. Methinks thou wilt die, and wilt not obtain the sun and the moon."

Then said the youth: "Does a man become a fool who cries for that which he can see, or for that which he cannot see?;" adding "The movements to and fro (of the sun and moon) are seen, as also their colour, shape and routes. One who is dead cannot be seen. Which of us two crying here is the more foolish?"

Hearing this the Brahmin, paying regard to his logical argument, answered: "Verily, O youth, thou speakest truth; I am the more foolish. Like the child that cries for the moon, I, who long for him who is dead, am the more foolish." Having rid himself of his sorrow by his (the youth's) argument, (and) praising the youth, he uttered these stanzas:—

"My heart was verily aflame like ghee-sprinkled fire. Thine advice has extinguished the fire of sorrow, as if (it had been) sprinkled with water. Thou hast removed the spike of sorrow with which my heart was transfixed, and thou hast taken away the sorrow for my son from me (who was) overwhelmed with regret. After listening to thee, O youth, I am like one whose spike of sorrow has been removed; my flame has been cooled, extinguished. (Now) I do neither regret nor cry."

Then questioning him: "Who art thou?," the Brahmin said: "Art thou a deity, or a *gandhabba*, or Sakka the giver of gifts in former births? Who art thou? Whose son art thou? How are we to know thee?"

The youth replied: "Having thyself cremated thy son, for whom dost thou (now) cry and lament 'Tis I (thy son for whom thou criest) who, after doing a meritorious deed, have now become associate with the Tavatinsa gods."

The Brahmin said: "I saw neither little nor much alms-giving at home, nor practice of the precepts. By what act hast thou gone to the world of the Devas?"

The youth said: "When I was sick at home afflicted with pains, seriously ill and stricken with disease, I saw the Enlightened One free from all doubt and untarnished by the dust of passion, whose wisdom has no limit. In that (mental) condition, my mind rejoicing and serene, I bowed to the Tathagata. Having performed this meritorious act, I have come to companionship with the Tavatinsa gods."

While this was being said, the whole body of the Brahmin was filled with joy. Expressing that joy, he said: "Marvellous is it in truth, and wonderful in achievement; great effect from (mere) act of making obeisance! This very day, with mind rejoicing and serene, I shall seek refuge in the Buddha."

Then said the youth to him: "This very day, with (thy) mind serene, seek refuge in the Buddha, in his Doctrine, and in his Order. In like manner practise too the Five Precepts fully. Abstain forthwith from destroying life. Abstain from taking whatever is not given (does not belong) to thee. Wholly eschew strong drink; utter not a lie; and be contented with thine own wife."

Accepting this advice, and saying "*sadhu!*", he (the Brahmin) uttered these stanzas:—"Friend,⁴ thou wishest me well. O deity, thou art desirous of my well-being. I shall perform thy behest; thou art my Master."

"I do seek refuge in the Buddha, in his Doctrine sublime, and in the Order of the Lord of mankind. I do (shall) forthwith abstain from destroying life, and from taking whatsoever is not given to me; I do (shall) wholly eschew strong drink; I do (shall) not speak a lie; and I shall be quite content with my own wife."

Then the Celestial Being addressed him: "Brahmin, there is immense wealth in thy family. Approach the Blessed One, give him alms, listen to His doctrine, and ask questions:" then he disappeared. The Brahmin repaired to his house, and, calling his wife, said: "My dear, I will invite the recluse Gotama and question him; you had better, therefore, prepare entertainment for him." He then repaired to the Monastery where, without worshipping the Exalted One or exchanging greetings, he stood aside, and said to Him: "O Blessed Gotama! Accept, with the multitude of Bhikkhus, my alms this day." The Exalted One accepted the invitation. Learning that his invitation had been accepted by the Exalted One, he returned home hastily, and prepared in his house eatables, and ingredients for chewing.

The public assembled there. When the Tathagata is invited by a non-believer, generally two classes of people congregate. The non-believers assemble, thinking: "To-day we shall see the recluse Gotama being troubled by (persons asking) questions." The people of right views generally assemble, thinking: "To-day we shall perceive the abilities of the Enlightened One, and His attitude."

Then the Brahmin, approaching the Blessed One, who had performed his meal function and was seated on a low seat, put the following questions: "O Blessed Gotama! Are there any persons who,—without offering Thee any alms, without giving any gifts, without listening to Thy doctrine, without leading a virtuous life as prescribed (living up to in thy precepts), but by mere delight in Thee, have been reborn in heaven?"

"Brahmin, why dost thou ask? Has it not been told (thee) by thy son Mattakundali that he was reborn in heaven by mere delight in me?"

"When was it, O Blessed Gotama?"

"Didst thou not go, lamenting, to the cemetery to-day, and see in the vicinity a certain youth who, with clasped hands, was himself lamenting there, and (whom thou) questioned: 'Why dost thou cry?', etc." And the Tathagata narrated the whole story of Mattakundali, relating the conversation that took place between them. For this very reason this was recognised to be the Buddha's word.

Then the Blessed One said: "It is not a hundred, nor two (hundred), nor can there be any computation of those who are reborn in heaven by taking delight in Me."

The public (the assembly) were not yet free from their doubts. Realising their hesitating state (of mind), the Exalted One exercised his will-power, expressing his wish that Mattakundali should come with his celestial abode. He (the latter) came down there at once in his own (original) form, three *yojanas* in height, and beautifully adorned with divine ornaments. Descending from his abode, he worshipped the Blessed One and stood aside.

Then the Exalted One, saying to him: "By doing what deed hast thou acquired this happy fortune?", uttered the following stanza:—

"O Deity! Thou, like the star called Osadhi, dost stand here illuminating all directions with thy lovely effulgence. I do now question thee, O Deity of great might. What merit hast thou done as a human being?"

"This bliss was obtained by me as the result of taking delight in Thee," said the Celestial Being.

"Hast thou obtained it by taking delight in me?"

"Yea, my Lord."

The public, beholding the Celestial Being, expressed their appreciation, saying: "The virtues of the Buddha are marvellous indeed! The son of the Brahmin Adinna-pubbaka, without performing any other meritorious act save that of only taking delight in the Buddha, has obtained bliss such as this!"

Then the Blessed One,—pointing out (the fact) that, in doing (acts of) either merit or demerit, the mind fore-runs (as it were); that the mind is the lord; that an action performed with a pure mind never leaves its doer, like the shadow of a person wherever he may go, either to the world of Celestial Beings or of human beings,—narrated this story (while) connecting its parts, and uttered the following stanza like sealing a letter with a royal seal:—

*Manopubbangama dhamma manosetha manomaya
Manasa ce pasannena bhasati va karoti va
Tato nan sukham anveti chayava anapayini.*

NOTES ON THE STANZA.

Mano:—*Manas* (Sanskrit), *mens* (Latin) "The mind" is generally applied to four-fold thought in its entirety [see page 22]. In this particular verse, however, it refers to the eight-fold meritorious thoughts pertaining to the sentient domain (*kamavacara*). In the story *mano* refers to the thought associated with pleasant-mindedness (*somanassa*), and right knowledge.

Manopubbangama:—They (mental characteristics) are animated by, or associated with, it (*i.e.* the mind) which moves (goes) first.

Dhamma:—Three groups are meant [see page 22]. By reason of being the cause of origin (of these mental characteristics), the mind associated with pleasant-mindedness (pure motive or intention) becomes their prime-mover; they are called *manopubbangama*. When many (people) meet together and perform meritorious deeds,—such as offerings of robes and similar valuable gifts to the great multitude of Bhikkus, or (perform) other meritorious acts such as listening to the Doctrine, offerings of lights, flower-wreaths, etc.,—and

investigation is made as to their prime-mover, whosoever is (found to be) their causer, (that is) depending on whom they performed those meritorious acts, he is said to be their prime-mover or leader, be he named Tissa or Phussa (*i.e.*, whatever be his name). Thus, as it is the cause of origin, the mind becomes the forerunner 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 properties.

Manosettha:—As the mind becomes their overlord, by way of supremacy as it were, they are called *manosettha*. As the leading man of a multitude or army is called the overlord of the multitude or army, so the mind becomes the overlord of the mental characteristics which are hence called *manosettha*.

Manomaya:—As such and such articles made of gold, etc., are called golden articles etc., so also these (groups), because they are formed or made of mind, are called *manomaya*.

Pasannena:—Pure, because it (mind) is (naturally) endowed with the taintless virtues, such as non-covetousness, etc.

Bhasati va karoti va:—Whosoever *speaks* with pure mind like this gives utterance to the “four verbal merits,” viz., abstinence from lying, slander, tale-bearing and vain talk. Whosoever *does* anything with pure mind performs the “three bodily merits,” viz: abstinence from destruction of life, from theft and from adultery. Whosoever *neither speaks nor acts* because his mind is endowed with the taintless virtues such as non-covetousness, etc., he earns the “three kinds of mental merits,” viz., absence of covetousness, malice, and wrong belief. In this way he earns ten kinds of merits.

Tato nan sukham anveti:—As the result of earning this three-fold merit (of thought, word, and deed), happiness follows that individual (who performs such an act). Here, by *merits* are meant those pertaining to the three *bhumis* (*kamavacara*, *rupavacara* and *arupavacara*). Therefore, by the influence of these merits, happiness, mental or bodily, follows that individual who is born in any happy state of existence, or, even though born in an unhappy state of existence, he happens to be at a happy place; and it (happiness) never abandons him, wherever he may be. How is this?

Chayava anapayini:—*i.e.* like the shadow that never leaves. As the shadow, because it is connected with the body, walks when the body walks, rests when it rests, sits when it is seated, it is impossible to control it either by mildness, or harshness, or even by eating (it) and saying: “You must stop.” In exactly the same way, as the result of a person’s constant association with these ten kinds of meritorious acts, happiness,—bodily or mental, pertaining to *kamavacara*, etc.,—never abandons him, like unto the shadow that never leaves him wherever he may be.

* * * * *

At the close of this stanza, 84,000 beings realised the Truth. The Celestial Being Mattakundali attained to the first stage of sanctification, as also the Brahmin Adinna-pubbaka who sowed (the seed of) his great wealth on the order of the Buddha.

Here ends Mattakundali’s story.

(To be continued.)

HINDUSTANI AND SINHALESE.

By REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

HINDUSTANI, the popular *lingua franca* of Northern India, sounds very homely and familiar in the ears of a Sinhalese when heard for the first time. He fancies at times that he understands the general drift of a wayside dialogue; and indeed he is not seldom able to catch the meaning. *Na* or *nahin'* differs little from the Sinhalese *ne* and "no"; and not much reflection is needed to gather that *dekho* means "look!", that *jana* means to "go" or *dena* to "give." A Sinhalese will hardly fail to understand that *ek din* means "one day" or that *mar gaya* means "dead and gone." He soon finds out what is meant by *tum kaun ho*, "who are you?", *tum kahan ho*, "where are you?", or *ham nahin karenge* "I won't do it," from their similarity to *kavuda*, *koheda*, *karanne nehe*. Who cannot easily recognise in *kisi kamke nahin*, the homely Sinhalese phrase *kisi kamakata nehe*?

If he looks into an elementary Hindustani Handbook or Reader, he is sure to meet, from the very first page onwards, quite a number of well-known words in a form but little different from what he is accustomed to.

The present writer was so much struck by this fact that, having made a list of kindred words that he met with when reading or in conversation, he ventures to give a short notice of that kinship, in the hope that it will prove of interest. The comparison offered has no pretension whatsoever to philological research or scholarship: it is a simple statement of the similarity as it struck the writer—nothing more.

Hindustani is not a single dialect spoken all over North India. As a matter of fact it varies so much in different parts of the country, and more especially with the several communities who speak it, as to be known by separate names.

As spoken by Mohamedans, Hindustani abounds in Arabic, Persian, and even Turkish words; is written in Persi-Arabic characters; and goes generally by the name of *Urdu*, which is Turkish for "camp." This *Urdu Zaban* or "camp language" was formed in the armies of the Mogul emperors.²

The Hindustani spoken by Hindus, on the other hand, consists mainly of Sanskrit words; it uses the *Nagari* as its printed character, though it is generally written in *Kaithi*, a modified form of the *Nagari* character, and is called *Hindi* or *Hindi bhasha*.

The difference between *Urdu* and *Hindi* may be seen in the very names used to designate them. *Urdu* is a *zaban*, *Hindi* a *bhasha*. "Put on your clothes" is *kapre pahino* in *Urdu*, and *baste pahino* in Hindustani. Again *mera kitab kahan hai* is *Urdu* for "where is my book?;" the *Hindi* for it should be *mera pustak* (or *pothi*) *kahan hai*. In these word-couples *zaban* and *bhasha*, *kapra* and *baste*, *kitab* and *pustak*, the first is Persian or Arabic, the other unmistakably of Sanskrit origin (cf. Sinhalese *bashawa*, *vastra*, *pustaka*, *potha*.)

1. Here and elsewhere the final *n* should be pronounced like *ng* in "king" or in *Sinhalese*.
2. Max Muller, *Lectures on the Science of Language* I, p. 351.

In this article "Hindustani" is used in the latter sense, viz., the language of the Hindus:—

It is the mother tongue of probably no less than fifty millions of the people of India. It is spoken throughout the North-Western Province, the Punjab, the greater part of Rajputana, Central India and Behar. Whether then we think of the extent of country over which it is spoken, or of the number and the importance of the tribes that speak it, Hindustani, if any, may be regarded as the language of Northern India. ³

There are, naturally enough, not a few Persian and Arabic words in Hindustani, but their number and use varies according to localities. It has even drawn largely on English, and such words as *daktar* and *platfarm*, *isteshan* and *tikat*, *trem-ghari* and *rel-ghari*, *registran karna* and *apil karna* are as common as similar words are in Ceylon. To make up for it Hindustani has not only enriched the vocabulary of Anglo-Indian English with such words as *topi* and *pugre*, *cheerot* and *hookah*, *dhoby* and *sepo*, *ghary* and *tamasha*, *darbar* and *bukshish*, *Kachcheri* and *punkah*, but has contributed to it words like *jungle*, *bazar*, *loot* known outside India.

The vocabulary of Hindustani is however chiefly of Sanskrit origin:—

Nine-tenths of the dialect may be traced to the Sanskrit idiom. Many words e.g. *pita*, *kavi*, *karma*, of which the etymology shows them to be the purest Sanskrit, are received unaltered; many more undergo no change but that of making the final vowel silent; a still greater number exhibits no other difference than what arises from the uniform permutation of certain letters; the rest too, with comparatively few exceptions, may be traced to a Sanskrit origin. ⁴

Affinity with Sinhalese exists in words of all these classes. That words of pure Sanskrit origin should be common to both languages is no great surprise, for they are of practically recent importation: what is interesting to the scholar is the similarity in the words derived from Prakrit, for it goes to confirm the now generally accepted opinion that Sinhalese belongs to the North Indian Stock of Aryan Languages:—

Hindustani is not the daughter of Sanskrit as we find it in the Vedas, or in the later literature of the Brahmans. It is a branch of the living speech of India, springing from the same stem from which Sanskrit sprang when it first assumed its literary independence. ⁵

That Sinhalese has sprung from the same stem is now undisputed. The following list may be interesting as a confirmation of the fact, long known, that with Ariya and Punjabi, Sindhi and Gujerati, Maharati, Hindustani and Bengali must be classed that sister dialect of Ceylon which by analogy should perhaps be called "Sinhali." ⁶

The words given are grouped under different heads. ⁷

1. Parts of the Body.

The body itself is called *sarir*, or *deha*, in Hindustani, both good Sinhalese; *badan* is also used, cf. Sinhalese *bada*.

