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The Hindagala Rock-Inscription

THE site of archaeological interest nearest to the University of Ceylon at Pērādeniya is Hiṅdagala Vihāra¹, situated less than half a mile from the southern end of the Campus along the road to Galaha. A steep ascent of about 150 feet from the high road leads one to an ancient rock cave, provided with a *kaṭāra* (drip-ledge), which has been converted into a *piḷimagē* in the eighteenth century, by the construction of walls and a lean-to roof against the rock wall. On the face of the walls, in the interior, and on the rock roof of this shrine there are paintings in the Kandyan style of the eighteenth century, now gradually becoming blurred. On the exterior of the wall are Buddhistic paintings of modern times. The main interest at the site to the student of the Island's ancient culture is provided by the substantial remains of pictorial art, assignable to about the sixth century, to be seen on the inward sloping rock above the roof of this later structure. Excellent colour photographs of these paintings have been reproduced in *Ceylon, Paintings from Temple, Shrine and Rock*², published in the *UNESCO World Art Series*; they are thus made available for evaluation by art critics the world over. The subject of this early painting is apparently the visit of Sakka to the Buddha in the Inda-sāla cave³; stylistically, the art here is the closest that Ceylon can show to the paintings of the latest phase at Ajanṭā.

Two rock inscriptions have been recorded from this site. One is on a rock about 20 ft. to the south of the cave-shrine; it now lies buried by the levelling of the hill side to form a terrace in front of the modern shrine. The second is on a rock about 100 ft. further up the hill side. Eye-copies of these records were prepared under the direction of

1. Hiṅdagala is in Kaṅdukara Pahala Kōralē of the Uḍapaḷāta Division, Kandy District.

2. See. p. 24 and Plates XI—XIV.

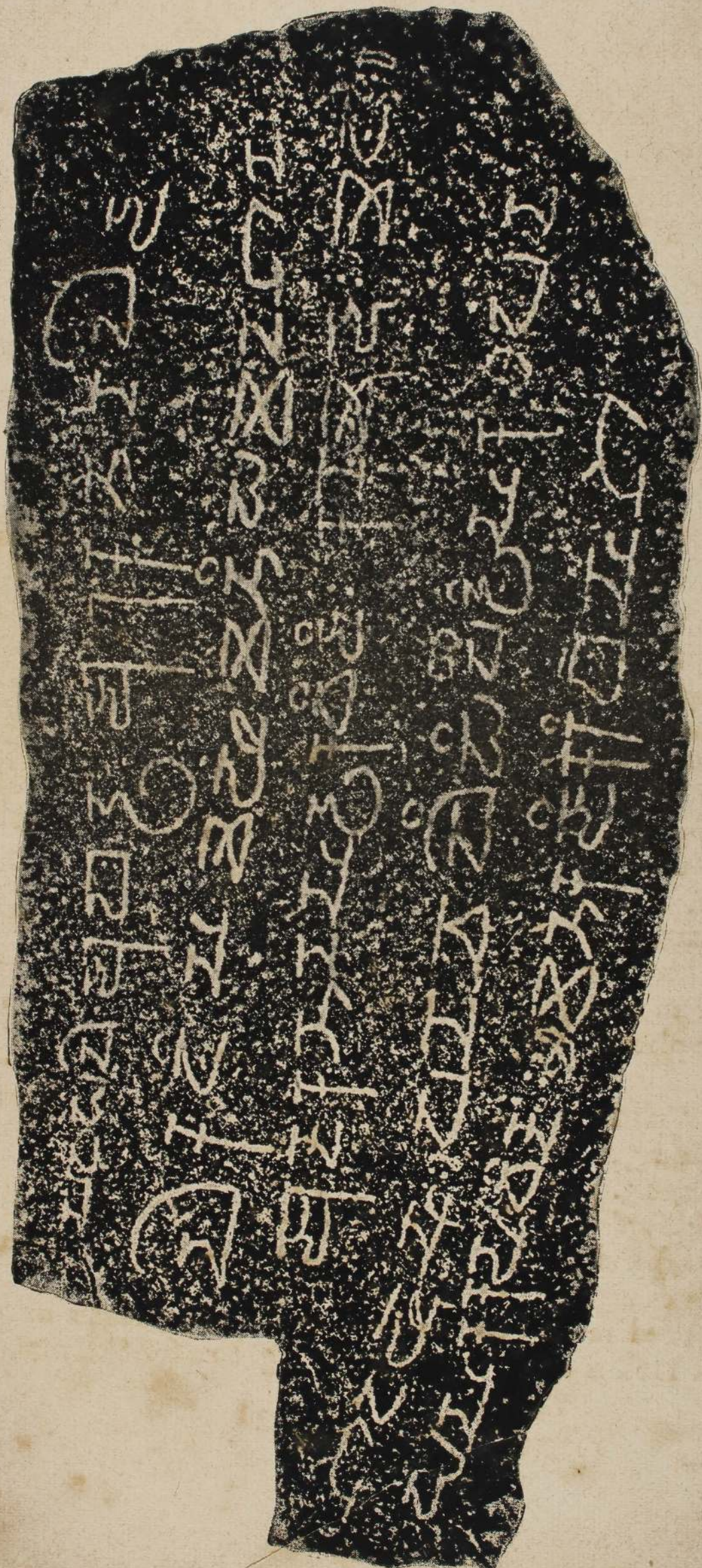
3. It is not impossible that the name *Hiṅdagala* is derived from *Inda-sāla*; if so, it may be presumed that the cave, in ancient times, was named after a sacred place in India celebrated in Buddhist legend, and that the name of the cave was extended in application to the village. Other derivations of the name *Hiṅdagala* are, of course, possible.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell about half a century ago. The two inscriptions have been listed as Nos. 193 and 194 in Appendix F of the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon for 1911-12*. Good estampages of both inscriptions were prepared by Mr. T. K. Jayasundara, at my instance, in 1938, and are now available among the records of the Archaeological Department. It is from these estampages that the better preserved of the two inscriptions is now edited. I am indebted to the present Archaeological Commissioner for the photograph reproduced in the accompanying Plate.

