J. C. B. R. A. S. 1915-16
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JOURNAL

OF THE

CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

1915—16

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VOLUME XXIV.

No. 68.—Part I.

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PAPERS.

FRA MAURO'S MAP.
THE POPULAR POETRY OF THE SINHALESE.
CHINO-SINHALESE RELATIONS IN THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.
SOME NOTES ON THE CHINESE REFERENCES TO CEYLON.
MING SHIH'S ACCOUNT OF CEYLON.

The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, Sciences, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.

COLOMBO:
THE COLOMBO APOTHECARIES CO., LTD., PRINTERS.

1917.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CEYLON BRANCH.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, January 19, 1915.

Present:

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Oxon., President, in the Chair.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., Vice-President, M.A., Cantab.

Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., Cantab., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
Mr. Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.
Mr. W. A. D. Silva, J.P.
Mr. A. M. Guṇasékara, Mudaliyár.
Mr. C. W. Horsfall.
Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A., Oxon.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. E. W. Perera.

Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S.
Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. } Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on the 15th October, 1914.

2. Laid on the table (with previous papers) letters from the Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd., dated 22nd December last and 8th January, 1915, in regard to the printing agreement.

Unanimously resolved,—That the printing agreement be accepted without the penalty clause and that the President be authorised to sign it.

3. A Financial Statement was read and the Council decided to proceed with the printing of D'Oyly's Diary and the Society's Journal for 1913 and 1914, but to discontinue "Notes and Queries" for the present.

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4. Read the Minutes of the sub-Committee appointed to consider Mr. John M. Senaveratne's first report on the cataloguing of the Society's Library and laid on the table the clerk, Mr. F. D. Jayasinhe's explanation called for by the Senior Vice-President.

5. Laid on the table Mr. John M. Senaveratne's second report on his work of cataloguing together with (a) minutes on same by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Sir P. Arunáchalam, Vice-President, Messrs. E. B. F. Sueter and Gerard A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries and (b) Mr. Jayasinhe's further explanations and (c) Mr. Senaviratne's catalogue slips.

It was decided that, as a vote of thanks had already been accorded to Mr. John M. Senaveratne for his work, no further action was required in the matter.

Resolved,—That the Council approve of the action taken by the Honorary Secretaries with a view to the re-arrangement and cataloguing of the Society's Library.

6. Read two letters dated 14th and 15th December, 1914, from Mr. H. C. P. Bell, resigning the office of Honorary Secretary.

Resolved,—That the Council accept with great regret Mr. H. C. P. Bell's resignation of the post of Honorary Secretary and thank him for his offer to edit the Journal for 1913 and 1914, but regret that they are unable to accept the offer in view of the terms of Rule No. 38 of the Society's Rules and Regulations.

Resolved further,—That the Council desire to place on record their appreciation of the very valuable services rendered by Mr. H. C. P. Bell as Honorary Secretary during the last 34 years.

7. The President informed the Council that Mr. Donald D. Jayaratne had been selected as the Society's Clerk in place of Mr. F. D. Jayasinhe, resigned.

8. Considered and passed the election of the following Members:—

(*a*) Don Simon Siriwardana Mahanama.
Recommended by (a) W. F. Gunawardana.
(b) M. Nánissara Thera.

(*b*) Domingo Hewa Marcus de Silva.
Recommended by (a) C. J. Edirisinhe.
(b) O. A. Jayasekara.

(*c*) Samuel Sousapillai.
Recommended by (a) M. B. Medagama.
(b) E. M. J. Abeyesinha.

(*d*) Frederick Dionysius Jayasinha.
Recommended by (a) J. Harward.
(b) Gerard A. Joseph.

9. Read a letter from the Director of Education, dated 12th November, 1914, stating that the Government Grant to the Society will not be paid for the present.

10. Read a letter from Dr. Lionel Giles, dated 23rd November last, regarding the Chinese references to Ceylon, with previous correspondence.

Resolved,—That in view of retrenchment of expenditure the matter do stand over until it is known what items are included in the Government estimates for the next financial year and that Dr. Giles be informed accordingly.

11. Read a letter from the University Library of Cambridge, dated 13th October, 1914, asking for back numbers of the Society's Journals. It was decided to send such back numbers of the Society's publications as can be spared.

12. Laid on the table Circular No. 449, dated 16th October, 1914, containing the opinions of Messrs. E. B. F. Sueter, C. Hartley and P. E. Pieris on a translation entitled: "Chinese References to Ceylon," by Mr. John M. Senaveratne.

Resolved,—That the Paper be returned to Mr. John M. Senaveratne for revision, in accordance with the Notes of Messrs. C. Hartley and E. B. F. Sueter, and that on its return the Paper be accepted for publication and printed with other Chinese references.

13. Laid on the table portion of a Paper entitled: "Extracts relating to Ceylon from the 'Dag-register,' Batavia," by Mr. F. H. de Vos.

14. Resolved,—That Mr. Herbert Tarrant be asked to be so good as to audit the accounts for 1914.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 11, 1915.

Present:

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Oxon., President, in the Chair.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., Vice-President, M.A., Cantab.

Sir Christoffel Obeyesekera, Kt., M.L.C., Vice-President.

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P. | Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. C. W. Horsfall. | Dr. J. Pearson, D.Sc.

Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S.
Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. } Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed the Minutes of last Council Meeting held on the 19th January, 1915.

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2. The President informed the Council that the printing agreement with the Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd., had been signed.

3. Read and passed the Annual Report for 1914, subject to a few alterations.

4. Considered the nomination of Office-bearers for 1915.

It was pointed out that according to Rule 18 the Senior Vice-President, Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, had to retire as he had served for four continuous years; and that Mr. Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár, and Dr. Joseph Pearson retired by seniority and Mr. P. E. Pieris and Mr. E. B. Denham by least attendance under Rule 20, two out of these four gentlemen being eligible for re-election.

Resolved,—That the Right Rev. Dr. E. A. Copleston, Lord Bishop of Colombo, be nominated for re-election and that Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Mr. H. W. Codrington and Mr. F. H. de Vos be nominated for the three vacancies on the Council.

5. Considered and passed the election of the following Members:—

(*a*) Arumugam Vallipuram.
Recommended by (a) Herat Perera.
(b) Dr. T. B. Kobbekaduwa.

(*b*) Albert Ernest de Silva.
Recommended by (a) F. D. Jayasinha.
(b) Gerard A. Joseph.

(*c*) Karannagoda Gunaratna Unnanse.
Recommended by (a) Yagirala Pannananda.
(b) Chas. Dias.

(*d*) Miss Rosa Bridgman.
Recommended by (a) Dr. Andreas Nell.
(b) Gerard A. Joseph.

(*e*) Galappatti Kankanige William Perera.
Recommended by (a) F. D. Jayasinhe.
(b) Dr. C. A. Hewavitarna.

6. Considered date and business for Annual Meeting.

Resolved,—That the Meeting be held on Wednesday, the 24th March, and that the business be as follows:—

(1) Adoption of Report.
(2) Election of Office-bearers.
(3) Address by the President on "Fra Mauro's Map."

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 24, 1915.

Present:

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Oxon., President, in the Chair.

Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., Cantab., Vice-President.

Mr. E. M. J. Abeyesinha.
Dr. G. de A. Abeyesinha.
Mr. B. Chas. Cooray.
,, H. T. Cartwright.
,, W. A. de Silva, J.P.
,, E. Evans, B.Sc.
,, A. H. Gomes.
,, C. W. Horsfall.
,, F. D. Jayasinha.
,, Alfred Lewis.
,, T. P. Masilamany.
Mr. P. M. Menon, B.A.
Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. E. W. Perera.
Dr. Joseph Pearson, D. Sc.
Mr. R. C. Proctor.
,, F. Tisseverasinghe.
,, W. Samarasinha.

Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S.
Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. } Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors: 6 ladies and 32 gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on the 19th day of September, 1914.

2. The Chairman said:—Ladies and Gentlemen, the next item I have got to put before this Meeting is one of profound regret, to ask this meeting to pass a resolution with regard to the death of Captain Galbraith, one of its late Hon. Secretaries. I move the following resolution:—

> "The Council and Members of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society desire to record their feelings of deep sorrow at the death of Captain A. N. Galbraith, C.C.S., joint Hon. Secretary of the Society 1913-14."

The resolution was passed in silence, all standing.

3. Announced the names of the following Members elected since the last General Meeting:—

Sir J. Thomson Broom; Messrs. C. A. Hare; D. Buddhadasa; A. P. Gunaratne; G. W. de Silva; Victor J. Cooke, J.P., U.P.M.; Dadabhoy Nusserwanjee; C. H. Z. Fernando, B.A., LL.B.; H. A. Wickremasingha; J. J. Goonawardena; D. S. S. Mahanama; D. H. Marcus de Silva; S. Sovsapillai; F. D. Jayasinghe; A. Vallipuram; A. E. de Silva; K. Gunaratne; and G. K. William Perera.

4. Mr. Gerard A. Joseph read the following Annual Report of the Council for 1914.

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ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1914.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for 1914.

MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Three General Meetings of the Society were held during the year. In March the Annual General Meeting was held, when the Annual Report was read and when Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Vice-President, in the absence of the President, delivered the presidential address. On July 31st, Mr. John M. Seneveratne read a Paper entitled: "Buddha's Death and Ceylon Chronology." On September 19th, Mr. Frederick Lewis delivered a lecture on "Recent Explorations in the Veddah Country," with lantern slide illustrations. The following Papers were accepted during the year for reading and publication in the Journal:—

1. "The Captivity of Major Davie," by Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G.
2. "The Popular Poetry of the Siṇhalese," by Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

PUBLICATIONS.

Journal No. 66 of 1913, which it was hoped to issue during the year, was not taken in hand owing to the delay in coming to an agreement with the Colombo Apothecaries Co. in regard to the printing of the Society's publications.

CEYLON NOTES AND QUERIES.

Parts 2, 3 and 4 of the above publication were printed and issued during the year.

D'OYLY'S DIARY.

D'Oyly's Diary, with preface and index, prepared and edited with notes by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., was put in the hands of the printer, and good progress has been made with the printing.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Owing to the death of Mr. E. R. Ayrton, to which reference is made in another paragraph, no report on the Archæological Survey is available for this year.

MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 419 Members; of these 42 are Life-Members and 9 Honorary Members. During the past year 34 new ordinary Members were elected, viz:—

Messrs. John Abeyekoon, J.P.; A. L. E. J. Brito; J. H. P. Balasuriya; R. L. W. Byrde, C.C.S.; D. Buddhadasa; Victor J. Cooke, J.P., U.P.M.; Robert de Alwis; P. Jorlis Dias; G. J. de Silva; G. W. de Silva; C. J. Edirisinghe; G. F. Forrest, C.C.S.; C. H. Z. Fernando, B.A., LL.B.; Reinhart Freudenberg; Siegmund Freudenberg; Winfried Freudenberg; A. P. Gunaratne; J. J. Gunawardana; C. A. Hare; E. M. Karunaratne; M. K. Kanagasabai; Rev. M. J. Le Goc, PH.D., B.A., B.SC., O.M.I.; Jacob Munasinghe, Proctor; P. M. Menon, B.A.; William Moir; Dadabhoy Nusserwanjee; W. H. Perera, Advocate; A. A. Perera, Advocate; E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S.; M. Sabaratne Singhe, B.A.; G. Saranankara Terunnanse; Divitotawella Sri Saranankara, High Priest; A. Wickramasinghe.

Dr. Solomon Fernando became a Life-Member.

Four Members resigned, viz:—1. D. K. Sri Dharmarama, High Priest, 2. T. A. Hodson, M.A., C.C.S., 3. D. Montagu and 4. G. S. Saxton, C.C.S.

DEATHS.

The Council record, with regret, the death of the following members:—1. Mr. E. R. Ayrton, Archæological Commissioner, 2. Mr. J. O'Kane Murty, C.C.S., 3. Mr. E. R. Gunaratne, J.P., Gate Mudaliyár, and Acting Maha Mudaliyár, 4. Mr. T. B. Yatawara, J.P., Ratemahatmaya.

In Mr. E. R. Ayrton the Society has lost a most valuable member. He joined the Society in 1912, contributed a Report on the Archæological Work of 1913 to the Journal and the following articles to Ceylon Notes and Queries:—(1) A Note on the Mahawaṇsa, (2) Chinese Notice of Aggabodhi VI., (3) The Tooth-Relic House at Anuradhapura, (4) The Town of Padouke, (5) Kubla Khan and Relics of Buddha from Ceylon, (6) An Ancient Name of Northern Ceylon. From the number of Notes written by Mr. Ayrton in a short time, there was every reason to hope that the Society could reap great advantages from his scholarship. Before his appointment as Archæological Commissioner, he received special training in Europe, and his sad death has led to the suspension of archæological operations.

Mr. E. R. Goonaratne, Acting Maha Mudaliyár, joined the Society in 1882. He contributed a Note on "Kasagal Vihara," which is published in Journal No. 29, 1884. Mr. E. R. Goonaratne, J.P., was best known for his valuable work as Honorary Secretary in Ceylon of the London Pali Text Society. He edited the following works issued by the Pali Text Society:—(1) The Telakaṭáha gáthá, (2) The Vimána-Vatthu of the Khuddhaka Nikáya, Sutta Piṭaka, (3) The Dhátu Kathá Pakarana and its commentary, (4) The Pajjamadhu, (5) Anguttara Nikáya of the Sutta Piṭaka, Eka Duka and Tika Nipáta.

LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library, including parts of periodicals, numbered 416.

The Library is indebted for donations to the following:—

Mr. E. A. Gait, C.S.I., C.I.E.; Sir Richard C. Temple, Bart.; Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy; the Archæological Survey of India; the Punjab Historical Society; Mr. S. Chandrasekara Sastrigal; the Hon. Mr. W. G. Wood; the Government of Bombay; the

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Government of Bengal; Mr. M. Rangacharya Rao Bahadur; the Government of the Punjab; the Mahabodhi Society; the Government of Ceylon; the Postmaster-General, Ceylon; Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S.; Miss Annette S. Beveridge; the Planters' Association of Ceylon; Mr. E. R. Gunaratne, Acting Maha Mudaliyár; the Superintendent, Government Printing Department, India; and Mr. K. Asakata.

EXCHANGES OF PUBLICATIONS.

Valuable exchanges were effected during the year with:—the American Oriental Society, New Haven; Wilson Ornithological Club, Chicago; the American Geographical Society, New York; L'Académie Impériale des Sciences, S. Petersburg; Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft; Canada Department of Mines, Ottawa; Royal Colonial Institute; Musée Guimet Revue de L'Histoire des Religions; Pali Text Society; L'Ecole Française D'Extreme Orient, Hanoi; Asiatic Society of Japan, Tokyo; Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie, Berlin; Des Stadtischen Museums fur Volkerkunde zu Leipzig; Geological Society of London; Mahabodhi Society, Colombo; Royal Society of Victoria, Melbourne; the Editor, Collegian; the Siam Society; Department of Agriculture, Washington; the Academy of Sciences, Philadelphia; the Geological Survey of United States, Washington; the Asiatic Society of Bengal; the Anthropological Society of Bombay; the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London; L'Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient; Taal-land-en-Volkerkunde, Gravenhage; Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay; Viertejahrsschrift der Naturforschenden Gesellchaft in Zurich.

CATALOGUING AND ARRANGEMENT OF LIBRARY.

During the year the work of rearranging and cataloguing the Society's Library was undertaken and is being continued. When the Journals and other Papers in hand have been brought up to date, the printing of a new catalogue will be commenced.

CHINESE REFERENCES TO CEYLON.

Further communications on this subject were received from Dr. Lionel Giles, but in view of Government (owing to retrenchment) postponing payment of the grant sanctioned for the purpose, the work of translating further Chinese references to Ceylon was not undertaken.

COUNCIL.

According to Rule 16, Messrs. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S., and E. W. Perera had to retire by seniority and Messrs. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., and R. C. Kailasapillai Mudaliyár by least attendance. Two of these gentlemen being eligible for re-election, Messrs. P. E. Pieris and E. W. Perera were re-elected.

The vacancy caused by the death of Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G., Vice-President, was filled up by the appointment of Mr. C. Hartley, M.A. Mr. B. Horsburgh, before leaving the Island on leave early in the year, resigned his seat on the Council. The vacancies on the Council were filled by the appointment of the following gentlemen;—The Right Rev. Dr. E. A. Copleston, D.D., Mr. C. W. Horsfall, Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A. (Oxon.), and Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.

RESIGNATIONS.

Mr. A. N. Galbraith, C.C.S., who was one of the joint Hon. Secretaries, resigned his office in February owing to press of official work and his place was filled by the appointment of Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S. Mr. H. C. P. Bell, who has been a joint Hon. Secretary for 34 years and who has rendered very valuable services to the Society, particularly in editing its Journal, resigned his office as Honorary Secretary at the close of the year.

FINANCES.

The annexed balance sheet [page 10] discloses a satisfactory balance of Rs. 4,147·75 to the credit of 1915. During the past year the Society did not receive from the Government either the usual grant of Rs. 500 or the special grant of Rs. 1,500, which His Excellency the Governor had sanctioned towards the cost of translating and printing the Chinese references to Ceylon.

---

5. Mr. E. Evans moved the adoption of the Report. Seconded by Mr. R. C. Proctor.—Carried.

6. On the motion of Mr. Alfred Lewis, seconded by Mr. F. Tisserverasinghe, the following Office Bearers for 1915 were elected;—

President:—Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Oxon.

Vice-Presidents:—The Hon. Sir Christoffel Obeyesekera, Kt., M.L.C.; Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., Cantab.; Right Rev. Dr. E. A. Copleston, D.D.

Council:—Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.; Messrs. A. M. Gunasekera, Mudaliyár; W. A. de Silva, J.P.; R. G. Anthonisz; E. W. Perera; D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.; C. W. Horsfall; Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., Cantab.; Messrs. F. H. de Vos; H. W. Codrington, B.A., Oxon., C.C.S.; Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.; Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., Cantab., C.C.S.

Hon. Treasurer:—Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.

Hon. Secretaries:—Messrs. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S., and Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.

7. The President then delivered an address on

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Balance Sheet of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1914.

RECEIPTS.	Rs.	Cts.	EXPENDITURE.	Rs.	Cts.
Balance from 1913	3,888	23	Charges a/c.	459	07
Sale of Publications	226	01	Salaries a/c.	1,329	92
Life-membership	50	00	Printing a/c.	61	44
Sundries	115	67	Binding a/c	446	00
Entrance fees	178	50	Books a/c	161	23
Subscriptions—1915 .. Rs. 13·50			Postages a/c	155	00
1914 .. ,, 1,604·75			Petty Cash a/c	115	00
1913 .. ,, 540·00			Balance to 1915	4,147	75
1912 .. ,, 167·50					
1911 .. ,, 53·00					
1910 .. ,, 17·25					
1909 .. ,, 10·50					
1908 .. ,, 10·50	2,417	00			
Rs...	6,875	41	Rs...	6,875	41

Audited by HERBERT TARRANT.

GERARD A. JOSEPH,
Hony. Treasurer.

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FRA MAURO'S MAP.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell has suggested to me that I might find material for an address this year in some notes which, at his request, I made at Venice last year, on Ceylon and other parts of the East Indies as they appear in Fra Mauro's map. For this purpose he has very kindly lent me the materials, which he had himself collected at very considerable trouble and expense. Let me say at once that I am not qualified to speak as an authority on mediæval geography and maps, or indeed on geography and maps of any kind; and that if any semblance of erudition appears in any part of this Paper, it is due to such readily accessible works as Yule's "Marco Polo," Sir Hugh Clifford's "Further India," and our old friend Sir Emerson Tennent. I am sorry that Sir Hugh Clifford is not here himself to guide us in dealing with a subject which he is so well qualified to handle.

This "magnificent work," as Col. Yule calls it, Fra Mauro's Mappamondo or Map of the World, is one of the most interesting objects in the museum in the Ducal Palace at Venice. It is placed in the 3rd room on a large upright wooden stand, protected by plate glass, which, being 3 or 4 inches away from the map, adds a little to the difficulty of reading the smaller writing on it. The Mappamondo shows the world in the form of a circle about five feet in diameter. Fra Mauro, a learned Camaldolensian monk, compiled it partly from materials available in the works of previous writers, including his fellow citizen Marco Polo, partly from the reports of Venetian traders, who made systematic visits to the East. It is dated 1459, thirty-eight years before Vasco da Gama's famous voyage. Like many other old maps it shows the north at the bottom, and the south at the top,

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the east on the left and the west on the right. It comprises Europe, Asia and Africa in a circular form, with the ocean running all round.

Certain things are out of place,—*e.g.*, the Indus is made to run into the sea to the east of Cape Comorin, Burma is inserted between the Indus and the Ganges, and the author, like other mediæval geographers, is not aware of the peninsular shape of India. But, in spite of this, the map shows a lot of genuine knowledge of India, China and the islands of the Indian Ocean and Malay Archipelago. From this enlarged photo you will see that the map is full of written matter, contained in scrolls, which are distributed about over sea and land, and which contain the information which the author had collected about the regions depicted. The map is, therefore, not only a map but a geographical treatise.

As the south is at the top, a person of ordinary stature cannot possibly study Ceylon and the East Indies without the aid of steps or a high bench. There is nothing of the kind in the room, not even a chair; and this is perhaps the reason why, of the many Ceylon visitors who pass through Venice, so few have seen that the map contains much that is interesting about this part of the world. Patience and perseverance—accompanied by a little expenditure of Italian currency—secured for me the use of a small wooden platform.

But before I produce the results of my own scrutiny, let me state clearly what others had done before. Mr. H. C. P. Bell in his Diary for December 9th, 1910, writes as follows:—

"Map of the World, by Fra Mauro, 1459. Mr. H. T. Cartwright, of the Ceylon Government Railway Department, has recently been at Venice on his way to England and visited the library in the Doge's Palace. There he found exhibited the old Map of the World, executed by Fra Mauro in 1459. Ceylon is shown on that map as a nearly equilateral triangle of 3 inch sides. Adam's Peak and a few other sites are roughly indicated. Mr. Cartwright informs me that copies of photographs

of the map can be obtained by applying to the Italian Government. I am, therefore, writing to the Consul for Italy in Colombo to kindly use his good offices to procure for the Archæological Survey, (*a*) three photographs of so much of the map as included "Isola de Sylam" (Island of Ceylon) as well as (*b*) a copy in manuscript of the note in Old Italian recorded on the portion of the map relating to Ceylon."

Mr. Cartwright had evidently read one of the scrolls which treats of Ceylon. Here is one of his letters to Mr. Bell:—

"Dear Mr. Bell, I am greatly obliged to you for the information contained in your letter of the 10th. One of the books you mention is, I see, in the library, the others I will try and have a look at when at home. My leave is to begin in November next. I shall visit Italy in the spring; should I go as far as Venice, I will certainly make further enquiries at the museum. Marco Polo, in his 'Travels,' has little to say of Ceylon. He mentions, though, the iron chain on Adam's Peak and the detail is also, if I remember rightly, given on Fra Mauro's map.

Yours sincerely,
"H. T. CARTWRIGHT."

In his Diary for December 13th, 1910, Mr. Bell writes as follows:—

"December 13th, Diary entry 9th.—In reply to enquiry have received an interesting letter about the 'Map of the World' from Mr. A. H. Thomas, who has also visited the library at Venice. Mr. Thomas refers to another Map of Ceylon—evidently, by the mention of *Forts* at Galle and Kalutara, not earlier than the 17th century, —in which, according to Mr. Thomas, Anuradhapura is conspicuous and large."

Mr. Thomas' communication, *ipsissimis verbis*, runs:—"The map I referred to in the *Observer* some years ago was by itself on a table. Size 18 ins. by 12 ins. Galle and Kalutara had bigger Forts than Colombo; all three

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as well as Jaffna and other smaller Forts seemed to be drawn to scale. Anuradhapura was conspicuous and large. All streets and dagobas fixed seemed to be by scale must have been surveyed. I cannot remember more. I have been most anxious to return to Venice and have another good look."

Mr. Bell had already on December 4th written fully to the Consul for Italy in Colombo asking him to obtain for him photographs of as much of Fra Mauro's map as referred to Ceylon together with a MS. copy of the note in Old Italian relating to it, and guaranteeing to pay all expenses, in advance if necessary. He now wrote again asking for copies of the map referred to by Mr. Thomas as well as that referred to by Mr. Cartwright. The Consul, the late Mr. C. O. Pohn, promised to do his best, and in the following February forwarded some photographs of Fra Mauro's map.

Mr. Bell, in his reply acknowledging the receipt of the maps, wrote:—

"I shall further be very glad to be favoured with an exact copy of manuscript (printing preferred), of the note in Old Italian recorded on that portion of the map which relates to Ceylon only.

"Finally, I shall also be glad to be definitely informed whether there is any other old map of Ceylon in the library at the Doge's Palace except that of Fra Mauro, 1459; and if there is, whether it is possible to obtain a photograph of it. Money Order for Rs. 11.25 is enclosed.

I am, &c.,
"H. C. P. BELL."

I need not give you the whole of the rest of the correspondence, which lasted for considerably over two years after this point, and illustrates the difficulties which an Archæological Commissioner has to meet in collecting information and materials from foreign museums even when he receives, as Mr. Bell did, the most courteous assistance from the officials concerned.

Suffice it to say that on March 31st, 1913, Mr. Frisch, the Italian Consul, forwarded Mr. Bell a copy of the Amsterdam map with which we are not concerned on this occasion, and on July 1st, 1913, he was able to send the faithful copy of Fra Mauro's representation of Ceylon, which you see before you this evening, the tracing of the outline of the same, and an exact transcript of the contents of two scrolls about Ceylon.

Mr. Bell has offered the map and the other papers to the Museum, at cost price, and I hope that the authorities will soon be in a position to accept this offer.

Without further preface I will now read the contents of the Ceylon scrolls as supplied to Mr. Bell:—

Translation of the letter-press notes in Old Italian on that portion of the map of Fra Mauro relating to the Island of Ceylon.

On No. 1 inscription one reads:—

"The very noble Island of Saylam measures about 3,000 miles. It is very rich of gold and silver and different precious stones, specially rubies. They say that the king of this island possesses a ruby, the most beautiful of the world; it is one span long and as thick as an arm, very bright and red without a fault. On this island they say is a mountain, called of Adam, on the top of which it never rains on account of its height and there never blows the wind. One reaches the top, to shorten the way by means of iron chains, which were fixed one on the top of the other by Alexander the Great, and on the top of this mountain they say that the print of Adam's right foot can be seen in the stone, and that therein many rubies appear. And the inhabitants say that Adam came to this mountain. And this island is very fertile of all the things necessary to human life, and they live very long there on account of the good air and the perfection of the water. There are also here many elephants."

On the second inscription one reads:—

"Abapæ is a small island where they fish a great many pearls, which are Oriental pearls and finer, and more beautiful ones cannot be found in other places and this island lies north of Sailam."

Valuable as these materials supplied to Mr. Bell were, he saw at once that there must be a good deal more to be learned by an actual inspection of the map; and when I went to Venice in March, 1914, he asked me to find out as much as I could about it. I was too

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busy to make any enquiries from him as to the materials already in his possession, and I therefore approached the study of the map with an open mind.

If any success has attended my efforts, it has been largely due to the assistance of my sister, who has helped me to verify all the names and written matter on the map itself, has solved all the difficulties of translation, has drawn the enlarged sketch of Ceylon showing the nine places given by Fra Mauro in the position in which they appear in his map, and helped me much in the preparation of this Paper. A preliminary examination of the map showed that it was desirable to have a transcript not merely of the scrolls about Ceylon, but of all the 13 scrolls referring to Ceylon, the Maldives, Sumatra, the Andamans and the other islands located in the neighbourhood of Ceylon and Sumatra. This transcript I made in the first instance from an Italian work, which is the principal authority on Fra Mauro's map and which I was able to consult in the Venice Public Library:—

"*The Mappamondo of Fra Mauro, the Camaldolensian, described and illustrated by Placide Zurla, a monk of the same order.*" Venice, 1806.

I was told that second-hand copies of this work are sometimes to be had. It is a substantial quarto volume, and gives an accurate transcript of the contents of almost all the scrolls. But though he gives most of the names on the map, Zurla does not give them all, and in dealing with Ceylon he omits the two most important, Cotte and Colombo. Everything which I transcribed from Zurla's book has been verified by reference to the actual scrolls and names on the map.

I return now to the scroll about Ceylon, which I have already read to you. The main source of its contents is the chapter about Ceylon in Marco Polo, who however gives the more modest computation of 2,400 miles. Here you will find the big ruby, the mountain of Adam, and the chains, together with a profoundly interesting account of the life and relics of Buddha, in whom the pious Camaldolensian was evidently

not interested at all. Polo omits the reference to Alexander the Great, and very curiously makes no mention of the footprint. Marco Polo's omissions are often curious. He certainly visited Ceylon and received first hand information about Buddhist relics. Buddha's footprint appears in Marignolli, an Italian writer of the 14th Century. Alexander the Great, in the later Middle Ages, was the common property of all romancers, Eastern as well as Western; his special connection with Ceylon is described in the following note in Emerson Tennent (Vol. I., p. 58):—

"In Oriental tradition, Alexander is believed to have visited Ceylon in company with the philosopher Bolinus, by whom De Sacy believes that the Arabs meant Apollonius of Tyana. There is a Persian poem by Ashreef, the 'Zaffer Namah Skendari,' which describes the conqueror's voyage to Serendib, and his devotions at the footmark of Adam, for reaching which he and Bolinus caused steps to be hewn in the rock, and the ascent to be secured by rivets and chains."—(Emerson Tennent, Vol. I., p. 581, note.)