English.	Hindustani.	Sinhalese.
1. Ear	<i>kan</i>	<i>kana</i>
2. Eye	<i>netra</i>	<i>netraya</i>
3. Face	<i>munh</i>	<i>muhuna</i>
4. Finger	<i>ungli</i>	<i>engilla</i>

³ Revd. W. Etherington, *Student's Grammar*.

⁴ Colebrooke, *Essays*, p. 25.

⁵ Max Muller, *l. c.* p. 65.

⁶ [There is in existence an old manuscript styled "The Alphabet of the Sinhali or People of the Island Selan commonly called Ceylon in East Indies"—Ed.]

⁷ Most of the words given in this article are taken from the books which the writer used for learning Hindustani, viz.

(1) R. P. De, *Hindustani at a Glance*. (2) *First Lessons in Hindi*. (3) G. J. Daun, *Introduction to Hindi Prose Composition* (4) B. Greaves, *Grammar of Modern Hindi*.

English.		Hindustani.		Sinhalese.
5. Hand	... ..	<i>hath</i>	... ..	<i>atha. Pali hattha</i>
6. Head	... ..	<i>sir</i>	... ..	<i>sirasa</i>
7. Heart	... ..	{ <i>hriday</i>	... ..	<i>hrdaya</i>
		{ <i>chitta</i>	... ..	<i>hita</i>
8. Mouth	... ..	<i>mukh</i>	... ..	<i>mukhaya</i>
9. Nose	... ..	{ <i>nak</i>	... ..	<i>nahe</i>
		{ <i>nasika</i>	... ..	<i>nasikawa</i>
10. Tooth	... ..	<i>dant</i>	... ..	<i>data, danta</i>

The Sinhalese *diva*, "tongue," is *jibh* in Hindustani, Pali *jivha*; "lip" is *houth*, cf. Sinhalese *hota*, "beak." Again what is "foot" *paya* in Sinhalese is "leg" in Hindustani; while the Hindustani for "foot" is *pair*.

In the foregoing list the words are practically the same in both languages; the only noticeable difference is that the Hindustani words usually end in a consonant, while the Sinhalese word has a final short vowel. This may be remarked in nearly all nouns. The short vowel *a* is inherent in every consonant in Hindustani as in Sanskrit and Sinhalese, but is made quiescent at the end of words so that they virtually terminate in a consonant. The *virama*, the nether stroke (Sinhalese *al* sign), that indicates a consonantal stop, is seldom written.

2. Numerals.

Numerals are generally considered a safe criterion of original relationship between languages, and the radical affinity between the Hindustani and the Sinhalese numerals is most striking. Only what is *b* in one language is *v* in the other, and the Hindustani *ch* corresponds to *s* or *h* in Sinhalese.

English.		Hindustani.		Sinhalese.
One	... ..	<i>ek</i>	... ..	<i>eka</i>
Two	... ..	<i>do</i>	... ..	<i>deka</i>
Three	... ..	<i>tin</i>	... ..	<i>tuna</i>
Four	... ..	<i>char</i>	... ..	<i>satara (P. chatu)</i>
Five	... ..	<i>panch</i>	... ..	<i>pasa (P. pancha)</i>
Six	... ..	<i>chha</i>	... ..	<i>saya (P. chcha)</i>
Seven	... ..	<i>sat</i>	... ..	<i>sata</i>
Eight	... ..	<i>ath</i>	... ..	<i>ata</i>
Nine	... ..	<i>nau</i>	... ..	<i>nava</i>
Ten	... ..	<i>das</i>	... ..	<i>dasa</i>
Twenty	... ..	<i>bis</i>	... ..	<i>vissa</i>
Thirty	... ..	<i>tis</i>	... ..	<i>tiha, tis</i>
Forty	... ..	<i>chalis</i>	... ..	<i>hataliha</i>
Fifty	... ..	<i>pachas</i>	... ..	<i>panasa</i>
Sixty	... ..	<i>sath</i>	... ..	<i>heta</i>
Seventy	... ..	<i>sattar</i>	... ..	<i>hettawa</i>
Eighty	... ..	<i>assi</i>	... ..	<i>assua</i>
Ninety	... ..	<i>nawwe</i>	... ..	<i>anmwa</i>
Hundred	... ..	<i>sau</i>	... ..	<i>siya</i>
Lakh	... ..	<i>lakh</i>	... ..	<i>lakshaya</i>

Twenty-one is *ikkis* (*ek + bis*), and not *visieka* as in Sinhalese. Again, twenty-two is *bais*; thirty-two *batis*. Nineteen is *unis*; twenty-nine *untis*, like *undeviginti* in Latin: though little used now there was a corresponding form in Sinhalese *unu vissa*, "nineteen."

3. Time.

Time is expressed by *kal* (Sinhalese *kalaya*) and *samaya*, both good in Sinhalese and Hindustani.

English.	Hindustani.	Sinhalese.
To-day	<i>aj, adya</i>	<i>ada</i>
Day	<i>din, divas</i>	<i>dina, davasa</i>
Night	<i>rat, ratri</i>	<i>re, ratriya</i>
Month	<i>mas</i>	<i>masaya</i>
Year	<i>barash, varsha</i>	<i>varushaya</i>

Week, *attawara*, is very like the Sinhalese *atawaka*, "the eighth day after the full (or new) moon." "Full-moon day" is *puran masi*; in Sinhalese "day of new moon" *amavas*.

4. Week Days.

The names of the last four days of the week correspond very closely.

English.	Hindustani.	Sinhalese.
Wednesday	<i>Budh</i>	<i>Bada-da</i>
Thursday	<i>Brahaspati</i>	<i>Brahaspatin-da</i>
Friday	<i>Sukrvar</i>	<i>Sikura-da</i>
Saturday	<i>Sanichar</i>	<i>Senasura, sani</i>

For the rest of the week days similarity is seen only in comparison with the older Sinhalese forms.

English.	Hindustani.	Sinhalese.
Sunday	<i>Itwar, Rabbivar</i>	<i>Irida, Rividina</i>
Monday	<i>Somwar</i>	{ <i>P. Soma</i> } "moon" { <i>S. Soma</i> }
Tuesday	<i>Mangal</i>	<i>P. Mangala</i>

5. Months.

The European names for the months are coming into general use in India, though perhaps not to such a degree as in Ceylon. Hindustani names for the different months are corrupt forms of Sanskrit names, and naturally enough resemble the Pali. Of these only two—*Bysash*, Sinhalese *Vesak*; *Assar*, Sinhalese *Esala*—have any similarity to the modern Sinhalese names. The rest begin with *Chaith*. Pali *Chitta* February-March, *Jet* (*P. Jettha*), *Savan* (*P. Savana*), *Bhadon* (Sk. *Bhadra*, Sinhalese *Binara*), *Aswin* (*P. Assayuja*), *Katik* (*P. Kattika*), *Pus* (*P. Phussa*), *Magh* (*P. Magha*), *Phagun* (*P. Phaguna*).

6. Cardinal Points.

English.	Hindustani.	Sinhalese.
North	<i>Uttr</i>	<i>Utura</i>
South	<i>Dakwina, dakshina</i>	<i>Dakuna</i>
East	<i>Purv</i>	<i>Purva</i>
West	<i>Pachchim, paschim</i>	<i>Paschima</i>

7. Pronouns.

In the Personal Pronouns of the first and second person the resemblance is very close.

1st person. Singular, H. *main*, S. *man*: the plural, however, is H. *ham*, S. *api*.

2nd person. Singular, H. *tu*, S. *to*: plural, H. *tum*, S. *tumu*.

For the pronoun of the third person Hindustani uses the Demonstrative Pronoun *wuh*, Sinhalese *ohu*.

Indefinite Pronouns. H. *koi* (cf Sin. *koyi* "any")

H. *koi* becomes *kisi* in oblique cases. (Sin. *kisi* "any")

Interrogative Pronoun. H. *kaun*, Sin. *kavuda*.

There is a peculiar idiom common to both languages. If you ask a Sinhalese: "Was it you who did such a thing?" (which he had done), the honest answer should be *vena kavuda*, "who else," meaning "of course it was I." In Hindustani *aur kaun* "who else," *aur kya* "what else" have exactly the same idiomatic meaning.

8. Nouns of Relationship.

These are almost identical in the two languages. Thus *pita* is "father," also *bap*. (P. *bap*. "father"), *mata* and *amma* (Sin. *amma*) "mother," *tata* "grandfather," *tali* "grandmother;" *mama* is "uncle," *putr* and *putri*, "son" and "daughter"; *sahoir* (Sin. *sohoyura*) is also used for "brother," though the ordinary word is *bhai*.

9. Natural Objects.

The following words, expressing the most familiar natural objects, are striking in their close affinity.

English.	Hindustani.	Sinhalese.
Country	<i>des</i>	<i>desaya</i>
Dwelling	{ <i>vas</i> <i>vas stahn</i>	<i>vasasthanaya</i>
Earth	<i>prithvi</i>	<i>prithiviya</i>
Ground	<i>bhumi</i>	<i>bhumiya</i>
Hill	<i>giri</i>	<i>giri</i>
Moon	<i>chand</i>	<i>handa, chandraya</i>
Mountain	<i>parvat</i>	<i>parvataya</i>
Ocean	{ <i>samudra</i> <i>maha sagar</i>	<i>samudraya</i> <i>maha sagaraya</i>
Pond	<i>pokhara</i>	<i>pokuna</i>
Sky	<i>akas</i>	<i>akasya</i>
Stars	<i>tara</i>	<i>taru, taraka</i>
Sun	<i>surya</i>	<i>surya</i>
Wind	<i>pavan</i>	<i>pavan</i>

10. Food.

Hindustani for "food" is *ahara* and *bhojana*, both of which are also Sinhalese: the commonest word, however, is *khana*, Sinhalese *kema*. The action of "eating" is expressed in

both languages by the same words *khana*, *bhojan karna*; Sinhalese *kanawa*, *bhojana karanawa*. *Bat* is "cooked rice" in Sinhalese as in Hindustani. "Salt" is *lona*, Sinhalese *lunu*, and "pickles" *achar*, Sinhalese, *achcharu*; "hunger" is *kshudh*, Sinhalese *kshdawa*; "thirst" *piyas*, Sinhalese *pipasa*.

II. Sickness.

Similarity exists also in words expressing the ills that flesh is heir to.

English.		Hindustani.			Sinhalese.	
Ache	<i>vedana</i>	...	...	<i>vedanawa</i>
Blind man	<i>andha</i>	...	...	<i>andhaya</i>
Blind of one eye	<i>kana</i>	...	...	<i>kana</i>
Cough	<i>khas</i>	...	...	<i>khassa</i>
Deaf	<i>bahira</i>	...	...	<i>bira</i>
Illness	<i>roga</i>	...	...	<i>rogaya</i>

12. Sensations.

Words expressive of different feelings, being of Sanskrit origin, are naturally enough common to both languages. The only difference is the one previously noted—the absence of the final short vowel in Hindustani. Thus, "anger" is *krodh*, "desire" is *ichcha*, (Sin. flattery) "forgiveness" is *kshama*, "grief" *sok*, "love" *prem* and *sneh*, "mercy" is *daya*, "pain" *dukh*, "pleasure" and "joy" are *ananda* and *sukh*, "satisfaction" *santosh*.

13. Abstract Nouns.

Very many abstract nouns are common to both languages. The following are some in Hindustani: "wisdom" *buddhi*, "misfortune" *vipakti*, "injury" *hani*, "praise" *sthuti* and *prasansa*, "devotion" *bhakhti*, "hope" *asa*, "envy" *isha*, "friendship" *mittrah*, "enmity" *satthruta*, "insult" *ninda*, "life" *pran*, "quality" *gun*, "cupidity" *lobh*, "fault" *aparadh*, "race" *vansa*, "honour" *namaskar*, "darkness" *andhakar*, "truth" *sach*.

14. Animals.

Here are a few names of animals: *naga* "snake," S. *naḡaya*; *hathi* "elephant," S. *atta*; *pakshi* "bird"; *bandur* "monkey," S. *vandura*; "cow" *gau*; "horse" *asva*; "cat," *villi* S. *balali*; "cock" *kukkuta*, S. *kukula*; "lion" *sinh*.

15. Minerals.

English.		Hindustani.			Sinhalese.	
Brass	<i>pital</i>	...	...	<i>pittala</i>
Copper	<i>tamba</i>	...	...	<i>tamba</i>
Iron	<i>loha</i>	...	...	<i>loha</i> , metal
Minerals	<i>dhatu</i>	...	...	<i>lohadhatu</i>
Precious stone	<i>ratn</i>	...	...	<i>ratna</i>
Ruby	<i>manik</i>	...	...	<i>menik</i>

8. In this and the following lists I omit the Sinhalese as it is almost the same.

16. Verbs.

The following Hindustani verbs, expressing common and familiar actions, are so closely similar that no Sinhalese reader need be told the meaning.

Accomplish ...	<i>sadhna</i>	...	Give	...	<i>dena</i>
Bathe ...	<i>nahana</i>	...	Go	...	<i>jana, part. gaya</i>
Bind ...	<i>bandhna</i>	...	Know	...	<i>janna</i>
Burn ...	<i>dahana</i>	...	Laugh	...	<i>hansna</i>
Count ...	<i>ginana</i>	...	Play	...	<i>kelna</i>
Die ...	<i>marna, marjana</i>	...	Say	...	<i>kahana</i>
Do ...	<i>karna</i>	...	See	...	<i>dekna</i>
Dwell ...	{ <i>basna</i>	...	Sell	...	<i>bikana S. vik</i>
	{ <i>basa karna</i> ... Sin. <i>Vas</i>	...	Write	...	<i>likhna</i>

Causal verbs are formed as in Sinhalese. *Karna*, causal *karvana*, Sin. *Karawanawa*; *likhna*, causal *likwana*, Sin. *liyawanawa*; *marna*, causal *marwana*, Sin. *marawanawa*; *daurna* "run," causal *daurvana* "cause to run," S. *duwawanawa*.

17. Common Nouns.

The similarity is again so marked as to make it unnecessary to give the Sinhalese.

Answer ...	<i>uttra</i>	...	Net	...	<i>jala</i>
Barrel ...	<i>pipa</i>	...	Oil	...	<i>tel</i>
Door ...	<i>darwaza</i>	...	Orange	...	<i>narangi</i>
End ...	<i>anth</i>	...	Paper	...	<i>khagaz</i>
Expedient ...	<i>upaya</i>	...	Person	...	<i>atmi</i>
Fight ...	<i>yudh</i>	...	Question	...	<i>prasna</i>
Fruit ...	<i>phal</i>	...	Sleep	...	<i>nind</i>
Gift ...	<i>dana</i>	...	Smell	...	<i>gandh</i>
Heap ...	<i>rasi</i>	...	Speech	...	<i>vachana</i>
Inch ...	<i>angla</i>	...	Story	...	<i>katha</i>
Ivory ...	<i>hathi dant</i>	...	Water	...	<i>jal</i>
Letter (character)	<i>akshar</i>	...	Way	...	<i>marg</i>
Lord ...	<i>swami</i>	...	Woman	...	<i>stri</i>
Man ...	<i>manush, purush</i>	...	Young man	...	<i>tarun</i>
Name ...	<i>nam</i>	...			

There are, besides, such words as *anyadesa*, *paradesa*, *patasala*, *Ganga* (Ganges) S. River.

18. Collective Nouns.

Of collective nouns we have *sabha* "assembly"; *samaj* (S. *samagama*); *samuha*, *sena*, "army," S. *senawa*; and *senapati* "General of Army." Among these may be given *as pas* "neighbourhood," Sin. *ahala pahala*.

19. Adjectives.

Maha, athi, bahut (S. *boho*) "very"; *adhika* "exceeding"; *niranthra, nishpala, nishkalank* "free from blemish"; *nischal* "immovable"; *asuddha; viruddha; pavitra; dur* "far;" *bhar* "heavy;" *sada, sarwa,* "all"; *bala* "strong"; *samane* "equal"; *chota* "small" (S. *kota*); *dhanawat* "rich;" *kala* "black;" *nila* "blue"; *gorha* "fair"; (old Sin. *gora* "white.")