The inscription closer to the cave-shrine, in the script of about the 7th century, is too fragmentary for a coherent text of it to be made out. The phrase *sayamala vaharala*, occurring in a number of records assignable to this period, can be read in one place; in the first preserved line, the reading *-vataka-vahara* is not free from doubt. If tenable, this may be the name of the ancient monastic establishment at the place.

The second inscription, of which the full text and translation are offered here, covers an area of 7 ft. at its longest and 3 ft. at the broadest. The record consists of five lines of writing, the letters ranging in height between 2 in. and 7 in. The state of preservation of this epigraph is excellent; the form of every letter can be clearly distinguished. The script favours straight lines and angles, curved forms being few. In general appearance, the script of this record approximates to that of the inscription (No. IV) from 'Vessagiriya' in Anurādhapura, published at page 133 and plate 12 of *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV. It may thus be assigned to about the sixth century. A point worthy of note is that the *i*-stroke is almost a circle, diminutive in size compared with the consonantal symbol to which it is attached. The *ī*-sign has the appearance of two small circles joined together by a short vertical stroke at the top. Two dots, one above the other in a vertical line, serve as a punctuation mark separating words in three places.

With regard to the language, phonetic decay has proceeded as far as it could go, further even than in the standard Sinhalese dialect, in some words, e.g. *yaḷa*, *vi*, *di*, *keri* and *ge*, which correspond to *yāḷa* (Skt. *śakāḷa*), *vī* (Skt. *vrihi*), *dī* (absolute of the Skt. root *dā*), *kāru* (preterite of the Skt. root *kr*) and *gē* (Skt. *geha*) in standard Sinhalese. *C* is preserved without being changed to *s*. The tendency to change other vowels to *a*, which is noticed in an extreme form in the Hiṅguregala inscription (*Ep. Zey.*, V, p. 116), is also observed here: e.g. *tana* for Skt. *triṇi*, Modern Sinhalese



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tun. Noteworthy is the use of the long *ī* in *pīli*, which is the same as *pīli* in classical Sinhalese. In *keri*, we have *e* in a position where the later language would have required *ä*. The development of the *ä* sound had obviously not taken place in the language at the date of this record.

The purport of the epigraph was to record the construction of a shrine for a Bodhi tree (*boya-ge* P. *bodhi-geha*), towards the expenses of which two persons had contributed in cash or in kind. These personages are not known from other sources; similar is the case with the place names occurring in the record.

TEXT

1. පටසලඅබළ අරකතන ලද
2. ලකජයමහමති සමනගන
3. අණක තන යළක වී දී : කනමුදු : මජ
4. ගෙටයහ : පනවලිසි පිළියක ව පන
5. සයක කහවණ : ඉව මතෙක දී කෙරි බොයගෙ

TRANSLITERATION

1. Paṭa-sala-abala araka-tana lada
2. Laka-jaya-mahamati Samana-gana
3. aṇaka tana yaḷaka vi di : Kanamadu : Maja
4. geṭayaha : pana-calisi piḷiyaka ca pana-
5. sayaka kahavaṇa: ica ma-teka di kerī boya-ge.

TRANSLATION

The great minister Samanagana (who bears the title) Laka-jaya, and who holds the office of Warden of Paṭasala-abala, having given, by order, one *yāla* of paddy, and Kanamudu Maja, the president of the assembly, having given forty-five (lengths of) cloth and five hundred *kahavaṇas*—the aforesaid being given—(this) shrine of the Bodhi-tree has been constructed.