The names marked in Fra Mauro's Ceylon are as follows:—

Cotta Civita.—This is attached to a huge representation of a palace and is obviously meant for the capital.

Móte de Adá.

Seperagama.—(Sabaragamuwa).

P. Beluri.—(P. Pæse, country or district. I cannot identify Beluri).

P. Beligana.—(Weligama).

Póto Colóbo.—(The name Colombo is squeezed into a corner of the map and the last three letters are not very clear, but I examined it several times and think it is all right).

P. Bali.—(I cannot identify).

Nigi.— do

P. Mígi.— do

These names are really interesting. Other members of the Asiatic Society can perhaps suggest the key to the

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four which I have not identified. I am sure that they correspond to something which the painstaking monk had either read or heard. I wonder if we have here the first mention of Colombo in European writings. Mr. P. E. Pieris, in his book on the Portuguese in Ceylon, has very properly pointed out that Colombo was really an important place before the arrival of the Portuguese. The mention of Cotta makes it almost certain that Fra Mauro derived information from some one who visited Ceylon in his own century.

The second scroll, which I have already read, relates to the small island of which the name was transcribed Abapæe. The name on the map is really Abapate. It is so transcribed by Zurla and I verified it carefully more than once. The last letter but one is difficult to read and shews signs of a correction. This name perhaps represents Jaffnapatam. It is true that Jaffna is some distance from the pearl-fishery, but it is difficult to find anything else at all corresponding to the name.*

The small scroll which I have numbered (3) is immediately below the main scroll about Ceylon and contains the following words:—

"Questi popoli de Saylam communemente sono diie sale."

"These tribes of Ceylon are commonly called Sale."

For a long time I could find no explanation of this. One of the old maps in the Colombo Museum gave me a clue. Printed across the middle of the map are the words:—

"Taprobane, que olim Simondi insula dicebatur, nunc autem Salice, e' qui eam habitant communi voce Salae dicuntur."

"Taprobane, which was formerly called the Island

* Perhaps *Abapæ* is a clerical error or corruption of *Aripu*, the name of a village on the Gulf of Mannar, which derives its name from the "sifting" for pearls carried on there. It is called *Arrepa* by Knox and was the first place he reached on the coast after his escape from his long captivity.—*Ed.*

Simondi, but now Salicae and those who inhabit it are called by the ordinary name Salae."

This map, on which the equator passes through the south part of the Island, shows more knowledge of the shape, position, and dimensions of Ceylon than that of Fra Mauro, but the names on it are a curious mixture. The author has apparently taken the name Magrammum and some others from Ptolemy, and has scattered about the map classical names of a purely imaginative nature. He and Fra Mauro must have drawn the name Sale from classical sources. The following passage, in "Ceylon by an Officer of the Ceylon Rifles," helps us (Vol. I., page 10):—

Marcian of Heraclea says, "Taprobane, formerly called Palasimundæ, now Salice." Agathemerus has it, "formerly Simunda but now Salice." The Periplus makes it "Palæsimundi, formerly Taprobane."

The 4th scroll is the one to the left of the large scroll about Ceylon and refers to the island below it. It is as follows:—

"The Island of Colombo. This abounds in gold and much merchandise. Pepper is grown here in quantities and a considerable quantity of indigo. Here are found lions completely black, and white parrots with red feet and beak. The inhabitants of the Island are of different religions, namely Jews, Mahometans, and Idolaters. Also in this sea are certain fish which, when pursued by other fish, get inside the body of their mother and when the danger is over she opens her mouth and they go out again."

The Island of Colombo is at first sight very puzzling. It is, however, Marco Polo's Coilum or Quilon. In Polo's chapter about Coilum we find the merchandise, the pepper, the indigo, the black lions and the white parrots with the red feet and beaks. Coilum, also called Kaulam, was visited by Friar Jordanus in the early part of the 14th Century. Its name was Latinized as Columbum or Columbus and he was made its Bishop. Pegolotti, the author of a Mercantile Handbook of the 14th Century,

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which Fra Mauro seems to have known, refers to the same place as the Island of Colombo. (See Yule's notes to Marco Polo, Bk. III., ch. 22.)

The 5th scroll is between Cape Comorin and Ceylon and only contains the words:—

"At this Cape Chomari the North is lost."

The 6th scroll is on Cape Comorin itself and contains the words:—

"In this gulf pearls are fished."

The 7th scroll is in the gulf to the right of Cape Comorin, which Fra Mauro called Golfo di Milabar and is as follows:—

"Note that those who navigate this Indian Sea say that at this Cape Chomari which is here on the left hand, the North or Arctic Pole is lost and this is affirmed by all."

The North or Arctic Pole means the Pole Star and Fra Mauro seems here to be contradicting Marco Polo who says, "Comari is a country belonging to India and there you see something of the North Star which we had not been able to see from the Lesser Java thus far. In order to see it you must go some thirty miles out to sea and then you see it about a cubit above the water."

Fra Mauro must have drawn his information from travellers who were less trustworthy informants than Marco Polo.

The 8th scroll is immediately to the north of a long chain of islands representing the Maldives and the 9th scroll, just to the west of them. They are as follows:—

(8). "The Divamoal Island, which is the chief of 12,000 islands, as appears from the testimony of those who navigate that sea. Here small shells are found in numbers and are used as money, and there are many strange things which are not talked about. These islands are on a line running from south-east to north-west, which is as it were straight across the Indian Sea. For this reason ships which navigate that sea are very careful not to approach them because of the evident danger."

(9) "Note that according to mariners who have

experience of this sea there are 12,600 islands, inhabited and uninhabited and those which are inhabited are very fertile."

Yule says: "We learn from Pyrard de Layal that the Sultan of the Maldives called himself Ibrahim Sultan of 13 Atollons or Coral groups and of 12,000 islands." The 9th scroll, which gives the different number 12,600, refers to the Indian Ocean generally, and is taken direct from Marco Polo with a slight alteration of the number. Polo says (Bk. III., ch. 34.):—

"It is a fact that in this sea of India there are 12,700 islands inhabited and uninhabited, according to the charts and documents of experienced mariners who navigate that Indian Sea."

Possibly Fra Mauro's copy of Marco Polo gave the numbers as 12,600.

The 10th scroll is against the Island of Sumatra, which in the map bears the name of "Taprobane over Siomatra, *i.e.*, Taprobane *or* Siomatra." Fra Mauro shares with other mediæval writers the error of assigning the name Taprobane to Sumatra. The Greeks and Romans apply it correctly to Ceylon. The scroll is as follows:—

"Taprobane, a most celebrated island, which is said to be more than 4,000 miles round. It is divided into four kingdoms. Here is found gold in abundance, pepper, camphor and aloewood, which is called galamback, and has the most famous scent in the world and is sold for its weight in gold. Here grows on trees a fruit called durian, as large as a moderate sized Coco de Mer, its rind is green and knotty like that of a pine-cone. Inside it are five fruits, each as large as a moderate sized pine-cone. Each of these five fruits has a different kind of flavour, and inside they are of a violet colour and very hot. Here are found elephants in numbers. The inhabitants of this Island are superior to those of the neighbouring islands and are handsome, brave and well-mannered but Idolaters. They are also taller in stature than those who are born in India and their elephants are larger than those of India, and those of India are larger than those

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of Mauretania, and this is because of their excellent situation and the goodness of the air."

In his account of Sumatra, Fra Mauro follows some later authority than Marco Polo, who called the island Java Minor. The account of the durian is so correct in many of its details that it must be taken from some one who spoke from personal experience.

The 11th and 12th scrolls are respectively north and south of the Andamans:

(11) "The Andaman Island is on a course running east and west from Taprobane to the mainland and on a course running south and north from Pegu. This Island, with the islands attached to it, is about 500 miles round and is inhabited by a race who are idolators, sorcerers and cruel. It is said by many that there is a lake in this Island into which if iron is placed it becomes gold; I say this on the evidence of many."

(12) "In this Island it is said that there is water in which if iron is dipped it becomes gold; also that the inhabitants eat human flesh."

The cannibalism of the inhabitants of the Andamans is common property of the geographers and is no doubt a fact. It is mentioned by Marco Polo, who adds the detail, that "they have heads like dogs and in face are like great mastiffs."

The 13th scroll refers to the group of islands to the south of the Andamans and is as follows:—

"The islands Lamuri, Navigari and Arii. These are inhabited by cruel people, untamed and idolatrous. Taprobane lies on a line north-east and south-west from them."

These three names present difficulties. Lamuri is the same as the Lambri which Marco Polo placed in the Island of Sumatra,—correctly no doubt, because he spent five months in this part of the Island.

Fra Mauro evidently follows some authority who wrongly gave the name to a separate island. Yule (Vol. II., p. 283) tells us that the Persian historian Rashid-ud-din speaks of the very large island, Lamuri, lying beyond

Ceylon and adjoining the country of Sumatra. 'Navagari' is probably a mistake for 'Nagavari,' and represents the Nicobars, which Polo calls Necuveram. Yule considers (Vol. II., p. 291) that in Rashid-ud-din the name for the Nicobar should be read as Nakavaram.

These may seem trivial details, but are important as showing that no name on Fra Mauro's map is a mere flight of fancy.

I cannot suggest the origin of the name Arii but have no doubt that Fra Mauro has honestly taken it from what he considered the best authority.

The 4th island of the group is not named in the scroll, but bears in the map the name Nargilferas, the identification of which I must also leave to my hearers.

I have not transcribed the scrolls of the further islands. The two largest of them bears the name Giava Minor and Giava Major.

The first of these, though much misplaced, is our Java, and the second is probably Borneo.

I have alluded to the conscientious accuracy of Fra Mauro. As a concluding illustration of it let me add that, while he feels bound not to omit the Garden of Eden altogether, he is careful to place his realistic picture of it in one of the corners outside the main circle of his map, giving as his reason, that, while it was known to be in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, he was not able to ascertain its exact position.

I must not forget to mention that Messrs. Ongania, booksellers, Venice, were extremely kind in giving me all the information in their power, and that the excellent enlargement of that firm's photograph, which I have handed round the meeting to-night, was made for me by Messrs. Skeen and Co. of Colombo.

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8. Remarks on the Paper were offered by Dr. Nell, Mr. Alfred Lewis and Mr. E. W. Perera. The President replied.

9. On a motion proposed by Dr. Nell and seconded by Mr. E. W. Perera, a vote of thanks was accorded to the President for his address and for presiding at the meeting.

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COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, September 14, 1915.

Present:

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Oxon., President, in the Chair.

The Hon'ble Sir Christoffel Obeyesekera, Kt., M.L.C., Vice-President.

The Right Revd. Dr. E. A. Copleston, D.D., Vice-President.

Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., Cantab., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
,, W. A. de Silva, J.P.
,, A. M. Gunasékera, Mudaliyár.
Mr. C. W. Horsfall.
,, D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A., Oxon.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S.
,, Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.
} Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on 11th March, 1915.

2. Considered and passed the election of the following Members:—

(*a*) Don Albion Jayasinha.
Recommended by (a) W. Samarasinhe.
(b) F. D. Jayasinha.

(*b*) Dr. Samuel Chelliah Paul, M.D., F.R.C.S.
Recommended by (a) Andreas Nell.
(b) Gerard A. Joseph.

(*c*) Richard Bryant Naish, C.C.S., B.A., Oxon.
Recommended by (a) P. E. Pieris.
(b) Gerard A. Joseph.

(*d*) M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar.
Recommended by (a) S. Rm. M. Ct. Pethachi.
(b) R. C. Kailasapillai Mudaliyar.

(*e*) Amadoris Mendis.
Recommended by (a) W. A. de Silva, J.P.
(b) A. E. de Silva.

3. Read a letter No. 23114 of the 6th July, 1915, from the Director of Education, stating that the grant to the Society will not be paid in future.

4. Laid on the table a further instalment of the Paper entitled: "Extracts relating to Ceylon from the Dag-register, Batavia," by Mr. F. H. de Vos, Barrister-at-Law

5. Read a letter from the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* asking for an exchange of publications.

It was decided to place the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* on the Exchange List.

6. Laid on the table the Society's Journal, Vol. XXIII., No. 66, for the year 1913, issued from the press.

7. Considered date and business for next General Meeting.

It was decided that Mr. W. A. de Silva's Paper on "The Popular Poetry of the Sinhalese," be read at the next meeting and the Honorary Secretaries were instructed to request His Excellency the Governor to fix a date for the Meeting.

8. Laid on the table the printed copy of D'Oyly's Diary, together with the manuscript copy of Index and Glossary compiled by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., B.A., Oxon.

Resolved,—That the Index and Glossary be printed together with the Diary and be sold as an extra number of the Journal to Members and others at a price to be fixed by the Honorary Secretaries.

Resolved,—That the Government be requested to purchase fifty copies of D'Oyly's Diary.

9. The question of the Local Agency was considered.

Resolved,—That Messrs. A. M. and J. Ferguson be requested to place themselves in contact with the book trade and to have the Society's publications exposed for sale at various book-stalls and centres. The Honorary Secretaries were instructed to report on this matter to the Council later.

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GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, October 18, 1915.

Present:

His Excellency the Hon'ble Sir Robert Chalmers, K.C.B., Patron, in the Chair.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Oxon., President.

Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., Cantab., Vice-President.

Mr. E. M. J. Abeyesingha.
Dr. G. de A. Abeyesinha.
The Hon'ble Mr. Anton Bertram, K.C.
Mr. R. W. Byrde, C.C.S.
,, W. Claessen.
,, B. Cooray.
,, W. A. de Silva, J.P.
,, Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár.
,, G. J. de Silva.
,, E. Evans, B.Sc.
Dr. W. A. Fernando.
Mr. A. P. Gooneratne.
Mr. A. H. Gomes.
,, J. J. Goonawardana.
,, C. A. Hare.
,, C. W. Horsfall.
,, S. B. Kuruppu.
,, A. Mendis.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. E. L. Perera.
Dr. J. Pearson, D.Sc.
Mr. J. M. Senaveratna.
,, W. T. Southorn, C.C.S.
,, N. D. A. S. Wijeyesinhe, Padikara Mudaliyár.

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.
Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S. } Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors:—8 ladies and 40 gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on 18th day of October, 1915.

2. Announced the names of the following Members elected since the last General Meeting:—

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S.; Dr. H. Meerwarth; the Hon. Mr. K. Balasingham; Messrs. J. P. Blackmore; T. T. Fernando; Dr. S. C. Paul; Messrs. R. B. Naish, B.A., C.C.S.; D. A. Jayasingha; and M. S. Ramaswami.

3. Mr. W. A. de Silva then read a Paper on "The Popular Poetry of the Siṇhalese."

THE POPULAR POETRY OF THE SINHALESE.

Two Papers have appeared in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1850, written by the late Mr. James de Alwis, M.L.C., one on the history of the Siṇhalese language and the other on the Elu language, its poetry, and poets. These two Papers, amended and revised, were subsequently published by their author in the introduction to his Edition of the *Sidatsangaráwa* (1852).

Mr. Alwis says [p. LXXII. Introduction to *Sidatsangaráwa* (1852)]:—

Before we proceed to a consideration of Siṇhalese poetry we may here briefly advert to the popular literature of the Siṇhalese. The traveller and the missionary must have both observed that frequently after nightfall a group of people assemble around a man who profess to read to them. The writer has not only observed this himself in the villages adjoining towns, but also in the very heart of Matara, Galle, Colombo and Kandy. The books which are commonly used by them are many and of a different character from those employed by the Hindus. From a notice of the popular literature of Bengal in the *Calcutta Review* of June 1850, it would seem that "gross obscenity, dark superstition, an extravagant and horrible marvellousness, and frequent reference to idolatry form the principal ingredients of that seasoning which alone can render a book palatable to the popular taste of Bengal."* This is not exactly the case in Ceylon. Nor have we pamphlets in our bazaars written for the express purpose of reducing bestiality to a systematic theory. But we have a number of books consisting of tales and religious works, and although in most part in verse, they are quite of a character with the great bulk of European novels. In vain have we looked in the Siṇhalese for anything more disgusting and revolting than the pictures of libidinous profligacy and voluptuousness portrayed by numerous European authors of celebrity.

The limits which we prescribed for ourselves do not permit us to give the reader, seriatim, an insight into the interesting contents of the Siṇhalese works referred to.

* Later investigations do not justify this sweeping condemnation of Bengalee popular literature.—W. A. D. S.

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The object of the present Paper is to give the reader an insight into the contents of the popular poetry of the Siṇhalese.

Siṇhalese popular poetry consists of a large number of works which have been more or less neglected by the modern student of Siṇhalese literature. He has confined himself to a small class of Siṇhalese works which gained some celebrity through their being selected during an early period as standard works in Siṇhalese poetry. Mr. James de Alwis deals with these works in his Paper on the "Elu language and its poetry," and since that period many a student who desired to be known as a scholar devoted his attention to this limited class of works and often followed them in his attempts at original composition.

The works that formed this class in no way represented the general tastes of the people. They became recognized, as they were, more or less, composed in a style that was understood by scholars only and as their study required considerable time and attention. Most of these works have followed Sanskrit poems both in style and ideas and some have slavishly copied them. Others contain intricate arrangements of letters and words which evidently required great labour and thought in their composition. For instance, the *Baranama Gabasaka* has twelve stanzas introduced into one diagram. The *Kavminikondala* contains a large number of stanzas with similar words and letters comprising whole lines of verses and sometimes whole stanzas, each word bearing a different significance. Other poems of repute bear similar methods of artificial ornamentation.

These artificial and highly ornamental compositions somehow gained a prestige, which eventually resulted in the more popular poetry being entirely overlooked by the student. The general idea had gained currency that there is a paucity of books written in popular language, and that the Siṇhalese had only few books couched in obsolete and difficult words that were not easily understood by the people. These

statements have been repeatedly made by some of the witnesses who came before the Commission on Education. Besides, this impression has been responsible for certain recent attempts at creating a new popular language among the people.

Some years since an attempt was made to introduce a set of readers into the Siṇhalese schools couched in words and expressions believed to be in common use among the people. This was, however, abandoned. Another attempt, it appears, is now being made by a private educational establishment to create a new Siṇhalese language by incorporating into school text-books words believed to be in common use. But from the specimens of these, which have recently appeared, the attempt will end in the failure it deserves. This new language appears to be a jargon made up of slang words and phrases.

It will, however, be shown in this Paper that the number of popular books in Siṇhalese is a considerably large one, and that for simplicity of language and elegance of style and diction they compare very favourably with any existing modern literature. Among the people at large, popular poetry always had its recognized place. It represented the natural expression of the lives and views of the Siṇhalese.

In the following account of the popular poetry of the Siṇhalese two classes of Siṇhalese works will be omitted from notice :—

(1.) Those which contain words and phrases which are not in popular use and which have been dealt with by previous writers on the poetry of the Siṇhalese. [*Vide* James de Alwis' Paper.]

(2.) Those works that have been written by authors who are still living.

The popular poetry of the Siṇhalese can be divided into the following classes, viz :—

I. Religious poetry.
II. Stories from Buddhist Játaka.
III. Stories drawn from tradition and folk tales.

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IV. Poems on incidents connected with the history of Ceylon.
V. Poems on arts and industries.
VI. Poetry connected with games and amusements.

I.—Buddhist Religious Poetry.

Buddhist religious poetry is of three kinds, viz:—

(*a*) Verses repeated as a form of worship and adoration of the Buddha.

(*b*) Verses giving accounts of the incidents of the life of the Buddha.

(*c*) Verses giving an account of the teachings of the Buddha.

The following are a list of books of verses of adoration and worship.

බොධි වඳනාව	Bodhi wandanáwa.
ධාතු වඳනාව	Dhátu wandanáwa.
සමණල හැල්ල	Samaṇala héḷla.
කැලණි හැල්ල	Kelaṇi héḷla.
තුන්සරණය	Tun saraṇaya..
ගමන්වලිය	Gaman waliya
පින් දිම	Pin díma.
සමණල උත්පත්තිය	Samaṇala utpattiya.
සිරිපා ගමන	Siripá gamana.
චෙතිය විසතරය	Cetiya wistaraya.
චෙතියා ලඞ්කාරය	Cetiyálankáraya.
හිමගත වර්ණනාව	Himagata warṇanáwa.
රුවන්වැලි විසතරය	Ruwanweḷi wistaraya.
කැලණි උත්පත්තිය	Keḷaṇi utpattiya.
මයාඞ්ගන වර්ණනාව	Maiyangana warṇanáwa

The stanzas in these works are repeated by pilgrims when they resort to distant places of worship. *Bodhi wandanáwa*, or "the adoration of the Bodhi tree," is usually recited by worshippers at the sacred Bodhi tree at Anurádhapura; *Dhátu wandanáwa* when worshipping at the Temple of the Tooth Relic and at numerous other ancient shrines in different parts of the Island. *Samaṇala héḷla*, *Siripá gamana* and *Gamanwaliya* are repeated by pilgrims to Siripáda (Adam's Peak), *Keḷaṇi héḷla* and *Keḷaṇi utpattiya* at the shrine at Kelaniya, and the other works in the list deal with the respective places with which their names are associated.

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Pindíma deals with the expression of good wishes and the invocation of prosperity and future happiness to all beings, through the effect of the merits gained by the devotion of the pilgrims to good work and through the kindly thoughts extended by them in their meditation and through their acts of charity. The following verses are typical of the aspirations of these devotees.

179. Bodhi wandanáwa.

5 බෝධි කියන්නේ මරසෙන් බින්ද ට
බෝධි කියන්නේ බුදුරැස් දිව්ව ට
බෝධි කියන්නේ බුද්දිය ලැබුව ට
බෝධි කියන්නේ පැතුවා බෝව ට

The word Bodhi means conquest of evil,
The word Bodhi means the manifestation of the aura of the Buddha,
The word Bodhi means the attainment of Enlightenment,
The word Bodhi means great aspirations.

262 නි ස ර ණ මුදුනේ තබා වඳින්ට සි
අ ස ර ණ වූ සැමටම පිහිටන්ට සි
ස ස ර දු කක් නිසි කලක නොවන්ට සි
අ ස ර ණ දිළිඳුන්හට දන් දෙන්ට සි

To worship, placing the three Ideals on the head,—
To be of service to all who suffer,
To have never the sorrows of life,
To give in charity to the helpless and the poor.

9 තන්හන් කර මුනි වැඩ උන් බෝමු ලේ
වි ද් වන් සන කෙලෙසුන් බිඳ හැරික ලේ
නි ල් වන් නෙත් සඟලින් මුනි පුද ක ලේ
සෙල්ලන් ගමනකි බෝධි වඳින ක ලේ

The foot of the Bo-tree where Lord Tanhankara sat,
When the evil passions were broken and subdued,
The Lord made offerings with his two blue eyes,
It is a journey of pleasure and joy when bent on worshipping the Bodhi.

Samanala héḷla.

42 සැ ම සම්පත් දමා සිදුහත් මහණවි බුදුවුන ක ලේ
දී ම නම් හොඳ දේනි කාටත් තමන් සැපසු දේප ලේ
පේ ම යෙන් මල් පහන් පුදකර තුනුරුවන් සිහිකරලො ලේ
යා ම දෙව්ලොව සැප විඳින්නට වඳිමි සිරිපා සමන ලේ

Prince Siddhárta renounced the world and as a mendicant obtained Buddhahood.
The giving in charity of what one has earned is a good quality in any one.
With devotion and in memory of the three gems offer flowers and lights,
Worship the footmark on Samanala for obtaining happiness in the Yama Deva Loka.

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60 සිතුලෙසින් අපි ගොසින් පසුකර මහහිමේ අඩවිය තු ලේ
බලඋතුන් වන සුමන සුරිඳුට පින් දිදී සැමදන ලො ලේ
සුවඳ දුන් දල්වමින් ගාතාදෙසා සැමදෙන පෙල පෙ ලේ
සොහොයුරන් අපි නිවන් දකිනට වඳිමු සිරිපා සමන ලේ

We have in our journey passed the region of the great forest as desired by us,
And all of us have joined in extending good wishes obtained through our merits to the great and powerful Sumana Deva.
Let us form into a line, offer incense and repeat verses of adoration
And Brothers! let us adore the footmark on the Samanala to obtain everlasting happiness.

Gaman waliya.

14 මෙ මා පැතුවා මට සිදුව න්ටයි
ද මා සියලු අකුසල් දුරල න්ටයි
යොමා සසර දුක් මට නොම ව න්ටයි
අ මා නිවන් පුරවර ලැබ ග න්ටයි

Let my wishes be fulfilled
And let me be rid of all evil;
Let me not have the sorrows of life
And let me attain the Eternal City of Peace.

The following is a list of books on the incidents of the life of Buddha.

බුදුමුල උපත	Budumula-upatha.
මරඟන සැහැල්ල	Marangana-sẹhẹlla.
සුවිසි විවරණය	Suwisi-wiwaraṇaya.
දෙතිස් මහාපුරුෂ ලක්ෂණය	Detis-mahápurusha lakshaṇa.
පිරිනිවන් ජාතකය	Piriniwan-játakaya.
ආලවක දමනය	Álawaka-damanaya.
අලව් සැහැල්ල	Alaw sẹhẹlla.
යසෝදරාවත	Yasodaráwata.
සුජාතාවත	Sujátáwata.
දෙව්දත් කථාව	Devdat-katháwa.
ලිච්ඡවි කථාව	Licchaví-katháwa.
මහබිනික්මන් පූජාවලිය	Mahabinikman-pujáwaliya.

Most of the books written on religious subjects are prefaced by an introductory account of the life and incidents in the life of the Buddha. A few are specially devoted to this subject.

Suwisi-wiwaraṇaya gives an account of the 24 great Teachers of Gautama Buddha before whom he appeared in some of his previous lives.

සාගර ගුණැති නාරද මුනිතුම කා ලේ
සාදු ගුණඟ තාපසයෙක්ව හිම තු ලේ
නෑර බුදුබවම සිත තුටුවිය එක ලේ
පෑදී සිතින් විවරණ ලැබුව සුවිපු ලේ

During the time of Nárada, Teacher of great Renown,
Being a Tápasa of known virtues living in the forest,
Who desired to qualify for a Buddha
And with a clear faith He obtained the blessing for attaining his object

The *Detis-mahápurusha-lakshaṇa* ("The thirty-two great attributes of man") gives a description of the physical beauties of the Buddha. The following is one of the verses:—

29 ව රෙ ක සිය පෙලු කපු හැනුගිතෙලෙහි ලා පෙදෙක බඳු මුනිසර ණා
මොලොක මකුලුගෙ ගිලිලෙසින් මුල දලව පිලිවෙලිනි අග සිහි ණා
අ නෙ ක සිරි ඇති පා සමව බිම පිහිටන සතරඟිලි අනුහසි ණා
නොයෙක වස් දෙස් සැම මෙමැති පා නියගින් ඉගිල දෙරනට බසි ණා

The feet of the Lord were soft like a hundred times sifted cotton wool immersed in ghee;
The toes are shaped like the soft body of a spider, thick at the root and tapering towards the tips;
The soles, which possess much beauty, rest level on the ground along with the four small toes; and by these graces
Let all evils and ills of this noble—who is present—fall to the earth from his feet and nail tips.

Budumula-upatha gives a short account of the life of Buddha in popular stanzas, from the birth of Prince Siddhárta to his great renunciation. The following verses describing the selection of wet nurses for the infant Prince are interesting as showing the popular conception regarding the physical attributes of an ideal woman:—

47 රුවැති කතුන් පවසනු කොයිසැටි සේ
හිනැති මිටි ඉඟ මල්දම විල සේ
කියති මඳක් එලඳුන් රුව මෙලෙ සේ
දිලෙන මුන සඳ ආරුඩ වෙන සේ

How are the beauteous women described?
The waist is slender like a garland,
Her beauty may be partially described in this manner,
The face shines as if possessed by the moon.

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48 වරලෙස මොණරුගෙ පිල්බර වැ න්නේ
පියයුරු රත්රණ් කුඹු දෙක වැ න්නේ
උවනත පුන්සඳ සේම දිලෙ න්නේ
මෙම ලෙස අඟනන් තෝරා ග න්නේ

The hair is like the tail feathers of the peacock,
The breasts are like unto two golden pots,
The face shines like unto the full moon.
Select women by these qualities.

49 නිලිපුල් මෙන් ඇස් පාට තිබේ නම්
නලලත අඩසඳ සේම දිලේ නම්
පැහැපත් දත් මුතු පෙලසෙ දිලේ නම්
යහපති කිරි පෙවුමට ඒ අඟ නම්

If the eyes have the tint of the blue lotus,
If the forehead shines like the crescent moon,
If the bright teeth shine like rows of pearls,
These women will be good wet nurses.