20. Adverbs.

It is enough to mention *nitya* "continuously"; *prattama* "firstly"; *anukula* "according to"; *pichche* "behind," (Sinhalese *passa*.)

The foregoing list of words, mostly of everyday use, will, it is hoped, give the reader some idea of the unmistakable family likeness that exists between Hindustani and Sinhalese. Words of common, or kindred, origin are far more numerous than here given: the list contains only a few, chosen, for their striking affinity, by the writer.

Investigation into the similarities of grammar and idiom will reveal still more clearly the parallel growth of the two dialects from a parent stem; but such a comparison calls for a deeper knowledge and a more familiar acquaintance with Hindustani than the writer can yet claim to possess.

CEYLON AND THE "RAMAYANA."

THE following extract from the April (1915) number of the *Journal R. A. S.* of Great Britain and Ireland will come as a "mild shock" to those among us who have hitherto entertained no doubt whatever as to the identity of Lanka with Ceylon and the important part it played in the events of the *Ramayana*.

Professor A. Berriedale Keith, in the course of a critical study of Professor Jacobi's arguments¹ on the date of the *Ramayana*, writes² :—

The question of Lanka is difficult. Was it Ceylon, and was Ceylon so called in the sixth century B. C. and known to a poet in Kosala? The evidence that Lanka was Ceylon is extremely weak: the oldest names for the Island are Tamraparni and Simhala; and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the identification of the more or less mythical Lanka with Ceylon is the product of the spread of the poem, as Jacobi has argued.³ It is perfectly clear that the conquest of the south, as Lassen⁴ suggested, or the spread of Aryan civilisation, as Weber⁵ thought, is not the kernel of the epic; and Jacobi's explanation⁶ of the underlying myth of Rama, Sita and Hanumant is the most convincing yet offered. With it disappears any ground for holding that the mention of Ceylon is natural, and the poet's extremely vague view of the south as suggested by his references tell in favour of an early date.

1 Jacobi, *Das Ramayana, Geschichte und Inhalt.* (Bonn, 1893.)

2 *Journal R. A. S.*, April, p. 324.

3 Jacobi, *l.c.* pp. 90-3.

4 Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* i. 535.

5 Weber, *Ind. Lit.* p. 192

6 Jacobi, *l.c.* p. 130 seqq.

LETTER FROM THE KANDYAN COURT: 1726.

By H. C. P. BELL.

IN the early "eighties" the privilege fell to me of aiding Mr. (now Sir) J. A. Swettenham, Second Assistant to the Colonial Secretary, in overhauling and arranging provisionally the very numerous volumes of Dutch Records of Colombo and Galle, located at the Record Office, Colombo.

Owing to exigencies of greatly limited space, these unique archives had had to be relegated, *faut de mieux*, to a single cramped and dark room—the innermost *penetrable* of that Office, already overcrowded.¹

The condition into which the Dutch Records had lapsed from this unfortunate, if to some degree unavoidable, neglect was parlous. Any "explorer" who ventured into the semi-darkness of the then stuffy "Black Hole," wherein these old-time volumes were left, year after year, to choke for want of light and air had—literally—to trample under foot a mass of loose documents that had been crowded, or fallen, out of the inadequate shelving made available, and lay higgledy-piggledy, almost disregarded, and partially blocking the very narrow passage-ways.¹

The sorting, and disposal (as far as practicable), of this heterogeneous jumble of dust-laden papers, and the taking down, examining, and re-shelving of some 3,000 heavy volumes, begrimed with dirt, of necessity involved considerable labour; but, though unpleasant enough physically, this greatly needed "clean-up" was not without its reward to the antiquarian. For—independent of the timely relief thus afforded towards the better preservation of these hoary records, important historically and in other ways from detailing Dutch administration in Ceylon throughout a period of more than a hundred and fifty years—the work proved not unprofitable collaterally.

Many valuable documents, which had been long lying *perdu*, came to light. Among these were found (i) original letters addressed to Dutch Governors by Raja Sinha II, King of Kandy, 1632-1679²; (ii) missives, mostly annual, to, and from, Sultans of the Maldives in the 17th and 18th centuries; (iii) communications from Southern Indian Rulers; besides (iv) sporadic letters, some directly from, others relating to, the luckless European captives in Kandy during the latter half of the 17th century;³ and (v) many other papers of a miscellaneous nature—all of more or less interest and value.

Permission was accorded me to have certain of these "literary gems" photographed, so that they might be rescued from complete oblivion.

¹ The corner room, ground floor, nearest the Custom House, at the junction of Church and Queen Streets. By the removal of the Dutch Records to more suitable quarters considerable improvement in their housing has since been achieved.

² These letters, twenty-six in all, were edited, with his characteristic acumen and thoroughness, by the late Donald Ferguson in *Journal C. A. S.*, XVIII, 55, 1914, pp. 166-275.

³ The writer printed some of these references to the captives at Kandy in the *Ceylon Literary Register*, III, 1888, pp. 358-380

Of the documents thus more specially preserved, a short, and delightfully quaint, official letter on *ola* (palm-leaf strip), received by the Dutch Council early in 1726 from the Kandyan Court, is here reproduced with a translation into English.

Regarding this *ola* the following brief notes were made at the time of its discovery:—

Letter in Sinhalese: very neatly written on both faces of a plain strip of *ola*, long and narrow; wonderfully well preserved considering that it was inscribed a century and a half ago: *Ola*, 3ft. 5½in. in length by only 1¼ inch broad; tapering to a point at one end. The writing covers about 2ft. of each side. Two triangular, ovolo-sided “nicks” were cut into the top and bottom of the *ola*, to aid the better closing of the letter and expose only the address when folded up to 5½ inches. Official missive: addressed to the Members of the Dutch Council by the Chiefs of the Kandyan Court in 1726; received at Colombo on February 17th of that year⁴, as deduced from a translation into Dutch (torn and rotten from age) found with the *ola*. No names are given. Purport: an application for dogs and fowls of a large breed to be sent to Kandy for the recreation of the King.

The Letter of Enquiry (*viparam patraya*) from the Chiefs and Nobles (*Pradhani Radalavaru*) of His Majesty’s Court (*Maha Wasala*) is full of pleasant surprises.

In 1726 the King of Kandy was Sri Vira Parakrama Narendra Sinha, who had succeeded his father Vimala Dharmma Suryaya II on the throne in 1706, and reigned until 1739. At Colombo, the death of Governor Isaac Augustin Rumpf in 1723, followed two years later by that of his successor Johannes Hertenberg, had left the Dutch administration in the provisional hands of Jan Paul Schagen, Commandeur of Galle, and the Political Council of Colombo up to September 1726, when Petrus Vuyst assumed charge.⁵

This explains the omission from the preamble of this letter (unusual in missives at the period from the Kandyan Court) of the name of the Dutch Governor.

The intermittent causes of friction between the Kandyan Kings and the Dutch—disputes regarding the pearl fishery, cinnamon, arecanuts, paddy, the closing of the gravets and ports, and like “bones of contention”—had in 1726 lulled temporarily. “During all these years (1724-1729) nothing of moment occurred at the Kandyan Court.”⁶

With “all the springs of news run down,” time hung heavily on His High Mightiness of Kandy, deprived of the chronic excitement of not infrequent bickerings with the Dutch Governors and occasional local disturbances on the borders. Instead, therefore, of formulating ponderously the customary perennial complaints and demands, the Court Officials must needs endeavour to devise some distraction for the growing *ennui* of “Our Most Excellent Sovereign Lord,” (*ape utum devi-swamiduruvanan-vahanse*).

“The time has come,” the Walrus said,
 “To talk of many things:
 Of shoes—and ships—and sealing-wax—
 Of cabbages—and kings.”

Peradventure a foreign breed of dogs and poultry would afford His pious⁷ Majesty some mild sport and amusement.

⁴ Four months after the death of J. Hertenberg, Governor, and seven prior to the arrival of his successor P. Vuyst.

⁵ *Beknopte Historie, &c.*, (Journal C. A. S. XI, 38, 1889, p. 118.)

⁶ *Loc. cit.* p. 119.

⁷ King Narendra Sinha, that “temple of wisdom, valour and virtue,” *Mahawansa*, XCVII. 23-34), was a staunch supporter of Buddhism and its votaries (see *infra*, footnote 23). He himself made two pilgrimages, to Mahiyangana and Samanta-kuta (Adam’s Peak), besides visiting “the venerable city of Anuradhapura, where he kept a great feast.”

So "the well-ordered" (*sondin sedi yedi*) Members of the Colombo Council are naively congratulated on that "most loyal devotion and love" to the Ruler of the Kandyan Kingdom which Sinhalese and Dutch alike knew full well to be absolutely non-existent; and the bizarre request is made in all gravity.

The sudden bathos, from the euphuistic preamble to the common-place "business" portion of the letter,—anti-climax contrast to the pompous ending,—is as unexpected as complete. Whether the Dutch were cajoled into a favourable response to this strange combination of dignity and seeming childishness, remains unknown; but, as seven years after (1733) "the Company was requested to send up some handsome horses as a present,"⁸ the Council had presumably been complacent since 1726, and "increase of appetite" of the Kandyan Court "grown by what it fed on."⁹

The names and offices of the more important Kandyan Chiefs of the decade covering the year of the letter's despatch may be gleaned from contemporary Reports of the Dutch Envoys to the Court of Kandy, and *sittu* grants¹⁰ issued by Kandyan Disavas.

Cornelis Takel, Ambassador in 1721,¹¹ mentions "Ranmoleke Ralehami" as First Adigar (*den eersten Ryks Adigaar*); "Maanpittije Ralehami" as Disava of the Three and Seven Korales; (*Dessave der 3 en 7 Corles*); "Dumbararatte Ralehami," Disava of Nuwarakalaviya (*Noeuwarecalawie*); "Madamwelle Ralehamie," Disava of Matale, (*Matule*); "Dodamwolle Halloewadene Ralehamie"; "Joseph d'Orta," Disava of Puttalam; besides three Mohottiyars ("Hoelangam-moewe," "Dehigamme Koditoewako," "Kaudoe-pelelle Coerwe"); and five Muhandirams ("Waragodda," "Moragamma," "Cottagal oloewe," "Heendenie," "Goddapola.") He does not specify precisely the Disavas of the Four Korales and Sabaragamuwa, having apparently alluded to them otherwise.

When the Ambassador Joan Wilhelm Schnee visited Kandy eleven years later (1732),¹² some changes in the officials had naturally occurred.

Rammalaka continued in office as Maha Nuwara Maha Adikaram Nilame;¹³ Mampitiya Ralahami¹⁴ was still Disava of the Three and Seven Korales; as was Madanwala

8 *Beknopte Historie*, &c., (Journal C. A. S. XI, 1889, 38, p. 120). Already mooted in 1732 (Journ. C. A. S. XXI, 62 p. 203.)

9 The Dutch at Colombo had only themselves to thank for these inconvenient periodical "indents" for animals and birds of foreign breed. Even as a boy prince (he was 9 years old in 1699) Narendra Sinha had doubtless acquired taste for such "regal fads," by familiarity with the sight of the rams, Japanese ducks, and other fancy fowl, unknown to Ceylon, as well as horses from Persia, with which the Dutch endeavoured to placate his Royal father. In the Dutch Archives exist copies of letters in Sinhalese to, and from, Gerrit de Heere, Governor at Colombo during the closing years of the 17th century, containing quaint allusions to the penchant of the Kandyan Monarch (Vimala Dharma Suryaya II) for expensive over-sea gifts of livestock; to provide which the harassed Dutch were often hard put to it.

10 Mr. H. W. Codrington has kindly favoured me with some dates.

11 Valentyn, 1724-6, Vol. V., *Ceylon*, pp. 352-8.

12 D. R. Colombo, 629, (Schnee); Journal C. A. S. XXI, 61, 1909, (De Saram.)

13 Rammalaka Ralahami. The Rammalaka Adigar of 1666-1680 *circa* may have been the father of this Chief. The former *pata-bendi nam* were, it is asserted, Vijayasundara Vikramasinha Chandrasekhara Amarakon Seneviratne Rajakaruna Pandita Mudiyanse. Samaradivakara Vikramasinha Mudiyanse had held the Disavaship of Sabaragamuwa, and other offices, at least from 1702 to 1715; as well as the higher dignity of Adikaram Nilame. In 1716-17 Ehelapola Vijayasundara Mudiyanse, presumably father of the greater Adigar who attained the honour twenty years later, was Maha Adikaram Nilame, and Disava of Matale as well as Basnayaka Nilame of the Maha Devale. When Rammalaka Ralahami died, or was (according to tradition) put to death, the landed property passed to others. The village is now occupied by Moors.

14 Mampitiya Navaratna Amrathasta Mudiyanse Ralahami. He retained the Disavaship of the Three and Seven Korales, with minor posts, between 1701 and 1732 at least. By 1720 he was Basnayaka Nilame of the Maha Devale. This tactful Chief seems to have saved—almost literally—the Dutch Ambassador of 1732 from the undignified spectacle of "wigs on the green"! See the amusing reference in Journal C. A. S. XXI, 62, 1909 pp. 191-3.

It was very likely a son, Vijayawardhana Amrathasta Navaratna Pandita Mudiyanse, who succeeded Dodanwala Ralahami, a Disava of Sabaragamuwa in 1739, and held that office and the Dive Nilameship, up to 1750 *circa*.

Ekanayaka Ralahami¹⁵ of Matale. Dumbara Ralahami¹⁶ had been given charge of the Four Korales, if he did not already in 1721 hold that Disavani in addition to Nuwarakalaviya. Dodanwala Ralahami,¹⁷ Halawadana Nilame, had been Disava of Sabaragamuwa since 1717 at least, and was to become Maha Adikaram Nilame in 1735. Joseph d'Orta Ralahami,¹⁸ Disava of Bintenna by 1732, must have been given that district in lieu of the Puttalam Disavani held in 1721. "Hulangomuwa" Mohottiya¹⁹ seems to have attained the rank of Second Adigar (*Deveni Adikaram Ralahami*) by 1732; the former Kodituwakku Mohottala, Dehigamma, was by then Nanayakkara Mohottala; and Hinde-niya Muhandiram may have become Kuruwe Mohottala, *vice* Kawudapalella. Kotagaloluwa figures among the Muhandirams mentioned in the Report of 1732; but of Waragoda, Moragammana, and Godapola nothing is said. Ehelapola Ralahami,²⁰ Disava of Udapalata, and Lewuke Mohottala,²¹ both mentioned in 1732, attained higher honours before many years.

The Sinhalese text of the letter is printed *verbatim et literatim*, and line for line according to the *ola*, except that the short address (which was written to the left of side B, and appeared on the outside when the palm leaf was folded), is now placed above side A.

Plate III gives a reduced photographic reproduction of both faces (A. B.) of the *ola*; Plate IV, I,²² shows portion of side A, to actual size. So comparatively few inscriptions and original documents of Narendra Sinha's reign exist, that this unimpeachable specimen of the Sinhalese character then in vogue has distinct epigraphical value.²³

15 Madanwala Ekanayaka Mudiyanse Ralahami probably succeeded Ehelapola Adigar as Disava of Matale between 1717 and 1721 and the latter may have followed in that post Monaruwila Rajapaksa Vikramasekera Mudiyanse Ralahami, who held it in 1708 (Lawrie, *Gazetteer*, II, 643). Madanwala Disa Ralahami in 1729. (See Lawrie, *loc. cit.* I, 365)

16 Dumbara Abayakon Mudiyanse Ralahami. His predecessor for the Four Korales was very likely Giragama Herat Mudiyanse Ralahami (Lawrie, *loc. cit.* II, 666, 738), who was Disava, as well as Maha Lekama, in 1714-16. In 1737 Dumbara Ralahami is styled Medamahanuwara Adikaram Nilame, as also Disava of Tambalagomuwa, Nuwarakalaviya, Satara Korale and Sat Korale, in addition to other titles.