COMMENTS

Paṭa-sala-abala araka-tana lada (l. 1) :— The first word *Paṭa-sala-abala*⁴ is taken as a place name. *Paṭa* is equivalent to Skt. *pr̥thu*; cf. Sinhalese *paḷal* from Skt. *pr̥thula*, in which *l* in the second syllable must have been

4. The equivalent of the text in classical Sinhalese would be :— (1) Paḷa-gala-abala arak-tān lat (2) Lak-ijaya-maha-āmat Samana-gana (3) aṇin tun yālak vi di Kanamudu Mada (4) geṭiyahu pan-sālis piḷiyak da pan (5) siyak kahavaṇu da metek di karavū bō-geya.

evolved through an earlier *t*. *Sala* is from Skt. *śilā* or *śaila*. The compound would mean 'broad stone.' A modern place name answering to this, in the vicinity of Hiñdagala, is not known to me. *Abaḷa* is perhaps an earlier form of *ambalama*, T. *ambalam* (Skt. *ambara*) found in many place names of the present day. *Araka* is equivalent to Skt. *āraḷṣā*, 'protection,' and *tana* to Skt. *sthāna*, 'place,' or 'office.' *Lada* is Skt. *labdha*. For the phrase *tana lada*, compare *pas-lad*, *raḷ-lad*, *gam-lad*, etc. in inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries.

Laka-jaya-mahamati Samana-gana (1. 2) :— *Mahamati* is equivalent to Skt. *mahāmātya*. With this, compare *Lamkā-jaya-mahā-lekhako*, the title which, according to the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*⁵, was conferred by Devānampiya Tissa on Prince Bodhigupta, who came to Ceylon from India with the sacred Bodhi tree. A *lekhaka* may also be referred to as an *amātya*; therefore, the title we have in our inscription is a synonym of that conferred on Bodhigupta. It is quite possible that the dignitary bearing this title, figuring in our inscription, claimed descent from Bodhigupta. Compare also *Lak-vijaya-siṅgu*, the name of a high military officer who flourished in the reign of Niśśaṃka Malla⁶. It is also interesting to note that the present document is the earliest Ceylon epigraph in which the name *Laka* (Skt. *Lamkā*), so familiar to us today as the appellation of the Island, has been met with. *Samana* is equivalent to Skt. *Sumana*; I am unable to suggest any explanation of *-gana* which follows this name.

Aṇaka (1. 3) is Skt. *ājñā* to which the suffix *-ka* has been added. *Tana-yaḷaka vi di* (1. 3) :— *Tana* is Skt. *trīṇi*; modern Sinhalese *tun*. *Yaḷa* occurs in the modern, as well as classical, Sinhalese as *yāḷa*. The earlier form of the word *hakada* (P. *sakaṭa*) is found in the Tōṇigala inscription of Śrimeghavarṇa⁷. The word has undergone much phonetic decay during the interval of about two hundred years between the date of that record and ours. *Vi* (Skt. *vrihi*) occurs in the identical form in the Tōṇigala inscription⁸. The modern Sinhalese has *vī*. *Di* is the same as modern Sinhalese *dī*, the absolutive of the root *de* (Skt. *dā*) 'to give.' *Kanamudu* and *Maja* (1. 3) are taken as proper names, the first of a place, the second of a person.

5. P.T.S. Edition, p. 164.

6. *Ep. Zey.* Vol. II., p. 156.

7. *Ep. Zey.* Vol. III., p. 183.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

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Geṭiyaha (l. 4). The genitive singular of *geṭiya*, derived from Skt. *goṣṭhika*. *Pana-calisi* (l. 4) is the same as classical Sinhalese *pan-sālis*, P. *pañca-cattālīsam*, Skt. *pañca-catvāriṃśat*.

Pīliyaka (l. 4) is equivalent to classical Sinhalese *pīliyak*; it is derived from Skt. *paṭa* to which the suffixes *-ī* and *-ka* have been subjoined at various stages in the evolution. In this word, the suffix *-ka* has been added a second time after the original *-ka* had changed to *-ya*. *Pana-sayaka* (ll. 4-5) is *pan-siayk* in standard Sinhalese; Skt. *pañca-śatakam*. *Kahavaṇa* (l. 5) = P. *kaḥāpaṇa*, Skt. *kaṛaṣāpaṇa*.

Ma-teka (l. 5) is *metek* in standard Sinhalese. The earlier form *mevataka* occurs in the Tōṇigala inscription of Śrī-Meghavarna⁹. *Keri* (l. 5) = *kāru* in classical Sinhalese, Skt. and P. *kārita*. *Boya-ge* (l. 5) is *bō-gē* in standard Sinhalese, P. *bodhi-geha*.