50 නලල පිටට වරලෙස රැලි වැටින න්
පලල නොවම මුවරද තුනගැලන න්
කොමල කේසකලාපනය අඟන න්
දැක සැදු කිරි පෙවුමට ඒ කුමරු න්

If the hair shows curls on the forehead,
If the mouth is narrow and three inches,
If the women be lovely with glorious hair,
See these signs, and engage them for nursing the child.

51 මල්පිට සේ ඉඟ සෑදි තිබෙ න්නේ
බඳපිට පෙතිගෝමර එලඳු න්නේ
ඔපකලලූ රන්රුව විලසි න්නේ
රුසිරු අස්ට කල්‍යාන එලඳු න්නේ

The waist is formed like a floral band,
Those women have *gomara* spots on their chest,
They are like unto images of burnished gold,
And these women have the eightfold signs of beauty.

53 කොමල ඇඟිලි සපු කැකුලු ලෙසි න්නේ
උ දු ල ගිරා තුඩු නියපෙල වැ න්නේ
ප තු ල ඔබයි සුරුවන් ගමනි න්නේ
නි ම ල රුවැති කිරිමවු අඟන න්නේ

The delicate fingers are like champac buds,
The nails like unto bright beaks of the parrot,
The feet are placed on the ground with delicate tread,
The nursing women possess purity and grace,

The Marangana Sẹhẹlla describes in detail the fight with evil passions which Prince Siddhárta had to contend against before attaining the supreme knowledge. The strong temptation of desire for power and the temptation of lust and passions are vividly described.

The popular mind, it is seen, has always understood this struggle of Siddhárta as a mental one. The *Arahanta-wandanáwa* describes in vivid language a battle, and the fighters on the side of the Buddha are described as personifications of the ten perfections.

226 කවා පොවා ඇතිකල මාගේ දැන නමැති යෝදයෙක් ඇති
හැඳවා පිරුවට නවගුණ සිහිකල සීල නමැති යෝදයෙක් ඇති
දනද පිරු ගබඩා රජ හැරගිය නයිස්ක්‍රම්‍ය යෝදයෙක් ඇති
විදුරු කගය වැනි වාද සිඳින මගෙ මහනුවනැති යෝදයෙක් ඇති

There is a valiant General named Charity, that I tended and brought up.
There is a valiant General named Conduct, that was dressed in new clothes and brought up with mind prepared by various good deeds.
There is a valiant General named Renunciation, who left stores of riches.
There is a valiant General named Wisdom, who cuts down doubts like a well-made rapier.

227 මුහුදු ජලවත් ඉසිනට බසිනා වියයි නමැති යෝදයෙක් ඇති
අත පය සිඳිතත් වෛර නොබඳින සාන්ති නම් යෝදයෙක් ඇති
තියුනු එකඩුවෙන් තම හිස කපතත් සත්‍ය නමැති යෝදයෙක් ඇති
සම් මස් නහරද සුන්වී යන මුත් අදිටන්බල යෝදයෙක් ඇති

There is a valiant General, Perseverance, that will even attempt the emptying of the seas.
There is a valiant General, Patience, that will not bear ill-will even were he mutilated.
There is a valiant General, Truth, who will not falter even if he were beheaded with a sharp sword.
There is a valiant General, Determination (who will stand firm), even if his skin, flesh and nerves are crushed up.

228 සතහට නිතියෙන් මෙත්සිත් වඩවන මෛත්‍රි නම්යෝදයෙක් ඇ ති
සතුරට මිතුරුට මැදහත්කම් ඇති උපෙක්ෂ නම්යෝදයෙක් ඇ ති
වට පිට නොගොසින් මෙසේ කියන මගෙ දසමහ යෝදයො බලමහ ති
සටනට ඒ නම් මරසෙන් දැක දැක අස්ව සිටින්නේ කුමන ග ති

There is a valiant General, Love, who always extends kind thoughts to all beings.
There is a valiant General, Steadfast, who looks on friend and foe alike.
The powers of you ten great valiant Generals, who are unmoved, are very great,
And why do you hesitate when confronted with these hordes of the evil one who threaten to fight me?

The Arahanta-wandanáwa contains 618 stanzas. Its descriptions of the everyday life of the people, their habits, customs and festivals are very interesting.

The following stanza gives a description of bulls used at a ploughing festival.

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116 මේ ලෙස කෙත රැස්වූ එ ද
කී ලෙස මන්ගල ගොන් ස ද
උන් හිස රන් පිප්පිද යො ද
ඒ ලෙ ස රන් නඟුලක් ස ද

In this manner they assembled at the fields that day.
The chief kine were decorated according to custom,
On their heads were placed golden sheaths,
And a golden plough was prepared.

The following are a few of the verses that describe the crowd attending the festivities.

122 කරලා මුතු මල් හද තැ ලි
ඇඳ ලා සුදු සේලද රැ ලි
අතලා රන් සක් මුදු ගි ලි
හැරලා ලඳ යෙති නොව මැ ලි

Wearing pearls, flowers and moon necklaces,
Wearing white clothes with pleated fringes,
Wearing in the fingers golden rings,
The fair ones were moving gaily along.

123 මුව ද ත් පොඩි මැද ගන්න මි
සුව ද ත් මල් පලඳින්න මි
සිරි ම ත් ලියො සැරසෙන්න මි
මුහුද ත් රැලසේ එන්න මි

They are burnishing their small teeth,
They are putting on flowers and scent,
The graceful ladies are thus preparing
And are rushing like the waves of the ocean.

124 රුව ගුණයෙන් ගත බැබලි යෝ
තව එනුවර සල්ලල ලි යෝ
යවුනසට පැමිණි ලි යෝ
වප් මඟුලට කෙල කෙල ගි යෝ

They were bright with beauty and grace,
The courtezans of that city,
Women who were young
With gaiety and fun were on their way to the ploughing fair.

135 නු ව න ගුණැති මහ පණ්ඩිත ජනයෝ තැන තැන
මඬුලු බදි න්නම්
ක ව න පොවන දරු පෙම්බර එලියෝ වට සෙව
නැලිවල ඉ න්නම්
දු ව න පණින මහ සල්ලල ජනයෝ තැන තැන
පොර අල්ල න්නම්
දෙ ව න සදක්සේ නිරිඳු සමග මැති දහස සිසා
නද දෙ න්නම්

The wise, good and learned men were assembling at various spots,
Loving women with children being fed and attended to were stopping at shady nooks,
The young men of spirit were wrestling at various places,
The Ministers surrounding the King, who was like unto a second moon, filled the place with their pleasant laughter.

The Yasódarawata, which describes the life of Princess Yasodara, wife of Prince Siddhárta, contains 130 stanzas. The Princess Yasodara's sorrow is described in the following verses :—

93 අනගි මුතු මැනික් අබරණ ගල වා ලා
අනගි රන් පේස පාමුදු ගල වා ලා
කනක කුන්ඩලාබරනත් ගල වා ලා
මලානිකව සිටියේ බිසව ගල්වෙ ලා

Having put aside the valuable ornaments of pearls and gems,
Having put aside the valuable toe rings,
Having put aside the ear ornaments,
The Princess remained in sorrow like unto a stone.

100 කැලේ තිබෙන කොයි දේවත් රස වේ වා
ම ලේ බඹරු ලෙස පිළිවෙල ලැබේ වා
අ ව් වේ තිබෙන රැස්මාලා අඹු වේ වා
ග ව් වෙන් ගව්ව දිව මාලිග සැදේ වා

Let every product in the forest become acceptable and good,
Let him find his way like the bees that go to a flower,
Let the heat of the rays of the sun disappear,
And from league to league let there be resting stations like unto the abodes of Devas.

The Author in concluding this work addresses a message to women in the following verses :—

125 අසම් න මෙදහම් අහනෝ ගෙන සිත ට
සටසි න රවාවත් නොබලා නම හිමි ට
වසම් න රන්රසසෙ එකඟින් අදර කො ට
උපදි නු යසෝදර බිසවුන් ලෙස සොද ට

Let women hear these good words and take them to heart.
And let them not even frown with their lowered eyes at their husbands.
Love them and live with them in agreement like the essence of gold,
And be born like good Queen Yasodara.

126 හි මි ට ඇති පහසු අපහසු නොබල මිනි
අ ප ට මෙනම් දෙස දෙස ගෙනව කිය මිනි
සි ත ට දුක් දෙවන බස් කිය නොකිය මිනි
සොදට සිටිනු මැන සියහිමි වෙත පෙ මිනි

Without caring for the worries and troubles of a husband
And saying "supply us with such and such articles,"
Without uttering such words as would give him pain,
Live well and love your husband.

127 දු ක ක් වන් කලට අත මිට හිඟ වෙමි න
සෙතක් වන් කලට වැඩියෙන් දයාවෙ න
ඇ ද ක් නොව කතුනි හිමි සැලකුවෝනි න
කිමෙක් මොක් දකිනු බැරි යසෝදර මෙ න

When adversity befalls with want and troubles,
Love them with greater attachment than during times of prosperity,
If women were to cherish their husbands thus,
Why should not they attain Peace like Yasodara?

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Devidat-kathâwa consists of 412 stanzas and gives the story of Devadatta, Prince Siddharta's cousin, who figures largely as the opponent of the Buddha in his mission. The Buddha's attitude towards Devadatta throughout is expressed in the following stanza :—

333 මු නි ඳු මරන්නට දෙවිදන් මහතෙර උපා තුනක් කර
ජය නොලබ න්
තෙරිඳු ඊට පවසන වචනේ නම් පොළව කොටා පස්
සිඳ දැමුව න්
ප සි ඳු මෙ බූමිය විසර නොසන ලෙස මුනිඳු උරනබස්
නැත කාට න්
මු නි ඳු තෙරිඳුහට කුළුනු වඩලා සිවිනා සමුදී නැවත
සුග න්

To destroy the Teacher, Devadat devised three plans without success.
Terindu (Devidat) had to declare that even as the solid earth when dug up
Does not disappear, in like manner the Teacher has no word of hatred for any being.
The Teacher extends his kindness towards Devidat (Tirindu) and pardons him.

Devadatta pursues his career of jealousy till he was on his death bed. There he feels great remorse for what he had done, he fears for his future state, and at his request is brought to the presence of the Buddha. Lying on his death bed, he laments. The following is one of the verses in this lamentation :—

354 නැසි න් මගෙ ගොල්ල සැවොම ඇයිද බලා ඉ න්නේ
මේ ව න් දුක සනසන්නට වැයම් කරප න්නේ
වැ ය ම් කර ගලවන්නට කතිකා කරප න්නේ
මේ ව න් නුබලගේ නැයා ගලවා ඇරප න්නේ

Why do all my relatives remain still and look on me?
Oh! try to relieve me of this sorrow,
Devise means so that I may be saved,
And save from this plight your relative.

Devadatta had his evil career and had his sufferings, he is not without hope of final salvation.

393 වි සේ ස කර නව වාරේ නිරයෙන් ගැලවෙමි නේ
තොසේ වඩා මනු ලොවපිද මොක් දකිනට ලොබි නේ
ප සේ බුදුව පැය ඇතුලත නිවන්පුරට පැමි නේ
ය සේ සපිරි ජයවර්දන මගින් නිදෙස් වෙමි නේ

By special efforts he escaped nine times from suffering worlds
And with great delight will be born in human form to obtain peace,
Becoming a Pachcheka Buddha and within an hour will obtain the City of Peace,
And through this full and prosperous path find emancipation

The story of Alawaka who was converted by the preaching of the Buddha is sung in two different works. The *Alawaka-damanaya* and *Alawsehella*.

56 රිවි දුටු ගනදුරු ගියමෙන් ලෝ කය
පණිඳුට ගුරුලිඳු මෙන් තෙද ලෝ කය
ගිනි දුටු වෙඛුරක් ලෙස හද සෝ කය
මුනි ඳුට දමනය වුනි අලව කය

Like the darkness of the world that disappears on the advent of the sun,
Like the Garunda who overpowers the Nága,
The sorrows of the heart dispersed like ghee that has been subjected to a fire,
Alawaka became subjugated by the Teacher.

Priniwan-játaka gives an account of the death and cremation of the Buddha.

The following is one of the stanzas of Buddha's last discourse and advice to his disciples :—

123 දෙ වා දහම් ලොව සතහට තොර නොව හැම දව සේ
පොවා සවන් දෙතින් මන් පුරවා කර සතො සේ
ය වා නිවන් පුරයට සත රකිමින් නිති අප සේ
වි වා ද නොව මහනෙනි මතු පවතිව් ඉන් සැප සේ

Preach the good words to all beings in the world unceasing, every day
Fill their hearts with gladness by filling their ears.
Look after all beings as was done by me, and give them the way to the City of Peace.
Without discord, O mendicants, live thee in peace.

The following is a verse from the lamentation of the disciples :—

දෙ සා දහම් ගුනේ ගොසින් තැනින් තැ නේ
අ සා රයෙන් මෙනේ තුටු කරවන දි නේ
නි සා මෙතොප අනේ මොක් සැපතක් උ නේ
තොසා ව කාගෙනෙ ලබමුද මුනි ගු නේ

Going from place to place and preaching the good gospel
Where you were gladdening all hearts (we have lost you) as if by a misfortune;
Oh! through you the happiness of peace arrived.
Now from whom shall we obtain the grace that we had from thee?

Lichchavi-kathâwa gives the story of a great famine and pestilence in the chief town of the Lichchavis during the time of the Buddha and the Buddha's visit to the city. The following are some of the verses in which the poet describes the great devastation :—

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77 පි නි බිඳු පමණත් වැසි නැත තැන බා ග
නැනි ගෙවලෙහි පතකුත් නැත බව බෝ ග
මි නි කුන පෙහි දුගඳින් පැමිනී වේ ග
ව නි එපුරට අහිවාතක නම් රෝ ග

In some places there was no rain nor a drop of dew,
In the houses there was not left a measure of grain,
Through the smells of decaying human bodies there was distress,
And the city was infected with the plague *Ahiwátaka*.

81 රැ සි නා රෝග ගිම් වැද වෙහෙස වෙ න්නා
ඉ සි නා ගිණි පුපුරුසේ රැස් වැදෙ න්නා
ව සි නා යම් තැනෙක පිනිබිඳු නොව න්නා
න සි නා අය නිමක් නැත පුර නොද න්නා

The people were being oppressed by heat, pestilence and disease.
The rays of the sun were scorching like showers of sparks,
There was no rain and not even a drop of dew,
The number of deaths in the city was uncounted and unknown.

The following works deal with some of the teachings of Buddhism :—

ලෝවැඩ සඟරාව	Lóveḍa saṅgaráwa
පරාභවසූත්‍ර කාව්‍ය	Parábhavasútrakávya.
දහම්ගැට මාලාව	Dahamgeṭa-máláwa.
දහම්ගැටේ	Dahamgeṭé.
දහම්රත්න මාලය	Dahamratnamálaya.

The *Lóveḍa Sangaráwa* deals with acts of merits and demerits and the results of actions.

The *Parábhavasútra-kávya* is a poetical version of the Parábhavasutraya, where is given the various acts that lead to the degradation of a man.

Dahamgeṭamáláwa and Dahamgeṭé are two poems that give a number of Buddhist doctrines and teachings in the form of verses couched in ordinary colloquial language. The expressions in the words convey one meaning, whereas when they are interpreted in the light of religious teachings they express a different idea.

For instance in the *Dahamgeṭé* :—

7 කබල නොබිඳෙන තුරු ලුනු ලා අද තිබූ නම්
කබල බුනෝ තිනුත් ලුනු නොනසී සෙට වන තුරු

Ordinarily the above can be translated as follows :—

If today, till the earthen vessel is unbroken, we have salt in it,
Then, if the earthen vessel breaks, the salt will not disappear till next day.

The meaning intended by the verse is the following :—

If one practises kind thoughts during the period that his physical powers are not on the decline, even when he loses his physical vigour, his kind thoughts will abide with him till he attains to Greatness.

Dahamgeṭamáláwa.

35 අපේ ගමට අප යන කල නිකම් අති න්
අප ගිය කල එති නෑයෝ වටින් පිටි න්
ඒ ආ කල අප දෙන්නේ කිම්ද ඉති න්
එසෙව් ගමට අපි නොයමුව නිකම් අති න්

Ordinarily the stanza will read :—

When we go to our village empty handed,
When we get there, our relatives from all sides will visit us.
When they come, what shall we give them?
Therefore let us not go to our village with empty hands.

The meaning intended to be conveyed is the following :—

When we leave this world and arrive at the next without results of good deeds, in the formation of a new life, the confection of a being appears; and where results of good deeds are absent, we have nothing to help us. So let us not depart this life without collecting good deeds.

II.—Stories from the Buddhist Jatakas.

The Játaka stories have been deservedly popular among the Sinhalese. The Pali Játaka Commentary was translated into Sinhalese during the time of King Parákrama Báhu IV. (1319-1347). In most of the Buddhist temples stories from the Játaka appear in pictures on the walls or sculptured in stone.

The popular poetry of the Sinhalese contain a very large number of Játaka stories. The following is a list of Játakas in verse which are now available.

වෙස්සන්තර ජාතකය	Wessantara Játakaya.
වෙස්සන්තර මංගල්ලේ	Wessantara Mangallé.
වෙස්සන්තර සැහැල්ලු	Wessantara Seḥella.
වෙස්සන්තර විරිදුව	Wessantara Wiriduwa.
විදුර ජාතකය	Widura Játakaya.
මහා විදුර ජාතකය	Maháwidura Játakaya.
හංසරාජ මංගල්ලේ	Hansarája Mangalle.
සදකිඳුරු ජාතකය	Sandakinduru Játakaya.
දහම්සොඬ ජාතකය	Dahamsonda Játakaya.
දහම් සොඬවත	Dahamsondawata.
අන්ධභූත ජාතකය	Aṇḍhabhuta Játakaya.

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මුව ජාතකය	Muwa Játakaya.
කන්ටහාල ජාතකය	Kanṭahála Játakaya.
සම්බුලා ජාතකය	Sambulá Játakaya.
දෙවධර්ම ජාතකය	Dewadharma Játakaya.
නිව් ජාතකය	Niwi Játakaya.
මහාකන්හ ජාතකය	Mahákanha Játakaya.
මගමාන ජාතකය	Magamána Játakaya.
සත්දන්ත හෑල්ල	Satdanta Héḷla.
තේමිය ජාතකය	Temiya Játakaya.
ධර්මධ්වජ ජාතකය	Dharmadhwaja Játakaya.
සාම ජාතකය	Sáma Játakaya.
මත්ස්‍ය ජාතකය	Matsya Játakaya.
කාලිංගබොධි ජාතකය	Kálingabodhi Játakaya.
පදමානවක ජාතකය	Padamánawaka Játakaya.
චම්පෙය්‍ය ජාතකය	Campyeya Játakaya.
උම්මග්ග ජාතකය	Ummagga Játakaya.
කට්ඨාරි ජාතකය	Kaṭṭhári Játakaya.
කුනාල ජාතකය	Kunála Játakaya.
චුල්ලපදුම ජාතකය	Cullapaduma Játakaya.
ජයද්දිස ජාතකය	Jayaddisa Játakaya.
නලින ජාතකය	Nalina Játakaya.
භූරිදත්ත ජාතකය	Bhuridatta Játakaya.
මහාපදුම ජාතකය	Mahápaduma Játakaya.
මහශිලව ජාතකය	Mahaṣilawa Játakaya.
සච්චංකිර ජාතකය	Saccankira Játakaya.
සුතසෝම ජාතකය	Sutasóma Játakaya.
සුවණ්ණමයුර ජාතකය	Swarṇamayura Játakaya.

Of all Játaka stories Vessantara Játaka may be said to be the most popular. In most of the important Viháras in the Island the story of King Vessantara, the great Giver, is depicted in detail. There are four different popular poems based on this story. The large work, Vessantara Játakaya, consisting of 975 stanzas, is read throughout the Island, its verses are repeated to eager listeners and are sung to different tunes. The way-side beggar, who solicits alms, often sings the verses to the accompaniment of a crudely made string instrument—Vina. The only old book that has illustrations drawn on palm leaf is known to be the Vessantara Játaka. In one copy there are several hundred different figures drawn to illustrate the story. The verses in the Vessantara Játaka Kávya are couched in simple language; the habits and customs and views of life of the Sinhalese villager find here a

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place. The popularity of the book is due to the manner in which it appeals to the village reader.

The following stanza is selected from the description of festivities held in the city in honour of the birth of Prince Vessantara :—

65 දෙර දෙර රණ් රිදි මිනි මුතු කිර ණා
පල පල පිලියෙන් රැඳි රඹ තොර ණා
දෙර දෙර රණ් කුඹු කලසෙන් සොබ ණා
සිරි බර පුර සිරි සැදි මුලු දෙර ණා

The radiance of gold, silver, gems and pearls appeared at every doorway,
There were arches of plantain decorated with cloth and fruit,
At every door there were golden vessels filled (with flowers),
The renown of the prosperous city filled the world.

The following stanzas are selected from the description of various ceremonies connected with the life of the Prince :—

87 නි න් ද නැති සඳ මහරජ බිම නේ
, බි න් ද ආසිරි වඩවා එදි නේ
කැ න් ද ඛමුනන් සහපිරිවරි නේ
වැ න් ද එකුමරු දිවයුරු එදි නේ

In the palace of the unblemished King Sanda-maha
Living in growing happiness during that time,
Inviting Brahmans with their followers,
The prince paid his obeisance to the sun on that day.

88 ර න් රස මෙන් සෙනෙදස අඟවා ලති
පු න් සඳ මෙන් සොඳ රැසිරු වඩා ලති
ම න් මඳ මෙන් සැපතින් පිනවා ලති
තු න් මසිතුන් දිවයුරු දක්වා ලති

Love and attachment pure as essence of gold were bestowed,
Prosperity increased like the radiance of the full moon,
Happiness overflowed like that of Manmada.
In three months, too, he was shown the sun.

89 ස ක් සඳ ඇඳි මෙන් මුනිගුණ උදෙ සා
ස ක් විති රජසැප ඇර වෙන වෙහෙ සා
ස ත් සිය පනසක් ගණනින් දව (*sic.*) සා
ස ත් මස මේවඩවානම් සල සා

As god Sakra painted on the moon in memory of the Lord
For his renunciation of the world and the great pains he took,
After seven hundred and fifty days, (*sic.*)
The feeding ceremony of the seventh month was performed.

90 වි සි තු රු අබිමතයෙන් කුල සු ද්ද
ටි වි තු රු ,දහමෙන් පව් මුලුව ද්ද
එ මි තු රු පිරිවර සැට දහසෙ ද්ද
වෙසතු රු නම් ලා ලොව පරසි ද්ද

The family history was declared with great ceremony.
With recitations of Dharma evils were expelled.
With sixty thousand friendly attendants
He was proclaimed to the world by the name Vessantara.

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91 ලක්ෂයකින් දෙරිසන කර ලාථ
ලක්ෂයකින් රන් වලථත් ලාථ
ලක්ෂයකින් ඉන සවඩිත් ලාථ
ලක්ෂයකින් පය වලථත් ලාථ

A golden chain of the value of a lac was placed round his neck.
Golden bracelets of the value of a lac were placed on his arms.
A chain of the value of a lac was placed round his waist.
Ornaments of the value of a lac were placed round his ankles.

King Vessantara gives away the white elephant, the greatest possession of the kingdom, and the citizens resent it. Vessantara elects to leave the kingdom and go into the forest and pass his life in religious meditation. The Queen desires to accompany him. The following stanzas give the request of the Queen.

168 බාලේ පෙම්බර කොන්ඩා බැන්ද ත් තපසට නොගනිති වන්නා
දෙකනේ පුස්කොල තෝඩු තිබූව ත් තපසට නොගනිති වන්නා
කන්නඩි කැඩපත් මූන බැලූව ත් තපසට නොගනිති වන්නා
දෙකන දෙමික්කන් මේවර ලූව ත් තපසට නොගනිති වන්නා

Oh, will they not allow me to be an ascetic because I dressed my hair in my youth?
Will they not admit me as an ascetic because I wear ear ornaments?
Will they not allow me to be an ascetic because I have used mirrors and glass?
Oh, will they not admit me as an ascetic on account of my jewels and ornaments?

169 කරට පදක්කන් තැලි පැලඳුව ත් තපසට නොගනිති වන්නා
වංගි දෙවංගි තනපොට බැන් ද ත් තපසට නොගනිති වන්නා
දූතේ සුලඟිලි රන් මුදු ලූව ත් තපසට නොගනිති වන්නා
නෙරිය තියාලා සේලය ඇන්ද ත් තපසට නොගනිති වන්නා

Will they not admit me as a Devotee because I wore medallion necklets?
Will they not admit me as a Devotee because I wore dresses wrapped once and twice round my body?
Will they not allow me to be a Devotee because I wore golden rings in the small fingers of my hands?
Oh, will they not admit me as a Devotee because I wore pleated and ornamented cloths?

170 බාලේ පෙම්බර කොන්ඩා බැන්දට සැඩපථ ගොතවා ගඤ්ඤයි
දෙකනේ පුස්කොල තෝඩු තිබූවට බණපොත් ලියවා ගඤ්ඤයි
කන්නඩි කැඩපත් මූන බැලූවට විසරීපතක් ලැබ ගඤ්ඤයි
දෙකන දෙමික්කන් මේවර ලූවට මුද්‍රා කරලා ගඤ්ඤයි

Oh, I shall have my head matted, though I dressed my hair in my youth.
I shall have books engraved and offered for wearing leaf ornaments [in my ears.
I shall use the screen fan, though I used mirrors and glasses.
I shall wear the mudra seed, though I wore ornaments and jewels.

171 කාර පදක්කන් තැලි පැලඳුවට නවගුණවැල් කර ල ඤ්ඤයි
වංගි දෙවංගි තනපට ලූවට ඇඟ දිවිසම් පොරව ඤ්ඤයි
නෙරිය තියාලා සේලය ඇන්දට වට අඳනා පලදි ඤ්ඤයි
ලොවුතුරු බුදුබව සිතින් දරාගෙන තපසට යන්නට එ ඤ්ඤයි

Oh, I shall wear a bead string though I used the medallion necklet.
I shall put on the leopard's skin, though I wore dresses wrapped round my body.
I shall wear a coarse skirt, though I dressed in pleated ornamental cloth.
Oh, I shall follow you to the forest in your quest for the great Redemption.

The giving away of the children to a Brahman makes the Queen lament. Her lamentations are described in a large number of verses. The following are a few specimens:—

736 ඉ නේ ඉ නේ දරු සෙනෙහස බෝය අ නේ
දූ නේ දූ නේ දරු සෙනෙහස අත්මිදු නේ
මෙනේ සෙනේ නැති නෑසිය කෙනෙක් ව නේ
අ නේ අ නේ නිරිදුනි නැද්ද දරු සෙ නේ

Now and now my love for my children is so great,
I feel and feel their loss and my love has no bounds.
And you, my Lord, appear as one who is near but without sentiments.
Oh, Oh, my King, do you not feel a love for these children (we have lost)?

740 පියාසර කරණ සිවුපා සතුනි ව නේ
නොදැක නොවෑවෙමි මගෙ දරුවන් ඉති නේ
මෙසේ කල කුසල් සැම ඉවසන් තොසි නේ
දුටොත් තියව සිව්පා සතුනි මට අ නේ

Oh, birds that fly in the sky and beasts that roam about the forest,
If now I do not see my children, how shall my sorrows cease?
Accept with gladness the results of all my good acts.
Oh, keep me informed when you have seen my children.

The Queen after her fruitless search for the children faints. King Vessantara tells her that the children were given away to a Brahmin and she replies.

785 මෙච්චර දේ මට නොකි යා
දුක් දුන්නේ ඇයි හිමි යා
පෙත නලල තිබා පි යා
වැඳ පින් ගති සාදු කි යා

Why was I not informed of this?
Why made my Lord me lament?
She raised both her palms to her forehead
And worshipped and rejoiced at the great deed.

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The children are rescued by their grand-father. A deputation of citizens come to the forest and beg Vessantara to return and everything concludes well.

909 කඳු වැලි පිස සුදු වැල්ලෙන්ම මග සද ත්
රන් තොරනින් රඹ තොරනින් නුවර සර ත්
දුහුල් පිළි උඩ දමමින් සෙනග නට ත්
වෙසතුරු රජ සුබ මඟුලෙන් නුවර වඩි ත්

The discoloured dust was swept away and pure white sand was strewn on the road.
The city was decorated with golden and (floral) arches.
The people danced and waved (flags and banners).
King Vessantara entered the city in great pomp and pageant

Vessantara Mangalle contains 112 stanzas and, though the descriptive details of the larger work are absent, the poet has sung the story in a very impressive manner. The villain of the story, Brahman Jútaka's domestic troubles and his quest after servitors for his young wife, who was compelled to marry him, are given in detail.

57 කුඩමිට කුඩසහල සමග අත්සුනු පසි ගති සුරත ට
බඩගිණි බඩ නිවන ලෙසට සාල් අවුල් ගති පසිය ට
වැඩමිස මට අවැඩ වේය බලසි නිවිති පෙර මග සි ට
අඩගහගෙන ජූතකයා පවි අරවා යෙති ගමන ට

Taking up the umbrella handle and the two umbrellas with the food bag on his right arm,
In order to appease the cravings of hunger rice and salt were taken in the bag.
Observing the good and bad omens on the road,
Jutaka after bidding farewell (to his wife) started on the journey.