17 Dodanwala Vikramasinha Mudiyanse Ralahami. *Sittu* prove that he was Disava of Sabaragamuwa, and Diyawadana Nilame, from 1717 to 1738 at least. In 1735 he rose to be Maha Adikaram Nilame; but seems to have lost that honour to Ehelapola by 1737, and the Sabaragamuwa Disavani to the second Mampitiya in 1739.

18 Joseph d'Orta. Though Disava of Puttalam in 1721, he yielded the post in a couple of years to Mampitiya, who held it in 1725. By 1737, if not sooner, it had passed to Kobbekaduwe Ganebandara Hamuduruvo, Nayaka of Poyamalu Vihare, Kandy, and Basnayaka Nilame of the Four Devalas of Uduuwara. It was perhaps the same member of that family who was Disava of Panava, in 1724-9.

Galagama, Disava of Bintenna, was executed in Narendra Sinha's reign (Lawrie, *loc. cit.* I, 243): if for the treason of 1708 (*Beknopte Historie*) Wattarantenna, Disava in 1711, probably succeeded him. Bintenna fell to Mampitiya in 1750.

19 Hulanguomuwa. A Galagoda Chief is stated to have been Udagampabe Adikaram in 1723. Reliable information as to the identity of the Udagampabe Adikaram Nilame of the Hulanguomuwa family in 1732 is at present wanting. He may well have been the Hulanguomuwa Vijayasekara Rajapaksa Ekanayaka Wahala Mudaliya (*sannasa*, Saka 1630, Medindina, A.D. 1709) who received the grant "for his embassy to Madurapura to bring wives for our great and divine Lord, (King Narendra Sinha), on the occasion of the incomparable wedding festivities." (Lawrie, *loc. cit.* I, 41.) The embassy of 1721 was sent to Kandy to condole with the King on the death of one of these Queens.

20 Ehelapola Vijayasundara Vikramasinha Chandrasekhara Seneviratna Jayatilaka Pandita Mudiyanse, the second member of the Ehelapola family to attain Adigar rank in the 18th century, was Maha Adikaram Nilame from 1737 to 1758; he also held the Disavani of Seven Korales, Panava, Nuwarakalaviya and Tambalagomuwa.

21 Lewuke Vijayasundara Rajakarunayaka Herat Mudiyannehe became Disava of Four Korales (*sannasa*, Saka 1665, Medindina; A.D. 1744). The inscription on the cannon presented by him to the Dutch (Journal C.A.S. XIII. 45) is dated Saka 1667 (A.D. 1745-6). The Satara Sat Korale Madige Nilame, *circa* 1708-1712, was Navaratna Guna Raja Raja Adhara Mudiyanse, who also held the office of Uda Gabada Nilame.

22 For the sake of comparison with the character of 1726. Plate IV, 2, shows photograph of an "address slip" (nothing more found) of a *talpata* sent to Laurens Van Pyl, the Dutch Governor of Ceylon from 1679-1692. The address runs:—*Karunadhipati Lorenso Pyl Governadoru umanseta penwa evu hasun pate.*

23 Four unpublished rock inscriptions of this King's reign are known:—

(i), (ii) Kohon Vihare; Saka 1643, Vesak (A. D. 1721); 1644, Nikini (A. D. 1722).

He also granted the Dambulla Vihare *tudapata* (Saka 1648; A. D. 1726)

(iii) Hanguranketa: Saka 1646, Vesak (A. D. 1724), Forbes (*Eleven Years in Ceylon*, II, 119) gives a translation, but not the text.

(iv) Dehipagoda ("Aggrabodhi") Vihare: Saka (1) 659 (A. D. 1737-8).

A
LEFT SIDE.



A
RIGHT SIDE.



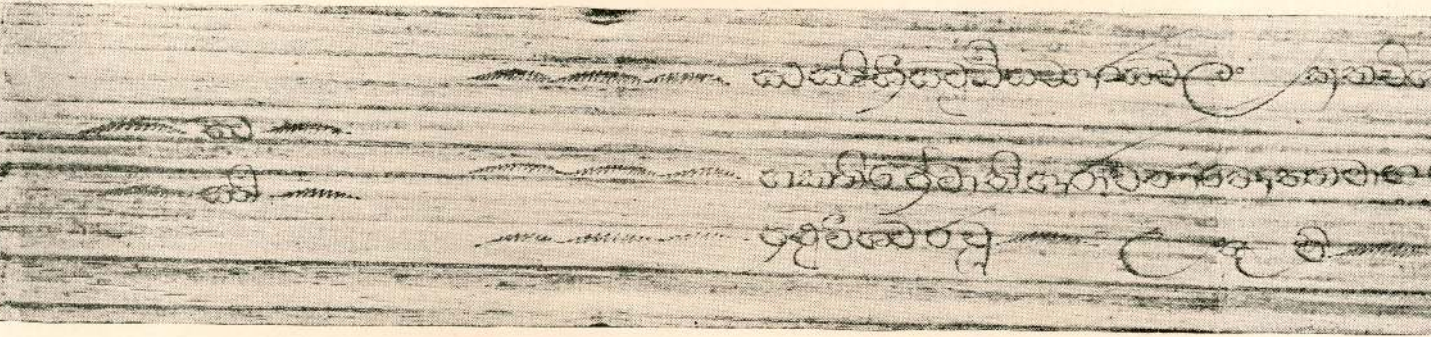
B
LEFT SIDE.



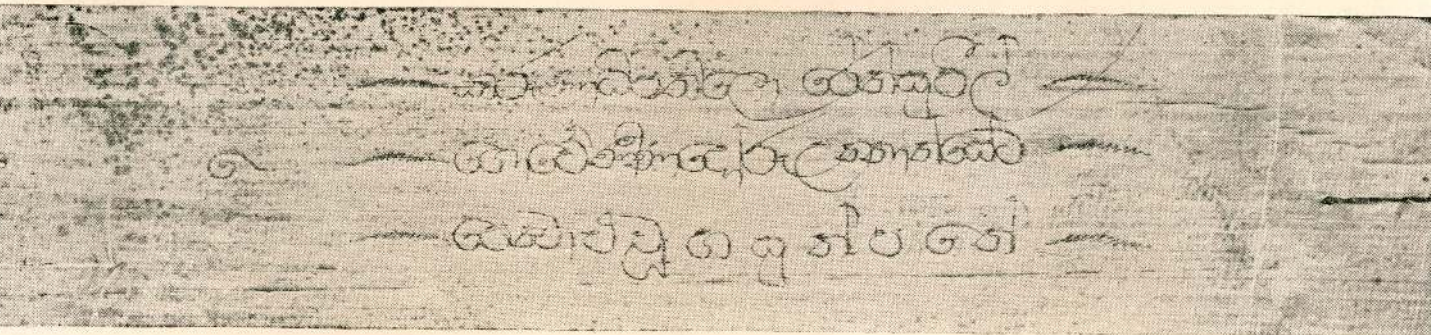
B
RIGHT SIDE.



Scale : 2/5th.



1



2

Scale: Actual size.

adorned completely with fulness of splendour (and) prosperity, endowed with far reaching (and) spotless good fortune, (and) praised for valiancy surpassing (that of) Vishnu.²⁸

It will be right seemly, if there (can) be despatched (to us) quickly by Your Honours the (live stock) specified (below, to wit), some young dogs and bitches of large breed,²⁹ (and) likewise some fowls of large species, male and female,²⁹ to be exhibited to His Most Excellent Majesty, Chief of the Earth, for (His Majesty's) entertainment³⁰

The contents (of this letter) are thus (indicated).

We (the writers) are the Chiefs and Nobles of the Court³¹ of His Most Excellent (and) Sagacious Majesty.

²⁸ *Tri-vikrama*. Name applied to Vishnu, owing to his crossing three worlds in three strides to vanquish the demon *Bali Asura*.

²⁹ *Uha mahata*. Literally "tall and large." The term is used in an earlier letter (end of 17th century) from the Kandyan Court in connection with an elusive bird, which the Chiefs called "*hansa*" (the term for the sacred goose of India) and desired the Dutch Governor to procure. In their real, or professed, ignorance of the bird meant (*hanshayayayi yana pakshiya api andunannet neta*), the Dutch enquired regarding its habitat, and asked for a drawing. These were duly sent: thereupon the "*hansa*" was declared incontinently to be the Dutch *struis* " (ostrich) " :—" a kind of bird very tall, large, and noble." (*e kiyana pakshinta stroyis yana nama ape basaven kiyavaya. Me paksha jati boho uha mahata kuletit.*)

³⁰ *Krida parakku karanaval pinisa*. Literally "for purposes of sport and recreation." The exact phrase occurs in like connection in a somewhat earlier letter, written to Governor Gerrit de Heere on behalf of the King of Kandy. *Parakki*: Tamil, "amusement," "sport."

³¹ *Maha Wasala Pradhani Radalavaru*. The Dutch Governors in their letters styled the Kandyan Court Officials *Maha Wasala Pradhanivu Ralahamilla*.



Notes & Queries.

BETEL.

By A. MENDIS GUNASEKARA, MUDALIYAR.

“**B**ETEL” (*Piper betel*) is one of those words of Indian origin for which European languages are indebted to the Portuguese. It, as well as its equivalents *bettila* in Malayalam and *vettilai* in Tamil, may be traced to Sanskrit *patra* “leaf;” and this derivation is supported by the form *betre* (used by Garcias de Horta¹) and by the fact that the term *pan*² (Pali *panna*, Sinhalese *pan*) commonly used in India for “betel,” as well as its corresponding Sanskrit word *parna*, literally means “leaf.” Hence the word betel must have been first used for the leaf and afterwards for the creeper which produces it. The common Sinhalese term *bulat* may also have originally meant “betel-leaf;” for it is the equivalent of Pali *tambulapatta* and Sanskrit *tambula-patra*, literally “betel-leaf.”

The betel, which belongs to the pepper family of plants, is grown for the sake of its leaves: these are used for various purposes. The betel-leaf is held as a clean and propitious thing, and its importance is at once indicated by the use of terms designating the leaf. It is offered with flowers at Buddhist and Hindu temples, and at ceremonies performed to propitiate gods and demons. Money offered at such ceremonies is generally wrapped in betel-leaves. Invitations to wedding feasts are made by giving betel to the principal invited person present, betel being placed on the circular brass tray called in Sinhalese *bulat-tattuwa* and *ilat-tattuwa*. Giving betel is done in lieu of shaking hands when meeting or departing. At weddings, the bridegroom’s party is received by offering betel arranged on trays; and the bride and bridegroom, when departing from her house, “take leave” by giving betel to the relations and friends present. When a relation or a friend pays a visit, he is offered betel, with the ingredients necessary for chewing; and, in the case of an important person, the betel is placed on a tray and presented. Money presented at weddings and other important occasions is also generally wrapped in a betel leaf, or placed on a betel tray. When a person goes to a priest, a teacher, a doctor or other person of position, he generally takes, as a present, a small bundle of betel (called in Sinhalese *bulat-hurulla* and *bulat-ata*), consisting of forty leaves, with a leaf of tobacco and a few areca-nuts placed on it, to be presented to him.

The chief use of betel is for chewing. This practice has existed in the East from time immemorial: the Sinhalese must have used it even before they colonised Ceylon. Even foreign nations, such as the Portuguese, indulged in it. Walters says:—

In former times the Portuguese at Goa became so fond of betel that their women used to chew it even in bed.³

¹ Walters, *Palms and Pearls, Ceylon*, p. 247.

² Hindi.

³ Walters, *loc. cit.*, p. 248.

The ingredients, commonly used with betel, are prepared lime, areca-nut, and tobacco, to which catechu, cardamom, mace, nutmeg, and clove, are sometimes added. It is believed that chewing betel sweetens the breath, strengthens the stomach and deadens the cravings of hunger.

The practice of chewing betel, commenced owing to its beneficial effects, has now grown into a vice in Ceylon; as it has in India where there are separate castes of people to grow and sell betel and where

Every native who can afford to do so, will chew at least half a dozen *pan* packets every day; while some are so fond of this little luxury that they cannot do without at least one hundred in a day.⁴

Betel, if judiciously used, should be very beneficial. Its medicinal qualities are thus explained:—

After dinner, aloe-smoking or the chewing of *pan* (betel-leaf) with certain aromatics and spices is advisable, for it has the property of expelling the phlegm which increases after dinner. The *pan* is astringent, exhilarant, aromatic, stimulant, carminative, aphrodisiac, 'light,' and heating. Its medicinal properties are accounted useful. The various ingredients mixed in certain proportions with the betel-leaves are catechu, lime, areca-nut, cardamom, clove, nutmeg, and some other spices. In the masticatory to be taken in the morning, the quantity of areca-nut may be a little more than at other times; at noon, catechu may be a little in excess; and at night, the proportion of lime may be a trifle more. It removes all fetor from the breath, imparts fragrance to it, and improves the voice. The *pan* is not beneficial to those who are suffering from tooth, and eye, diseases, or who have taken an aperient, or are intoxicated.⁵

Betel is thus referred to in the *Hitopadesa*.

"Betel is pungent, bitter, spicy, sweet, alkaline, astringent; a carminative, a destroyer of phlegm, a vermifuge; a sweetener of the breath, an ornament of the mouth, a remover of impurities, and a kindler of the flame of love. O friend! these thirteen properties of betel are hard to be met with, even in heaven."

THE SINHALESE MONTHS AND THEIR ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS.

By G. SAMARANAYAKA.

THE time occupied by the Sun's apparent circuit in the heavens through the fixed stars (the twelve signs of the Zodiac) consists of about 365 days. This period, called a year, is divided into twelve *Solar months*, (Sinhalese *Surya masa*.)

These months, according as the Sun enters the respective signs, are:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>Mesha Ravi</i> (Sun in Aries), | 7. <i>Tula Ravi</i> (Sun in Libra), |
| 2. <i>Vrashabha Ravi</i> (Sun in Taurus), | 8. <i>Vraccika Ravi</i> (Sun in Scorpio), |
| 3. <i>Mithuna Ravi</i> (Sun in Gemini), | 9. <i>Dhanu Ravi</i> (Sun in Sagittarius), |
| 4. <i>Kataka Ravi</i> (Sun in Cancer), | 10. <i>Makara Ravi</i> (Sun in Capricornus), |
| 5. <i>Sinha Ravi</i> (Sun in Leo), | 11. <i>Kumbha Ravi</i> (Sun in Aquarius), |
| 6. <i>Kanya Ravi</i> (Sun in Virgo), | 12. <i>Mina Ravi</i> (Sun in Pisces). |

⁴ J. Nath Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects*, p. 291.

⁵ H. H. Sir Bhagvat Sinh Jee, *A Short History of the Aryan Medical Science*, p. 69.

According to the Sinhalese *Lita*, or Almanac, the Sun enters Aries (*Mesha-rashi*) on, or about, the 13th of April ; Taurus (*Vrashabha-rashi*) on, or about, the 13th of May ; and so forth. So that

1. <i>Mesha Ravi</i>	embraces part of April and	7. <i>Tula Ravi</i>	embraces part of Oct. and
	May.		November.
2. <i>Vrashabha Ravi</i>	do May and	8. <i>Vraccika Ravi</i>	do Nov. and
	June.		December.
3. <i>Mithuna Ravi</i>	do June and	9. <i>Dhanu Ravi</i>	do Dec. and
	July.		January.
4. <i>Kataka Ravi</i>	do July and	10. <i>Makara Ravi</i>	do Jan. and
	August.		February.
5. <i>Sinha Ravi</i>	do August and	11. <i>Kumbha Ravi</i>	do Feb. and
	September.		March.
6. <i>Kanya Ravi</i>	do Sept. and	12. <i>Mina Ravi</i>	do March and
	October.		April.