S. PARANAVITANA

9. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

Tamil Publications in Ceylon

FROM the dim past the Tamil language continues to be one of the languages spoken in Ceylon. Poets and writers have appeared from time to time to enrich the language. Even during the first centuries of the Christian era there seem to have lived many Tamil poets in this country ; one of them by name *Ilattup Pūtaṅ Tēvaṅ* from North Ceylon had gone to the Third Tamil Sangam at Madura in S. India and got recognition as a Sangam poet. His poems are still found in the Sangam collection of poems.

From this time till about the 12th century A.D. we do not hear much of the literary activities of the Tamils of Ceylon ; for there are no records of their works. But when a line of kings called the *Ārya Cakravarttis* came to power in Jaffna (North Ceylon) by about the 13th century a good number of works in Tamil were produced. In the time of King *Varōtaya Cekarāca Cēkaraṅ* the Jaffna kingdom rose to the zenith of its power and fame. The King himself was a patron of learning and poets and pandits flocked to his court. He established a college of *literati* called the Tamil Sangam. Works on astrology and medicine were composed and translations from Sanskrit *Purāṇas* were made under his patronage.

The works composed by the different poets of this Sangam, it is said, were all preserved in a library called 'Sarasvati Mahālayam' and this library was later on destroyed by fire when a Sinhalese king sacked the capital of the Jaffna Kingdom.

Varōtaya Cekarāca Cēkaraṅ himself was a great scholar. The work called *Cekarāca Cēkaram*, a work on medicine in all its different branches, *Taṭciṅa Kailāca Purāṇam* and several other works received the imprimatur of his court. The medical work called *Cekarāca Cēkaram* is not yet edited and published. But *Taṭciṅa Kailāca Purāṇam* has been edited and published twice. In 1887 it was edited by *Kārtikēya Iyar* and in 1916 by *Vaittiliṅga Tēcikar*. The last edition was published at the *Kalāniti Press*, Point Pedro.

The king who succeeded him was *Mārttāṅṭa Pararāca Cēkaraṅ*. His reign was equally famous. He also encouraged literature a great deal. Under his patronage the royal bard *Araca Kēcari* composed the poetical

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work *Iraku Vamicam*. This is an adaptation in Tamil of the Sanskrit poetical work *Raghu Vamsa* of Kālidasa. This work was edited and published for the first time in 1887 by Poṇṇampala Piḷḷai. Vidvān Kaṇē-caiyar has published certain chapters of this work with a commentary recently. Another colossal work on medicine was composed during this period. It was called *Pararāca Cēkaram* in honour of the monarch who patronised the composers of this work. This was published by the Ayurvedic Physician Ai. Poṇṇaiyā of Ēlālai in 1936.

During these times, the Kings of the Sinhalese Court also appear to have patronised Tamil poets and encouraged the production of Tamil works. In the Court of Parākrama Bāhu III of Dambadeniya a Tamil astrological poem named *Caracōti Mālai* received his imprimatur. This was composed by a Brahmin poet called Pōcarāca Paṇṭitaṇ. The composition of the work was commenced at the direction of the King in the seventh year of his reign. The date of his coronation was probably 1302 A.D. The work was finished and recited at the Court in the year 1310 A.D. It was published in 1891 by Irakunāta Aiyar. The edition now available is printed and published at the Cōtiṭap Pirakāca Press, Jaffna.

Many other Sinhalese Kings also seem to have encouraged Tamil learning and literature as much as they did Sinhalese learning and literature. During the time of the last King of Kandy a poet from Jaffna called Ciṛram-palap Pulavar composed a poem called *Killai-viṭu tūtu* in 1815 in honour of the King and took it to his Court. But unfortunately on his way to Kandy he heard the news of his capture by the British. He returned back a disappointed man. This was in A.D. 1815. The work is probably not printed.

Tamil parts of Ceylon fell into the hands of the Portuguese during the 15th century. At this period very few Tamil scholars of outstanding repute seem to have lived in the country. One Tamil scholar named Nāṇap pirakāca Tēcikar escaped to South India and from there wrote works in Tamil and Sanskrit. His Sanskrit works on Saiva Siddhānta philosophy were published in Ceylon in 1928 by Kailāca Piḷḷai. His commentary on the Tamil work *Civañāṇa Cittiyār* was published in India.