Vessantara Viriduwa consists of 87 stanzas written in the form of questions and answers to be sung by two persons.

38 අප ම හ තා වෙස්සන්තර කප්රුක මෙන් තෙදි නේ
ලොවට මෙතා කර දින දින දන්දි වසන සදි නේ
ර ට ට ඉ තා කුළුණු බැඳුන මග ගෙවමින් දුකි නේ
ක වුද ඈ තා දන්ගන්නට ආවෝ දුරු රටි . නේ

Our Great one Vessantara renowned like unto a Kapruka (wishing-tree)
When living in mercy to the world engaged in giving alms,—
With love for their country and travelling a long and difficult journey,
Who were the persons who arrived from a distant land?

39 බොරුවෙන් පාලුව තිබුනේ කාලිඟරට එදි නේ
නි රි ඳු න් මහ වෙස්සන්තර දන්දෙන බව සමි නේ
ගෙ ව මි න් දුරු කතර මහත් ගමන් වෙහෙස නොගෙ නේ
බ මු න න් අටදෙනෙක් පැමිණ ගියෝය ඇතු රැගෙ නේ

Through the results of false speech the country of Kalinga was struck with a famine.
Hearing that King Vessantara was bestowing alms,
After travelling a long distance without heeding the fatigues of the journey
Eight Brahmins arrived and left after obtaining the white elephant.

The following are a few select verses from the large number of Játaka stories included in the list already given.

A gambling incident is thus described in Vidura Játaka.

194 ස ක ල රූසිරැති මානවකයා පසැට බලමින් සතොසි නේ
බ හු ල මාලිය සත්තිබුන්දය සාමටය අය සතරි නේ
වි පු ල මෙසයින් රජුනි ඔබහට කැමැත්තක් ගනු නිවිතැ නේ
ස,ප ල වන සිය පුරුදු ඉන් අය ගත්තු කල රජ රැහියෙ නේ

The handsome young man after examining the dies with glee
From the faces known as Bahula, Máliya, Satti Bundaya, Sámataya and the quartette,
Exclaimed, "select any one of these six, oh king."
The King gladly selected his favourite figures.

The mother-in-law in Padamánawaka Játaka is deprecated by the wife in the following verse :—

140 හි මි සද අසන් නුඹෙ අම්මාගෙ අවගු නේ
අ මි තුරු විස ගෝර නයි සැපිනියෙකු මෙ නේ
සොමි හිරි තෙපුල් කීවත් මම සිත තුටි නේ
අ මි තුරු නිසරු වැඩි බස්මසි කියනු දැ නේ

Oh, husband, listen to the evil intents of your mother.
She is like unto a terrible hooded snake.
Even were I to speak to her in pleasant words,
She retorts in unfriendly and evil words.

A mother's appeal in Temiya Játaka is given in the following verse.

19 අඬ අඬා බිසව කියනා විලා පේ
කාලකන්නි නැත මගෙ කුමරුගෙ රූ පේ
නුඹට සරි කෙනෙක් නැත මේ මුළු දී පේ
බැසපන් පුත නුවනි ඇරලා මේ තා පේ

These are the lamenting cries of the Queen
"My son the prince has not the appearance of an unlucky being.
In this wide world there is not one to equal you.
Leave this mood and arise, my loving son."

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Description of an old man from Magamána Játaka is given below :—

62 වැ හැ ර නිබෙන කය බල ඇටසැකි ල්ලා
නොහැර තියෙන කුනුකෙල නිකට තො ල්ලා
ඉ සි ර තියෙන ඉසකෙස් සුදු වැරැ ල්ලා
අ සු ර රජුගෙ බෑනා නර ම ල්ලා

The wasted body is like unto a skeleton,
The mouth is unclean and the chin pointed,
The unkempt hair is white and wavy,
This human decrepit is the nephew of king Asura.

63 ද හ රේ සන් වැරලි බර ඉදිමි පතුල ට
දි රේ ඉස නිකට සුදුමැලිවූ වයස ට
පා රේ යන්ට බැරි සැරමිටිය අතක ට
ගො රේ කුබ මොටද නාකිය දැන් නුඹ ට

The body is covered with wrinkles and the feet are swollen,
The head and chin are pale through age.
He is not able to walk along the road and has to support himself with a crutch in his hand.
Oh, old Decrepit, why do you need an umbrella?

The stanzas in *Sandakinduru Játaka* are very popular. The Kinnari's song is described in the following verse :—

9 දෙඹ ම ල් නෙලමින් ගෙන පිපි විලසින් ගොත මින
ගි රි නි ල් කුසුමින් කල පට බබලන මිනිදුල් විල සින
ම න කල් මල් කුල්ලක් ගෙන පිඹිනි නල හමන ලෙ සින
සු වි ස ල් වන ගැබ හැම තැන ගොස කරණ සද මෙලෙ සින

With the flowers of the domba making floral garlands,
With blue mountain flowers a garland string was made like unto a gem-studded cloth,
Decking in sprays of flowers of lovely hue and whistling like a blast of wind,
In this manner she was filling the forest with sweet song.

The following three verses express the indignation of the Kinnari at the king who shot her mate :—

27 ර ජ ක ම් කරණ අස නොප ඇස දුටුවා ද
කි සි ය ම් වරද නැති කෙනෙකුට දුක දේ ද
සු ප ස න් මහිමි විද කුමකට මැරුවා ද
ම ට ව න් මෙදුක නගෙ අඹුවට නොවදී ද

Hast thou ever seen with thine eyes those who held royal office?
Wilt thou cause sorrow to an unoffending being?
What made thee shoot and kill my loving husband?
Will not the sorrow thou hast caused me rebound on thy own spouse?

28 සි ප බ ද කොමලතින් මුවබී පොවා පියා
සැ ප වි ද කලක් සමගිව මන පිනා පියා
ලු ප ස ද ලෙසින් උන් මගෙ හිමි මරා පියා
අ ප අ ද කුමට වෙන් කෙරුවාද පා පියා

Embracing me with his arm and kissing me on my mouth,
And living in great happiness,
The husband to whom I was attached like the spots of the moon, is killed.
Thou, sinner, why hast thou separated us to-day?

The following is a description of a Nága maiden from *Campyeya Játaka* :—

132 මි දෙ න බඹ උවන් දැහැනෙන් කළ දස න
දි ලෙ න පුලුලුකුල මිනි මෙව්ලැති සොබ න
ලෙ සි න රණ් කඳක් වටොරැති මන බඳි න
බ ර ණ රණ් පැලඳි ගෙල මිනිමුතු ගහ න

The bewitching smile that would entrap even a saint,
The radiant shoulders encircled in a garland of gems,
The golden rounded limbs that attract admiration,
The neck loaded with jewels, ornaments and pearls,

133 ගොතා සුවඳ මල්දම් බැඳ වරල සය
නෙ තා නිලුපුලය දර බිඹු පල ලෙ සය
ව තා සද අසුරු දිලි ලප මුන් ස සය
සි තා අසුරු දෙන නිති පියබස් ර සය

The hair was plaited with scented strings of flowers,
The eyes were the hue of the blue lotus, and the lips the red Bimba fruit,
The face was radiant like the full moon without a speck
And her sweet speech was pleasing and attracted one's heart.

III.—Stories drawn from Traditions and Folk Tales.

The following is a list of books dealing with stories and traditions :—

මහාපතරංග ජාතකය	Mahápataranga Játakaya.
හරිස්චන්ද්‍ර කථාව	Harischandra Kathâwa.
රාමායනය	Rámáyanaya.
පත්තිනි කථාව	Pattini Kathâwa.
දලකුමාර උපත	Dalakumára Upata.
මාදේවී උපත	Mádévi Upata
පද්මාවති කථාව	Padmávati Kathâwa.
මනමේ කථාව	Maname Kathâwa.
සුලඹාවති කථාව	Sulambávati Kathâwa.

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තුන්යහළු කථාව	Tunyahalu Kathâwa.
මුගටි කථාව	Mugaṭi Kathâwa.
මාතලන් කථාව	Mátalan Kathâwa.
නිකිනි කථාව	Nikini Kathâwa.
සින්නමුත්තු කථාව	Sinnamuttu Kathâwa.
කාපිරි කථාව	Kápiri Kathâwa
ඤානමන්ත්‍රි කථාව	Jnánamantri Kathâwa.
දඬුමොනර කථාව	Daṇḍumonara Kathâwa.
ජයලත්කුමාරයාගේ කථාව	Jayalatkumárayáge Kathâwa.
කුඩාසිංහ කථාව	Kuḍásinha Kathâwa.
ගිරිදේවි කථාව	Giridévi Kathâwa.
එරිදිතුරඟ කථාව	Erdituranga Kathâwa.
චන්ද්‍රානන්ද ශ්‍රීමතී කථාව	Candrananda Śrímatí Kathâwa
දිනතර කථාව	Dinatara Kathâwa.
මුතුකුමාරිගේ කථාව	Mutukumárige Kathâwa.
මැණික්කුමාරිගේ කථාව	Męnikkumárige Kathâwa.
සඳසිලි කථාව	Sandasili Kathâwa.
රුබිනා කථාව	Rubiná Kathâwa.
මිලිනා කථාව	Miliná Kathâwa.
පතිසුන්දරී කථාව	Patisundari Kathâwa.
බිමාරජ පුවත	Bimaraja Puwata.
නිමලසුන්දරී කථාව	Nimalasundari Kathâwa.
සොකරි කථාව	Sokari Kathâwa.

A large number of these works deals with stories of Indian origin. There are a few others of a more recent date derived from European sources.

The *Mahápataranga Játaka* deals with the story of the *Mahábhárata*. The work consists of 1,695 four line stanzas. It is by far the longest Sinhalese poem known to exist, and was composed by Kirimetiyáwa at the request of Kobbekaduwa Terunnanse in the reign of King Rájasinha in 1613 Saka Era, equal to 1691 (Christian Era). The poet concludes his work by treating the story as one of the Játaka stories and identifies some of the characters with the previous births of the Buddha. This is done, no doubt, to give a status to his work and make it popular. The names of the characters dealt with in the poem, including thirty kings and four princes, are given in some of the final verses.

The dawn of the day on which a great battle was fought is described in the following verse :—

1392 එ ක ලා අඳුරුවන් මෙන් එදින නිකස ලින්
රැ ක ලා ඉද දෙපිල රජ සෙනඟ මනක ලින්
ව ට ලා ඇවිද තුන්දිව ඉනම දිවගැ ලින්
බ බ ලා දිනිඳු පත්මිය උදය ගිරිතු ලින්

As if the sky darkened with one accord,
The opposing battalions of the kings stood each on its ground.
They moved, circled and filled the space as if the inhabitants of all three continents had arrived.
Then the rays of the sun appeared from Udaya Giri.

The following verse is selected from the lamentation of Princess Sundari on the fall of her husband at the battlefield :—

1398 මි පු ල ගුණයුත් මහිමිසද ඔබතුමන්ගේ නැන ගුණ බ දේ
කොමල බද දෙරනත දැමුව අද විදි සැරෙන් සිට තද බෙ දේ
නි ම ල මාහිමි ඔබට සොද ලෙස මෙමම ඔබහට කල් බැ දේ
ස ක ල යස ගුණ යුත් එසොද ඔබ නිකල දකිමිද හිමිස දේ

Oh, my husband of great renown, thou art wise and good.
Through the arrow's force thou liest on the dust this day.
My noble husband, I loved thee well and my attachment was great.
Oh, husband of great good and noble qualities, when shall I see thee again?

Two other Indian Epic poems, *Rámáyana* and *Harischandra*, are derived by the Sinhalese poets from their Tamil versions.

Harischandra Kathâwa was composed by Dodanwala Kivi about 1706 A. C. and is a beautiful poem of 409 verses.

The following two verses are from the description of the marriage ceremony of Princess Candravati :—

103 මි පු ල් නව රුවන් සොද රැසක් ගොඩකරමි නා
ලකල් බිසවුන් සමග නිරිඳු එහි සිටි තැ නා
ම සි ල් රජතුමෙක් රණ්හුසෙන් පෙර සිරිතො නා
නි ම ල් සුලහිලි යුගද එකතුකර බඳිමි නා

A great heap of renowned nine-fold gems was made
When the king stood there with the lovely queen.
An uncle, according to ancient rites, with a golden thread
Joined the two lovely little fingers of their hands and tied them.

104 එ මි ට රන්කෙන්ඩියෙන් පැන් ගොවා අන් යු ගේ
තෙමි ට කුත් කරකැවී සිට දෙදෙන එකර හේ
ගෙලි ට රන් කාර බැඳ නදවඩන බිසව ගේ
ලොවට පරසිඳු රජුට කාර බැඳ මෙම ර හේ

Then with the golden pitcher was poured the water on the joined hands,
The two walked in harmony thrice round,
The golden chain was tied round the neck of the handsome queen.
In this manner she was married to the world-renowned King.

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The following verse is from the lamentation of the queen on the death of her child :—

334 ර නේ රුවසෙ බබලන තුනු රුසිරෙන් සිරින න්දු
ගෙනේ කොමල දෙපතුල් පොඹ් සිරසේ තබමි න්දු
ත නේ එරුන කිරි බොන්නට කෙළ කෙළ මනන න්දු
අ නේ ඉතින් නැගිට වරෙන් සුරතල් කුමරි න්දු

The attractive and graceful form shining like a golden image,
The tender tiny feet were held and placed on her head.
"To drink with glee the milk that has filled my breast
Oh, arise now and come to me, my darling little one."

Pattini Kathâwa, *Giridevi Kathâwa* and *Mâdévi Upata* deal with stories of heroines, who have been deified and often propitiated by offerings and dances. *Pattini Kathâwa* gives an account of the devotion of a woman to her fickle husband and the sacrifice she made on his behalf, eventually taking her revenge on the king at whose instance the husband was killed on a false charge of robbery brought by a jeweller who desired to rob him of a valuable anklet.

The following verses are from the lamentation of Pattini on seeing the corpse of her husband :—

85 සොඳ පිරිසිදු සුදු විය නේ
වට වට තිර බැඳ නිති නේ
දිලියෙන මිනි වැට පහ නේ
කැළුමෙන් සැදී කිරිවිම නේ

Under a pure white canopy,
And provided with curtains,
Under the light of golden lamps,
In a radiant milky white room,

86 පටතුල තිලි මල්සහ නේ
දැඹියයි තදිනේ යහ නේ
සිවුමැලි මගේ හිමි සඳි නේ
බිම සැප නිදිවිද අ නේ

The bed made with silk and flowers
Thou slept well in thy bed.
Oh, my gentle husband,
Here you sleep your good sleep on the bare earth;

93. බාලේ සිට කෙලි කෙලියා
රණ් වලදේ වැලි කෙලියා
දැන් කෙලිනා මේ කෙලියා
කෙලවම් දැන් ගිනි කෙලියා

We were playmates from our youth
And played with sand in golden bowls.
The play that has to be played now
I shall verily play with the horrors of fire.

Giridévi Kathâwa is derived from a folktale connected with Kalinga and deals with the life of a Prince and a Princess' love intrigues. The following verse gives the reflections and regrets of the Princess :—

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යු තා පැවති යුතු ගුණ රණහසි න්දෝ
ගොතා සලු බරන කෙලෙසක සිටි න්දෝ
ග තා ගැනින් සරි අඟනන් වෙනි න්දෝ
ඉ තා නිගා බස් කෙලෙසක අස න්දෝ

Proper conduct according to ancient customs is a golden duty.
How shall I remain decked with ornaments and silks?
From women who are my dependants, my attendants and my equals,
How can I listen to their deprecatory words?

The following two verses are from *Maname Kathâwa*, where a queen falls in love with a chief of a forest clan and betrays her husband and is rejected by her lover after robbing her. The queen, while lamenting her lot, sees a jackal leave his prey and lose it while attempting to catch a fish swimming in a stream :—

21. බඩ සා දුකට ගෙනියන මස්කැටිය ලො ලා
බිම තබමින් ගඟයන මසුට ලොබ වෙ ලා
උඩයන උකුසු අරගෙන ගියෙ පසු නොබ ලා
දැන දැන මෝඩකම් කෙරුවද නෝ හිව ලා

The piece of meat, that was being carried for appeasing the pains of hunger,
Through the desire for a fish that was swimming in the river was placed on the earth.
A kite from the sky swooped it away in an instant.
Jackal, why did you act in such a foolish manner?

The jackal replies :—

2 මනමෙරජුට අගමෙහෙසුන් බිසෝ වෙ ලා
කැලේ උපන් වැදිරජෙකුට ලොබ බැඳ ලා
පැලඳි ආබරන ගඟකින් එතර ක ලා
මටත් වැඩියෙ අනුවනකම් බිසොත් ක ලා

Having been the chief queen of king Maname,
Falling in love with the chief of a forest clan,
The ornaments and jewels were taken away to the other side of the river.
Oh Queen, you have acted more foolishly than I have done.

IV.—Poems on incidents in the History of Ceylon.

The following is a list of books of this class :—

සිංහබා අස්න	Sinhabá Asna.
සිංහවල්ලි කථාව	Sinhawalli Kathâwa.
කුවේනි අස්න	Kuveni Asna.
කුවේනි සැහැල්ල	Kuveni Sehella.

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දුටුගැමුණුවත	Duṭugęmunuwata.
අන්කොට හටනේ	Ankoṭa Haṭané.
ගජබා කථාව	Gajabá Kathá̈wa.
නීලමහ යෝදයාගේ කථාව	Nílamahayódayáge Kathá̈wa.
කොස්තන්නිනු හටනේ	Kostantínu Haṭané.
මහ හටනෙ	Maha Haṭané.
ඉංග්‍රීසි හටනෙ	Ingrisi Haṭané.
වඩුග හටනෙ	Waduga Haṭané
ඇහැලපොල හටනෙ	Ehelapola Haṭané
මොරතොටවත	Moratoṭawata.
සඟරාජවත	Sangarájawata.

These works deal largely with traditional incidents connected with the Island from its very early period. The story of the Kalinga Royal family and of the descendants of the Sinha race is given in *Sinhawalli Kathá̈wa* and in *Sinhabá Asná.*

The story of the arrival of Prince Wijaya in Ceylon and his alliance with the Yakka princess is given in *Kuweni Asna* and *Kuweni Sęhęlla.* The meeting of Kuweni and Prince Wijaya is described as follows in the *Kuweni Asna.*

එවෙත නුගසෙවන ඉද—සුවඳ මුවරදෙනි වැද හමන මද පවන් විද—සිනිඳු දිග පුලුල් දිව සලුව පට දෙපට කොට—රන් කෙසෙල් කඳසෙ වට මට සිලුටු වටොර පිට—තබා රන්ඉද්ද නටවමින්—සොඳ සුපුල් සපු මල්ද—දෙවුසලෙල මොල කතෙසි—මුලපැපැ කැවිනුල්—පිලිනුර බරගිරා තුඩු සදිසි—දිඟු නියෙන් මැද. මද මදින් මද හසින්—නුවනගින් බලා කපු කවින්නිය රුසිරු ලොව වවින්නිය—කුවේනිය යකින්නිය—

Sitting under the shade of the ficus tree and enjoying the spicy breeze, folding over her elegant and ample robe and placing the golden spindle on her soft smooth leg of the shape of a golden plantain stem; with her palm of heavenly delicacy like unto a full blown Champac flower, the cotton was smoothed and with her well-shaped nails which were like the beaks of the bright plumed parrots, the thread was drawn and smoothed. With a bewitching smile and with lowered eyes the yakkha princess Kuveni, whose beauty was unrivalled, was engaged in spinning cotton.

Duṭugęmunuwata describes the story of the greatest hero of the Sinhalese, his war with the Tamils and the restoration of Anuradhapura. The following is a verse from a description of the progress of his victorious army to the city :—

280 අ මි ත දෙමල නසාලමින් විජය රැගෙන යෝද පිරි ස
මි ජි ත පුරය සිව් මසකින් රැගෙන තමන් සිතු විල ස
දි ය ත පසිඳු එලාර රජ වසන අසල රැස්ව පිරි ස
කෙලිත එරණ කෙළි සතුවින් කරවා අනබෙර සුවහ ස

Destroying numberless Tamils, the victorious band of great men
Taking Vijitapura in four months according to their pre-arranged plan,
The army approaching the neighbourhood of the city where the renowned King Elála was in residence,
There enjoyed themselves, engaged in war-games, after publishing their arrival with thousands of drums.

Ankoṭa Haṭané and *Gajabá Kathá̈wa* describe the tradition of the invasion of Ceylon by the Cholians and the subsequent expedition of king Gajabahu who succeeded in defeating the Chola king.

The story of *Ankoṭa Haṭané* relates the hardships of a poor peasant on account of the incompetence of those governing the land and the consequent existence of bribery and corruption and his failure to obtain justice. He leaves the country in disgust and goes to the neighbouring continent brooding over the misfortunes of his countrymen. At the chief city of the king of Chola he became a household-servant, and was incessant in his work in helping the housewives. He worked for a number of years but invariably refused any remuneration. When pressed for his reasons, he related to them his story and asked them to help him to induce the Cholians to invade Ceylon and remove the incompetent king and his ministers. The women pressed this request on their husbands and brothers and at last prevailed on them to undertake the mission. The following verses describe the method of persuasion adopted by them :—

45 අ යෝ කියමින් කී දුකට ඔහු ගලා කඳුලැලි නෙත් පු රා
ප යෝ දර ලැම නිබෙනු කුමටද නුඹේ පලි නොම ගත් ව රා
වි යෝ වෙමු හිමියන්ඩ කීවා නැසුවොත් මොහු බැද දු රා
ලි යෝ ලිප ගිනි ඇතුලු නොකොලෝ එදා දවසට එනුව රා

At his sad story they cried alas! while flowing tears filled their eyes.
Why should we be (women) if we fail to demand that you should be revenged?
We shall, if our husbands do not listen to our request, show them our displeasure.
On that day they (did not cook any meals) in that city,

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1 එ ලි ය ට නැඹින් සිටිනා ලද ලිය සිව් මැදුර තු ලේ
වි ලි ය ට ගැනු කී බස් අසමින් දුක් විඳ ලේ
දි ලි ය ට රණ්දම විලසින් මෝල් රැගෙන විකුම් ලො ලේ
ප ලි ය ට සිරි ලක යන ලෙස නික්මුනු ලද ලියො එක ලේ

The women, who usually live secluded within their homes,
Put the men to shame and sorrow by their words.
They took up the poles, shining like gold, used for cleaning rice,
And paraded the streets as if to show their determination to start on an expedition to Lanka.

Maha Haṭané and *Constantinu Haṭané* describe the wars of the Sinhalese with the Portuguese.

The *Ingirisi Haṭané* describes the defeat of the first English expedition to Kandy and consists of 302 stanzas. The poet sings the victory in great detail and is lavish in his praise of the King.

213 ම හ බා යස තෙද පළකල සිරිවික්‍රම රජසිහ නිරි දු
සු ල බා කර සෙංකඩගල්පුර වසමින් සියසෙන් සහ පුරු දු
ක ල බා හරිමින් රණ ලොබ සිද ඉංග්‍රිසි රුසුසෙන් මහමුනු දු
නොතබා ජයසිරි රණමැදුරත නොලසින් උරතලගෙන සුසැ දු

King Sri Wickrama Raja Sinha was celebrated for his greatness and valour.
To the great gain of the city of Senkadagala, entering it with his trained army.
Having driven in confusion the English hordes to the sea,
He obtained the honours of victory in that battle-field

The *Waduga Haṭané* deals with the misgovernment of the last King of Kandy and details his acts of oppression. The poet expresses triumphantly the fall of the tyrant Tamil and is lavish in his praise of minister Ḗhḗlapola who is hailed as the Viceroy of the country. He describes the King as follows :—

49 වි ත ර නොමවන දනන් බියගන්වන්ට ලෙසිගුණ
නොවන බි ල්ලා
නොහැර දුටු දුටු දනන් මැරු මට මිනීමස් කන
රකුසු පො ල්ලා
ස හ ර නොව දන පැහැර ගැන්මට හැඳුනු ගම්
පහරනා බ ල්ලා
නි ත ර දිව රැ පොලොව බිඳිනට මෙරට සපැමිනි
පොලෝ උ ල්ලා

A goblin without any heart who put multitudes in fear,
A cannibal demon who slaughtered with impunity all who came in his way,
A dog of a dacoit who robbed people without compunction,
An earth worm that arrived in this country to destroy it day and night.

Ḗhḗlapola Haṭané describes the story of Ḗhḗlapola Adigar and the cruel acts of the king, including the execution of the Adigar's wife and children by, as the poet calls, the inhuman Tamil usurper. The poet vividly describes the heart-rending lamentations of the unfortunate Kumárihamy and the just indignation of the incensed population :—

52 කු රි රු රජගෙ වාසල හැර මුලු නුව ර
අ දු රු වෙලා අඬමින් එකිනෙක ගෙද ර
ගොදුරු කිසින් නොමගෙණ නෙදිනක් විත ර
ප තු රු වමින් සිටියෝ රජුගෙ අනද ර

In the whole city with the exception of the palace of the cruel king
There was dark silence and lamentation in every house.
For nearly three days they fasted
And remained proclaiming the oppressive acts of the king.

Sangarája Wata deals with the life history of Saranankara Sangarája, who flourished in the reign of King Kirtisri Rajasinha and who accomplished much in the restoration of religion and learning in the Island :—

195 දෙවන සඳක් මෙන් සඟරජු සසුන් නමැති නුඹතලය ට
පැමිණ තවුස් තරු පිරිසගෙ දහම් රැසින් ඔද වැඩි කො ට
ප ම න නොවන යස සුවඳින් දස දිග එක සුවඳක් කො ට
නු න අසූ අවුරුද්දක් දුහැමින් සැපසේ වැඩසි ට

The Sanga Raja like a second moon in the firmament of the religion
Increasing the radiance of the stars, the members of the order, through the rays of the Dharma,
Remained spreading in the ten directions the perfume of his great qualities.
He died after eighty years of a happy and useful life.

V.—Poems on Arts and Industries.

The following is a list of works which come under the above classification.

කමත් කවි	Kamat Kavi.
ගොයම් මාලේ	Goyam Málé.
කමත් හැල්ල	Kamat Hḗlla.
නෙලුම් මාලේ	Nelum Málé.
කුරහන් කවි	Kurahan Kavi.
පැදුරු මාලේ	Pḗduru Málé.
පන්නම් කතුර	Pannam Katura.
වලන් තැනීම	Walan Tḗníma.

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The recitation of stanzas, when engaged in village occupations by the peasant and craftsman, is a common practice. The cultivator of rice has special stanzas which he recites at the time of ploughing and the preparation of the field for sowing, at the time of weeding and when reaping and gathering his crop. The cultivator of dry land with cereal crops, similarly, has special verses sung by him. The weavers of mats have weaving songs and the potter has his songs.

Goyammálé, Kamat Hęlla, Kamatkavi deal with the rice industry. The following are verses extracted from the songs of weeders :—

36 යෙහෙලි නගා හුරු නෙලුමට එ න්නේ
වි හි ලි කතා සමහරු තෙපල න්නේ
සැ හැ ලි ලෙසට කව්පද පවස න්නේ
ක හ ලි වෙලා බුලතට නොසිටි න්නේ

The friendly sisters are coming to the weeding field,
Some are engaged in light conversation,
Others are singing with glee the words of stanzas
And do not leave the work even for a chew of betel leaves.

37 රි දී වලලු සමහරු අත ලා ලා
සැ දී රුවට නෙලනා ලක ලී ලා
ක දී ම රුවට කව්පද තෙපලා ලා
මැ දී නොයති දුටු අය තෙපලා ලා

Some have silver bangles on their arms,
And are engaged in weeding, forming themselves into regular and graceful lines,
And are singing verses in a fine strain,
And those who witness the same do not turn their backs and leave the place.

Kurahankavi deals with the cultivation of the dry grain kurakkan and describes the various steps taken in its growth :—

6 පෙ ල ක් ද කුරහන් පැසිලා ඉවරසි පෙලක්ද තව
කිරි වදිනව ලු
පෙ ල ක් කපන්නට ලදලියො සැරසි පන්කැති
පෙව්විද ගෙන ඒ ලු
මෙ ල ක් සනෙන් තව බාල කතුන් සහ තරුන මහලු
අය කපාවි ලු
පැ ල ක් තුලට කුරහන් කපමින් ගෙන වේලා
ගොවිවරු බෙදුවි ලු

Some of the ears of kurakkan are ripe and some are just ripening,
The women are arriving with baskets to reap the ears that are ripe,
Other women young and old are engaged in the reaping work,
The reaped kurakkan is collected in a shed and the cultivators will divide it among them.

Pędurumálé gives verses in the form of a conversation between a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law when each one gives a description of weaving designs on mats. The following are two verses giving a general idea of the contents of the book :—

5 හරස් රටාවෙන් පැදුරක් මම විය නා
ගිරා කොබෙයියෝ පැදුරේ මැද විය නා
පන්නම් කතුරු ඇහැ පියවරකින් පුර නා
ලේලිට බලන්නට පැදුරක් මම විය නා

I am weaving a mat with cross stitch.
In the centre of the mat will be woven figures of parrots and doves.
I will arrange the cross weaving in the twinkling of the eye.
I am weaving a mat for my daughter-in-law to see.