Besides these there are the *Lunar months*, which are reckoned from one new moon to the next new moon, or from one full moon to the next full moon. The former is the method now generally adopted in the Sinhalese *Lita*.

The method of reckoning the Lunar months is briefly as follows :—

A Lunar month consists of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days nearly. Hence about $12\frac{1}{3}$ rd Lunar months make up the twelve months of the Solar year of 365 days. Consequently, there is a tendency of the Lunar months to take place about one-third of a Lunar month, *i.e.*, eleven days, or nearly, earlier than they did the preceding year. Hence the *Vesak* month, which commenced last year, 1914, on May 9th, commenced this year, 1915, on May 28th, and it will commence next year, 1916, A.C., on, or about, April 21st. But the month of *Vesak* is never allowed to begin earlier than April 13th,—the approximate date of the Sun's arrival in Aries. This oscillation, as it were, of the Lunar months, makes each Lunar month commence in one of two English months in different years.

When *Bak* begins in March, it ends in April ; it therefore partakes of both March and April : when *Bak* begins in April, it ends in May ; so it embraces parts of April and May.

The English equivalent of *Bak*, therefore, becomes March-April, (or) April-May. Hence the English equivalent of *Vesak* becomes April-May, (or) May-June ; and it is so with all the other months.

The following list sets out this apparent confusion¹ :—

Sinhalese Month.	English Month.	Sinhalese Month.	English Month.
1. <i>Bak</i>	March-April, (or) April-May.	4. <i>Esela</i>	June-July, (or) July-August.
2. <i>Vesak</i>	April-May, (or) May-June.	5. <i>Nikini</i>	July-August, (or) August-Sept.
3. <i>Poson</i>	May-June, (or) June-July.	6. <i>Binara</i>	August-Sept., (or) Sept.-Oct.

1. It will now be clear why Clough, *Sinhalese Dictionary*, makes *Vesak*=April-May, as well as "*Bak*"=April-May. The Dictionary is right.

Sinhalese Month.	English Month.	Sinhalese Month.	English Month.
7. <i>Wap</i>	Sept.-Oct., (or) Oct.-Nov.	10. <i>Durutu</i>	Dec.-Jan., (or) Jan.-Feb.
8. <i>Il</i>	Oct.-Nov., (or) Nov.-Dec.	11. <i>Navam</i>	Jan.-Feb., (or) Feb.-March.
9. <i>Unduwap</i>	Nov.-Dec., (or) Dec.-Jan.	12. <i>Medindina</i>	Feb.-Mar., (or) Mar.-April.

In 1908 the month of *Vesak* commenced on the 1st of May, and, consisting of only about 29½ days, ended also within that month. The English equivalent of *Vesak* was, therefore, in that year, May alone; and an event that took place in that May would be rightly recorded as having occurred in *Vesak*. In like manner *Poson* may apply solely to June; and so on with other months.

The twelve Solar months are generally known by the names of the Sinhalese months. Thus:—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Mesha Ravi</i> (April 13 to May 13) = <i>Bak</i> . | 7. <i>Tula Ravi</i> (Oct. 16 to Nov. 14) = <i>Wap</i> . |
| 2. <i>Vrashabha Ravi</i> (May 14 to June 13) = <i>Vesak</i> | 8. <i>Vraccika Ravi</i> (Nov. 15 to Dec. 14) = <i>Il</i> . |
| 3. <i>Mithuna Ravi</i> (June 14 to July 13) = <i>Poson</i> . | 9. <i>Dhanu Ravi</i> (Dec. 15 to Jan. 12) =
<i>Unduwap</i> . |
| 4. <i>Kataka Ravi</i> (July 14 to Aug. 15) = <i>Esela</i> . | 10. <i>Makara Ravi</i> (Jan. 13 to Feb. 12) = <i>Durutu</i> . |
| 5. <i>Sinha Ravi</i> (Aug. 16 to Sept. 15) = <i>Nikini</i> . | 11. <i>Kumbha Ravi</i> (Feb. 12 to March 13) =
<i>Navam</i> , and |
| 6. <i>Kanya Ravi</i> (Sept. 16 to Oct. 15) = <i>Binara</i> . | 12. <i>Mina Ravi</i> (March 14 to April 12) =
<i>Medindina</i> . |

PATTINI DEVI.

By W. A. DE SILVA.

THERE are a number of Sinhalese booklets dealing with the story and worship of the goddess Pattini. The following are some:—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Ankeli-upata</i> , (Origin of the game of horn-pulling.) | 4. <i>Pattini Yaddinna</i> , (Prayers to Pattini.) |
| 2. <i>Pattini Pidima</i> (Offerings to Pattini.) | 5. <i>Salamba Kathava</i> , (Story of the Anklet.) |
| 3. <i>Pattini Vilapaya</i> , (Lamentations of Pattini.) | 6. <i>Salamba Santiya</i> , (Blessings from the Anklet.) |
| 7. <i>Vesa Medima</i> , (Troubles from a harlot.) | |

The account of Pattini, given by Mrs. Ludmila Meerwarth-Levina in her Paper on "The Hindu Goddess Pattini,"¹ follows the book *Vesa Medima*.

The worship of the goddess Pattini is in no way a pre-Buddhistic faith in Ceylon. It is of Tamil origin; and the story and the verses sung at Pattini ceremonies are derived

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Part, I, Page 29.

from the Tamil.² The Sinhalese version of *Salamba Kathava* has a number of verses partly in the Tamil language.³

Gajaba Kathava mentions that King Gaja Bahu I. brought back to Ceylon, from the Soli country, the anklet of Pattini, and books connected with Pattini worship, after his successful invasion of Southern India in the second century A. C.⁴

This may be a mere tradition incorporated into the story of King Gaja Bahu subsequently; for Pattini worship appears to have been introduced to Ceylon at a much later period, probably in the fifteenth century A. C.

Pattini is a generic name given to a female possessing great spiritual powers.⁵ There have been many Pattinis. The Pattini mentioned in the story, to whom offerings are now made, was known as *Orumala*.⁶ Orumala Pattini does not appear to have any connection with Kali-worship; and she is in no sense considered a goddess-consort.

Orumala Pattini is mentioned as being born in a mango—by which is doubtless meant that she was born in a mango orchard of the city of Madura, and was sent in a boat (*oruwa*) from the mango grove to Mintondupura, where she was adopted by a lady by the name of Manayar Marrakal.

When she attained the age of sixteen, she was given in marriage to Palanga, son of Matuma Raja, and thenceforward lived in the house of her husband's parents.⁷

There is no authority for the statement that Pattini remained a virgin, and that Palanga, with her consent, used to visit a courtesan. On the contrary, the accounts given in the various books, clearly state that they lived as husband and wife, and that Pattini disapproved of Palanga's visits to harlots, though her love for him made her patient and self-sacrificing.⁸

Mrs. Meerwarth-Levina seems to have misunderstood the villagers, from whom she got the information, regarding the belief that a woman has to obtain the permission of her husband and acquire merit to change her sex in subsequent births. A belief does exist that a woman can be born a man, if she performs meritorious deeds and lives constant and faithful to her husband. No Buddhist believes that Pattini is going to be Maitri Buddha: she will "see" Maitri Buddha. The aspiration of the average Buddhist is "to see" Maitri Buddha, as then he will have a good hope of attaining *Nirvana*.

2. *Pattini Pidima* states that the verses existed in Tamil, and that the Sinhalese version is made according to the narrative given in *Kannuram kata*.

3. *Salamba Kathava* contains a number of verses wherein Tamil phrases and words are used, e.g. verses 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 99, 102.

4. There are at least three books which give the story of King Gaja Babu I. All these mention the introduction of Pattini worship from *Soli Rata* to Ceylon.

Two verses taken from *Gajabakathava* and *Gajabapuvata* respectively state that King Gaja Bahu brought back to Ceylon the *Patra Datu* (Buddha's Bowl Relic), and the golden anklet of goddess Pattini, with Tamil and Grantha books of songs used in Pattini worship; and that the king ordained the repeating of Buddhist verses (*Pirit*) three times a week and once a week the story of Pattini in Tamil verse.

5. The Queen of Madura, when shown the anklet supposed to have been stolen from her, declared that it was not her's, but looked like one that belonged to a Pattini. *Salamba Kathava* has a reference.

6. *Pattini Yaddinna* gives this list of Pattinis:—*Suranaga, Manimegha, Gintjala, Mantmala, Strimala, Iytranda* and *Orumala*.

7. *Pattini Pidima* gives particulars of this story.

8. *Salamba Kathava* mentions that Pattini and Palanga lived as husband and wife.

9. There are a number of verses in *Pattini Pidima*, stating that, as Pattini possessed the virtue of being faithful to her husband, she could expect to be born a male.

Pattini Hella (verse 140) also mentions this, adding that Pattini through her virtues expects "to see" the coming Maitri Buddha.

THE MĒKHALĀDAMA.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

WHAT was, and is, the *mekhaladama*, or *mevuldama* as it is more commonly known in Sinhalese?

According to the *Sabdastoma Mahanidi*, a Sanskrit work, and Wilson's *Sanskrit Dictionary* :—

Mekhala=(1) a woman's girdle or zone; (2) a sword-knot, a string or chain fastened to the hilt, and in fighting bound round the waist to secure the weapon; (3) a sword-belt; (4) the edge or swell of a mountain; (5) the Nermada river; (6) the sacrificial string of a Brahmin when made of deer skin; (7) a sort of figure made on the four sides of the hole in which sacrificial fire is offered; (8) a triple zone or string worn round the loins by the three first classes. The girdle of the *Brahmin* should be of the fibres of the *munja*, or of *kusa* grass, that of the *Kshetriya* of a *murva* or bow-string, and that of the *Vaisya* of a thread of the *s'an'a*, &c.

Clough, (*Sinhalese-English Dictionary*), defines the word as "a woman's ornamented girdle or zone; also the belt round the waist to which the sword is fastened."

Was this ornament a girdle or zone worn by Sinhalese women outside their waist-cloth or inside? The popular impression at the present day seems to be,—and it is also the opinion of scholars,—that the ornament was an *outward* one. And this view appears to be borne out, in the main, by the references to the *mevuldama* found in Sinhalese literature from the 15th century, A.D.

Take the *Selalihini Sandesaya*, for instance :—

Selalihini Sandesaya.

Text.	Verse 9.	Translation. ¹
සමනල මුහුල මහ සමුදුර මෙවුල් බ සුලකල පුවල ලකහන සිර යොවුන් ව තර කල විසල් වාසල් යතුරු මෙ නුව බැඳූ හල රුවන් නනපට කියලිය පවු	ර ර ර ර	This city's wall with strong broad gates and bars, The jewelled breast-band represents, assumed By the fair proud dame Lanka in her youth, Her crest Samanta, and the sea her zone. ²
Text.	Verse 43.	Translation.
ලවසා සුපුල් කඩුපුල් මල් නිල් වර සලසා උකුල වට රසුදුල මිණි මෙවු සකසා දෙනන හර සලනෙන් කැර සිසි දෙපසා ඉසින නිල් පැහැ තෙත් දිඟු පුලු	ල ල ල ල	(Lovely girls of Naga race) whose long large eyes Shed their blue beams on both sides, and whose breasts Are fitly cooled with sandal and with strings Of pearls, whose loins are richly girt around With bands of brilliants glittering with rays, Whose tresses dark are decked with opening flowers of kadupul.

1. Macready, *Sela Lihini Sandese*, 1865.

2. For a similar passage, vide the description of the City of Kusawat in Parakrama Bahu's *Kavasilumina* :—

*Pura katha nubanda banda magavuru ukulu watahi
Sahagum binguela piyum pirikiyali rasandam*

Translation: "Its tank (around the fort), teeming with lotuses, the resort of the ever-humming bee, seemed as it were a girdle worn around the waist-like fortifications of the city-like woman."

<i>Text.</i>	<i>Verse 56.</i>	<i>Translation.</i>
ඔද වැඹි කෙළි මහල් ලැබැ තුටු නිසා ක	ල	What time the Night Queen pleased with festive games
සද සක් මදෙසිනැද දෙන දුනු කැන් දුහ	ල	Unwearying, from out the moon's chank-box
සොද පුර අනන පහ සුමුහින් පැහැ ඊදු	ල	Forth taking, gives the silky veil of light,
සෙද දුනි අඹර මතු ඇය රැස් මිණි මෙටු	ල	The graceful Lady-City, from the shrines
		Of glittering palaces, gently withdraws
		Her belt of rays, and lays it on the sky.

Similar references occur in the *Parevi*, *Hansa*, *Tisara*, *Kokila*, and *Gira*, *Sandesas*, as also in the *Kavyasekharaya*; but there is one verse at least in the latter work which seems to imply that the *mekhaladama*, or *mevuldama*, was, originally at any rate, not an outward ornament but one worn *beneath the dress*. This verse follows, together with another of almost exactly similar import from the *Selalihini Sandesaya*:—

Kavyasekharaya.

<i>Text.</i>	<i>Pt. vi, Verse 23.</i>	<i>Translation.</i>
වෙරළ මිණි රැසඹු	ස්	The waists of those fair maidens were beauti-
ඉසිනෙව් වවොර රඹ ග	ස්	fied by their <i>mevuldama</i> (girdle) which, with the
මෙවුල් දම එවිලැ	ස්	water-like rays of its catseyes and (other) precious
ලකළ කලෙ ලෙල පුලිලිකුල දෙ	ස්	stones, seemed as it were to sprinkle drops of water
		on their plantain-stem (like) thighs.

Selalihini Sandesaya.

<i>Text.</i>	<i>Verse 86.</i>	<i>Translation.</i>
ලකුළු පුලිලිකුල වට බිමැ එ සුරවි	රැ	From lapislazuli's concentrated light
වෙරළ මිණි කැලුම් පතරන් මෙවුල තු	රැ	Amid the <i>girdle</i> which adorns the world
නැවුළු සොදුරැ සසිලිටු වවොර රඹතු	රැ	Of the circumference of that god's broad lap,
බැබළු සිලිල් ඉසිනා විලස සිරිදු	රැ	His thighs, large, beautiful, and polished,
		Resembling plantain-stems, appear as if
		They sprinkled sparkling water drops around.*

This view, that the *mekhaladama* was an ornament worn beneath the dress,⁴ finds confirmation in older classical Sinhalese literature.

For instance:—

Asakda⁵

<i>Text.</i>	<i>Translation.</i>
රතන දිදි ඉහිල් වසන තුරෙන් රසන්දම්	After putting thy red hand through the loose
කියව කර හලො පැහැබර දිඬු නුවන්ලො	(-worn) garment and shaking the <i>Mekhaladamaya</i> ⁶
	and, fixing thy glittering long eyes, speak (i.e.,
	describe what thou beholdest).

Another apt illustration occurs in the earliest of the known *Sandesas*:—

3. Macready, to whom the meaning of these lines appeared "rather obscure," guessed correctly however at the poet's idea, which was that, in consequence of the numerous jewels, such as lapislazuli and catseye attached to the god's (*Vibhisana's*) belt, the god's thighs, large, beautiful and smooth as plantain-stems, seemed as if they were sprinkling sparkling drops of water.

4. It varied in monetary value according to the degree of wealth of the particular wearer.

5. *Sidat-Sangarava*, Chap. I. James de Alwis, in his translation of this work, has rendered this verse somewhat inaccurately: he has taken *kara halala* as meaning "by moving thy neck," whereas the sense of the passage indicates that it should be: "after shaking" (*halala kara*.) There is no justification at all for the translation of *rasandam* by "which are secured by a girdle."