During the Dutch occupation which followed the Portuguese rule Tamil education was encouraged to a good extent. One of the scholars who lived during the period was, Phillip De Melho. He was a Tamil by race and was one of the famous men produced by the seminaries which

were set up by the government for the dissemination of higher learning. He was proficient in Tamil and other languages such as Dutch, Portuguese, Hebrew, Latin and Greek. He was ordained as a minister of the Church. He brought out a Tamil translation of the New Testament. It was published at the expense of the Government in 1759. He also composed a panegyric in Tamil called *Murutappak Kuravañci* in honour of a famous man, Marutappa Pillai. This work appears to have been lost. His work *Tāvitiṅ Caṅkītaṅkaḷ* (Songs of David) was published in 1755. Besides these, he was also the author of the following works :—

<i>Cattiyattiṅ Cayam</i> published in	1753
<i>Ollāntu Irappiramātuc Capaiyin Carittiram</i> published in	1759
<i>Irappiramātuc Capaic Cepaṅkaḷ</i> published in	1760

Another Tamil scholar who lived during this period is Kūḷaṅkaiṭ Tampirāṅ. He was a native of South India. But he became domiciled in Jaffna. He wrote a commentary on the Tamil grammatical work *Nannūḷ*. He was a Saivite Hindu by religion ; yet he was so broad-minded that he also composed a Christian work called *Jōsep' Purāṇam* which treats of the History of the patriarch Joseph in 1023 stanzas arranged in 21 cantos. It was dedicated to his friend and literary associate De Melho in recognition of his work and abilities. But unfortunately the work appears to be lost.

Another scholar who lived at this period is Rev. Father Gabriel Pacheco. He was a Roman Catholic priest. He produced, with the help of Kūḷaṅkaiṭ Tampirāṅ, a work called *Tēvap Piracaiyiṅ Tirukatai* (History of the People of God) in two huge volumes. It was published in 1886. Other works of the author with their dates of publication are as follows :—

<i>Ñāna Appam</i>	1785
<i>Tēva Mātāviṅ Alukaik Kuravai</i>	1902
<i>Yōcēvās carittiram</i>	1911

Another author of note during the Dutch period is a Roman Catholic Father named Gonsalves (1676-1741) who came to Ceylon from Goa. He lived in Ceylon, did a good deal of work for the propagation of the Roman Catholic Church among the people, and wrote in Tamil under the pseudonym *Cāṅkōpāṅka Cuvāmikaḷ*. His work *Viyākulap piracaṅkam* is still sung by the Roman Catholic people during the Easter season. Some of his other works are :—

<i>Kiristiyāṅi Ālayam</i>
<i>Cattiya Vētākama Caṁṣkēpam</i>
<i>Cintup pirārttaṅai</i>

Mailvākaṇap Pulavar, a pupil of Kūlaṅkaiṭ Tampirāṇ, is another outstanding scholar of this period. He composed poetical works such as *Puliyūr Yamaka Antāti*, *Kāciyāttirai*, etc. But his historical work about Jaffna in Tamil prose called *Yālpṇāṇa Vaipava Mālai* is the most famous of his works. It was first published in 1884 and later re-edited by Kula Capānātaṇ and published at the Thanaluchumy Press in 1953.

The most famous poet of this time is *Cinṇatampip Pulavar*. He is the author of the poetical work *Kalvalai Antāti*, published in 1888, *Maraicai Antāti*, published in 1911, *Paṇālai Viṇayakar Paḷḷu* published in 1889. He also wrote a work employing literary conventions of the Sangam Literature. It is called *Karavai Vēlaṇ Kōvai*, and was published at the Thanaluchumy Press, Chunnakam in 1935 by the late Mr. Sadāsivaiyar.

So far we have given some of the works produced in Ceylon before the arrival of the British. When Ceylon passed into the hands of the British, Tamil literature also underwent many changes due to the new conditions created. A great many of these are in a large measure due to the arrival of the European Missionaries.

One of the earliest band of Missionaries to arrive in Ceylon was the American. It made Jaffna the centre of its activities. In 1823 these Missionaries started a central school at Vaddukkoddai in Jaffna for imparting education of the University standard. It was re-named as the Seminary in 1827.

One of the objects of this Seminary was to encourage the cultivation of Tamil language and literature. The most useful and important contribution the Missionaries made to the Tamil language was the translation of modern sciences. The person who was mainly responsible for this was Dr. Samuel Fish Green. He came to Ceylon in 1847 and joined the hospital attached to the Seminary at Vaddukkoddai. This hospital was transferred later in 1848 to Manipay. Dr. Green was made the chief of this hospital. By this time he had already acquired a good knowledge of the Tamil Language. He translated with the help of his students, some of the outstanding English medical works into Tamil. The following are some of those works :—

- (1) Maunsell's Obstetrics (1857) 258 pages.
- (2) *Irāṇa Vaittiyam*—Druit's Surgery—Translated by J. Danforth. Edited by Dr. Green. Published by the American Mission Press, Ceylon, Manipay (1867). 504 pages.