10 පියුම් රටාවෙන් පැදුරක් මම විය නා
ලැසු වැසි තුඩ ලේනුන් වට විය නා
ඉර සඳ ඉසානේ පාමුල ඉද කෙලි නා
නැන්දට බලන්නට පැදුරක් මම විය නා

I am weaving a mat with a floral pattern.
On its border will be lines of squirrels
And in the lower corner there will be the sun and moon at play.
I am weaving a mat for my mother-in-law to see.

VI.—Poetry connected with games and amusements.

The following is a list of popular books which can be classified under this heading :—

උන්විල්ලා වාරම	Uncillá Wárama.
කලගෙඩි මාලය	Kalagędi Málaya.
ලීකෙලි සඟරාව	Lîkeli Sangaráwa.
කෝලම් කව්පොත	Kólamkavi Pota.
සොකරි කථාව	Sokari Kathâwa.
අවුරුදු මාලය	Avurudu Málaya.
රබන්පද පොත	Rabanpada Pota.
උපමා මල්ල	Upamá Malla.
අලගුසිව්පද පොත	Alagusivpada Pota.
තරඟ මාලය	Taranga Málaya.
ව්‍යාස තරඟ මාලය	Vyása Taranga Málaya.
ප්‍රත්‍ය තරඟ මාලය	Pratya Taranga Málaya.
බුදුගුණ තරඟ මාලය	Buduguṇa Taranga Málaya.
කව්සිව්පද කතුර	Kavisivupada Katura.
පැල්සිව්පද තරඟමාලය	Pęlsivpada Taranga Málaya.
ප්‍රශ්න උත්තර මල්දම	Prasna Uttara Maldama.
රනහන්ස මාලය	Ranahansa Málaya.
ආදරරත්න මාලය	Ádararatna Málaya.

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Uncillá Wárama gives verses and songs sung at the swing festivities.

The following is a verse sung at this game :—

3 බ දි නා වරලෙස මල් ගවසා ගෙ ණ
අ දි නා සුදු සේලේ රැලි තබමි ණ
න දි නා සුමිහිරි වාරම් කියමි ණ
ප දි නා රහ බල උන්විලි බැද ගෙ ණ

The hair is intertwined with flowers,
The robe is worn with many a pleat,
Verses sweet in strain are sung,
See the manner in which they swing.

Líkeli Sangaráwa gives verses sung to the accompaniment of the stick dance.

15 ලො ල් ල වඩන සදෙනෙක් එක් වෙ න්නේ
ගො ල් ල සැමට ඇසෙනට නද දෙ න්නේ
දු ල් ල වඩන සෙල්ලමකි බොල න්නේ
ම ල් ලි වරුනි ලී කෙලිමු නිති න්නේ

Six attractive persons will assemble
And will sing and play so that all may hear.
This is a game that pleases all.
Little brothers, let us continue the stick dance.

Kalagedi Málaya gives verses sung at a dance where the dancers carry pots (*kalagedi*) in their hands.

14 ගොපලු එරන් මාලේ කරලා ගෙණ
රුවැති වලලු ගෙන දැත දරා ගෙණ
ඔසරිපටින් තන රන්තැවි වහ ගෙණ
පිඹින කලේ ගෙන දැත දරා ගෙණ

With the beaded golden chain round the neck,
With lovely bangles worn on both arms,
With the robe thrown across the golden breasts,
With the musical pot held in both hands.

Kólamkavi Pota deals with verses connected with a masked dance where performers put on large wooden masks representing kings, queens, peasants, wild men, gods, demons and animals, each of whom dances with music appropriate to his particular mask. It also includes a few sketches represented by the masked dancers in the form of a drama.

The following verse describes the public crier :—

14260

75 අ ත ක ට ගෙණ සැරමිටියක් තලපත සහ රැගෙ නේ
ඉ න ව ට ඇඳි පච්චවඩම දවුලක් උර ලම් නේ
ව ට පි ට සිවි සැමදෙනහට වැද වැද වෙරි මති නේ
ස ඛ ය ට අනබෙර කෙරුමට ආසැවි බල මෙතැ නේ

With a staff in one hand and the talipot leaf,
With a turkey-red waistband and a drum slung over the shoulder,
Bowing all round in a drunken fit,
Look at him who has come before the audience as the public crier,

The following is a verse from the dance of a bull :—

102 ස ව න සදිසි හේම පත්‍ර ඇති රණපට ගොනු ගේ
දි ලෙ නා අඹ හද නලලේ ගොනියකුන් වල් ගේ
වා නා කලු සබ මැද නෙක මෙවෙනි රැසිරු ගොනු ගේ
සි වි නා අය තැගි දෙවනි කරවා සිත් එක ගේ

The ears are like golden leaves bound with golden cords,
There is a star-mark on the forehead like the shining crescent and a white tipped tail.
When the beautiful bull dances before the audience,
All assembled with one accord load it with presents.

I have given in this Paper only a brief sketch of the large number of popular poems current among the Sinhalese, with the object of interesting the members in a subject which deserves extended and careful study. A descriptive and historical catalogue of the literature of the Sinhalese is a need that deserves attention of this Society.

W. A. DE SILVA.

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4. Remarks on the Paper were offered by the President, Mr. J. Harward, Dr. A. Nell, Mr. W. Samarasinha, the Hon'ble Mr. Anton Bertram, and Mr. C. W. Horsfall.

Mr. J. Harward said:—Your Excellency, Mr. de Silva has come forward to-night as champion of the popular poetry of the Sinhalese. Those who have compared the list of poems given in his Paper with the list given in the very few books on Sinhalese literature which have appeared, will, I am sure, agree that he has thrown some new light on the question. The work of Professor Geiger on the literature and language of the Sinhalese is, I suppose, one of the standard works on the subject. Professor Geiger only mentions 77 Sinhalese books altogether in his list and includes the best known classics. Mr. de Silva has mentioned in his Paper to-night no less than 127 Sinhalese poems of varying lengths, no doubt some quite short, connected with games, industries, etc., and some long ones running up to 1,600 stanzas. Of Mr. de Silva's list of 127

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poems, only four are mentioned in Professor Geiger's book. They are the *Loveda Sangaráwa, Costantinu Haṭana, Maha Haṭana* and another. An interesting Paper on *Costantinu Haṭana* was read to this Society in the year 1894 by F. W. de Silva, Mudaliyár. That popular poem has an interesting feature in that it was written by a Siṇhalese Christian in praise of a Portuguese General. I do not think that fact in any way interfered with its popularity. Of the poems that the lecturer has mentioned, I suppose one of the most popular at the present moment is the *Loveda Sangaráwa* on account of its moral verses learnt in our Government Schools. Having been two days ago looking at the very remarkable frescoes at Polonnaruwa, it is natural for one to turn to the stanza about the God Sakra painting on the moon. One of the most remarkable of the Polonnaruwa frescoes is a very energetic drawing of the God Sakra painting the hare on the moon; and the hare as therein painted, if one may say so without irreverence, is so extremely comic that any one who has seen it is not likely to forget it. One poem begins "as God Sakra painted on the moon.....after 750 days, the feeding ceremony of the seventh month was performed." I should really be interested to know what exactly is the point in that stanza. I must confess it is rather absurd and it will be presumptuous in me to venture a suggestion in regard to the translation of the Siṇhalese. I cannot help thinking that in stanza the translation is not quite accurate, because it runs as follows:—"After 750 days the feeding ceremony of the seventh month was performed." Now in no calendar that I know of do I know seven months that contain as many as 750 days. I cannot help thinking that the words *Sath siya panasak* may be poetical and do not mean 750, rather 157 days. Even then it was too short, it may have been a little over six months rather then seven.

His Excellency (*sotto voce*): Lunar months.

Mr. Harward continuing: His Excellency tells me it comes approximately to seven lunar months. There is in Siṇhalese popular poetry as well as learned poetry, and Mr. de Silva has told us of the intricate arrangement of letters and words in the learned poetry. But often in the popular poetry there is a tendency to play upon words. I think it arises partly from the fact that many stanzas have rhyme at the beginning as well as rhyme at the end. In English poetry we are contented with the rhyme at the end. The tendency to this sort of punning in poetry, in English poetry, we smile at. There is for instance in English a similar pun in Hood's lines "and the parson told the sexton and the sexton tolled the bell." We smile at the punning, but in Siṇhalese poetry it is not regarded as something to smile at, it is part of the poetry, whether popular or learned.

Dr. A. Nell said that he would like to mention that the popularity of the *Vessantara Játaka* had been evidenced in the researches of other countries. Sir Auriel Stein mentioned, particularly in his discoveries in Eastern Khotan, that great

prominence was given to certain paintings which were subsequently found to be illustrations of the *Vessantara Jataka*, and were very much like those they had in Ceylon.

Mr. Walter Samarasinghe, Muhandiram, said he was not inclined to criticize the subject matter of the Paper as he did not feel competent to do so. He would rather wish to draw attention to some features in it and draw the attention of others particularly to the fact that the lecturer might have, in his survey of popular poetry of the Siṇhalese, indicated the period in which the poetry happened to be cast, as it would be interesting from a historical point of view. (His Excellency —Hear, hear.) Another thing he wished to mention was that the books referred to by Mr. de Silva fell comparatively within ancient times and nearly all prior to the sixteenth century. After the first Europeans arrived in the Island and subsequent to that, owing to internal troubles, it was true that literature has not been greatly encouraged. Yet it was a fact that in recent times they had produced poetry, though not of the first order, of the popular type. One book that should have been touched upon was Gaskon, who was supposed to be a descendant from a Portuguese mother and flourished in the Court of Raja Siṇha II. in Kandy. There were no works credited to him but some poems there were which were certainly very popular among the Siṇhalese. The verses centre round a romantic episode which reminded one of Sir Launcelot and Queen Guinevere in Tennyson's poem. To quote Tennyson's words:

> "He has honour wrought in dishonour sought,
> And faith unfaithful kept him falsely true."

Those words, he said, accurately described the romance rendered in verse by Gaskon, which was known throughout the Island. In recent times there lived a Siṇhalese poetess, born in Hunupitiya, and who went with her father to Matara, the Oxford of Ceylon. Her father was employed in the elephant department, and having the misfortune to lose her father she was left to support the children. There was an interesting set of verses, which she addressed to Mr. John D'Oyly, one of the early English residents of Matara, whom history brought out with greater relief when he appeared as Secretary and First Dissawa of the Kandyan Provinces, after the provinces came under British Sovereignty. John D'Oyly himself was the earliest and deepest student of Siṇhalese literature among Englishmen. There was absolutely no doubt that it was because of the literary response on the part of John D'Oyly, that petitions were addressed to him in poetic form.

The Hon. Mr. Anton Bertram said that he was much gratified to listen to Mr. de Silva's Paper and admired his efforts in the very wide range he had exploited. It was extremely interesting to see the wide range of Siṇhalese popular poetry. He wished to know whether there was no romantic or personal note in Siṇhalese poetry. He felt sure it could not be absent from the popular songs of the race. He gathered from the remarks just

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made that it was not absent. Perhaps Mr. de Silva in his reply would enlighten him on that point. Did popular poems of the Sinhalese include poems of that tender, personal romantic character? He was also extremely interested to know the chant of the stanza with that peculiar tilt with which they were recited. Before he (the speaker) came out to Ceylon, he was in the Island of Cyprus. There too, a similar tilt was noticeable in the recitation of poetry, which was not repeated as prose.

Mr. C. W. Horsfall wished to know whether the musical tilt which accompanied Mr. de Silva's recitation of the poems was set to any conventional note or improvised by himself.

Mr. de Silva in replying to the comments said that with regard to the calculation of the days in the stanza about God Sakra painting the hare on the moon, as questioned by Mr. Harward, he himself could not understand it. He took it as 750 days and trusted that somebody else might find the hidden meaning. As regards Mr. Samarasinghe's remarks, he said that if he dealt with what was called fugitive poetry, which were poems which were not in books or works, and consisted of a few lines and of which he had a very large collection, it would make a very bulky and unwieldy Paper. He proposed dealing with the poetical works of Gaskon Andere, Gajaman Nona, Kunkunawa and others in a Paper he would read some other day. He mentioned that about ninety per cent. of the whole collection was known in the villages and some villagers were able to repeat verses from memory from 7 o'clock in the evening till six or seven next morning and still leave the task unfinished. Another reason why he did not include a large number of stanzas and quotations was because he feared his audience would go to sleep during a lengthy recital and that was why when he read his Paper on *bali* ceremonies he got tom-tom beaters from the villages, to keep the audience awake. (Laughter.) Some of the books mentioned by Professor Geiger and Mr. Alwis presented utmost difficulty to students, some of the poems were intricate and very artificial. There was a book known as *Giri Devi Kathâwa*, a poem of the love intrigues of a prince and princess; then there were the *Campyeya Játaka*, and *Andhabhuta Játaka*, containing enough in them of romance and love. He hoped that some member would compile a descriptive and historical catalogue of the literature of the Sinhalese which was a need that deserved the attention of the Society.

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE LECTURER.

His Excellency the Governor proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. de Silva, and in doing so said: I am sure we are all very pleased to-night, and it will be your wish that I should essay to express your thanks to Dr. de Silva for his most interesting Paper. I should be loth, Dr. de Silva, to be thought ungrateful, if, at this my first opportunity, I were to express some very slight criticism on your Paper. It is by no means destructive criticism. I would say that I was struck with the question of dates. I thought I understood from you that the dates in practically all cases

were before Europeans came to the Island. That is a very remarkable fact and a very important one. I wish to know myself, and my friend the Attorney-General put a question on a subject so dear to him, and that is, love poetry—(laughter)—whether love poetry appeared in some phase or romantic fashion in the 150,000 verses which you look forward to collate.

I am not acquainted with all the *Játakas* referred to; but the *Andhabhuta Játaka*, I scarcely would call it a love poem. What seriously struck me in the reading of this Paper is that if I were to begin it I would begin at the end with heads 5 and 6, and possibly 4. I should not take over that which is imported, but take over that which grew here—poems which sprung from Ceylon itself, not the things which were brought from foreign literature, even if they have remained to wear Ceylonese dress here. I should suggest to you that those things which are very indigenous, which are of the soil, fragrant of the soil, connected with the industries, games, amusements and possibly of the life of the people as it is,—should be carefully treasured and garnered. That should form a very valuable historical contribution to the world's record of culture. When you speak of poetry, you have first to define the term, and to know that it was first popular, and secondly poetry. It is an extremely difficult thing for any foreigner to appreciate poetry in a foreign language, unless he is very conversant with it. As a rule you cannot translate poetry. Practically you can never translate poetry. You can translate prose perfectly well, but poetry that is poetry cannot be translated, except one or two exceptions which prove the rule, like Omar Khayyam.

Continuing, His Excellency said: He was extremely interested to hear what fell from the lecturer regarding the villager, not the one seen in Colombo, but the villager in his village home of Aryan civilization. He was extremely interested to learn that that villager was able to begin at 7 o'clock in the evening and go on till dawn, reciting verses with a skill and fulness of memory that characterized also the lecturer and Dr. Nell. (Laughter.) It was a very remarkable thing that it should be the case. No other statement impressed him more than that. If a collection of village songs, descriptive of the life, hopes, aspirations, fears and needs of the villager were made, a very valuable contribution indeed it would be to historical thought and literature of the people of this Island. "That is where I should begin, Dr. de Silva," said His Excellency, "generally it struck me that the selection you gave us indicated such culture that you would get in Europe for instance in mediæval times. I should like to know very much what are the particular features of life in the villages as seen in the Up-country. I should like very much to know what are the verses or songs at the various dances, that I have witnessed more than once; the paddy-dance of the women, for instance, whether there are any traditional verses, and the stick-dance or some other dance. I have always thought that the paddy-dance was one of the oldest in this Island. The paddy-dance is, after all, the harvest home. Don't think, Dr. de

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Silva, that in making these remarks I have any wish to be critical. I wish on behalf of myself and those present to thank you for your very interesting Paper, and to express the hope that our thanks will take the form of encouragement eventually; and when you come to record the 150,000 verses, do begin at the end, Doctor.

Mr. Harward seconded the resolution, which was carried with acclamation.

Mr. C. Hartley said:—Ladies and gentlemen—Now is allotted to me a very pleasant duty of asking you to join me in a hearty vote of thanks to His Excellency, who we always feel makes the ideal Chairman at these meetings (hear, hear), and we hope to see him many times more amongst us. We feel pleased that His Excellency should come here and encourage us and perhaps we may have something to impart to him if he attends our meetings with due regularity as we hope he will, and in a few years, when the time came, we shall send him back to Europe with greatly enlarged knowledge of Ceylon and of the East as a whole. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I want you to join me in moving a vote of thanks to His Excellency.

Dr. A. Nell seconded the vote which was carried with acclamation.

His Excellency, in acknowledging the compliment, said that if all the meetings had the same humane character, he was sure that Mr. Hartley's robust wishes would be amply realised.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, November 16, 1915.

Present:

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Oxon., President, in the Chair.

Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., Camb., Vice-President.

Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S. | Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.

Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S.
,, Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. } Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on the 14th September, 1915.

2. Considered and passed the election of the following Members:—

(*a*) Clement P. Wijeyeratne, J.P., U.P.M.
Recommended by (a) Andreas Nell.
(b) Gerard A. Joseph.

(*b*) Arthur Eric Christoffelsz, C.C.S.
Recommended by (a) Andreas Nell.
(b) Gerard A. Joseph.

(*c*) Nanediri Arnold Maglian Senanayaka.
Recommended by (a) F. D. Jayasinha.
(b) A. Mendis.

3. Considered the printing of publications and the continuance of *Notes and Queries*. Dr. Pearson proposed resuming the printing of Ethnographical notes in *Spolia Zeylanica*, if *Notes and Queries* be not continued.

Resolved,—That *Notes and Queries* be resumed from the first quarter of 1916, and that members be notified accordingly.

4. Considered date and business of next General Meeting.

It was decided to leave the matter in the hands of the President and Secretaries.

5. Read a letter from the Secretary-General of the Vereeniging "Koloniaal Institut," Amsterdam, asking for back numbers of the Society's Journal.

It was decided to ask the Koloniaal Institut, Amsterdam, what publications they will give in exchange for the Society's Journal and that they be informed that back numbers of this Society's publications are out of print.

6. Resolved,—That Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., be asked to read a Paper either on D'Oyly's Diary or on Numismatics.

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COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, November 27, 1915.

Present:

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Oxon., President, in the Chair.

Sir P. Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., Camb.
Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.
,, A. M. Gunasekara, Mudaliyár.
Mr. C. W. Horsfall.
,, D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A., Oxon.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S.
,, Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. } Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on Tuesday, the 16th November, 1915.

Alu Vihara Edition of Papancha Súdáni: H. E. the Governor's offer.

2. Read a letter from His Excellency Sir Robert Chalmers regarding the "Aluvihára Edition" of the critical recensions of Pali Books started by His Excellency and requesting that the Society do take over the project.

Resolved,—That the Council thank His Excellency Sir Robert Chalmers for the generous offer contained in his letter of 23rd November, 1915, to place at the disposal of the Council 1,000 copies of the two volumes of the "Aluvihára Edition" of the *Papañca Súdáni*. The Council has much pleasure in accepting this offer and will make arrangements for devoting the proceeds of the sale of these volumes to the issue of future publications of a similar kind. The Council also desires to express its sense of the great value to Oriental Scholarship of the scheme of critical editions which His Excellency has inaugurated. It is further resolved that the proceeds of the sale be formed into a special fund and be called "The Chalmers Oriental Text Fund."

3. Resolved,—That the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society desires to thank His Excellency Sir Robert Chalmers for the constant interest which he has taken in its proceedings. His Excellency's presence and the scholarly manner in which he has handled the questions dealt with have added very greatly to the interest of the Society's Meetings and have been much appreciated by its members. The Council regrets the loss of a Patron, who is an eminent Pali Scholar as well as an active well-wisher to the Society.

(1)

Letter from H. E. the Governor to the President, R.A.S. (C.B.).

Queen's House,
Colombo, 23rd November, 1915.

Sir,

In addressing the School of Oriental Studies in February last and the Vidyodaya Oriental College in March last, I outlined my plan of initiating a series of critical recensions of Pali books to be called the "Aluvihára Edition," and I mentioned then that in due course I proposed to ask the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (i) to accept as a gift from me the thousand copies of the first work undertaken, and (ii) by the sale of those copies to build up a reproductive fund for the editing and printing of similar books in the future. I enclose a report of my addresses on the two occasions above referred to.

On the eve of my departure from Ceylon, I now have the pleasure of asking the Society to be so good as to take over the project. Half of the *Papañca Súdáni*, edited by Sri Dhammáráma of the Vidyálankára College, has already been printed, and I have provided for the completion of the work after I am gone. The thousand copies of the two volumes will be at the disposal of your Council early next year, and (with the exception of a few free copies) will be ready for sale to the public at the price of Rs. 3 a volume. The proceeds will furnish the Council with a fund for future publications. I make no stipulation as to the kind of books to be printed hereafter, but leave this to the absolute discretion of the Society, confining myself to indicating my desire to aim at scholarly editions of the whole Pali canon and of the Commentaries thereon in a uniform shape and price.

The President,
Royal Asiatic Society,
Ceylon Branch.

I am, Sir,
Your Obedient Servant,
(Signed) ROBERT CHALMERS.

H. E. the Governor's speeches referred to in para. 1 of the above letter.

A.

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

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

"You will all be aware of the vast extent of Pali literature and of its profound significance, not only to Buddhists but also to all students of the evolution of thought. You will also be aware that for the study of this literature in Ceylon there are even to-day inadequate facilities in the shape of scholarly editions readily available in a printed form. My object is to help to supply precisely these facilities for the Ceylon of our

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day. In doing so, I remind you that thus we shall be only endeavouring in our generation to maintain Ceylon's ancient pre-eminence in scholarly enterprise; for it was here in Ceylon that, just two thousand years ago, Sinhalese scholars first committed to writing the text of Canon and Commentary.

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

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

"It has always seemed to me that, with this unique tradition of scholarship in her past, Ceylon has failed in modern times to assert her historic claim to leadership in her own proper field. For instance, Siam, under the auspices of the late King, has taken the lead by issuing the Tipiṭakam, in the printed yellow-bound volumes which many of us know; and Siam has made at least a beginning with the printing of the Aṭṭhakathás in Siamese character. What lesson does this teach us? Why, the lesson that Ceylon must follow, but, in following, ought to improve upon Siam's example. Here in Ceylon we must have, in Sinhalese character, an edition both of Canon and of Commentaries which will be worthy of the pre-eminent traditions of Pali scholarship in Ceylon.

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

"Have we the men to do it? Yes: we have. We have lost, it is true, Sri Sumangala; and the burthen of years is too heavy

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now on Sri Subhuti for us to hope to secure the continuous co-operation of that veteran scholar. But other scholars of proved competence are available to carry on the torch; and, while I look forward to securing the co-operation of other leading Ceylonese scholars, such as the learned Sri Nánissara of the Vidyodaya College, when the first practical start has been made, I have secured to edit the first volumes of what I should like to call the "Alu Vihára Edition," the sound learning of a Thera whose conversation first originated the idea in my mind—that is the Padhána Náyaka, Sri Dhammáráma of the Vidyálankára College.

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

"I shall do myself the pleasure first of paying the printer's bill for the thousand copies of the two volumes of Dhammáráma's edition of the Papañca Súdáni, and secondly of asking the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society to accept as a gift from me the thousand copies, the sale proceeds of which will form a reproductive fund for the future publication of successive volumes of Piṭakas and Aṭṭhakathás by Ceylon's most eminent scholars in our "Alu Vihára Edition." Mark the name "Alu Vihára Edition," to which I attach special value both as recognising our debt to those 700 Ceylon scholars who laboured at Alu Vihára two thousand years ago, and also as recording our own aspiration in these latter days to follow in their footsteps by giving to Ceylon, in a printed form, a recension

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worthy alike of Ceylon's traditions and of her scholarship to-day. *Subham atthu.*"

B.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"With these few words on a matter which perhaps brings all of us gathered together here into some sympathy with the

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advancement of the scholarship of Ceylon and of placing Ceylon on the proper pedestal that her ancient and distinguished traditions deserve, I thank you for the attention that you have given to my bi-lingual utterances."

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(2)

The President, R.A.S. (C.B.), to H. E. the Governor.

Royal Asiatic Society,
(Ceylon Branch)
Colombo, November 30, 1915.

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to inform you that I have laid before the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the kind offer conveyed in your letter of the 23rd November, 1915. I annex copy of a resolution passed by the Council, from which you will see that the Council has much pleasure in accepting your offer, and will try and give effect to your desire with regard to future publications of the "Aluvihára Editions."

2. I annex a further resolution in which the Council has tried to express its very real feeling of regret at Your Excellency's approaching departure. Such expressions are necessarily inadequate, but I can assure Your Excellency that there is no place in Ceylon in which Your Excellency's presence will be more missed than at the meetings of this Society.

I am, Your Excellency,
Your Obedient Servant,
(Signed) J. HARWARD,
President, C.B.R.A.S.

His Excellency
Sir Robert Chalmers, K.C.B.,
Queen's House, Colombo.

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(3)

H. E. the Governor to the President, R.A.S. (C.B.).

Queen's House,
Colombo, December 2, 1915.

Dear Mr. Harward,

Will you, as President of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, be so good as to express to the Council of the Society my thanks for the readiness with which they have been so good as to meet my wishes about the "Aluvihára Edition" and about the Oriental Text Fund with which they have associated my name. I leave the Island with a confident belief that in the scholarly hands of the Council a wise discretion will be exercised in the management of the Fund for promoting Scholarship in Ceylon.

I appreciate highly the very cordial and handsome terms in which the Council have seen fit to record their appreciation of my efforts as Patron of the Society to advance the objects they and I have at heart.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) ROBERT CHALMERS.

J. Harward, Esq., M.A.,
President, C.B.R.A.S.,
Colombo.

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CHINO-SINHALESE RELATIONS IN THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

WANG HIUEN-TSE'S MISSIONS TO INDIA.

In the course of his Presidential Address at the Annual Meeting of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held on April 30, 1914, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Vice-President, said :—

> "The whole series of Chinese records about Ceylon, which M. Sylvain Lévi has collected in the *Journal Asiatique* (1900), is most interesting and valuable, not only in respect of information about Ceylon and its relations with China, but also as a means of checking the chronology of the *Mahávamsa* during many centuries. So checked, the accuracy of the Sinhalese chronicle is, in spite of slight disagreements, placed on a solid basis. M. Lévi's article, so far as it relates to Ceylon, should be early translated in full and embodied in our Journal."

The following complete translation of the Ceylon portion of the article, undertaken in response to this suggestion, is now submitted, together with my own "Notes" on the bearing of the Chinese references on early Sinhalese chronology.

Included in my "Notes" will be found new material which I have gathered from various sources, notably from the *Bulletins de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*.

My translation, which has been kindly revised by Mr. C. Hartley, Vice-President of the Society, and Mr. E. B. Sueter, C.C.S., Hon. Secretary, has been made from a copy of the *Journal Asiatique* presented by Professor Lévi to Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam who, through the good offices of Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, Hony. Secretary, very courteously placed it at my disposal.

JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

CHINESE REFERENCES TO CEYLON.

(Translated from M. Sylvain Lévi's Article in the *Journal Asiatique*.)

KING SRÍ MEGHAVARNA AND THE MAHÁBODHI MONASTERY.

Chap. 29, p. 97b, Col. 2.—The *Hing-tchoan* of Wang Hiuen-ts'e says: In the kingdoms of the West, holy (blessed) images are countless. And, in respect of the image of the tree of *Mo-ho-pou-t'i* (Mahábodhi), it says: Formerly, the king of Cheu-tzeu (Ceylon), named *Chi-mi-kia-po-mo*, which means in Chinese "cloud of merit" [*Koung-to-iun*] (Srí Meghavarman), an Indian (*fau*) king, directed two bhikkhus to visit this monastery [the monastery built by Asoka to the east of the Bodhi tree and later enlarged. *Cf.* 11. T., *Mem.*, I., 465]. The elder monk was named *Mo-ho-nan*, which means "great name" (Mahá-náman); the other *Iou-po*, which means "giver of prophecy" [*cheou-ki*] (Upa—). These two bhikkhus made homage to the Throne-of-Diamond (*Vajrásana*) of the Bodhi tree. The Monastery did not offer them asylum, and the two bhikkhus returned to their native land. The king questioned them: "You went to pay your homage to the holy places, what good fortune do the omens declare, O Bhikkhus?". They replied: "In the great country of Jambudvípa, there is no spot where one can live in peace." The king, hearing these words, sent some people with precious stones to offer as presents to the King San-meou-to-lo-kiu-to (Samudragupta). And that is why, up to this day, it is the bhikkhus of the kingdom of Ceylon who reside in this monastery.

MAHÁNÁMA'S INSCRIPTION AT MAHÁBODHI.