6. The Sinhalese word in the text is *rasandam* (*rasandadamaya*) which, according to the *Nandavaliya*, is another word for *Mekhaladamaya*. Vide also the *Sadamuktavali* where *mekhala*=*havadiya*, *rasandadamaya*, *mevula*.

Mayura Sandesaya.

Text.	Verse 84.	Translation.
සයුරු බොමින් කුඹුසොන් දුටුසෙ මිණි ප බා	බා	The rakes with eager mind declare : "Just as the Rishi Agastya, swallowing the waters of the Ocean, beheld the precious stones (in its bed), we, if great Brahma will enable us to drink of the waters of this lake, shall (likewise) be afforded the sight of the gem-encrusted <i>girdles</i> glistening round the waists of these girls indulging in water-sports."
පොකුණු බොහුව අපවන් සැලසිනම් බ බා	බා	
මෙදිය කෙලෙනවුන් ඉනමිණි මෙවුල් සු බා	බා	
දකුම් එනන සලෙලුවො කියති සිනු ලො බා	බා	

If the *mekhaladama* was in fact an outwardly-worn ornament, manifestly the "rakes" would not have longed to "plunge" into water to behold that which they could well have seen on *terra firma* and with infinitely less trouble!

Even in the later *Sandesas* we find evidence of the survival of this ornament as one of inward use. The following two verses, (the translations of which are not given for reasons of delicacy), should help to resolve any further doubt on the point.

Parevi Sandesaya.

Hansa Sandesaya.

Verse 173.	Text.	Verse 88.	Text.
අැසින් හන් වසන්තන් වණන්සුන්	කලී න්නේ	මසෙක් ගොදුරු පතා මෙවුලේ මිණිග	තා
රුවන් වන් රසන් දම් කැලීමකැන්	න්නේ	එලදන් බියපතා ගත වෙවුලුම් ග	තා
මවුන් දුන් වෙසින්ගන් සකක්මෙන්	න්නේ	එමතු නොවෙයි ඉතා නිල් සෙවෙලැසි සි	ත
අදුන් වන් ඔවන්වන් විදුන්වන්	න්නේ	කොමල හනන් මුතා සරල් වරල් ග	තා
	එතැ		

What then was this ornament worn originally inside (under) the cloth, and is it in use as such at the present day?

In the opinion of the writer, it must have been something not unlike the heart-shaped ornament, held in position by a chain or string round the waist, which to this day is not infrequently seen worn in front by naked little "street Arabs," by Tamil and Mohamedan children, both girls and (more rarely) boys, for an obvious purpose. The Tamil name for it is *aremude*.

This view finds strong confirmation in the derivation of the word *mekhaladama*. Coming from *mehanassa khassa mala*, it became *mehana* "sexual organ," *kha* "space," *mala* "chain" or "ornament:" this, in turn, developed into *mekhala*, the word *dama* meaning, "a chain, cord, or string."

The *mekhaladama*, either as an outward or inward ornament, is now not in use among Sinhalese women. Like many another ancient article of personal adornment, it has been consigned to the "limbo of forgotten things."

As an outward ornament, which in time took the form of a belt, more or less gem-bedecked and not infrequently hung with little tinkling bells, its use was favoured largely by the Nautch girls who, till the early part of the 16th century, were regularly attached to the Devalas, such as those at Kelaniya, Dondra, &c., scattered throughout the country.

7. Agastya, poet, saint, and sage, was son of Mitra and Varuna by Urvari, and is fabled to have taken into the palms of his hands, and to have swallowed the waters of the Ocean, for the sake of the Celestials. He is supposed to have been the framer of the Tamil language, which he learnt from Skandam, son of Siva.

The *Selalihini Sandesaya* gives a vivid description of these *danseuses*, "fair as Kinaru maids":—

Selalihini Sandesaya.

<i>Text.</i>	<i>Verse 74.</i>	<i>Translation.</i>
ලකල පුලුල කුලුබඳ මිණි මෙවු	ලීලා	Note all the beauties of the dancing girls
සමග රන් සලක රවි දී වෙවු	ලීලා	Striking their lotus feet (upon the earth)
වයන පදව තබමින් පද කම	ලීලා	To beaten measure, making tinkling sound,
රහන ලදුන් බල රූසිරි සිය	ලීලා	Clinking their golden anklets, and the <i>zones</i>
		Gem-spangled that surround their fair broad hips.

The last Sinhalese women to wear the *mekhaladama* in this form, may have been the women of Kotte (Jayawardhanapura), of whom the *Parevi Sandesaya* tells us:

Parevi Sandesaya.

<i>Text.</i>	<i>Verse 11.</i>	<i>Translation.</i>
මෙපුර හනන් නන පිඬුවැනි යොවුනිනි	ඊ	The swelling breasts of the women of this city seem to gush forth with youth, and, overwhelmed by their weight, the tinkling girdles around the waists appear to bemoan their lot ; whilst the sounding anklets, bedecked with gems, seem to rejoice over ankles more exquisite than peacocks' necks.
එබර සුලා හබනෙව් නද මෙවුල් සි	ඊ	
පවර මොතර කර දහව් තමනොස	ඊ	
නිතර කියන වැනි මිණි නුපුර ගිහි	ඊ	



Literary Register.

THE MALDIVE ISLANDS: 1602-1607.

Edited by H. C. P. BELL.

INTRODUCTION.

Summarised Description.

THE Maldives are a large Archipelago of coral islands lying between $7^{\circ} 6' N.$ and $0^{\circ} 42' S.$ Lat., and between $72^{\circ} 33'$ and $73^{\circ} 44'$ E. Long. The northernmost atoll lies about 300 miles south-west of Cape Comorin; from Ceylon the nearest point is distant about 400 miles. North of Ihavandifolu Atoll, the most northern bank, separated by a wide stretch of sea, lies Minikoi (*Malikai*) atoll and island, politically belonging to the Laccadives, but geographically to the Maldives. Of the large number of banks some atolls have encircling reefs (*faro*), more or less perfect, whilst others are made up of innumerable small ring-shaped reefs, which dot the whole but may, at the circumference, tend to form a rim.¹

The Maldivian group is divided administratively into thirteen Atolls (*M. Atolu*). From north to south these are:—

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1.—Tiladummati Atoll.
 (i) Ihavandifolu Atoll.
 (ii) Tiladummati Atoll.</p> <p>2.—Miladummadulu Atoll.
 (i) Makunudu (Malcolm Atoll).
 (ii) Miladummadulu Atoll.</p> <p>3.—Fadiffolu Atoll.</p> <p>4.—Malosmadulu Atoll.
 (i) North Malosmadulu Atoll.
 (ii) South Malosmadulu Atoll.
 (iii) Goidu (Horsburgh Atoll).</p> <p>5.—Male Atoll.
 (i) Kaharidu (Kardiva Island).
 (ii) Gaufaru Reef and Island.
 (iii) North Male Atoll.
 (iv) South Male Atoll.</p> | <p>6.—Ari Atoll.
 (i) Toddu Island.
 (ii) Rasdu (Ross Atoll).
 (iii) Ari Atoll.</p> <p>7.—Felidu Atoll.
 (i) Felidu Atoll.
 (ii) Wattaru Reef.</p> <p>8.—Mulaku Atoll.</p> <p>9.—Nilandu Atoll.
 (i) North Nilandu Atoll.
 (ii) South Nilandu Atoll.</p> <p>10.—Kolumadulu Atoll.</p> <p>11.—Haddummati Atoll.</p> <p>12.—Huvadu (Suvadiva) Atoll.</p> <p>13.—Addu Atoll.
 (i) Mulaku Island.
 (ii) Addu Atoll.</p> |
|--|---|

Male Island, the capital, where the Sultan resides, is situated in lat. $4^{\circ} 10' N.$, long. $73^{\circ} 30' E.$, at the southern extreme of the North Male Atoll.

1. Stanley Gardiner, *The Botany of the Maldivian Islands*, 1901, pp. 3-5.

The Channels which divide the Atols are in some cases deep and safe; but others are intricate and only fit for steamers, as the currents run strong through them. The four larger are:—

1. The Kardiva, or Five-degree Channel (*Kaharidu Kadu*), between Fadiffolu, Malosmadulu, and Goidu (Horsburgh) Atols, on the N.W., and Male and Ari Atols, on the S.E., 24 miles in breadth. Kardiva Island (*Kaharidu*) lies athwart the way in mid-channel.
2. The Veimandu, or Kolumadulu Channel (*Veimandu Kadu*), between Kolumadulu and Haddummati Atols, 15 miles in breadth.
3. The One-and-a-half-degree Channel, 50 miles broad, between Haddummati and Huvadu (Suvadiva) Atols, the widest and safest of all.
4. The Equatorial Channel, between Huvadu (Suvadiva) and Addu Atols, 46 miles in breadth, but having the island *Fua Mulaku* lying a little S.E. of its centre.²

The islets vary in size, from tiny banks nearly awash to real islands—such as Ghang (Haddummati Atol) which is five miles long,—though the latter are rarely more than five to six feet above high-water mark. Some islands are in process of formation, and constantly increasing in size; others are gradually washing away. Many islands contain fresh water lagoons, and most have fresh water at a little depth, easily obtainable by sinking wells.

The climate is equatorial, moist, equable, with a mean temperature of about 81 F. probably,—in fact much that of the extreme south-west of Ceylon. The rainfall is greater in the Southern Atols. All islands that have any available ground for vegetable growth are more or less covered with plants,—often with dense scrub of the same general type as the coast jungle of south-west Ceylon. Most islands of any size are inhabited, and the most conspicuous cultivation is that of coconuts. The Northern and the Southern Atols are more fertile than the Central group, and throughout the Archipelago the eastern islands are more productive than the western.³

The Maldivians have been Muhammadans since the 13th century at least. Their language is closely allied to the older Sinhalese or Elu.

Voyage of François Pyrard.

In 1887 and 1889 the Hakluyt Society issued as volumes 76, 77, 80 of its series of Voyages and Travels never before published, or so rare as to call for present-day editions, a complete English translation of the "*Voyage de François Pyrard de Laval*"⁴ to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil.

This translation, like all the works of that select Society, is not readily accessible to the ordinary reader; and this applies with equal, if not greater, force to the earlier English abridgments which preceded the first entire translation,—that of the Hakluyt Society,—into that language.

2. Bell, *The Maldive Islands* (Ceylon Sess. Pap. XLIII, 1881), p. 9.

3. Stanley Gardiner, *loc. cit.*

4. "The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil." Translated into English from the third French edition of 1619, and edited, with Notes, by Albert Gray, formerly of the Ceylon Civil Service assisted by H. C. P. Bell, of the Ceylon Civil Service. Three Volumes. London, 1887-89.

Among such preliminary versions in English of Pyrard's Voyage, the first three, it is believed, appeared in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*,⁵ Captain Symson's *New Voyage to the East Indies*, 1715, and Harris's *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. I, 1744. All three have been long out of print.

It will not be amiss, therefore, to reprint in the pages of the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* the abridged, and *pro tanto* reliable, accounts of the Voyage published by the two latter; no less on account of the political connection of the Maldives with Ceylon than for the sake of the interest attaching to a description (in great part true at this day) of a group of Islands still but little known, and for the very quaintness of the old English narration clothed, as it is, in the simple phraseology of the early eighteenth century.

The two accounts, whilst differing in verbiage, supplement each other sufficiently to justify the publication of both, side by side.

Captain Symson⁶ introduces Pyrard to the reader in a Preamble of brazen effrontery, which he caps by dating the wreck of the *Corbin* in 1695 to fit in with his own Voyage of 1701-2. This is how he lies:—

During our Stay at Surat [1701-2] I had the Fortune to meet with a French Gentleman, who had escap'd of a Ship of that Nation, which was cast away on the Maldivy Islands. This Man, having liv'd there several Years before he could get away, was perfectly acquainted with all that belong'd to the said Island, and us'd to entertain me with an Account of what he knew concerning them. I was so taken with his Relation, that understanding he was in Want, as having lost all, and being destitute, 'till he could get into his own Country, I prevail'd with him, by Means of a Present, and some small Obligations, to give me a Copy of the Observations he had made in the aforesaid Maldivy Islands; which having never yet, that I know of, been describ'd by any of our Travellers, as not being resorted to, I have thought would be acceptable to all curious Persons.

On the other hand Harris,⁷ in his Introduction, is quite honest:—

There are some Voyages and Discoveries which never lose their value, because never superseded by any thing more excellent in their kind; and this we may truly affirm to be the Case of this Voyage. It contains a very curious, accurate, and circumstantial Account of a Country and People, who, tho' they lie at the very Entrance of the Indies, were never described before, nor has any subsequent Account of them appeared capable of entering into any Degree of Comparison with this.

Our Author appears to have been a Man of good Sense, and great Observation. He was led to travel from a Humour common enough, the Desire of seeing new and strange Things; but, at the same time, this Humour of his was regulated by a Disposition of looking to the Bottom of whatever appeared worthy of Notice, and of labouring to acquire whatever Talents were necessary to make so thorough an Inquisition. It was from these Principals that he examined carefully, and recorded faithfully whatever came within the Compass of his Notice; and we may rest satisfied that he has not reported Things barely as they appeared, but as they were.

Since Pyrard's five years' sojourn at the Maldives, between 1602-1607, comparatively few Europeans have landed there; and most of these have been shipwrecked mariners. Even at this day, except for occasional official visits to Male by British War

5. Part I, p. 579; Part II, pp. 1643-54 of the 1625 Edition. Harris (Introduction, p. ii) had a very poor opinion of this Collection of Voyages, but thought highly of Hakluyt:—

"M. *Hackluyt* was an able, ingenious, diligent, accurate, and useful Compiler, and his Collections are as valuable as any Thing in their Kind. On the other Hand *Purchas's* Pilgrims are a very voluminous, and, for the most Part, a very trifling and insignificant Collection: His Manner, for I cannot call it Method, is irregular and confused, his Judgment weak and pedantick, his Remarks often silly, and always little to the Purpose."

6. "A New Voyage to the East-Indies," viz:—To *Suratte* and the Coast of *Arabia*, containing a complete Description of the *Maldivy-Islands*, their Product, Trade, Religion, Manners, and Customs of the Inhabitants never before related by any *English* Author, etc.," by Capt: William Symson. London, 1715, 12 vo.

7. "*Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca*, or a Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels," by John Harris, D.D., F.R.S. Two volumes, folio. London, 1744. Volume I, Section, XXIV, Pages 701 to 716, contains "The Voyage of *Francis Pyrard de Laval* to the *East-Indies*. His ship-wreck amongst the *Maldives*, and his copious Account of that *Archipelago* translated from the Author's original Voyage, published by himself in *French*."

Ships, the Islands, as a group, are virtually unknown, though for a century and more they have been a Dependency of England's chief Crown Colony.⁸

The faithful picture, which Robert Knox, in his immortal "Relation of the Island of Ceilon, 1683," has painted of the country and people where he was held captive for twenty years (1659-1679), rivals in interest and accuracy, but hardly surpasses, the account of the Maldives that François Pyrard had given to the world three quarters of a century previously.

The Maldives, have ever come but lightly into the current of Indian politics. They lie isolated and remote in the broad Indian Ocean. Each inhabited island is a little village, separated from its neighbours by sea or lagoon; yet the whole forms and (as far back as we can trace the Islands in history) has formed, a compact kingdom, with a well-designed constitution, a cabinet of ministers, a body of executive and judicial, religious and revenue officers, all in due subordination. Were not the whole aspect of Maldivian civilisation coloured and penetrated by Mahomedanism, that ever-present factor in the East, we might regard Pyrard's description of this little kingdom, so strange and yet so particular, as one which might have come from the hand of Swift or Defoe.