- (3) *Aṅkātipātam*—Gray's Anatomy—Translated by D. W. Chapman (1872). 838 pages.
- (4) *Vaiṭṭiyākaram*—Hooper's Physician's Vade Mecum—Translated by William Paul. Edited by Dr. Green. Printed at London Mission Press, Nagarcoil (1875). 576 pages.
- (5) *Kemistam*—Well's Chemistry—Translated by Dr. Green with the help of D. W. Chapman and S. Cāminātaṇ. Printed at London Mission Press, Nagarcoil (1875). 576 pages.
- (6) *Maṇuṣa Cukaraṇam*—Dalton's Physiology (1883). 550 pages.
- (7) *Intu Patāratta Cāram*—Warring's Pharmacopoeia of India. Translated by D. W. Chapman. Edited by Dr. Green. Printed at Ceylon American Mission Press, Manipay (1884). 574 pages.

Apart from these, works on several other modern subjects claimed the attention of the Seminary. Mathematics, Astronomy, Philosophy, Chemistry and others were taught ; and works in Tamil on these subjects were produced. A few of these are available now. They are :—

Vīca Kaṇitam (Algebra) by Carol Visvanātha Piḷḷai published in 1855

Kaṇakkatikāram (Arithmetic) by Cuvām Piḷḷai Published in 1844

Niyāya Ilakkaṇam (Logic) by N. Citamparap Piḷḷai Published in 1850

The Missionaries also devoted their attention to Tamil Lexicography. In the year 1833 the American Mission at Jaffna decided to compile a Tamil-English dictionary on the model of the dictionaries of the European languages. Along with this they wanted to bring out an English-Tamil dictionary and a Tamil-Tamil dictionary. At the request of the authorities Rev. J. Knight assisted by Mr. Gabriel Tissera and by the Rev. Peter Percival collected the materials for these works. Unfortunately Rev. J. Knight died in the year 1838 and the work was suspended for some time.

But from the materials collected, the Manual Dictionary of the Tamil language, otherwise called *Māṇipāy Akarāti*, was brought out in 1842 by Pandit Candrasekhara, a Tamil scholar of Jaffna.

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In the meanwhile additions were being made by scholars to the materials collected for the larger Tamil-English lexicon. They were edited by the Rev. M. Winslow at Madras and published in 1862. The dictionary was mainly the outcome of the labours of Jaffna scholars.

Sometime after this another Tamil Dictionary appeared in Jaffna. This was compiled by C. W. Katiravēl Piḷḷai. This contains more words than the dictionaries hitherto published. The first part of this work was published in Jaffna in 1904. The rest of the book was handed over to the Tamil Sangam of Madura. The Tamil Sangam published it under the name "Sangam Dictionary."

Besides these outstanding works other dictionaries were produced in Jaffna. The following are some of them :—

<i>Tamiḷ p Pēraakarāti</i> by N. Katiraivēḷ Piḷḷai	1904
<i>Ilakkiyac Col akarāti</i> by Kumāracāmp Pulavar	1924
<i>Coṟporuḷ Viḷakkam</i> by Ca. Cuppiramaṇiya-Cāstirikaḷ	1924
<i>Coṟpirappu-oppiyal Tamiḷ akarāti</i> by Rev. S. Nāṇappirakācar, O.M.I.	1938

The following are some of the English-Tamil Dictionaries :—

<i>English-Tamil Dictionary</i> by Winslow	1842
<i>English-Tamil Dictionary</i> by Percival	
<i>English-Tamil Dictionary</i> by Knight and Spaulding	1888

Before dictionaries on the European model came into vogue, poetical dictionaries called "*Nikaṇṭu's*" were used in Tamil. Some *Nikaṇṭus* also were produced in Jaffna. The most important of them are the following :—

<i>Cintāmani Nikaṇṭu</i> by V. Vaittiliṅkam Piḷḷai	1876
<i>Nērccol Nikaṇṭu</i> by Catācivam Piḷḷai	1889

In addition to this an Encyclopaedia of the Tamil Language called *Apitāṇa Kōcam* was produced by one Muttuttampip Piḷḷai and published in 1902. Peter Percival compiled a dictionary of Tamil proverbs and published it in 1842 with English translations.

When Christian Missionaries were thus working for the propagation of the Christian Religion and European Culture, a section of the people revolted against their activities. They could not bear to see the ancient heritage of their forefathers belittled and their countrymen converted to

Christianity. They also saw that the Tamil culture was being replaced by the Western ; the English language was gradually gaining in importance and Tamil was being neglected.