Hiouen-tsang relates an obscure legend in connection with the origin of the monastery of the Sthaviras at Mahábodhi: The younger brother of a King of Ceylon, who had gone on a pilgrimage to the holy places, met with a bad reception at the place. Returning to his native isle, he persuaded his elder brother to build, near the Bodhidruma, with the

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consent of the King of India, a monastery intended to give lodging to Sinhalese monks (I., 487 and following pages.).

Wang Hiuen-ts'e is more precise. He mentions names, and these names give a date. The king of Ceylon, Srí Meghavarman (or rather *Meghavarna;* the Chinaman, a stranger to the fine points of the Sanscrit language, has confounded the word *varṇa* with *varman*, the ordinary termination of royal names), and the King of India, Samudragupta, are already known to historians. As for the secondary personages, Mahánáman and Upa, one of them is named in two inscriptions discovered on the very site of Mahábodhi and published by Mr. Fleet (*Ind. Antiq.*, XV., 365 and 359; *Corpus*, III., 274 & 278). Of these (inscriptions), one, very short, commemorates the erection of a statue by Mahánáma (*Mahánámasya*) the Sthavira, a native of Amradvípa; the other, fairly long, celebrates the construction of a religious edifice by Mahánáman and adds to his pious work the succession of his spiritual masters. These are, going back according to the order of time: Upasena, Mahánáman, Upasena, Mahánáman. Ráhula, Bhava. The Chinaman transcribes and translates the first name correctly: *Mo-ho-nan*, "great name." Mahánáman's companion, however, is more puzzling: *U-po* is a hypocoristic form capable of representing, as well as the Sanscrit *Upaka*, all the names beginning with the prefix *Upa*. The alternation of the names of Mahánáman and Upasena, in the spiritual genealogy of the Sinhalese monk, would lead us to believe that another Upasena is here in question.....

Mahánáman, in the shorter of the two inscriptions, takes the title of *Sthavira*. From this simple word Mr. Fleet draws certain conclusions in regard to the age of Mahánáman and the date of his ordination. It seems to me that the term *Sthavira* means here the school to which Mahánáman makes a boast of belonging. In the time of Hiouen-tsang, the monks of the Sthavira school were still in possession of the monastery (I., 488).

The testimony of Wang Hiuen-ts'e entitles us to suggest a new solution on a principal point. Mahánáman's great inscription is dated (the year) 269. But of what era? The learned Editor of the *Corpus* does not hesitate to declare:—

> "It is probable that the (second) Mahánáman mentioned in the inscription is identical with the personage of the same name who composed the earliest part of the *Mahávamsa*. But one cannot doubt that the date of the present inscription must be referred to the Gupta Era, which makes the date 588-589 A.D. Moreover Turnour, relying on the Sinhalese chronicles, arrived at 459-477 A.D., as the period of the reign of Dhátusena, nephew of Mahánáman, and it is during his reign that Mahánáman made his historical compilation. If the proposed identification is admitted, the date of the present inscription shows either that the details of the Sinhalese chronology are not as solid as was supposed, or that an erroneous starting-point has been taken to interpret them and that they now require a considerable rectification."

The dilemma, as almost always happens, presents a means of escape, and we must have recourse to a third solution. The mention of Samudragupta and of Srí Meghavarna as contemporaries of Mahánáman excludes henceforth the assignment of the date 269 to the Gupta Era. The *Mahávamsa*, in fact, makes Kitti Siri Meghavaṇṇa reign from 304 to 332 A.D., and if Sinhalese chronology is not irreproachably accurate, it at least gives very little room for correction. In order to decide the preliminary question raised by Mr. Fleet, I have consulted the references to Ceylon found in the Chinese annals, a translation of which is annexed to this memoir. The accuracy of the Sinhalese Annals is triumphantly vindicated by this test.

Like Srí Meghavarṇa, King Samudragupta undoubtedly belongs to the 4th century, but the period of his reign cannot be determined with equal certainty. He is (if, as the epigraphic formulary regularly does, we may leave out of consideration the enigmatic Káca) the second sovereign of the Gupta dynasty founded in the year 319 A.D. The panegyric on Samudragupta, composed by Harisena and engraved on the Allahabad pillar, furnishes no date. To meet with one,

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we must come down to the very beginning of the 5th century (82 Samvat=401 A.D.; *Corpus*, 21), to the son of Samudragupta, Candragupta II. The reign of Samudragupta occurs some time between these two extreme dates (319-401) without covering, of course, the whole intermediary period.

Mr. Vincent Smith, who has contributed so much to throw light on the history of the Guptas, places Samudragupta's reign approximately between 345 and 380 A.D. (*J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 909). Samudragupta's relations with Ceylon are recalled to mind in the Allahabad panegyric; the Sinhalese figure therein in the list of tributary peoples following the *Daivaputra-Ṣáhi-Ṣáhánuṣáhi-Ṣaka-Muruṇḍa* group. In connection with this very group, I have already had occasion to point out the accuracy of the official panegyrist. I think I have established that the people, united thus in one composite whole, were connected in reality, by an original relationship (*Mémoires de Harlez*, p. 183). In regard to Ceylon, Mr. Smith had at first considered the allusion as "a simple matter of rhetoric" (*loc. cit.*, p. 32); but a fresh examination of the facts has altered his opinion, and he "no longer doubts that an ambassador from Ceylon really visited the court of Samudragupta" (*ibid*, p. 894). Wang Hiuen-ts'e confirms and completes Harisena, and Hiouen-tsang in his turn underlines, as it were, their agreement. "The King of Ceylon offered to the King of India the treasures of his kingdom. When the King of India had received this tribute....." (I., 489-490). You would think you were reading the very commentary of the Sanscrit panegyrist.

There can no longer be any question of carrying back the date of Mahánáman's inscription to the Gupta Era. The Kalacuri Era, which Mr. Fleet himself, seized with doubts, suggests as an after-thought, in the Index to the *Corpus* (s. v. Mahánáman II.), is scarcely more apposite. The year 518 A. D. is impossible, as is the year 588. The most likely hypothesis, therefore, in the circumstances, is to consider the

date 269 as expressed in the Saka Era, which gives us 347 A.D. It falls thus in the reign of Samudragupta, but this date, it must be confessed, is fifteen years posterior to the date of Mahánáman according to the chronology of the *Mahávamsa*. It is by no means any discredit to these venerable Annals to attribute to them an error so slight, in regard to an epoch so remote. For the rest, the foundation of the Mahábodhi Monastery accords well with the character of Sri Meghavarṇa, such as he is represented in the *Mahávamsa*: of exalted piety, fond of processions, and of religious pomp, and passionate in his veneration for Mahendra, the son of Asoka and the Apostle of Ceylon. The holy soil of Magadha was Mahendra's native land—and the circumstance undoubtedly gained for it a superaddition of sanctity in the eyes of the Sinhalese monarch. Mahánáman's voyage and the construction of the monastery were, perhaps, the direct result of Sri Meghavarṇa's devotion to his chosen patron. It is not without interest to note in this connection what political importance must have been attached to the possession of the holy places. The narratives of the Chinese pilgrims show that each nation of the Church aspired to have its own particular monastery in the neighbourhood of the sacred sites, especially of Mahábodhi. Even the Turks vied in zeal with the Hindus (cf. p. ex. *I-tsing*, transl. Chavannes, p.80). The lord of the country, if he felt he could, undoubtedly conceded a plot of ground only in exchange for corresponding appreciable advantages. Of the homages of vassalage which Samudragupta prided himself on having received, more than one certainly enters into the same category as the tribute of Srí Meghavarṇa; more than one may have paid for the hire or purchase of a plot of ground intended for a national monastery.

Before leaving Mahánáman, I should like to lay emphasis on two points which appear to me worthy of serious attention. Firstly, the use of Sanscrit by a monk of the Sthavira school, about the middle of the 4th century, before the great

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work of Pali translation was carried out by Buddhaghosha. The victory of Sanscrit over the Prakrits as an epigraphic language was accomplished; the dialect of the Sinhalese Church, whatever it might have been at the time, was not considered worthy of being engraved upon stone. The author of the inscription, whether it was Mahánáman in person or one of his Magadhian *confrères*, uses the Sanscrit easily and skilfully; his compositions are well arranged; he groups together, by choice, three or four words, even as many as five. The elements of the sentences are balanced with remarkable symmetry. Finally, he knows how to vary the metre with happy effect. Of eight stanzas, three are in *Sragdhará*, two in *Áryá*, two in *Ṣárdúlavikríḍita*, one in *sloka*. The whole composition classes itself very regularly between Rudradáman's inscription at Girnar and that of Samudragupta at Allahabad, which so clearly mark two stages of literary epigraphy (cf. Buhler, *Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie, Wien, 1890*).

Compared with this learned inscription, the other, in its banal brevity, presents a curious contrast. The genitive *Mahánámasya* for *Mahánámnas*, in the face of the regular nominative *Mahánámá* employed in the first text, is sufficient to betray the translator's greater familiarity with Prakrit than with Sanscrit. Whether Mahánáman is personally responsible for the solecism or whether the choice of his epigraphist was on this occasion less happy, it is none the less apparent that the Sanscrit was still exposed to relapses of Prakritism. The phenomenon is not surprising at the commencement of the 4th century.

The second point which I would particularise is the use of the era 78 A.D. Samudragupta, still at the beginning of his conquests, had certainly not yet overthrown the power of the Ṣakas, and the computation of the Ksatrapás, maintained by a long succession of princes and spread abroad by conquest, prevailed even in the nascent empire of the Guptas. Shortly after Mahánáman's voyage, the new dynasty imposed

triumphantly on its Hindu vassals the era of 319, which commemorated its foundation, and the era of the Sakas disappeared from official documents only to be replaced much later. Mahánáman dates from 269; the coinage of the last of the known Ksatrapas, and probably of the last of the Ksatrapas, Rudrasimha, bears the date of 310. (*J.R.A.S.* 1890, p. 662).

The name of Meghavarṇa, king of Ceylon, has not only had the singular fortune of being preserved in a Chinese text; it has been immortalised by the *Hitopadeṣa*. In the third book of this collection, after the seventh fable, a guard comes and announces: "Meghavarṇa, king of the crows, who comes from Ceylon and who waits without with his suite." The corresponding narrative of the *Pancatantra* (III., 1) also introduces Meghavarṇa, king of the Crows, but it makes out the city of Mahiláropya in the Dekkan as the residence of this personage. Furthermore, it assigns to him the role of a hero, while the *Hitopadeṣa* makes of him a traitor. This double change cannot probably be simply fortuitous. Tradition gives the king of the crows the very appropriate name of Meghavarṇa "cloud-coloured." But this name seems to have been one of the titles preferred by the kings of Ceylon: Abhaya bears it (254-267), and also Kírti-Ṣrí (304-332), Amba Sámanera Silákala (526-539), Kírti-Ṣrí (560), Asiggáhaka (614-623), Aggabodhi VI (741-781), Mahinda II. (787-807), Mahinda III. (812-816), and Sena I. (846-866). The Brahmin editor of the *Hitopadeṣa* perhaps found out this particularity and tried ingeniously to make capital out of it; he thus tasted the malicious pleasure of insulting, by allusion, the Buddhists of Ceylon. The crow is indeed the lowest of the winged world and its name signifies, metaphorically, an impudent man. The episode seems to recall to mind a mission sent to a king of India by one of the Meghavarṇas, perhaps the very mission despatched by Kírti Ṣrí Meghavarṇa to the Emperor Samudragupta, a king after the heart of the Brahmans, since he it was who

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revived the ancient rite of the *aṣvamedha*. In any case, the indication is not entirely to be despised.

CEYLON AND CHINA.

I give here the translation of the references to Ceylon inserted in the *Pien-i-tien*, Chap. LXVI. I have, however, omitted the extracts from Fa-hien and Hiouen-tsang classed respectively, in the Chinese compilation, under the dynasty of the Tsins and of the T'angs. The accounts of the two pilgrims are familiar enough to all Indianists to make it unnecessary to reproduce them here. The account of the embassy of the eunuch Tcheng Houo, which concludes the chapter, is of too modern a period to be examined along with the others. I have thought it best to put it back to the end and to discuss it separately.

The first embassy from Ceylon in China, which arrived in the time of the Tsins, is not given any special notice; it is simply mentioned in the *History of the Leangs* (*infra* p. 84). The *Kao-seng-tchoan* (chap. 13, p. 72a), written in 519, confirms the information given in the official annals in regard to this mission:

"Formerly the King of Ceylon, learning that Hiao-ou-it (373-396), of the Tsin dynasty, was versed in the practice of the Law, sent the *cha-men* (ṣramaṇa) *Tan-mo I-iuen*, charging him respectfully to offer a Buddha. The *cha-men* remained more than ten years *en route*, and he arrived in the course of the period I-hi (405-418)." The details about the statue accord exactly with the *History of the Leangs*.

RELATIONS OF CEYLON WITH CHINA.

(*Pien-i-tien*, ch. 66.)

PART I.—ANCIENT TIMES.

The Soung Dynasty.—In the reign of T'ai tsou, the 5th year Iuenkia (428), the kingdom of Ceylon sent a respectful letter and paid tribute.

The history of the Soung dynasty, in the section of T'ai tsou, makes no mention of it. But in the monograph on Ceylon we find :—

The 5th year Iuen-kia (428), the king *Ts' a-li Mo-ho-nan* (Kshatriya Mahánáman), sent a letter which said: "I respectfully inform the illustrious Lord of the great Soungs that, though mountains and seas separate us, news of him reaches us from time to time. Prostrate before the august Emperor, I receive his virtue and his path which are sublime and profound. He covers all like Heaven, supports all like Earth, and shines like the sun and moon. Beyond the four seas, there is nowhere to go where one does not prostrate himself (before him). The Kings of countries cannot fail to send him messages and offer respectful presents in order to manifest to him their sincere desire of returning to the practice of virtue. Whether they have to sail three years on the seas or journey thousands of days on firm land, they have the fear of his prestige and the love of his virtue. There is no place so remote whence men do not come. Our ancient kings considered hitherto the practice of virtue as their only duty; they knew how to rule without being severe: they served and honoured the Three Jewels; they governed and helped the world, and were happy if men practised righteousness. For myself I desire respectfully, in concert with the Son of Heaven, to magnify the good Law in order to save (creatures) from the evil of transmigration. This is the reason why I charge four priests (*tao-jen*) to offer to His Majesty two white robes and a statue with an ivory pedestal, to be considered as a pledge of loyalty. I desire that His Majesty may send me a letter to make known his instructions to me."

The 7th year Iuen-kia (430), the kingdom of Ceylon sent an ambassador to offer some products of the country. Mention of it is made in the *History of the Soungs*, in the section of T'ai tsou.

The 12th year Iuen-kia (435), the kingdom of Ceylon sent an ambassador to offer some products of the country.

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Mention of it is made in the *History of the Soungs*, in the section of T'ai tsou.

The Leang Dynasty.—The year 1, Ta-t' oung (527), of the reign of Ou-ti, in the 3rd month, the kingdom of Ceylon sent an ambassador to offer some products of the country. This is mentioned in the section of Ou-ti, in the *History of the Leangs*.

The account of Ceylon is as follows: The kingdom of Ceylon is by the side of the kingdom of India (T'ien-tchou). The country has a pleasant temperature, without the contrast of either summer or winter. The five corn crops ripen as one sows them, without having to wait for a fixed period. Originally, this country was not inhabited by men, but by demoniacal spirits and dragons. The merchants of other kingdoms, who came hither to trade with the demoniacal spirits, never saw their form; the latter contented themselves with spreading out their precious objects and jewels with an indication of the price at which they valued them; the merchants bought them at the price marked on them. The peoples of other kingdoms, learning of the delights of this land, made haste to come hither; some of these established themselves here, and eventually founded a great kingdom.

At the beginning of the period I-hi (405-418) of the Tsins, they sent as homage for the first time a statue of jade and ten packages of writings (*King*,=*sútras* ?). As for the statue, its height was four *tch'eu* (feet) and two ts'uenn (inches); the colour of the jade was pure and clear, and the form and shape absolutely extraordinary. Possibly, this was not the work of human artists. During the whole period of the Tsins and of the Soungs, the statue remained in the temple of Wa-koan; in front of this same temple there were the five statues of Buddha made by the hand of Tcheng-cheu Tai Ngan-tao, and also the painting of *Wei-mo* (Vimalakirti), by Kou Tch' ang-k'ang. They were called the "Three Marvels." Under the Ts'is, Toung-hoen (499-501) broke the

statue of jade; first of all he cut off the shoulders, then he took the body for a woman of the second rank who was his favourite, P'an by name; he made her a hair-pin out of it and a bracelet.

Under the Soungs, in the period Iuen-kia, in the 6th and 12th years, their king *Ts' a-li-mo-ho* sent an ambassador to bear tribute.

In the first year Ta-t' oung (527), a king of his lineage, *Kia-che Kia-lo-ha-li-ya* (Kásyapa Kálahárya ?) sent a respectful letter. [Here follows the text of the letter, almost identical, but for the proper names, with Mahánáman's letter translated above].

The T'ang Dynasty.—Under Kao-tsoung, in the 3rd year Tsoung-tchang (670), the kingdom of Ceylon sent tribute.

The section of Kao-tsoung in the *History of the T'angs* makes no mention of it. But we read in the section of the Western Countries:

"Ceylon is situated in the middle of the South-West seas. Its length from North to South exceeds 2,000 *li*. It is there that the mountain Leng-kia (Lanka) is found.

"It abounds in rare treasures. The treasures the people of the country spread out on the surface of the island (ground); the merchants come in boats and, after paying directly the equivalent sum, take them away. Later, some men of the neighbouring kingdoms came hither little by little and established themselves in it and succeeded in taming lions; hence the name of the kingdom (*Simha* "lion," *Simhāla*, "Ceylon"). In the 3rd year Tsoung-tchang, they sent an ambassador to the court."

The T'oung-tien of Tou (-ieou) says, on the authority of Tou-hoan, that the kingdom of Ceylon is also called *Sin-tan*, and again *Po-lo-men*. It forms part of Southern India. All the men of the Northern Part of the kingdom have the appearance of the *Hous* (barbarians of Central Asia); its autumn and summer are warm and dry. In the Southern part of the kingdom, all the men have the appearance of the

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Leaos (Laos). Its four seasons are wet. Consequently, the people began dwelling in the temples of the Buddhist religion. All the men have drooping ears and they wrap cloth round their waists.

Under Joui-tsoung, in the second year King-iun (711), the 2nd month, the kingdom of Ceylon sent some products of the country as presents.

The *History of the T'angs* makes no mention of it, either in biographies or monographs. It is the *Tch' e-fou-iuen-koei* which gives us the information.

Under Hiouen-tsoung, in the first year T'ien-pao (742), the kingdom of Ceylon sent an ambassador with some products of the country.

The section of Hiouen-tsoung, in the *History of the T'angs*, does not speak of it. The section of the Countries of the West says:

"At the beginning of the period T'ien-pao, the king *Chi-lo-mi-kia* (Ṣílámegha) sent an ambassador twice to offer as presents pearls, filigreed gold, gems for necklaces, ivory, and some very fine shaggy stuff of white colour (*pe-tie*)."

In the 5th year T'ien-pao (746), the kingdom of Ceylon sent some people to pay homage and offer presents to the court.

The *History of the T'angs* says nothing of the embassy either in biographies or monographs. The *Tch' e-fou-iuen-koei* says:

"In the 5th year T'ien-pao, the first month, the king of Ceylon, *Chi-lo-mi-kia* (Ṣílámegha) sent the monk of the Brahman caste *A-mo-kia-po-tche-lo* (Amoghavajra), master of the *Tripiṭaka* and dispenser of the holy unction, to bear to the court, with his expression of homage, some golden filigree work, valances, necklaces of precious stones and, also, a copy of the *Ta Pan-jo King* (Mahá-prajñápáramitá-sútra) written in Indian (*fan*) characters on palm leaves, and forty pieces of thin and shaggy white stuff."

In the 9th year T'ien-pao (750), the 3rd month, the kingdom of Ceylon offered ivory and pearls.

The *History of the T'angs* makes no reference to it, either in biographies or monographs. It is the *Tch' e-fou-iuen-koei* which gives us the information.

Under Sou-tsoung, the year 1 of Pao-ing (762), the sixth moon, the kingdom of Ceylon sent an ambassador to pay homage to the court and offer tribute.

The *History of the T'angs* speaks nothing about it, either in biographies or monographs. It is the *Tch' e-fou-iuen-koei* which gives us the information.

APPENDIX TO PART I.

VAJRABODHI IN CEYLON.

Outside official history, the name of the King *Chi-lo-mi-kia* (Ṣílámegha) of Ceylon is met with again in the biography of Amoghavajra. (*Soung-kao-seng-tchoan*, Chap. 1, p. 71a, Col. 17). The history of Vajrabodhi, master of Amoghavajra, equally concerns Sinhalese chronology. The *Soung-kao-seng-tchoan*, the *Siu-kou-kin i-king t'ou-ki* and the *K'ai-iuen chi-kiao lou* contain biographical notices of this illustrious personage; but the fullest and the most accurate is furnished by *Tcheng-iuen sing-ting-i-kia mou-lou*, compiled by Iuen-tchao at the beginning of the 9th century and preserved only in the Korean edition (Ed. Jap., XXVIII., 6, Chap. 14, p. 77-78); the collection catalogued by Nanjio does not include this important work. The text of Iuen-tchao is reproduced and commented on in a History of the *Tantric* sect. *Wen-tcha-lo kia fou fa tchoan* (Chap. 1, *infra*, p. 7-14), which I have brought from Japan. Vajrabodhi is said to have been the 3rd son of a Kshatriya king of Central India, *I che-na kia-mo* (Iṣánakarman, *Corr.* "varman"?). If the other biographies make out that he was a Brahmin of Mo-lai-ye (Malaya), it is because he came to the Court with an embassy from that country. I do not know who king Isánakarman or Varman may be; it seems difficult to identify him with the prince of that name mentioned in the Aphsad inscription (*Corpus* III., n. 42) as the contemporary

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and unfortunate rival of Kumáragupta of Magadha, Vajrabodhi having been born in 661.

Vajrabodhi studied at Nálanda till he was 26 years old; then in 689 he travelled as a pilgrim as far as Kapilavastu and directed his course towards South India, the centre of the cult of Avalokiteṣvara. The kingdom of Kien-tchi (Kánchi) had then for three years been afflicted with a desolating famine, and the king *Na-lo-seng-kia pou-to kia-mo* (Narasimha Potakarman, *Corr.* Varman) implored the assistance of the monks. By means of *dháranis*, Vajrabodhi brought down rain. A vision next ordered him to visit Ceylon and go and worship Manjusri in the Middle Empire. He crossed the sea, was received with respectful ceremonial in Ceylon and there adored the holy relics, particularly the Tooth of Buddha deposited at the Abhaya-rája-vihára, where he remained six months. Then he started towards the south-east, to ascend the Lanká-parvata. On the way he stopped at the Stúpa of Buddha's Eye, then arrived at the city of the Seven Jewels, and passed into the kingdom of *Lou-ho-na* (Rohana). The king of this kingdom was a follower of the Hínayána school. Vajrabodhi remained there a month in order to explain to him the Great Vehicle [*Maháyána*]. When at last he reached the foot of the mountain, he found the country wild, inhabited by wild beasts and extraordinarily rich in precious stones. After long waiting, he was able to climb to the summit and contemplate the impression of Buddha's foot. From the summit he saw on the north-west the kingdom of Ceylon, and on all other sides the ocean. At the foot of the mountain an enclosure of vegetation traced out as it were the rampart of a city; the natives said it was the city of Lanká. The savages of the district came themselves to pay homage to the Master. He then returned to South India where he was welcomed back with as much honour and pomp as on his first departure. He expressed to the king his desire to go to China to worship Manjuṣrí and propagate the doctrine. The

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king at first tried to dissuade him from the undertaking, pointing out the extreme difficulty of the voyage; but, eventually, yielding to his entreaties, decided that an embassy should go, which, in accordance with precedent, was to carry presents to the Emperor. He charged the Commander-in-Chief *Mi-tsoun-na* to offer, in his name, a Sanscrit copy of the *Mahá-prajñá-páramitá*, some jewels, stuffs and perfumes. The departure of the embassy took place with great pomp. Vajrabodhi invocated Manjuṣrí on the East and Avalokitesvara on the West. The mission set sail with farewells from the king, the ministers and a multitude of people and first put into port at *Po-tchi-li* in Ceylon, which was reached in 24 hours. Thirty-five Persian ships were there already, having come to take precious stones in barter. When the Persian merchants saw Vajrabodhi, they followed him with one impulse. The King of Ceylon, *Chi-li-chi-lo* (Ṣrí-Ṣíla), learning of the Master's return, invited him to stay in his palace. After a month's sojourn Vajrabodhi took leave of the king and started off, still followed by the faithful Persian merchants. A month's voyage brought them to *Fo-chi* (Bhoja), the king of which met the mission and presented him (Vajrabodhi) with a golden parasol and a golden bedstead. The end of the voyage was disastrous; all the merchants' ships were dispersed by a tempest, and Vajrabodhi's ship alone, after a long series of misfortunes, reached Canton, whence he arrived at the Eastern capital in 720.

THE MAHÁVAṆSA AND THE CHINESE TEXTS.

The first Sinhalese sovereign expressly named in the Chinese Annals is the *Tsa-li Mo-ho-nan*, who in 428 A.D. sent a letter and some presents to the Son of Heaven. *Tsa-li* is the usual transcription of the word "Kshatriya." As for *Mo-ho-nan*, we have already met with this name earlier written exactly in the same characters, in Wang Hiuen-ts' e's fragments, where it represents the Sanscrit *Mahánáman*.

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A king of this name is indeed found to be ruling from 412 to 434, according to the computation of the *Mahávaṇsa*.* Mahánáman, who was the younger brother of his predecessor Upatissa II., murdered him after a reign of 42 years and seized the throne; he tried afterwards to make atonement for his crime by his piety. It was in his reign that Buddhaghosha came from Magadha to Ceylon and there carried out his great work of translation and commentaries. In seeking to open diplomatic relations with China, Mahánáman intended perhaps to second the designs of the Sinhalese Church, which sought to extend its field of action and to compete with the propaganda of the Indian Church.

The visit of the pilgrim Fa-hien, who had just arrived in the Island in 412-413, had undoubtedly revealed the intense spirit of apostleship which, for more than three centuries, had bound China and Northern India together. Besides, commerce had already, through the harbours of the Indian Archipelago, established regular or frequent relations between the great Island and the Chinese ports. In front of the statue of jasper in Ceylon, Fa-hien sees "a merchant presenting as his offering a fan of white silk of the country of Tsin." An embassy had even preceded the Envoys of Mahánáman; unfortunately, the Chinese documents leave us in ignorance of the name of the king whom it represented and the exact date of its arrival in China. We know that its despatch was due to the reputation of the Emperor Hiao-ou-ti, who ruled from 373 to 396†, that it remained ten years

* Not quite. For, according to my tables (C. B. R. A. S. Journal for 1914), which have been worked out "according to the computation of the *Mahávaṇsa*," Mahánáma's regnal years are A.D. 407 to 429 (Christian Era reckoned from 544 B.C.). The *Rájávaliya*, *Pújávaliya* and *Nikáya Sangrahawa* are agreed that Mahá Sena reigned from A.B. 818 to 845 or A.D. 274 to 301 according to the same reckoning. Now, according to the *Mahávaṇsa*, his successors, Siri Meghavaṇṇa, Jeṭṭha Tissa II., Buddhadása and Upatissa II. ruled for 27, 9, 28, and 42 years respectively, *i. e.*, 301+27+9+28 =407 A.D., on which date Mahánáma ascended the throne and occupied it for 22 years, *i. e.*, till A.D. 429.—*J. M. S.*

† These dates fall within the reign of Mahánáma's predecessor, Upatissa II., who occupied the throne from A. D. 365 to 407.—*J. M. S.*

en route, and that it reached China at the beginning of the period I-hi which extends from 405 to 418. It had not then started before 395. In 396 Hiao-ou-ti died. The news of his death had not yet reached Ceylon when the mission departed. Starting in 395 or 396, or even a little later, the Samana Tan-mo I-uen was the representative of Upatissa II., who, according to the testimony of the *Mahávaṇsa*, occupied the throne from 370 to 412.*

After an interval of 30 years, the two kings entered into relations with different dynasties, Upatissa II. with the Tsins, and Mahánáman with the Soungs. China, indeed, was at the time going through a long period of confusion and of political upheavals; it was the epoch of the "sixteen kingdoms." In 420, the Southern Soungs had overthrown the Tsins and had, in their turn, made Kin-ling (Nankin) their capital. In fact, regardless of dynastic changes, the Sinhalese continued to have relations with the same region, Southern China.

Fresh embassies arrived again in 430 and 435. Mahánáman's reign ended in 434, according to Sinhalese chronology.† But the king's decease perhaps took place when the last mission was already *en route*. Speaking generally, the figures make no difference one way or the other.‡

Official relations are then interrupted for almost a century. It is only in 527 that a new mission arrives in China. It comes in the name of Kia-che Kia-lo-ha-li-ya. *Kia-che*, as written in the text, is the usual transcription of "Kásyapa." But Kásyapa I. of the *Mahávaṇsa* ruled from 479 to 497,§ and it is difficult to admit an error of 30 years at least within so short a time from Mahánáman. Kásyapa II.