So vivid was his recollection, so accurate his observation, that modern authorities, writing their accounts of the Islands with Pyrard before them, find but little to add and less to amend.

Of Pyrard's Voyage four editions were issued, the first in 1611 (one vol. 12mo.), the second in 1615 (two vols. 8vo.), the third in 1619 (two vols. 8vo., containing a Maldivian vocabulary), and the last in 1679 (one vol. 4to). In the third, and best, edition the account of the Maldives occupies Chapter V—XXIII., or far the greater part of the first volume. Chapters V—IX relate the circumstances attending the wreck, escapes successful and otherwise, and the writer's arrival at Male. In Chapter X—XVII is given a general description of the Maldivian Islands; followed by details of the religion, manners and customs of the people, the government and the Court, trade and commerce. The six succeeding Chapters (XVII—XXIII) narrate traditional and current history of the Islands, and occurrences during the author's captivity, closing with the Bengal invasion, which gave him his liberty.

In reproducing the versions given by Symson and Harris of Pyrard's Voyage, so far as it relates to the Maldives, a few slight liberties have been taken. Paragraphs have been somewhat differently arranged; for greater clearness, the chapters and headings from the Hakluyt Society's close translation inserted where desirable; and footnotes, curtailed mostly from that English edition, added.

The description of the Maldivian Islands, given by Pyrard, may be fitly preceded by a short "Foreword" summarised from the Introduction to the Hakluyt publication.

Foreword.

"At the end of the fifteenth century, while the Pope was still regarded as standing arbitrator in the disputes of Christendom, Alexander VI had decreed to Portugal the discoveries of the East. The discovery of the Cape route to India was the first-fruits of that dispensation; and, for the greater part of the succeeding century, Portugal was admitted to hold in lawful possession not only the territories of her conquest in India but also the ocean ways which led thither."

The French were the first to defy the Papal Bull. Jean and Raoul Parmentier, brothers, of Dieppe, reached Sumatra in 1526. But none of their countrymen followed these early pioneers, and "the conquest of the East was left to be wrested from the Portuguese by the Netherlanders and the English."⁹

8. For descriptions of the Maldives since the British occupation of Ceylon, see:—Horsburgh and Owen, *Geography of the Maldivian Islands* (Roy. Geog. Soc. Journal) 1832; Moresby Robinson and Campbell, *Reports on the Maldives*; Christopher and Young, *Memoir on the Inhabitants of the Maldivian Islands* (Trans. Bombay Geog. Soc.) 1836—8; Herit *Short Account of the Maldivian Islands* (Ceylon Miscellany, I) 1855; Bell, *The Maldivian Islands* (Ceylon S. P. XLIII, 1881); Stanley Gardiner, *The Botany of the Maldivian Islands*, 1901.

9. The first Dutch fleet to reach India by the Cape was that of C. Houtman, in 1598. Under Lancaster and Raymond the English had essayed an expedition in 1591; but their first successful voyage was not made until 1600—3.

"Instigated at length by the successes of the Dutch and English, some citizens of St. Malo, Laval, and Vitre formed a Company, and equipped two vessels for the purpose of showing the French the way to the East Indies."

These vessels were the *Croissant* of 400 tons, and the *Corbin* of 200 tons. Of the two chroniclers of the expedition, François Pyrard, who sailed in the *Corbin*, was of Laval; the other, François Martin, who went in the *Croissant*, was a native of Vitre. Among the crews were Flemings and Hollanders, and the pilot of the *Corbin* was an Englishman. From the marked interest which Pyrard showed throughout his voyage in matters of trade, even to bazaar commodities and their prices, it is highly probable that he was one of the ships' pursers.

The *Croissant* and *Corbin* set sail from St. Malo on the 18th May, 1601, and shortly after fell in with Spilbergen's Dutch fleet of three vessels.¹⁰ The Canaries were sighted early in June; the Cape Verd Islands a week later. By the middle of July they were off the coast of Sierra Lione; the line was passed towards the end of August; and land made at Anabon on the 30th of that month.

After six weeks spent at this island in fruitless attempts to gain water and fresh food, the French Admiral made for Saint Helena, which was reached on the 17th November. A stay here of nine days proved of great service to the sick.

Continuing the voyage on the 26th November the Abroilles were passed three days later; in another month the ships had rounded the Cape, near which they again encountered Spilbergen's vessels, to their mutual satisfaction.

On the 7th February a violent storm off the Natal coast scattered, and damaged, the two small fleets—the *Corbin* finding refuge on the 19th in St. Augustine's Bay of the Island of St. Laurence, now called Madagascar. Here she was joined by the *Croissant*, and later by one of the same Dutch vessels. All three ships required considerable repairs: meantime the crews fraternised. The Frenchmen remained at St. Augustine's Bay for nearly three months; but sickness and mortality rendered it imperative to seek some other harbour before attempting to cross the Indian Ocean.

Leaving St. Augustine's Bay on the 15th May, the *Croissant* and *Corbin* reached Malailli, one of the Comoro Islands, on the 23rd. Fifteen days' sojourn so vastly improved the health of the men, that scurvy almost disappeared, and the voyage was resumed.

Crossing the line on the 21st June, some islands and reefs were sighted on July 1st; these, the *Corbin's* pilot correctly recognised as the Maldives. During that night, the *Corbin* was practically deserted by the *Croissant*,¹¹ and in the early morning of the 2nd July she struck heavily on the reef of what is now known as Goidu, or Horsburgh, Atol.

The crew were landed at the Island of Fuladu. News of the wreck was carried to *Male*, the residence of the Sultan; and an officer was despatched thence to see to the matter. The shipwrecked crew rapidly diminished by deaths and desertions: out of the forty who were landed at the Maldives only four survived the captivity.

Almost from the first Pyrard obtained exceptional treatment, owing to his prudence in forthwith studying the native language. On removal to Male he thus was able to interest the Sultan, and to obtain favour for himself and his comrades. Albeit a captive, he was allowed to go from island to island for purpose of trade, and the five years' term of his exile proved, in most respects, tolerable.

In February, 1607, an expedition arrived at Male from Chittagong, and the Maldivian Sultan, endeavouring to escape to the Southern Atols, was pursued and slain. Pyrard and his three remaining companions, not being Portuguese, were carried to India by the invaders.

Four years of varied adventure intervened between Pyrard's departure from the Maldives and his arrival in France. After an absence of nearly ten years, he at length reached his native town Laval on the 16th February, 1611.

The ensuing narrative starts from the day (July 2nd, 1602) when the *Corbin* was wrecked on the Maldives.¹²

10. The *Ram* and *Sheep* (ships), and the *Lamb* (yacht). Joris van Spilbergen and his comrades were the first Dutchmen to gain footing in Ceylon. They landed at Batticaloa on May 30th, 1602 (*Beknopte Historie*, etc.)

11. Retribution followed within a year. The *Croissant* reached Achin on July 24th, 1602; but the return Voyage to Europe was disastrous. After a terrible storm the buffeted vessel rounded the Cape and made St. Helena and Ascension by March, 1603. Reduced to such extremities that they had to eat even dogs and rats, the wearied remnant of the crew was rescued towards the end of May by three Flemish ships which pillaged the *Croissant* ere she sunk in their very sight. François Martin, *Description du premier Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales par les François*, 1609.

12. Harris (Vol. I, pp. 701—3) devotes two pages to the voyage from May 18th, 1601, when the ships left St. Malo, to the date of the disaster to the *Corbin*. Symson, to get over the difficulty of having to chronicle this part of the voyage, characteristically writes:—

"It will be superfluous, in an unfortunate Voyage, to pretend to give the Particulars of our Passage from France, which perished with our Ship." [sic]

PYRARD'S NARRATIVE.

CHAPTER V.

Pitiable wreck of the ship "Corbin," wherein the author was, on the reefs of the Maldives. How the men were saved at an island with much trouble, and the miseries endured by them.

Symson.

I begin with our Wreck, occasion'd by the supine Carelessness of our Crew, who falling all asleep in the Night, tho' we had discover'd Land in the Day, and could not agree what Place it should be, for Want of an Observation, suffer'd the Vessel to run upon a Rock, on which it stuck fast, lying all upon a Side, on the 3rd [*sic*] of July, 1695.¹³

We lay there all the next Day and Night, fitting our Long-Boat to carry us off; for it was in a bad Condition, and it was a long Stretch to the next Island, where nevertheless we arriv'd, with as much as the Boat would carry of what we had sav'd out of the Ship. The Natives would not permit us to land, 'till we had deliver'd all our Arms, and then conducted us to a Hut, where they gave us some Coco-Nuts and other Fruit; and the Lord of the Island¹⁴ coming, we were all search'd, and every thing we had taken from us, that Lord, who had some Words of *Portuguese*, telling us, that all Wrecks belong'd to the King.

A Piece of Scarlet-Cloth which had been sav'd, we told him was a Present for the King, and the Master of our Ship, with two Sailors, was sent to carry it to him, at his Residence in another Island call'd *Male*. The Master was favourably receiv'd, and lodg'd in that Prince's Palace.

Harris.

Standing to the Northward in the Lat. of 5°. We perceived some great Shelves surrounding little Islands, which were the *Maldives*, though most of our Masters and Pilots mistook them for the Islands called *de Diego des Roes*, which we had left eighty Leagues a-stern to the North-West. Our Admiral designed to pass to the North of the *Maldives*, between them and the Coast of *India*; but on the contrary, we run directly upon them, whereas we ought to have stood an hundred Leagues off them, if we had a Mind to be safe. In fine such was our Misfortune, that the *Corbin* which sailed a head, struck thrice upon a Rock, [July 2nd, 1602] at the Distance of five or six Leagues from the Coast of the *Maldives*.

In this Disaster we saw a Bark belonging to the Islands, which would not come near us on account of a strict Prohibition in that Country to approach any Ship in Distress without the King's Leave. In the mean time the Sailors eat and drank heartily, and treated their Commanders with Insolence, insulting all those who shewed any Regard for Religion, and loudly proclaiming that, since Death was so certain, they were resolved to render its Approaches easy and soft. This filled me with Horror, and convinced me that most Sailors leave their Souls and Consciences ashore.

After continuing two Days in this deplorable and desperate Condition, we made a shift to refit our Galleon, and haul it over the Flats, and, with infinite Labour and Difficulty arrived on board of it at one of the Islands called *Pouladou*,¹⁴ which is not a League in Circumference. We had carried some Arms along with us, but the Inhabitants disputed our Landing till we had given up our Arms, and surrendered ourselves at Discretion. There were not above twenty or twenty-five Inhabitants in the Island, but they concerted their Measures so wisely, that they sent off our Boat, and all their own, to the other Islands: To prevent any Insurrection from us, they carried us to a Lodge in the Middle of the Island, where they entertained us with some Fruit, Cochoas, and Lemons, and rifled us of all we had, alledging that it belonged to their King, as being a Wreck.

We had a Piece of Scarlet-Cloth with us, which we pretended was designed for a Present to the King of the Islands, affirming at the same time, that the whole Cargoe of our Ship was for a Complement to him. Upon this no body dared so much as touch the Scarlet, but, after all, we cut off a Piece of two or three Ells of it, and presented it to the Governor of this little Island,¹⁵ in order to oblige him, and he, who was a very old Man, took it very kindly, conjuring us not to speak of it. Soon after the Governor sent the Master and two Sailors to the King, who resided in the Capital Island called *Male*, and the Master presented him with the Piece of Scarlet.

13. Symson deliberately altered the date from 1602 to suit his dishonest purpose.

14. Pyrard, *Pouladou*: Maldive *Fuladu*; an island in Goidu Atol.

15. Pyrard gives him name, *Ybrahm*, and title, *Pouladou quilague* (M. *Fuladu Kilege*)

CHAPTER VI.

What happened to the men who were saved from the "Corbin," and the miseries they endured.

Symson.

The King sent his chief Wife and Brother,¹⁵ with some Men, to save all there could be got out of the Ship, which those People manag'd very dexterously. That Prince divided our Crew, sending some Men to several Islands, but the greater Number was left in *Pouladou*,¹⁶ where we first landed.

Our Men had conceal'd some Money in Sashes they wore about their Wastes, and when in Distress, gave half a Dollar for any thing they wanted, without getting any Change; which made those who had none fare the worse, the People imagining we had all hidden Treasure, and therefore refusing to give us any thing. In short, my two Companions and I, were at last reduc'd to have nothing to feed on, but such Shell-Fish as we could find upon the Shore, or dead Fish the Sea threw up, which we boil'd with any Herbs we found indifferently, and for want of Salt, some Sea-Water. At length, the Natives beginning to take some Compassion on us, we offer'd our selves to do any Labour; and by that Means we got some Fish, and Coco-Nuts, which was all our Reward, and that very scanty; but without it we must have perish'd, I, with two others, was carry'd by the said Prince, to the Island of *Pandoue*,¹⁷ about a League distant from the other, where we were at first well us'd, and had Provisions enough for his Sake. All our Lodging was a Shed on the Shore, cover'd over-head, and open on the Sides. These Hardships were the Occasion that my two Comrades fell sick; but it pleas'd God to keep me in Health.

All this while I made it my Business to learn the Language, which the others did not, hoping to be sent away; and that Application of mine prov'd very useful to me; for the Lord of the Island,¹⁸ on that Account, took a Fancy to me. He was a very ingenious Man, and understood Sea-Affairs; and having got the Compasses and Charts belonging to our Ships, often made me instruct him in the Nature of them; because those they have, are made after another manner. Thus I improv'd in the Language, and, at the same Time, was better fed than I had been before.

During this Time, our Captain, and several others dy'd; and the Master of our Ship having watch'd a favourable Opportunity, seiz'd a Bark, and with twelve Men made his Escape,¹⁹ for which the others, who were left behind, far'd the worse.

(To be continued.)

Harris.

Immediately the King sent for his Brother-in-law¹⁶ to save what was on Board our Ship though the Flats were such that no Boat could come near it; yet they found a Way of getting at it by the Means of a Rope fastened at one End to the Ship, and at the other to the Rock; for tho' the Waves washed over them, they had fast hold by the Rope, and so got to the Ship; nay, they are so ingenious, that they took out the very Cannon and the heaviest Goods, and laughed at any Advice we could give them.

When we left the Ship, we brought with us about a thousand Crowns in several Girdles, and buried it ashore for a common Reserve, to supply our Necessities; but some of our Men being in want of Subsistence, digged up the Place and offered the Natives Pieces of Money for Food, after which the Natives would never allow us Sustenance without Pieces of Money; and in regard that the least Piece in the Bank was worth Twenty pence, their Provisions were much over valued: Every Seaman hid from his Neighbour what he had got, and would not assist him even at the Point of starving; nay, when any lay very sick the rest came and rifled him before he died.

As for my own Part, I and two more were transported to the Island of *Pandow*,¹⁷ the Natives of which being acquainted with what passed in the other Islands, and thinking we had Money about us, refused us Sustenance, till we gave them Pieces of Silver; but in reality, we had none of the Money, and were reduced to great Extremities.

In the meantime, I made it my Business to learn their Language, and by being able to discourse with them, insinuated myself into the Favour of the Governor of the Island.¹⁸

16. Symson mistranslates. Pyrard has:—"le frere de la grand Reine, et il sa nommoit *Ranabandery Tacourou* en as dignite." This *Rana-bandery Takuru-fanu* succeeded to the throne after Sultan Ibrahim was slain by the foreign expedition of 1607, which rescued Pyrard.

17. Pyrard, *Paindoue*: M. *Fehendu*, also an island of Goidu Atol.

18. Pyrard, *Aly Pandio Atacourou*: M. *Ali Fehendu Takuru-Fanu*. This Chief was also related to the Queen.

19. The mate escaped by boat from *Fiadu* with eleven others and reached *Quilon*—only to be harshly treated by the Portuguese. Their ultimate fate is not recorded.