The most outstanding of these group of people to lead the revolt was Ārumuka Nāvalar. Before he joined this group he translated along with Peter Percival the English Bible into Tamil. The Bible Society in India accepted this translation as the best and published it. After this he joined the people who opposed the Missionaries. This movement gave place to the production of a good number of polemic literature in Tamil both on the side of the Saivite Hindus as well as on that of the Christians. We give below a few of them with their dates of publication :—

<i>Caiva Tūṣaṇa Parikāram</i> by Ārumuka Nāvalar	1854
<i>Vaccira Taṇṭam</i> by Ārumuka Nāvalar	1854
<i>Cuppira Tīpam</i> by Carol Visvanāta Piḷḷai	1886
<i>Caivamakattuva Tikkāra Makattuvam</i> by C. W. Tamōtaram Piḷḷai	1882
<i>Kristavamata Kaṇṭaṇam</i> by Caṅkara Paṇṭitar	1882
<i>Milēccamata Vikarṇam</i> by Caṅkara Paṇṭitar	1879
<i>Civa Tūṣaṇa Kaṇṭaṇam</i> by Caṅkara Paṇṭitar	1878
<i>Caiva Makattuva Pāṇu</i> by V. Vaittiliṅka Piḷḷai	1879
<i>Yēcumata Caṅkarṇa Nirākaraṇam</i> by Capāpati Nāvalar (151 poems)	1882
<i>Marupirappu Āṭcēpam</i> by Rev. Father Nāṇappirakācar	1911
<i>Caivar Āṭcēpa Camātāṇam</i> by Rev. Father Nāṇappirakācar	1911
<i>Caivaṇum Macca māmicamum</i> by Rev. Father Nāṇappirakācar	1912
<i>Cuppiramaṇiya Carittira āraṅycci</i> by Rev. Father Nāṇappirakācar	1922
<i>Kiristumata Cūtum Vātum</i> by Kanakacapaip Pattar	1891
<i>Yokōvā,</i> <i>Kiristavar ākavēṇṭiyatillai</i> } by T. Kailāca Piḷḷai	1887

In this connection we may include the polemic literature produced by people who criticised the editions and the editors of Tamil works which were published during this period.

<i>Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi</i> by Murukēca Paṇṭitar and C. Poṇṇampalam	1888
<i>Ilakkana Viḷakkap Patippurai Maruppu</i> by Capāpati Nāvalar	1889
<i>Vētācala Virutti—Tiruvācakam</i> , Saiva Siddhānta Society, Jaffna	1921

TAMIL PUBLICATIONS IN CEYLON

During this period old works which were in old manuscripts were published and new works written. History, drama, folk literature, poetical works, prose works and other kinds of literature were profusely produced. Some of the important works which were published are given below under different sections :—

I Poems : Literature

<i>Ulakiyal Viḷakkam</i> by Navanītakṛṣṇa Pāratiyār	1922
<i>Kātali ārruppatai</i> by K. Kaṇapatip Pillai	1940
<i>Nallicai Nārpatu</i> by Pūpāla Pillai	1919

II Kāvya

<i>Tiruc Celvar Kāvīyam</i> by Aruḷappa Nāvalar	1896
<i>Kantalāyḱ Kuḷakkattuk Kāvīyam</i>	1937
<i>Irutu Caṅkāra Kāvīyam</i> by Catācivaiyar	1950

III Purāṇas

<i>Ekātaciḱ Purāṇam</i> by Varata Paṅṭitar	1898
<i>Civarāttirip Purāṇam</i> by Varata Paṅṭitar	1878
<i>Citamparanāta Purāṇam</i> by Capāpati Nāvalar	1885
<i>Cīmantiṇi Purāṇam</i> by Pūpāla Pillai	1894
<i>Ñāṇānanta Purāṇam</i> by Tompilippu	1874
<i>Tiri Kōṇācala Purāṇam</i> by Muttukkumāru	1909
<i>Tiruvākkup Purāṇam</i> by Kaṇakacapaip Pulavar	1890
<i>Puliyūrp Purāṇam</i> by Civāṇantaiyar	1936

IV Minor Literary Forms

A great number of poetical works on *Minor Literary Forms* like Paḷḷu, Kuṛavañci, Kōvai, Antāti, Piḷḷait Tamil, Tūtu, Catakam, Maṭal, Kalam-pakam, Kalitturai, Nāṇmaṇi Mālai, Mummaṇi Mālai, Iraṭṭaimaṇi Mālai, Mālai, Patikam, Ūncal, Ammāṇai, Māṇmiyam, etc. were also produced. For lack of space we give only a few.