* Rather 365 to 407. See note above.—*J. M. S.*

† 429 is more in accordance with Sinhalese chronicles.—*J. M. S.*

‡ Possibly: but it is as well perhaps to remember that there were, according to my revised Tables, as many as four kings between 429 and 435: Sotthisena (429), Chattagáhaka (429-430), Mitta Sena (430-431), and Pándu (431-436).—*J. M. S.*

§ 476-494, according to my Tables.—*J. M. S.*

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need not be taken into account, since his accession took place in 652 *. In 527, the prince who ruled in Ceylon is, according to the *Mahávaṇsa*, styled Amba-Sámanera Silákála in Pali, Ambaherana Salamewan in Sinhalese. Silákála was the son-in-law of Upatissa III. who ascended the throne in 525† and was overthrown after a reign of one and a half years. Upatissa III. had a son, Kassapa (Kásyapa), surnamed *Giri-kassapa*, who never held the royal dignity, but who courageously defended his father's throne against the machinations and attempts of an ambitious son-in-law.

It is possible to identify, thus scattered in the narrative of the Sinhalese chronicle, the elements of the royal name occurring in the Annals of the Leangs: *Kia-che* corresponds to Kassapa, son of Upatissa III., *Kia-lo* to Kála, an element of the name Silákála; *Ho-li-ya* has a vague resemblance to the Sinhalese term *herana*. Two explanations are possible: Either that the Páli Annals have converted a single person into two, of whom one was supposed to be the son, the other the step-son (son-in-law) of Upatissa III., or that the Chinese have mixed up the information given them in regard to the two rivals who contended for the supreme power, Silákála on one side and Kassapa on the other. Be it noted that it was still with the court of Kin-ling (Nankin) that the Sinhalese opened diplomatic relations; the Leangs had, since 502, replaced the Soungs and their successors, the T'sis.

The Annals do not mention the names of the sovereigns who sent missions in 670 and 711. According to the chronology of the *Mahávaṇsa*, the king of Ceylon in 670 is Hatthadáṭha who was also styled Dáthopatissa II. (664-673);‡ in 711, it is Mánavamma, whose long reign extends from 691 to 726§. The voyage of Vajrabodhi belongs to

* 642, according to my Tables.—*J. M. S.*

† 522, according to my Tables: a difference of 3 years only.—*J. M. S.*

‡ 654-663, according to my Tables.—*J. M. S.*

§ 681-716, according to my Tables.—*J. M. S.*

the same period, his two visits to Ceylon falling between 705 and 715. But the king of Southern India who at first welcomed him is also of interest in respect of Sinhalese Chronology. The *Mahávaṇsa* relates (Chap. 47) that the prince Mánavamma, son of Kassapa II. and son-in-law of the king of Malaya, who was driven out by the usurpers, took service at the court of a king of India, Narasimha, who treated him with brotherly friendship. The two princes rivalled each other in generosity and tenderness. Meanwhile, another king of India, named Vallabha, attacked Narasimha; Mánavamma, who had been eager to take part in the fight, secured victory, and the grateful Narasimha entrusted an army to the Sinhalese prince in order to help him to regain possession of his throne. A first expedition miscarried, but the second was more successful. Mánavamma ascended his father's throne and reigned 35 years. An inscription of Vikramáditya the Calukya, the great-grandson of Pulakesi who defeated Harṣavardhana, also recalls the struggles between Vallabha and Narasimha: "Conquered by the lord Śrí-Vallabha who trampled upon the fame of Narasimha.....(Vikramáditya) in his turn achieved the ruin of the Pallavas (of Kānchi)." (*Ind. Ant.*, VI. 77).

This Vallabha was a Gangetic king of Kálinga; according to the testimony of another inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, X., 37, n. 7), he inflicted on the Pallavas a great defeat which cost the vanquished king his life. Mr. Lewis Rice has already proposed (*Ind. Ant.*, loc. laud.) to identify this Narasimha with a king Narasimha Potavarman, whose name is recalled in an inscription of Kírtivarman II., the Calukya (*Ind. Ant.*, VIII., 26). "He (Kírtivarman) entering Kánchi without destroying it.....acquired the great merit of covering with gold the temples of Rajasimhesvara and other gods sculptured in stone, &c., which Narasimha Potavarman had made." The identity of the two personages now becomes evident. The accounts of

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the times, the places and the persons indicated by the *Mahávaṇsa*, the inscriptions and the biography of Vajrabodhi are in absolute agreement. The reign of the Pallava Narasimha Potavarman of Kánchi must therefore be referred back to about the year 700.

The king of Ceylon who welcomed Vajrabodhi on his first voyage is not named at all. But the mention of the kingdom of Rohana as a separate state is quite in accordance with what we find in the *Mahávaṇsa*. During this period the island was a vast battle-field wherein there were constantly in conflict rivals who desperately contended for an ephemeral power. The mountainous country of Rohana, in the south, served naturally as a place of refuge to the vanquished; the kings of Anurádhapura failed to make their authority prevail in that district. In the reign of Dáthopatissa II. (664-673) *, a certain Aggabodhi, "whose sister had married the king of Rohana," made himself master of the whole country. His brother, Sámi Dappula, succeeded to the sovereignty and "became the chief of the Rohana." He married the daughter of king Siládáṭha and had as sons Máṇavamma, &c. (*Maháv.*, 45, v. 41-52). This Máṇa(vamma) was defeated and killed by Dáthopatissa's people, and his father died soon after: "He reigned seven days at Anurádhapura and three years at Rohana." (*ibid.* v. 80).

At the time of his second voyage, Vajrabodhi was received by the king Śrí-Síla (Siri-Síla). The *Mahávaṇsa* lists give no similar name; it is impossible to put back so far the accession of Silámegha, whom the *Mahávaṇsa* places in 741.† The person mentioned is perhaps one of those short-lived kings who by turns held power about the year 700. The *Mahávaṇsa* narrative is confused and dubious on the point and loses the thread; this is how we see a certain king Silá-dáṭha, altogether unknown elsewhere,

* 654-663, according to my Tables.—*J. M. S.*

† 731, according to my Tables.—*J. M. S.*

figuring in the history of Sāmi Dappula of Rohana. Perhaps again, and the hypothesis is more probable, Śrí-Síla is a royal title (*biruda*) of this king Máṇavamma, whose name bears so singular a resemblance to the collection of Ceylon royal names at this period. Prince Máṇavamma, on ascending the throne, might have taken the title of Śrí-Síla.

The two embassies of Silámegha present no difficulty. One dates from 742, the other from 746. They fall well within the period assigned by the *Mahávaṇsa* to Aggabodhi VI. Silámegha, 741-781.* The embassy of 750 and that of 762 must have been sent by the same Sovereign. With him cease the official relations between Ceylon and China,† relations on the nature of which it is useless to deceive ourselves. They did not proceed from a political system; they had still less the value of an *entente* between two countries. The missions, supposing that they were always authentic (and the Chinese Emperors may have been, more than once, duped by adventurers), had no other reason than the vanity of a prince anxious to make his name known afar, or again religious zeal cleverly exploited by commercial interests. The history of the Persian merchants who diligently followed Vajrabodhi is very significant. It is open to an author of edifying biographies to draw from this circumstance conclusions as to the prestige of the holy monk. The Persian traders knew very well that in following Vajrabodhi they gained the protection of the mission escort and a welcome reception in Buddhist countries. International commerce had quickly perceived the means whereby missionary politics could be turned to account.

To sum up, the Chinese texts make it possible to check the chronology of the *Mahávaṇsa* during a period of four and a half centuries, between the reign of Siri Meghavaṇṇa

* 731-771, according to my Tables.—*J. M. S.*

† This is incorrect. See, *infra*, my "Summary of Chino-Sinhalese relations."—*J. M. S.*

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and that of Aggabodhi VI. Sílamegha. In regard to six names of princes expressly mentioned, the two sources of testimony are three times in perfect agreement. The dates assigned on all sides to Mahánáman (5th century), to Narasimha Potavarman (7th-8th century), and to Aggabodhi Silámegha (8th century) coincide. In the other cases a slight difficulty occurs. The reign of Śrí Meghavarṇa seems to exceed by some years the limit indicated by the *Mahávaṇsa**, while the names of Kásyapa Kálahárya (? 6th century), and Siri-Síla (8th century) are not to be found in the Pali Annals; but an analysis of the first of these names discloses its elements in the corresponding period of the *Mahávaṇsa*, and the second is probably one of the royal titles taken, according to custom, by a sovereign of whom tradition, by exception, has preserved for us only his princely name. The apparent contradictions serve only to accentuate the intimate agreement between the two series. One would be justified in affirming, after this examination, that the chronology of the *Mahávaṇsa* may be admitted as a solid authority, if not wholly, at least from the commencement of the 4th century.

PART II.—MODERN TIMES.

TCHENG HOUO AND MA HOAN.

The two following accounts both refer to the voyages of Tcheng Houo in the first half of the 15th century. While Portuguese sailors, under the impetus given by Henry the Navigator, rushed forth to the conquest of far-away seas and unknown regions, the "rhythm of history" provoked a similar movement† in the opposite extremity of the world. Since 1403 the Emperor Ioung-lo had sent his

* According to my revised Tables, he reigned from A.D. 301 to 328. M. Levi's dates for this king represent only a very slight difference: A.D. 304 to 332.—*J. M. S.*

† V. W. F. Mayers, *Chinese explorations of the Indian Ocean during the 15th century* in the *China Review*, III., 219, 225 and 321, 331; IV., 61-67 and 173-190.

eunuchs on missions to Tibet, Java, Siam and Bengal. In 1405 he charged the eunuch Tcheng Houo to explore the Southern seas, and gave him a fleet of 62 vessels. Tcheng Houo successively made seven expeditions, in the course of about 30 years; he pushed forward in his adventurous way right up to the coasts of Arabia. During his first mission he made prisoner, by turns, the ruler of Kiu-kiang, the ancient country of San-fe-tsi, in Sumatra; during a subsequent mission, the king *A-lie-kou-nai-eul* of Ceylon with his wives and children; and, finally, Su-kan-li, son of the king of Sumatra*. The text of the *Pien-i-tien*, which I have translated, does not state the exact date of Tcheng Houo's voyage to Ceylon and of his victory over the Sinhalese, but it is possible to determine it with sufficient approximation. We know that the incident was subsequent to the first mission which left China in 1405, and on the other hand that Tcheng Houo, the conqueror of *A-lie-kou-nai-eul*, returned to China in 1411. History seems to indicate that he returned directly and that his voyage was accomplished quickly and successfully. It is therefore very probable that the incident took place in the year 1410 †

To the extract from the *Pien-i-tien*, I add an account taken from the *Ing-iai-cheng-lan* of Ma Hoan. Ma Hoan was a Chinese Mussulman whose knowledge of Arabic helped him to be attached as interpreter to Tcheng Houo's mission of 1413. I have not had the advantage of reading the original text of Ma Hoan's account and have confined myself to translating into French the English version given by Mr. Phillips.‡ A document discovered by Mr. Mayers

* Chinese annotation quoted by Mayers, *Ch. Rev.* III., 221.

† According to Professor Giles, the Galle Trilingual Stone, which records the incident, "bears date the 7th year of the Emperor Yung Lo of the Ming dynasty = 1409 A.D." *Spolia Zeylanica*, Vol. VIII., Pt. XXX., June 1912.—*J. M. S.*

‡ G. Phillips, *The Seaports of India and Ceylon described by Chinese voyages of the 15th century.* In *Journal*, China Branch R. A. S., XX. 209-226, XXI., 30-42.

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(*China Review*, III., 329), and of which Mr. Phillips has failed to make use, mentions the date of Ma Hoan's voyage to Ceylon. Tcheng Houo's vessels touched at *Pie-lo-li*, the port of Ceylon, on the 6th day of the 11th moon of the year of Siuen-si (at the end of 1432), and set sail on the 10th day.

I.

PIEN-I-TIEN, CHAPTER 66.

The *Sie-lan-chan* (island of *Sie-lan*) is the ancient kingdom of *Seng-kia-le*. Near the king's palace is the Tooth of Buddha, housed in a magnificent building whose precious stones glisten like fire. During a long succession of generations, it (the Tooth) has been worshipped without interruption and with no diminution of ceremonial. At present, the king is *A-lie-kou-nai-eul*, who is a *Souo-li*; he observes heretical practices and does not respect the Law of Buddha. He is a cruel and violent tyrant who has no pity for the people of the kingdom and treats the Tooth of Buddha with disrespect. In the 3rd year of Ioung-lo (1405), the Emperor sent Tcheng Houo, the Eunuch, with perfumes and flowers as pious offerings to foreign kingdoms. Tcheng Houo tried to persuade the king *A-lie-kou-nai-eul* to honour the teaching of Buddha and to give up his heretical practices. The king felt irritated and seemed determined to take stern measures. Tcheng Houo realised the situation and withdrew. Subsequently Tcheng Houo was again sent with presents for foreign countries and some gifts for the king of the island of Sie-lan. The king, more arrogant than ever, showed him no respect whatsoever and even sought to maltreat him. On his orders 50,000 armed men cut down trees so as to block the way, while another troop of men were charged to go and plunder the ships. But it so happened that the information leaked out from some of the king's underlings, and Tcheng Houo, getting wind of it, made

haste to return with his men to their ships. He found his progress barred already, but he managed secretly to send some messengers with orders to land soldiers to engage the enemy. With 3,000 men Tcheng Houo marched at night through a circuitous route, and attacked the capital which he entered and took possession of. Then the barbarian soldiers who had gone to pillage the ships, and others from the interior of the kingdom, arrived from all sides, joined forces and, investing the city completely, engaged in battle for six days. Tcheng Houo and his men, keeping the king prisoner, marched out of the gates at dawn, cleared the obstructing trees that barred the way, and made more than 20 *li* (= five miles), fighting and marching by turns. Finally, at dusk, they came near their ships. Before getting away they paid worship, according to the rites, to the Tooth of Buddha, and then only embarked. And just at this moment, there was a miraculous occurrence. They saw the splendour (of the temple), referred to already, blazing forth anew; the thunder rumbled and lightning flashed forth afar. They escaped without being seen, overcame all obstacles and proceeded for more than 10,000 *li* across the sea, without trouble from wind or wave, as if their route was on level ground. Savage dragons and dreadful fishes rose up, pell-mell, right in front (of the ships' prows), but they were peaceful and threatened no injury; while, within the ships, the men felt securely joyful. In the 9th year of Joung-lo (1411), on the 9th day of the 7th month, they arrived at the capital.

II.

"ING-IAI-CHENG-LAN" OF MA HOAN.

(On leaving the Nicobar Islands and sailing westward) the Hawk's Beak Hill is sighted after seven days, and, in another two or three days, the Buddhist Temple Hill is

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reached, near to which is the anchorage of the port of Ceylon called *Pie-lo-li*.

On landing, there is to be seen on the shining rock at the base of the cliff, an impress of a foot two or more feet in length. The legend attached to it is that it is the imprint of Sakyamuni's foot, made when he landed at this place, coming from the Ts'ui-lan Islands (Nicobar). There is a little water, which never evaporates, in the hollow of the imprint of this foot. People dip their hands in it, and wash their faces, and rub their eyes with it, saying: "This is Buddha's water, which will make us pure and clean."

Buddhist temples abound there. In one of them there is to be seen a full-length recumbent figure of Sakyamuni, still in a very good state of preservation.

The base on which the figure reposes is inlaid with all kinds of precious stones. It is made of sandal-wood and is very handsome. The temple contains a Buddha's Tooth and other relics.

This must certainly be the place where Sakyamuni entered Nirvána.* Four or five *li* distant from here, in a northerly direction, is the capital of the kingdom. The king is of the *Soli* race, a most earnest believer in the Buddhist religion, and one who treats elephants and cows with a feeling of veneration. The people of this country are in the habit of taking cow-dung and burning it, which, when reduced to ashes, they rub over their whole bodies.

They do not venture to eat cow's flesh; they merely drink the milk. When a cow dies they bury it. It is capital crime for anyone secretly to kill a cow; he who does so can however escape punishment by paying a ransom of a cow's head made of solid gold. Every morning all those of whatever degree, residing in the king's palace, take cow-dung and mix it with water, which they smear everywhere over the floor of their

* I fear that the translation of this phrase as given by Mr. Phillips is erroneous.

houses, and upon which they afterwards prostrate themselves and perform their religious rites.

Near to the king's residence there is a lofty mountain reaching to the skies. On the top of this mountain there is the impress of a man's foot, which is sunk two feet deep in the rock, and is some eight or more feet long. This is said to be the impress of the foot of the ancestor of mankind, a holy man called *A-tan*, otherwise P'an kou.

This mountain abounds with rubies of all kinds and other precious stones. These gems are being continually washed out of the ground by heavy rains, and are sought for and found in the sand carried down the hill by the torrents. It is currently reported among the people that these precious stones are the congealed tears of Buddha.

In the sea off the island there is a bank of snowy white sand, which, with the sun or moon shining on it, sparkles with dazzling brightness. Pearl oysters are continually collecting on this bank.

The king has had a pearl-pond dug, into which every two or three years he orders pearl oysters to be thrown, and he appoints special men to keep watch over it. Those who fish for these oysters and take them to the authorities for the king's use, sometimes steal and fraudulently sell them.

The kingdom of Ceylon is extensive and thickly populated, and somewhat resembles Java. The people are abundantly supplied with all the necessaries of life. They go about naked, except that they wear a green handkerchief round their loins, fastened with a waistband. Their bodies are clean-shaven and only the hair of their head is left. They wear a white cloth twisted round their heads. When either of their parents dies, they allow their beards to grow. This is how they show their filial respect. The women twist their hair up into a knot at the back of the head, and wear a white cloth round their middles. Newly-born male children have their heads

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shaven; the head of the female child is not shaven, the hair is done up into a tuft and is left so until she is grown-up. They take no meal without butter and milk; if they have none and wish to eat, they do so unobserved and in private. The betel-nut is never out of their mouths. They have no wheat, but have rice, sesamum and peas. The coconut, which they gather in abundance, supplies them with oil, wine, sugar and food. They burn their dead and bury the ashes. It is the custom in a family in which a death has occurred, for the relatives' and neighbours' wives to assemble together and smite their breasts with their hands, and at the same time make loud lamentation and weeping.

Among their fruits, they number the banana and the jak fruit; they have also the sugar-cane, melons, herbs and garden-plants. Cows, sheep, fowls and ducks are not wanting. The king has a gold coin in circulation weighing one candareen six cash. Chinese musk, coloured taffetas, blue porcelain basins and cups, copper cash and camphor are much esteemed by them, against which they barter pearls and precious stones. Chinese vessels on their homeward voyages are constantly bringing envoys from their king, who are bearers of presents of precious stones as tribute to the Imperial Court.

M. SYLVAIN LÉVI'S REMARKS ON THE ABOVE.

The King whom Tcheng Houo visited on his first voyage to Ceylon, and who gave the Chinese envoy so rough a welcome, bears a name that is easily recognisable under the Chinese transcription.

A-lie-kou-nai-eul (A-le-kō-na-r) is the king who figures in the royal lists under the title of Bhuvaneka Báhu V., who was known before his accession under the name of

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Alagakkonára.* (*Mahávaṇsa*, Chap. XCI., 2-13). He was a *Souo-li* (*Souo-li jenn*, *i.e.*, "soli vir quidem"). Ma Hoan also describes the king who was reigning a little later in Ceylon as *Souo-li jenn tcheu*, "Soli vir stirpe". Mr. Phillips thinks that *Souo-li* represents the Sanscrit transcription "Súrya," and proposes to interpret it thus: "The king is of the Súryavamsa." As a matter of fact, as the *Mahávaṇsa* (Ch. 19, v. 16) explicity tells us, the king who was Ma Hoan's contemporary was "of the race of the Sun," but this was not the case with his predecessor Alagakkonára. Besides, the name of Souo-li, written in the same characters, reappears again in Ma Hoan in another passage where the interpretation which Mr. Phillips suggests is inadmissible. "The writing employed in Java resembles that of Souo-li." (*China Review*, IV., p. 179). Mr. Mayers fully appreciates the import of this term. "By the name of *Souo-li*," he says (*ibid*), "the inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago appear to have meant the Southern part of the Indian peninsula, to which Marco Polo also gives the same name." And he identifies this form with the Sanscrit *Coḍa*. "Soli" is, indeed, the form which, in the Sinhalese language, the name of *Coḍa* has taken. It is almost superfluous to recall the constant relations which Ceylon had with the Coḍas.† There is nothing surprising, therefore, if the Princes of Ceylon were of Coḍa origin.

The King Alagakkonára was at first Prince of Peraḍoṇi, the Péradeniya of the present day, in the immediate

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* This is now an exploded theory. If nothing else, there is the *Attanagalu-vihára-vaṇsa* which must clinch the matter finally. The translation of this work is therein described as having been undertaken in the reign of *Bhuvaneka Báhu V.* at the desire of Satru Sinha Kunjara (Commander-in-Chief), Arthanáyaka (Minister), and his brother *Alakeśvara* or *Alagakkonára* (Prime Minister) in Saka 1304.—*J. M. S.*

† Tamil *Choḷa*, the name of an ancient Tamil dynasty which had its seat at Kaveripúmpaṭṭanam (at the mouth of the river Káveri) and afterwards at Kánchi near Madras. To this dynasty belonged King Elála who ruled at Anurádhapura (205-161 B.C.) and in later times the rulers of Polonnaruwa (1013-1065 A.C.).—Ed.

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neighbourhood of Kandy; but as he aspired to the glory of founding a new capital, he chose a site to the south of Kelaniya, quite near the sea and a little behind Colombo, and he there built the city of Jayavaddhanakoṭṭa, "which he ornamented with great fortifications, gates and towers." A century later, the Portuguese found the new capital still in the height of prosperity. The accounts of the 16th and 17th centuries frequently mention it under the name of *Cotta*. The province, of which it was the capital, was known as the kingdom of Cotta, and the king bore the title of "Emperor of Cotta." The huge recumbent statue of Buddha is still visible, as in the time of Ma Hoan, in the Kelaniya temple, and tourists who pay a short visit to Colombo do not fail to go and see it. I can say nothing of the imprint of a foot which Ma Hoan saw on a rock at the foot of the cliff, but the fact is in agreement with the *Mahávaṇsa* tradition which relates, in Chapter I., of Buddha's visit to Kalyáni (Kelaniya). In the absence of accurate notions of Ceylon History, Mr. Phillips has misinterpreted and even tried to correct the indications given us by Ma Hoan. He locates the "Hawk's Beak Hill" on the coast off Batticaloa and identifies the "Buddhist Temple Hill" with Dondra Head, at the southern extremity of the Island. Consequently, he looks for the capital in the same region, behind Belligamme, where he thinks he finds the port of *Pie-lo-li*. I do not know to what name *Pie-lo-li* corresponds, but there can be no question that it is not Belligamme (Weligama). The site should be looked for in Colombo itself or in its immediate neighbourhood. The "Hawk's Beak Hill" of the Chinese sailors is certainly Dondra Head (Devanagara), and the "Buddhist Temple Hill" is Mount Lavinia.

As for the second king, whom Ma Hoan visited, he is unquestionably Parákrama Báhu VI., who ascended the throne of Jayavaddhana-koṭṭa in 1410 or 1415 and who was the second successor of Bhuvaneka Báhu V. Alagak-

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konára.* Ma Hoan's testimony to the ardour of his faith in Buddhism is quite in agreement with the *Mahávaṇsa* narrative, but the case is altogether different with his predecessor. Alagakkonára, whom Tcheng Houo represents as a fanatical heretic, is extolled in the Sinhalese chronicle as a model of piety. This prince, who is accused by the Chinese of treating Buddha's Tooth disrespectfully, is said to have employed, however, 7,000 pieces of silver in making a casket for the precious relic. The question is: Has Tcheng Houo calumniated a treacherous host, or has the *Mahávaṇsa* indulged in a pious fraud.?† In any case, the *Mahávaṇsa* does not breathe even a single word in regard to this curious episode wherein a Chinese Eunuch appears as the precursor of Vasco da Gama and Almeyda.

[*End of M. Levi's Article.*]

* This is a repetition of the error referred to in note *supra*.—*J. M. S.*

† See my note, *infra*, on "Ching-Ho's expedition to Ceylon."—*J. M. S.*

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SOME NOTES ON THE CHINESE REFERENCES.

BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

The following notes are intended, as much to show the bearing of the Chinese references on Sinhalese Chronology as to elucidate certain historical points hitherto wrapped in obscurity.

In the first place, a summarised chronological statement (prepared from sources not confined to the extracts translated from M. Levi's work) of all recorded relations, so far as they are known to-day, between Ceylon and China from the earliest times down to the 15th century, ought to prove useful. The following, it is hoped, will make reference easy:—

Summary of Chino-Sinhalese Relations.

A.D. 97.—In 97 A.D. Yungyutiao, *i.e.*, Dravidra, King of Shen, *i.e.*, Ceylon [*Sans.* Simhala], sent an embassy to China, bearing presents of ivory, water-buffaloes and humped oxen.

A.D. 120.—In 120 A.D. this embassy was repeated, and amongst other presents were a number of conjurers who performed some wonderful sleight-of-hand tricks. In answer to enquiries as to who they were, they replied: 'We are men of the Western Sea. To the west of the sea (Bay of Bengal), south-west of Shen, lies Tats'in (Syria), and the two are in close communication.'

A.D. 121.—The next year (121 A.D.), at the annual feast, the Emperor conferred on Dravidra (King of Ceylon) the (honorary) rank of Tuwei.*

* "The Mantses and the Golden Chersonese", by T. W. Kingsmill, in *Journal of the China Branch of the R. A. S.*, Vol. XXXV., 1903-04, p. 99.

A.D. 405-418.—The King of Ceylon (Upatissa II., in the closing years of his reign), sends an embassy to the Emperor Hiao-ou-ti, of the Tsin dynasty. The ambassador, (a *Sramana*), *Tan-mo I-iuen*, is the bearer of "a jade-stone image of Buddha, exhibiting every colour in purity and richness, in workmanship unique, and appearing to be beyond human art."* The embassy delays 10 years on the way and reaches China (after Upatissa II. had died and been succeeded by Mahá Náma).†

A.D. 412.—The celebrated Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hien, visits Ceylon.‡

A.D. 426.—Eight Sinhalese nuns arrive at Nankin, the capital of the earlier Soungs. Their presence inspires Chinese women, for the first time, to seek to enter "Holy Orders"; but as the usual vows could not be administered to them except by an assembly of ten nuns headed by a President, the ceremony is deferred.‖

A.D. 428.—The King of Ceylon, *Ts'a-li Mo-ho-nan*, (Ksatriya Mahá Náma) sends a letter to the Emperor, together with a "model of the shrine of the Tooth" as a token of fidelity.§

* *History of the Leangs*; also *Kao-seng-tchoan* (ch. 13, p. 72a).—Gibbon alludes with natural surprise to his discovery of the fact that, prior to the reign of Justinian, the "monarch of China had actually received an embassy from the Island of Ceylon." *Decline and Fall of the Holy Roman Empire*, ch. XL.

† Upatissa II. ruled from A.D. 365-407, and Mahá Náma from 407-429 A.D. See the Table of Sovereigns in my Paper; "The Date of Buddha's Death and Ceylon Chronology" in *C. B. R. A. S. Journal* for 1914. My dates are throughout this Paper based on the chronology hitherto accepted in Ceylon. The embassy was despatched some time between A.D. 373-396 and reached China at the beginning of the period I-hi, *i.e.*, 405-418 A.D.

‡ Legge's *Travels of Fa Hien*; vide also G. B. Sansom's translation of the *Tsuredzure Gusa of Yoshida No Kaneyoshi*, being the meditations of a recluse in the 14th century.—*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. XXXIX., p. 58.

‖ *Seng-che-lio*, *Kao-seng-tchouan* and *Fo-tsou-t'ong-ki*, quoted by M. Paul Pelliot in *Bulletin de l' École Française d' Extrême-Orient*, Tome IV., 1904, p. 356.

§ History of the Soungs (*Journal Asiatique*, 1900).

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A.D. 429.—Three more Sinhalese nuns, headed by the nun *T'ie-so-lo*, arrive at Nankin.*

A.D. 430.—An embassy from Ceylon, bearing "products of the country," reaches China.†

A.D. 434.—With the help of a Chapter of ten Sinhalese nuns, headed by a President (the nun *T'ie-so-lo*), an "Ordination of Women" takes place for the first time in China.‡

A.D. 435.—An embassy from Ceylon, bearing "products of the country," reaches China.‖

A.D. 456.—Five priests, including Nan-té, the celebrated and peerless sculptor, sent on an embassy to the Emperor, bearing three statues of Nan-té's own making. ("People from the countries of Central Asia, and the kings of those nations, emulated each other in sending artisans to procure copies, but none could rival the productions of Nan-té. On standing about 10 paces distant they appeared truly brilliant, but the lineaments gradually disappeared on a nearer approach.") §

A.D. 515.—King Kumáradása despatches tribute to the Emperor, together with an address announcing the royal accession, in which the king intimates that he "had been desirous to go in person, but was deterred by fear of winds and waves."¶

A.D. 523.—An embassy from Ceylon arrives in China.**

* *Seng-che-lio, Kao-seng-tchouan* and *Fo-tsou-t'ong-ki*, quoted by M. Paul Pelliot in *Bulletin de l' École Française d' Extrême-Orient*, Tome IV., 1904, p. 356.