SOME NOTABLE SINHALESE WOMEN IN HISTORY.

By ANNA P. SENAVERATNE.

IF, as is not infrequently said, the old-time Sinhalese were of a nobler breed than those who have succeeded to the name in these latter days, they owed it, in great part, to the mothers who bred them, to the women who, after all,—whatever the race they belong to, or the age in which they live,—constitute always a nation's inherent strength or weakness.

History tells us practically nothing of the women who “built up” the Sinhalese race, and very little indeed of those among them who, in beauty or accomplishments or deeds, shone out above the rest. What little it does record,—whether in authentic chronicle, or obscure story, or fugitive poetry,—is worth piecing together, in language divested of the romance and hyperbole with which the facts are too often found interwoven. The present article is a modest attempt in this direction, drawn mainly from the *Mahavansa*.

To begin in chronological order, the name of **Kuveni**¹ naturally suggests itself; but, in view of the possible objection,—however well-founded or otherwise it is not for me to determine,—that she was a “Yakkhini,” and in other respects too not, strictly speaking, a *Sinhalese*, it is as well perhaps to commence the series with a name less pathetically and more honourably distinguished in the times immediately following the establishment of the new dynasty with Vijaya as the first King of Ceylon.

That name, the first, must necessarily be that of

I. Kasayin Devi.³

True it is that she was not born a Sinhalese; but she so became by her marriage to Panduvasudeva, youngest son of Vijaya's brother, King Sumitta of Sihapura. She was the daughter of Pandusakya, son of the Sakya prince Amitodana, the younger paternal uncle of Buddha; and it was her six brothers who founded respectively Ramagona,⁴ Uruvela,⁵ Anuradhapura, Vijitapura,⁶ Dighayu⁷ and Rohona.⁸

Beautiful she was, “even as a woman made of gold,⁹ fair of form and eagerly wooed.”¹⁰ Her very arrival in this land partook of the nature of a romance. For fear of persecution by seven Kings (who, for love of her, had sent precious gifts and whom

1 Kuvanna, *Mahavansa*, VII., 2.

2 *Id.*

3 So the *Pujavaliya* names her. The *Mahavansa* calls her Bhaddakaccana, also Subhaddakaccana. [Of these names the Mihintale cave inscriptions record the former. Ed.]

4 Ramagottpura (*Rajavaliya*)

5 Mahaveligama (*Pujavaliya*); Vilba Nuwara (*Rajavaliya*)

6 Vijitagama (*Mahavansa*)

7 Digamandulu (*Pujavaliya*); Gampola Nuwara (*Rajavaliya*)

8 Mugama Nuwara (*Rajavaliya*)

9 As Geiger notes, the golden colour of the skin always, in Sinhalese poems, counts for a mark of particular beauty. In the *Kusa Jatakaya* (v. 557), fair Prabavati is compared to “the graceful golden vine” (*ran tiya vllasata*), while in the *Selalihini Sandesaya* (v. 55), the women of Kelaniya are described as “lovely moving vines of gold” (*lakal rana tiyan sarana*.) See also *Hansa Sandesaya* v. 82: and *Kavyasekharaya*, pp. iii., 167.

10 *Mahavansa* VIII. 20.

she had spurned) she put on the yellow robes, and, attended by thirty-two women-friends, made ready for departure from Kimbulwat-pura, her royal father's city. The King, placing his daughter upon a ship, launched it upon the Ganges, saying: "Whosoever can, let him take my daughter."

On the second day the ship reached the haven called Gonagamaka:¹¹ here Kasayin Devi and her friends landed, and thence the party proceeded to Upatissagama, the capital, to meet King Panduvasu Deva. The latter caused Kasayin Devi to lay aside her yellow robes, and made her his principal Queen. In time she bore ten sons (the eldest, Abhaya, succeeding his father on the throne), and a daughter, the lovely

2. Ummada Citta.¹²

She was so named because "she drove men mad by the mere sight of her beauty."¹³ Her's was an evil fate; for was it not foretold that "for the sake of sovereignty will her son slay his uncles,"¹⁴ (i.e., her own brothers)? So the latter sought to kill her: but Abhaya, the eldest, said "Nay;" and persuaded them to rest content with lodging her in a one-pillar chamber, the only entry to which was through the King's sleeping-apartment.

"Stone walls do not a prison make nor iron bars a cage." Although a serving-woman kept watch over her within, and a hundred soldiers guarded without, Dighagamani, her uncle's son, saw her at the window, and,—driven by that "love at first sight" which, then as now, inspires the young to "laugh at bolts and bars,"—contrived, Romeo-like, to introduce himself ere long into her chamber at night with the aid of a hook-ladder¹⁵ fastened to the window. The visits were oft repeated.

In due time the *liaison* was legalised; for, to prevent a scandal, Citta had to be given in marriage to Dighagamani. The child, if it proved to be a male, was to be slain: so at least the King (her father) and her brothers resolved. But the best-laid plans of men, as of mice, "gang aft agley." Another woman, heavy with child as Citta was, was secretly brought into the latter's lying-in-chamber, and the son that Citta duly bore was exchanged for the woman's daughter. The deception was successfully carried out; and the King's sons were lulled into security.

Before, however, the woman took away Citta's son, with a thousand pieces of money, to rear him up in secret, the "mother and grandmother, joining the names of the grandfather and the eldest uncle, gave the boy the name Pandukabhaya."

How well Pandukabhaya fulfilled the terms of the prediction, that he would be the death of his uncles, is not germane to the present subject. But the other prophecy in relation to his wife-to-be,

3. Suvanna Pali,¹⁶

has a pleasanter interest, and quainter for its smack of the miraculous. "The woman at whose touch leaves turn to gold, make thou thy Queen," was the advice he received from the Brahmin Pandula, his early instructor.

11 At the mouth of the Mahakandara-nadi. [There is at this day a Maha Kanadara oya in the N.-C. Province—Ed.]

12 The *Pujavaliya* names her Ummatta; the *Rajavaliya* Umatasita.

13 *Mahavansa*, IX, 5.

14 *Id.*, IX., 5.

15 *Gavakkhamhi dasapetva rattim kakkalayantakom*, lit. "Making a crab-machine to bite on to the window." *Mahavansa*, IX, 17

16 *Rampheli Pujavaliya*.

Faring forth with a little army to fight those uncles of his whom it was "pre-ordained" he should slay, he came to the district round about the mountain Girikanda. There, sure enough, he met his future bride, the Princess Pali, daughter of his uncle Girikanda Siva. With a great retinue and mounted on a splendid wagon, she was taking food for her father and for the reapers amongst whom her father worked.

Pandukabhaya asked for a share of the food, and she graciously complied. Beneath a banyan-tree she offered the Prince food in a golden bowl. The banyan-leaves, with which she meant to entertain the rest of the people, were changed at her touch into golden vessels, and, when all had been served, "yet the food became not less; it seemed that but one man's portion had been taken away."¹⁷

A maiden so rich in merit was well named *Suvanna Pali* thenceforth. Pandukabhaya took her away at once to be his Queen in time, but not before he had won her in battle against her father at Kalaha-nagara, a village which may now lie buried to the south of Mineritank.¹⁸

Suvanna Pali will also be remembered as the grandmother of the first illustrious Sinhalese King, Devanampiya Tissa, the "beloved of the gods." In this King's reign came the great *theri*,

4. Sanghamitta,

whose name, along with that of her brother Mahinda, will always be associated with the establishment of Buddhism in Ceylon; but the fact that she was not a Sinhalese necessitates her exclusion from a list of women-celebrities native to this country only.

One of Sanghamitta's brother's earliest converts, however,

5. Anula Devi,

Queen of Devanampiya Tissa, merits some attention, as much for her early religious fervour as for the later unholy ambition of her life which resulted in her accidentally poisoning her own son.

With 500 maidens and 500 women of the royal harem, she, the first Sinhalese lay-sister, had accepted the *dasa-silam* (ten Buddhist precepts), and, by her example, won for Buddhism at once that strong hold on the affections of her country-women which, after nearly 2,000 years, it has not yet relaxed. She entered the nunnery, Upasika Vihara, and passed her days there, "leading a holy life."

But it was not for long. The King's brother, Maha Naga, stood in the way of her son's succession to the throne, and she nursed the wish to slay him. The opportunity came when Maha Naga had gone away, and was busily constructing some tanks. Her own son had accompanied him. Poisoning a mango, she laid it uppermost among some other mangoes in a basket, or dish, and sent the present to Maha Naga. As it happened, the little prince, her own son, uncovered the dish and died from eating the poisoned mango.

History draws a kindly veil over the distracted mother's grief; but it tells of how Maha Naga fled in fear, and, founding the Mahagama, or Magama, of today, reigned there, being succeeded, in due course, by his son, grandson and great-grandson: Yatthalayaka-Tissa (founder of Kelani-pura), Gothabhaya and Kavan Tissa respectively.

¹⁷ Says the *Rajavaliya* :—" Before this time the sea was distant from Kelani seven *gav* (about 25 miles). . . . Now, on account of the wickedness of Kelanitissa, eleven-twelfths of Lanka was swallowed up by the ocean, including 100,000 ports, 370 fishing villages and 470 pearl-fishing villages. Mannarama was preserved, and of the ports Katupitimadampe remained standing."

¹⁸ [Possibly Kalahagala, a dhoby-village, 6 miles southwards of Topavewa.—*Ed.*]

Vihara Devi,

is at once the most interesting and the best remembered Sinhalese woman of pre-Christian times. Her name has been throughout ages past and will be throughout ages to come, so intimately connected with Buddhism, that it may be well to linger a little longer than in the case of the others over some of the details of her life, so full of strange adventure, and so propitious for the nation to whom she gave one of its noblest and greatest Kings.

Her father, King Kelani Tissa of Kelaniya, had a brother, Arya Uttiya by name who was suspected of being in improper relations with the Queen, her mother. The King, in the midst of a royal company which included his brother, summoned one day a Rodiya, whom he had previously instructed what to answer, and asked him:

“Is any one of lower caste than thou?”

“Yes,” replied the Rodiya, “the younger brother who lives in the same house with the elder brother is of lower caste than I.”

The humiliated Uttiya left for Udugampola, and thence sought to correspond with the Queen. In his own handwriting, which was very similar to that of his teacher, the Chief Monk at Kelaniya, he wrote a letter to the Queen; and, getting a man to robe himself like a priest, gave him directions how to deliver it to the Queen. The bogus-priest came to Kelaniya, and joined the company of the Chief Monk and his followers who regularly visited the King's palace for alms: when the King came forth followed by his Queen, he dropped the letter near the latter as she passed by him. The rustle of the falling letter made the King turn round; and, seeing the Queen picking up the missive, retrace his steps and take it from her. The handwriting deluded him into a conviction of treachery on the part of the Chief Monk, whom he forthwith had thrown into a pot of boiling oil. The letter-carrier and the Queen were bound separately, and drowned in the river close at hand.

The sea rose, it is said, in wrath at the murder of the innocent Elder and threatened to engulf the land. King Kelani Tissa sought to avert the impending calamity by a human sacrifice,—the first recorded in the history of this country. He ordered his beautiful virgin daughter, Devi by name, to wash her hair, bathe, dress herself in a unworn *saree* of silk, and to put on her jewels. Then he placed her in a boat which he had made ready, covered it in, fastened writing above it, and, as was done to Kasayin Devi aforetime, had it launched upon the sea.

The King himself mounted his elephant in order to watch the rise of the waters. But the angry flood overcame both elephant and King, and brought him, as if enveloped by the fiery glow of the Avici hell, to a place where the water disappeared into a brazen funnel, surrounded by flames. The King was forced thereinto, and suffered the pains of hell.¹⁹ The place, as pointed out to this day, is called *Etubun-wala*: it lies beyond Wattala village, between Mabola and Rilamulla.

¹⁹ This is Geiger's conjectural translation of this portion of the text which B, Gunasekara has rendered somewhat differently. *Dip and Mah.*, p. 101. The text reads: *Muda alakiri e etu ha raju galva e raju Avicinarakaychi ginidelin vetwak-men ginidelin vela-vasagena lo-kabalaka diya nasana tena-ta gena-gos van sanda.*

The *Kokila Sandesaya* has a verse (I68) in point:—

Text.

Translation.

මතු වනු නොදැන ගුරු ඵරඟන් නිමිතිම	☉	Gaze, near thy way, upon <i>Etubun-wala</i> , so called as
සිතුවිකලින් බඳනෙහි ලමිනි උණුවෙ	☉	being the place where the King (Kelani Tissa) and his
ඇතු සහ නිරිඳු ගෙණගිය මහ පොලොව් නෙ	☉	elephant crashed down into (the bowels of) the earth ;
ඇතුබුන් වලැහි යෙහි ඒ දකු මග අස	☉	because, by reason of his suspicion, he cast into a
		cauldron of hot oil that innocent and venerable Rahat
		unconscious of impending retribution (for sin
		previously committed).

Meanwhile, says the *Mahavansa* :—

“ because the Princess who had been offered to the ocean had done many meritorious deeds, and in a later life was to become the mother of the Buddha Maitreya, the cloud spirits and the sea gods led the boat by the wind southwards and drove it to Magama in the land of Ruhuna. Fishermen who supplied the King Kavantissa with fish came by, saw the boat on the sea and the inscription fixed thereon, and told the King of it. When the King Kavantissa heard of the matter he came and ordered the boat which was tossing on the sea to be brought to land. He saw the inscription fixed above, and read the words : *The daughter of King Kelanitissa, given as an offering to the sea.* When he had opened the boat, he sat the princess down on a heap of precious stones, poured water on her hands, and made her his Queen. He built a monastery on that place, gave her the name of Vihara-maha-devi, and led her in festive procession to the town Magam.”²⁰

In time, the longings of a woman with child came upon Viharadevi, and first she craved for a honeycomb of 140 cubits' length²¹ to present to the great community of 12,000 *bhikkhus* and to eat what was left after they had partaken of it. Such a stupendous honeycomb, even in those days of colossal giants and incredibly wonderful deeds, was no easy thing to discover; but the giant Velusumana found one at the seaport Migamuwa,—hence the name of the place to this day,—in an old boat hauled ashore by the fishermen, and brought it to the Queen whose craving was thus satisfied.

But Vihara Devi was possessed as well by other and morbid cravings :

She longed to drink the water that had served to cleanse the sword with which the head of the first warrior among King Elara's warriors had been struck off, and she longed to drink it standing on this very head; and moreover (she longed) to adorn herself with garlands of unfaded lotus blossoms from the lotus marshes of Anuradhapura.²²

These, likewise being duly satisfied, she gave birth to “ a noble son, endowed with all auspicious signs,” the wise and illustrious Duttagamani, the greatest warrior and one of the most deeply-beloved kings in Sinhalese History.

Vihara Devi had another son, Tissa by name; and these three—mother and two sons—will throughout the ages to come, be associated in the Buddhist mind with pious hope. For, does not the *Rajavaliya*,²¹ tell us :—

Be it also known that this King (Dutugemunu) was born with great merit, in order to illuminate the Buddhist religion; that the Prince Tissa will be born as the left-hand disciple of Maitri Buddha; and that the King Gemunu, who destroyed the Tamil invaders and gained victory over them, with a view to illuminate the Buddhist religion, has been fulfilling the probationary courses during a period of one *asankhya* and a lac of *kalpas*; and that therefore he will become the right-hand disciple of Maitri Buddha.

Vihara Devi, as the *Mahavansa* tells us, will be the mother of this “ Buddha-to-come ”! *Sic itur ad astra!*

(To be continued.)

²⁰ Geiger *loc. cit.*

²¹ The word in the *Mahavansa* text is *usabha* which = 20 *yatthi* (“ staves ”), each 7 *ratana* (“ cubits ”), Rhys Davids. *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 15.

²² *Mahavansa*, XXII. 44-46.