† History of the Soungs (*Journal Asiatique*, 1900).

‡ *Seng-che-lio, Kao-seng-tchouan*, and *Fo-tsou-t'ong-ki*, quoted by M. Paul Pelliot in *Bulletin de l' École Française d' Extrême-Orient*, Tome IV., 1904, p. 356.

‖ History of the Soungs (*Journal Asiatique*, 1900).

§ *Tsih-foo yuen-kwei* and *Wei-shoo* or "History of the Wei Tartar Dynasty," quoted by Tennent, *Ceylon*, Vol. I., pp. 615, 620.

¶ *History of the Leangs* and *Yuh-hae* "Ocean of Gems," quoted by Tennent, *Ceylon*, Vol. I., p. 620.

** *Yuh-hae, loc. cit.*

A.D. 527.—An embassy from Ceylon bears tribute to the Emperor, together with a letter from King *Kia-che Kia-lo-ha-li-ya*.*

A.D. 531.—An embassy from Ceylon bears tribute to China.†

A.D. 607.—An embassy from China to Ceylon is entrusted to Chang-Tsuen, "Director of the Military Lands."‡

A.D. 670.—The King of Ceylon despatches "a memorial and offerings of native productions."‖

A.D. 705-715.—Vajrabodhi, master of Amoghavajra, twice visits Ceylon, remaining here about a year on the first occasion, and one month on the second. He is most respectfully received by King Silámegha. He "worships the holy relics, particularly the Tooth deposited in the Abhaya-rája-vihára," and pays a visit to the King of Rohana. On his second visit, Vajrabodhi is received by King Srí-Síla of Ceylon.§

A.D. 711.—An embassy leaves Ceylon with native products.¶

A.D. 742.—The King of Ceylon, *Chi-lo-mi-kia* (Ṣílámegha), sends two embassies with presents of pearls, gold filigree work, gem-set (? gems for) necklaces, ivory and very fine white cotton cloth **

A.D. 746.—The King of Ceylon, *Chi-lo-mi-kia* (Ṣílámegha), sends an embassy under the Brahman priest *A-mo-kia-po-tche-lo* (Amoghavajra), who pays homage to the Emperor

* Professor Lévi restores this name to "Kásyapa Kálahárya." (*Journal Asiatique*, 1900.) *History of the Leangs.*

† *Tsih-foo yuen-kwei*, quoted by Tennent, *Ceylon*, Vol. I., p. 621.

‡ *Suy-shoo*, quoted by Tennent, *Ceylon*, Vol. I., p. 607.

‖ *Tsih-foo yuen-kwei*, quoted by Tennent. See also *Journal Asiatique*, 1900.

§ *Soung-kao-seng-tchoan*, ch. I., p. 71, col. 17; *Siu kou-kin i-king t'ou ki*; *K' ai-iuen chi-kiao lou* and the *Tcheng-iuen sing-ting-i-kia mou-lou* (Ed. Jap., XXVIII., 6, chap. 14, pp. 77-78), being the authorities quoted by M. Sylvain Lévi in *Journal Asiatique*, 1900.

¶ Tennent, *loc. cit.*

** *Ibid.* Also *Journal Asiatique*, 1900.

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and offers as presents "gold filigree works, head-ornaments of gold, precious neck-pendants, a MS. copy of the *Mahá-prajná-páramitá Sútra* and 40 webs of fine cotton cloth."*

A.D. 750.—An embassy from Ceylon bears "ivory and pearls."†

A.D. 762.—An embassy from Ceylon bears tribute.‡

A.D. 1235-1270.—Chinese soldiers take service in the army of Kalikála Sáhitya Sarvagña Pandita Parákrama Báhu II.‖

A.D. 13th to 14th century.—At the commencement of the Yuen dynasty three separate envoys from the Chinese Emperor are sent to Ceylon to obtain the sacred alms-dish of Buddha.§

A.D. 1405.—Ching-ho, the Chinese eunuch, comes to Ceylon ostensibly on a peaceful mission, but in reality to take away the Tooth Relic of Buddha. His plans are threatened by the "king of the country" *A-lie-kou-nai-eul* (Alagakkonára), "a native of Sollee, of the heterodox faith," and he withdraws.¶

A.D. 1408.—Ching-ho arrives with an army. *A-lie-kou-nai-eul* (Alagakkonára) decoys the party into the interior but is captured with his queen, children, officers, &c., and deported to China.** Ching-ho succeeds in carrying away the Tooth Relic.††

A.D. 1411-12.—The Sinhalese captives are released and *Yeh-pa-nae-na* ("afterwards named *Pu-la-ko-ma Ba-zae*

* *Ibid.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

‖ *Kávyasékharaya.*

§ *Taou-e che-leo*, "Account of Island Foreigners," quoted by Tennent, *Ceylon*, Vol. I., p. 622. See also Marco Polo, *Travels*, Ch. XIX.

¶ *Se-yih-ke-foo-choo* (Tennent, *loc. cit.*) and Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II., pp. 246, 282.

** *Ming-she* and *Tai-sing-yi-tung* (Tennent, *loc. cit.*).

†† Commentary on the *Si-yu-ke* of Hiuen-Tsang (Tennent, *loc. cit.*).

La-cha," i.e., Parákrama Báhu Rája) invested with the royal dignity.*

A.D. 1416.—The King of Ceylon bears tribute in person to the Chinese Court.†

A.D. 1421.—The King of Ceylon bears tribute in person to the Chinese Court.‡

A.D. 1432.—Ching-ho, who had been sent out in A.D. 1430 as the bearer of friendly instructions to the country, reaches the port of *Pie-lo-li* in Ceylon about the end of A.D. 1432. He is accompanied by Ma Hoan, an interpreter.‖

A.D. 1433.—The King of Ceylon, *Pu-la-ko-ma Ba-zae La-cha*, sends envoys to China bearing tribute.§

A.D. 1436.—The Chinese Emperor gives orders that the Sinhalese envoys should make the return journey on board the tribute-junks from Java, and an Imperial mandate is issued for their instruction accordingly.¶

A.D. 1445.—Sinhalese envoys, led by *Ye-pa-la-mo-ti-li-ya*, (Yapala Mudaliyá) accompany those from Malacca, bearing tribute.**

A.D. 1459.—The King of Ceylon, "*Ko-li-sheng-hsia-la-shi-li-pa-chiao-la-jo* sends envoys with tribute, after which no further tribute reaches China from that quarter."††

* *Ming-she* and *Woo heo-peen* (Tennent, *loc. cit.*).

† *Ming-she* (Tennent, *loc. cit.*).

‡ *Ibid.*

‖ *Ibid*; Mayers, *China Review*, III., 329.

§ *Ming-she*, translated by Mr. Lionel Giles. See also *Bulletin de l' École Française d' Extrême-Orient*, Tome IV., 1904, p. 357.

¶ *Ibid.*

** *Ibid.*

†† *Ibid.*—On this date Parákrama Báhu VI. was still on the throne. "*Shi-li*" corresponds to Siri, "*pa-chiao*" is an abridged form of Parákrama, and "*la-jo*" stands for *rája*. What, however, is the meaning of "*Ko-li-sheng-hsia-la ?*"

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The bearing of the Chinese references on Sinhalese Chronology.

Says M. Lévi:—

"The Chinese texts make it possible to check the chronology of the *Máhavaṇsa* during a period of four and a half centuries, between the reign of Siri Meghavanna and that of Aggabodhi VI. Silámegha. In regard to six names of princes expressly mentioned, the two sources of testimony are three times in perfect agreement..... The (slight) apparent contradictions (in regard to the three others), serve only to accentuate the intimate agreement between the two series. One would be justified in affirming, after this examination, that *the chronology of the Maḥávaṇsa may be admitted as a solid authority, if not wholly, at least from the commencement of the 4th century.*"*

Professor Lévi is, then, positive that the chronology of the *Mahávaṇsa,—based as it is on 543 B.C. as the date for the "Parinibbána" of Buddha,*—is to be relied on so far at least as the beginning of the 4th century (A.D.) is concerned. And yet, this is what Professor Geiger says:—

"Sylvain Lévi has communicated the following passage from the account of the Chinese Wang Hiuen ts'e. The King of Cheu-tzeu (*i.e.*, Ceylon), by name Chi-mi-kia-po-mo (*i.e.*, Sri Meghavarman), sent two bhiksus to India to the monastery erected by Asoka near the sacred tree of the Buddha in Bodh Gayá. They found no lodging here and subsequently told their king. He sent an embassy to the king then ruling over India, San-meou-to-lo-kiu-to (*i.e.*, Samudragupta), and sought permission to build on the sacred spot a monastery for Ceylonese pilgrims. Thus the synchronism of King Siri Meghavaṇṇa, the successor of Mahásena, with Samudragupta is confirmed. The latter, according to V. Smith, reigned from 326 to (about) 375; the former, according to our reckoning from 483 B.C. as the year of the Nirvána, 352-379 A.D."†

* *Supra.*

† *Mahávaṇsa*, 1912, Introd., pp. xxxix-xl.

Now, it is impossible for both Geiger and Lévi to be right, and it is equally impossible that the two eras, having as point of departure 543 and 483 B.C. respectively, could have been current in Ceylon almost at one and the same time. Professor Geiger is, however, careful to admit that his application of what may be termed Professor Lévi's "Meghavaṇṇa-Samudragupta Synchronism" to a solution of the era current in Ceylon at the time, "presents a difficulty with respect to the embassy of Mo-ho-nan (*i.e.*, Mahánáma) to China in the year 428 A.D."* The difficulty is a fatal one and, frankly, unsettling to those who, like myself, have built upon the new theory that the *Parinirvána* of Buddha took place in 483 B.C.†

As for the "Meghavaṇṇa-Samudragupta Synchronism," Professor Lévi says that the latter's reign "flotte entre ces deux termes extremes, 319-401, sans couvrir naturellement toute la periode intermediaire,"‡ though Vincent Smith puts it down to some time between 326 and 375.‖ Even so, *i.e.*, taking 326 as a possible date for Samudragupta, Meghavaṇṇa is still his contemporary for three years at least, since, according to the *Mahávaṇsa*,—and, indeed, also the *Rájávaliya*, the *Púja̱valiya*, and the *Nikáya Sangrahawa*,—his reign of 28 years began in 845 A.B. which, on the 543 B.C. reckoning for the death of Buddha, gives A.D. 302-329.

Ching-Ho's Expedition to Ceylon.

In regard to Alagakkonára and Tcheng Houo's (Ching-Ho's) expedition to Ceylon at the beginning of the 15th century, Professor Lévi says:—

"Alagakkonára, whom Tcheng Hou represents as a fanatical heretic, is extolled in the Sinhalese chronicle as a model of piety. This prince (?), who is accused by the Chinese

* *Mahávaṇsa, loc. cit.*

† See my Paper on *The Date of Buddha's Death and Ceylon Chronology*, in the C. B. R. A. S. Journal for 1914.

‡ *Journal Asiatique*, 1900.

‖ *Early History of India*, p. 266 foll.

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of treating Buddha's Tooth disrespectfully, is said to have employed, however, 7,000 pieces of silver in making a casket for the precious relic. The question is: Has Tcheng-Houo calumniated a treacherous host or has the *Mahávaṇsa* indulged in a pious fraud?"

Two most interesting questions, the correct answer to one of which must help to resolve the other as well. Towards the solution the following considerations may prove useful:—

Did Tcheng-Houo come to Ceylon as a friend or as a foe, to offer presents merely or to take away something of value? Professor Giles, than whom there are few Sinologists to-day more competent to speak authoritatively, has something pertinent to say on the point. He says:—*

"In 1405 the eunuch Cheng-Ho *was sent to Ceylon to acquire a tooth of Buddha;* and Chinese History tells us that, after a fight, *he succeeded in carrying off the relic.*"†

This "gives the show away" somewhat badly in respect of the ostensibly peaceful and "pious" character of the Chinese mission to Ceylon, and the *Pien-i-tien* narrative, viewed in the new light thus thrown upon it, presents features which are suggestive of the actual facts.

The following may not possibly be far from the truth:—

Tcheng-Houo's first mission ("in the 3rd year of Joung-lo", 1405) is pacific. He comes "with perfumes and flowers," and "tries to persuade the king *A-lie-kou-nai-eul,*" not indeed "to give up his heretical practices," since the latter was a staunch Buddhist, but to "give up" that for which he had "employed 7,000 pieces of silver in making a casket," the precious Tooth Relic. Alagakkonára resents the suggestion so strongly that the Chinese eunuch deems it politic to withdraw, the men at his command being insufficient forcibly to achieve his purpose. Tcheng-Houo comes

* *Spolia Zeylanica*, Vol. VIII., Pt. XXX., June 1912, p. 127, Appendix IV.

† Indeed, a commentary on the *Si-yu-ke* of Hiouen-Tsang expressly says so.

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again, two or three years later, bearing, it is true, "gifts for the king of the island of Sie-lan," but with all his ships this time packed full of armed men ready to carry out his wishes on a given signal. Experience had taught that the Greeks were not to be trusted even when they brought gifts,* and "the king, more arrogant than ever, showed him (Tcheng-Houo) no respect whatsoever and even sought to maltreat him." The eunuch had provided for just such a contingency and was equal to the occasion. "With 3,000 men, Tcheng-Houo marched at night through a circuitous route and attacked the capital which he took possession of." The Sinhalese invest the city and lay siege to it for six days, but at dawn of the 7th day Tcheng-Houo and his men, with the Tooth Relic in their possession, make a *sortie*, and, after successfully fighting their way through, reach their ships at dusk. "Before getting away they paid worship, according to the rites, to the Tooth of Buddha (*which was now in their hands*) and then only embarked. And just at this moment there was a miraculous occurrence. They saw the splendour (of the Temple of the Tooth which they had despoiled) blazing forth anew; the thunder rumbled and the lightning flashed forth afar."

So much for the actual occurrences. But it would not do to narrate them faithfully, especially in a country remarkable at the time for its pro-Buddhistic tendencies. There would have been little sympathy with those responsible for so audacious a form of "highway robbery" and so dastardly an outrage on a Buddhist sovereign whose predecessors had for centuries been on the friendliest terms with the Chinese Court. And so comes it that Alagakkonára, the "model of piety" of the *Mahávaṇsa*, is represented by the astute Tcheng-Houo as one who "observes heretical practices and does not respect the Law of Buddha, a cruel and violent tyrant, who has no pity for the people of his kingdom and who treats the Tooth of Buddha with disrespect," &c., &c.

* Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes. (Vergil's *Aeneid.*)

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Has Tcheng-Houo calumniated his host or has the *Mahávaṇsa* indulged in a pious fraud? The answer is now perhaps not difficult.

Chinese Names for Ceylon.

Professor Paul Pelliot, in a long and interesting article entitled "Deux Itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII$_e$ Siècle," in the *Bulletin de l' École Française d' Extrême-Orient*, Tome IV., 1904, pp. 131-413, devotes a few paragraphs to an examination of all known Chinese names for Ceylon, ancient and modern. I translate them here as of special interest, more especially as the result is to add not immaterially to our knowledge, at best hitherto meagre, of the subject.

It is very probable (says M. Pelliot) that, in the course of his enquiries into the countries of the Southern Seas, K'ang T'ai's mission of the 3rd century had heard of Ceylon, but there is no trace of the name in the existing fragments of the *F'ou nan tou sou tchouan*. It was probably sought for in the island of *Sseu-tiao**, the name of which would be a quite regular transcription of Sihadípa, Simhadvípa; but the indications as to its position do not appear to agree. Next, at the beginning of the 5th century, we find in Fa-hien the name of *Che-tseu-kouo*, the Kingdom of the Lion, an appellation which has come down to us to modern times.

In the second half of the 5th century, the name is written *Sseu-ho-t'iao*, Sihadípa, in the *Fou nan ki* of Tchou Tche. Translations of Buddhist works furnish the analogous forms *Sseu-ho-tie* and even *Sseu-ho-kie*.† It is possibly Ceylon which is called *Sseu-li* in a list of Islands of the Southern Seas.‡ In the *Tripitaka* we come across the form *Pao-tchou*, Island

* On Sseu-tiao, cf. especially *T'ai p'ing Yu lan*, K. 787, p. 13 and the text of the *Lo Yang kia lan ki* (K. 4, p. 20) pointed out by M. Chavannes (*Journal Asiatique*, Nov.-Dec., 1903, p. 531). The variant Nou-tiao, which is alike given in the *Lo Yang kia lan ki*, is found again in the *T'ai p'ing yu lan*, K. 790, p. 22.

† Cf. *Tripit.* jap., VII., 28r, 36v.

‡ Cf. S. Lévi, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes*, in *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-Feb., 1897, p. 24.

of Jewels, a translation of Ratnadvípa.* Hiuen-tsang calls the island also *Seng-kia-lo*, and Yi-tsing *Seng-ho-lo* (Simhala).† In his *T'ong tien*, Tou Yeou borrows from the narrative of the voyage of his father, Tou Hoan, a paragraph where it is said that the kingdom of the Lion is also named *Sin-t'an* and *P'o-lo-men*.‡ The qualificative term "Brahman" is not a very accurate designation for an island peculiarly Buddhistic, and the Chinese apply it generally to India proper. But the name *Sin-t'an* is extraordinarily puzzling, and I have not been able to explain it. May it not be the result of some confusion and *Sin-t'an* prove to be the *Sendân* of the Arab voyagers on the western coast of India?‖ Before finishing with the names of Ceylon of which we can be quite certain, we might note that, under the Yuans, several missions were sent to *Seng-kia-la* (Simhala) in order to negotiate for the *pátra* (alms-dish) of Buddha.§ The form *Si-lan* began to be written from the time of the Ming dynasty, and is still so written in our day.

I have reserved the period of the Songs, because it is in regard to this epoch that there has been some controversy. In 1895, M. Hirth pointed out in Tchao Jou-koua, the mention of *Si-lan*, a tributary state of *San-fo-ts'i* (Palembang). As reference was elsewhere made to a mountain of this kingdom on the summit of which could be found the impression of a gigantic human foot, M. Hirth identified Ceylon with the island of *Si-lan* and Adam's Peak with that mountain. Schlegel accepted the identification of *Si-lan* with Ceylon in a note which he added to M. Hirth's article.¶ But in 1901 Schlegel found that the *Si-lan* of Tchao Jou-koua

* On this frequently used name, cf. especially Hiuen-tsang, *Mémoires* II., 125 ss.

† Hiuen-tsang, *loc. laud*; Yi-tsing, *Religieux Éminents*, pp. 66-84.

‡ Cf. *T'ong Tien*, K. 193, p. 9r; Tou Houan, in 751, proceeded through Central Asia as far as the "Western Sea" and returned in 762 by way of the Southern Seas; Hirth, *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk*, p. 3.

‖ Cf. Van Der Lith, *Le Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, pp. 225-226.

§ Cf. Tennent, *Ceylon*, Vol. I., p. 598, et seq.

¶ *T'oung pao*, VI., 150, 152-154, 163.

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could not be Ceylon, and that it must be a part of Sumatra: The Silans, he says, form one of four tribes living in the region of Deli on the east coast of the island.* This explanation must be rejected. Schlegel would have it that the spelling *Si-lan* of Tchao Jou-koua was unique, stood by itself as it were; but we find it in 1178 in the *Ling wai tai ta*, which says that to the west of Champa, Cambodia and Yunnan, there is a sea called the sea of *Si-lan*, and that in that sea there is the island of *Si-lan*. The same references are found again in another paragraph where it is said that the island and the sea of Ceylon are in the south of India.†

Finally, the very text of Tchao Jou-koua is still more decisive than M. Hirth's translation would make us believe. The sentence in regard to Adam's Peak is thus translated by M. Hirth:—"In this country there is a chain of mountains (*Chan* is undoubtedly here: island) called *Si-louen*, where one mountain stands erect over the other, and (on the highest summit) may be seen the imprint, seven feet long, of the foot of a huge giant." But there can be no doubt that the sentence‡ must be differently divisioned and that it must mean: "There is a mountain called *Si-louen-tie*, on the summit of which there is an imprint, more than seven feet long, of the foot of a giant." *Si-louen-tie* is the transcription of Serendib, and it is known as a matter of fact that the Arab voyagers sometimes distinguished between the whole Island of Ceylon, which they called Siyalan, and the region of Adam's Peak to which they reserved the name Serendib.‖ The correctness of the tradition embodied in the Fou-kien by Tchao Jou-koua is thus once again undeniably established.

JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

* *T'oung pao*, II., 11, 133-134.

† *Ling wai tai la*, K. 2, p. 9v.; K. 3, p. 4v.; Cf. Tsuboi Kumazo, *Cheu Ch'ufe's Aufzeichnungen*, in Actes du XIIe Congr. des Orient. Rome 1899, Pt. II., p. 98.

‡ M. Pelliot, in a note, gives the sentence in Chinese.

‖ Cf. Van Der Lith, *Le Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, pp. 265-271.

MING SHIH.

Translated by LIONEL GILES, M.A., D. LITT. OXON.

Ming Shih, Ch. 326, f. 4 v°.

Hsi-lan-shan (the island of Ceylon) is said by some to be identical with the ancient *Lang-ya-hsiu** which in the time of the Liang dynasty† had intercourse with China. With a favourable wind it can be reached in twelve days and nights from Su-mén-ta-la.‡

In the Yung-lo period,‖ Cheng Ho was sent as ambassador to the Western Seas, and arrived in that country.§ The King, Ya-lieh-k'u-nai-erh,¶ plotted mischief against him, but Ho got wind of it and went away to another kingdom. Now the King was on terms of enmity with the neighbouring states, which gave occasion to frequent raids across the border, so that his own subjects as well as the other tribes all looked upon him as a scourge. When Ho returned and again passed through that region, the King tried to inveigle him into his territory, afterwards sending out an army of 50,000 men for purposes of plunder,** and

* The first two syllables are evidently a reproduction of the Sanskrit "Lanká," one of the old names for Ceylon. Although, as Hirth says, "the name Lang-ka-sü was applied by mediaeval Chinese to several places in the Southern Seas widely apart," the account of the above country in the Liang History leaves very little doubt that Ceylon is meant.

† In 515 A.D., to be exact.

‡ In Sumatra.

‖ In other accounts, the date is given variously as the seventh or ninth year of Yung-lo (1409 or 1411).

§ Cheng Ho was a eunuch of Yünnan, who distinguished himself as a military officer in the rebellion which set the Emperor Ch'eng Tsu on the throne.

¶ Alagakkonárá.

** The *Ming Wai Shih* says, "to plunder Ho's ships."

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to block the line of his retreat. Ho, however, at the head of 2,000 foot-soldiers, slipped past the enemy, and taking advantage of the undefended state of the capital, carried it by storm. Ya-lieh-k'u-nai-erh was captured alive and sent as a prisoner to the Chinese Court, together with his wives and children and the leading men of the kingdom. The Ministers of State asked that he should be put to death; but the Emperor, pitying his ignorance, set him and his family at liberty, and moreover, bestowed on them food and raiment. Then he ordered them to select the most worthy member of their tribe to be placed on the throne. The captives unanimously declared that one Yeh-pa-nai-na was the worthiest, and accordingly he was sent out bearing the seals of office and proclaimed King under Chinese suzerainty. The deposed monarch was also sent back again. From this time onward, the barbarian nations across the sea showed themselves more submissive to the majestic virtue of the Son of Heaven: envoys with tribute filled the highways, and frequent payments of tribute were received from the kings of Ceylon.

In the fifth year of Hsüan-te (1430), Cheng-Ho was sent out as the bearer of friendly instructions to the country.

In the eighth year of the same period (1433), the King Pu-la-ko-ma-pa-hu-la-p'i* sent envoys to China bearing tribute.

In the first year of Cheng-t'ung (1436), orders were given that the Ceylonese envoys should make the return journey on board the tribute-junks from Java, and an Imperial mandate was issued for their instruction accordingly.

In the tenth year of that period (1445), the Ceylonese envoys accompanied those from Malacca, bearing tribute.

In the third year of T'ien-shun (1459), the King Ko-li-sheng-hsia-la-hsi-li-pa-chiao-la-jo sent envoys with tribute, after which no further tribute reached China from that quarter.

* In another account, the name appears as "Pu-la-ko-ma-pa-ssú-la-ch'a." = Parákrama Báhu Rája (Parákrama Báhu VI., 1410-1462).

The country is one of considerable extent, densely populated, and rich in various produce, being second only to Java in these respects.

To the south-east, there are three or four islands in the middle of the ocean which go under the collective name of Ts'ui-lan islands.* They possess no fewer than seven harbours of various sizes, all of which can be used by sea-going ships. The central island, which is much the largest and most mountainous, bears the native name of So-tu-man. The inhabitants are all cave-dwellers, go naked and shave their heads. There is a tradition that when Sakyamuni Buddha passed through this island of yore, he bathed in a river, and somebody stole his long priestly robe. Thereupon Buddha took a solemn oath, saying: "Hereafter, whoso dons a garment in this country shall see his flesh rot off his bones." And from that time to this, virulent ulcers have immediately broken out on anyone who wore a scrap of clothing on his body. That is why both sexes there go naked, merely sewing together a few leaves to cover the loins, though in some cases a loin-cloth is worn instead. Hence another name for the country is *Lo-hsing* (Naked body). Grain does not grow there, and the people's food consists only of fish and shrimps, yams, jak-fruit, bananas, berries and such-like.

A seven days' voyage in a westerly direction from these islands brings you within sight of the island of Ying-ko-tsui, and after two or three days more you reach the island of Fo-t'ang, where you enter into the region of Ceylon. Here, on a mountain rising up from the sea-shore, there is a rock showing the trace of a footprint about three feet long. According to an ancient legend, it was here that Buddha trod when striding across from the Ts'ui-lan islands, and the mark of his foot still remains. In the cavity thus formed, there is a shallow pool of water which never dries up

* These are the Nicobars. Gerini suggests that "Ts'ui-lan-shan" is the phonetic transcript of Tilong-chong, the native name for the north-easternmost of the Nicobars.

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throughout the four seasons; and the people, dipping their hands in, rub their eyes and wash their faces with it, saying: "Pure and untainted is the water of Buddha." At the foot of the mountain, in a Buddhist monastery, is preserved the veritable body of Sakyamuni, lying on its side upon a couch. Near by there is a tooth, and other bodily relics of Buddha. This is traditionally supposed to be the place where Buddha entered into Nirvána. The couch is made of gharu-wood, and is ornamented in most imposing fashion with precious stones of many colours.

Beside the King's palace, there is a great mountain which overtops the Milky Way. On its summit, there is the mark of a giant's foot, imprinted two feet deep in the live rock, and over eight feet long. It is said to be a footprint left by Pán Ku.*.

This mountain yields all sorts of coloured precious stones, such as *ya-ku*, red, blue and yellow, *hsi-la-ni*, *k'u-mo-lan*, etc. Whenever there is a large fall of rain, these stones are washed down the mountain-side, and the people living in those parts scramble to pick them up.

On the seashore there are quicksands in which pearl oysters collect, their brilliance illuminating the breaking surf†. The King sends out men to fish them up and deposit them on dry land,‡ where the oysters decompose and the pearls are taken out. It is owing to these pearls and other gems that the Kings of that country are so wealthy.

The inhabitants of So-li,‖ out of reverence for Buddhist doctrine, hold cows in great esteem. Every day they take

* The legendary architect of the Universe. We find the following account in the *Ying Yai Sheng Lan*: "On a great mountain which pierces the clouds there is a giant's footprint sunk over two feet deep in the rock, and eight feet long. Tradition ascribes it to Adam, the father of mankind, who is no other than P'an Ku."

† The phenomenon alluded to is, of course, really due to phosphorescence.

‡ A variant for "land" is "pools," occurring in the *Ming Wai Shih* and the *Ying Yai Sheng Lan*.

‖ This is either the Chola dominion on the Coromandel Coast, or possibly part of Ceylon itself. The *Ying Yai Sheng Lan* tells us that the King of Hsi-lan was a native of So-li.

cows' dung and burn it to ashes, which they smear on their bodies. They also mix it with water and spread it all over the ground, after which they proceed to worship Buddha with outstretched arms and legs, so that their bellies cleave to the ground. This they consider an act of respect, and both King and common people practise it. They do not eat the flesh of cows, but only drink their milk, and when cows die they are carefully buried. For anyone who kills a cow the penalty is death.

The climate is invariably hot, rice and corn grow in abundance, and the people live in great plenty. They are not fond of rice as a food; and if they are going to eat any, they do it in some hidden spot where nobody can see them. They shave all the hair off their bodies, excepting only the hair on the head. The articles that they send as tribute comprise pearls, coral, precious stones, quartz crystal, *sa-ka-la*, Western cloth, frankincense, putchuck, *shu-hsiang* (tree incense), sandalwood, myrrh, brimstone, *t'eng-chieh*, aloes, ebony, pepper, "bowl-stones", tame elephants, etc.

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