<i>Katiraimalaip Paḷḷu</i> author unknown	1935
<i>Ñāṇap Paḷḷu</i> author unknown	1904
<i>Taṅṭikaik Kaṇakarāyaṇ Paḷḷu</i> by Ciṅṅakkuṭṭip Pulavar	1932
<i>Nakulamalaik Kuṛavañci</i> , by Vicuvanāta Cāttiriyār	1895
<i>Oru Turaiḱ Kōvai</i> , by Vaṇṇai Vaittiliṅkam	1931
<i>Nallaik Kōvai</i> , by Cevvantiṇāta Tēcikar	
<i>Ciṅṅakai Nakar Antāti</i> , by Catāciva Paṅṭitar	1887
<i>Tiruk Katirai Antāti</i> by Civa Pancāṭcarak Kurukkaḷ	1915

<i>Tirut Tillai Nīrōṭṭa yamaka Antāti</i> by Velupillai	1891
<i>Puliyūr Antāti</i> by Civānantaiyar	1882
<i>Patirruppatt Antāti</i> by Patmācaṇi Ammāḷ	1925
<i>Māruṭaṭi Antāti</i> by Appātturaip Pillai	1891
<i>Vellai Antāti</i> by Catācivam Pillai	1890
<i>Katirkāmap Pillait Tamil</i> by Karuṇālaya Pāṇṭiyan	1937
<i>Viyākkīyāṇak Kummi</i> by Antōṇi	1885
<i>Uttiyōka Laṭcaṇak Kummi</i> by Katirkāmar	1936
<i>Ñāṇak Kummi</i> by Muttukkumārak Kavirayar 2nd edition	1872
<i>Kiḷlavitu Tūtu</i> by Varata Paṇṭitar	1921
<i>Tattai viṭu Tūtu</i> by Caravaṇamuttup Pillai	1892
<i>Mēka Tūtam</i> by Kumāracuvāmip Pulavar	1896
<i>Īlamanṭala Catakam</i> by Vēr Pillai	1823
<i>Nakulēcar Catakam</i> by Kumāracuvāmip Pulavar	1886
<i>Katirkāmak Kalampakam</i> by Kantappa Cuvāmikaḷ	1897
<i>Paruttitturaik Kalitturai</i> by Civacampup Pulavar	
<i>Nallaik Kalitturai</i> by Kumāra Cuvāmi Mutaliyār	
<i>Pār̄kara Cētupati Naṇmaṇi Mālai</i> by Civacampup Pulavar	
<i>Tiruc Celvac Caṇṇiti Nāṇmaṇi Mālai</i> by Kaṇēcaiyar	
<i>Māvai Mummaṇik Kōvai</i> by Cevvantināta Tēcikar	
<i>Tiruk Katirai Mummaṇi Mālai</i> by Civa Pancāṭcarak Kurukkaḷ	1917
<i>Civa Mālai</i> by Pūpāla Pillai	1922
<i>Maruṭaṭi Vināyakar Pāmālai</i> by Cōmacuntarap Pulavar	1933
<i>Tēvacakāya Cikāmaṇimālai</i> by Tēvacakāyam Pillai	1897
<i>Tiru Murukar Patikam</i> by Pūpala Pillai	1922
<i>Katirēcar Patikam</i> by A. Kumāracuvāmip Pulavar	
<i>Vairavar Patikam</i> by Cōmacuntarap Pulavar	1921
<i>Kanta Vēḷ Patikam</i> by K. Kaṇapatip Pillai	1954
<i>Nallaip Patikam</i> by Cēṇātirāya Mutaliyār	

V Prose Works

(1) Literary

<i>Kiristu Mār̄kka Attāṭci</i> by Antup Pōtakar	1899
<i>Periya Purāṇa Vacāṇam</i> by Ārumuka Nāvalar	1852
<i>Yālp̄pāṇac Camaya Nilai</i> by Ārumuka Nāvalar	1872
<i>Pāla pāṭam</i>	1850
<i>Tiruviḷaiyāṭar Purāna Vacāṇam</i> by Ārumuka Nāvalar	
<i>Kolai maruttal</i> by Ārumuka Nāvalar	1851
<i>Cētu Purāṇam</i> by Ērampaiyar	
<i>Tamilp pāṣai Vaipavam</i> by R. O. D. Aicupari	

TAMIL PUBLICATIONS IN CEYLON

<i>Valḷkaiyiṅ Vinōtaṅkaḷ</i> by K. Kaṇapatip Pillai	1954
<i>Pūṅ Cōlai</i> by K. Kaṇapatip Pillai	1953
<i>Ilakkiya Vali</i> by S. Kaṇapatip Pillai	1955
<i>Caivapūṣaṇa Cantirikai</i> by N. Katiravēr Pillai	1902
<i>Itōpatēcam</i> by Kumāracuvāmip Pulavar	1886
<i>Kaṇṇaki Katai</i> by Kumāracuvāmip Pulavar	1901
<i>Tamiḷ Pulavar Carittiram</i> by Kumāracuvāmip Pulavar	1916
<i>Cicupāla Carittiram</i> by Kumāracuvāmip Pulavar	1921
<i>Kucēlar Carittiram</i> by Kaṇēcaiyar	1932
<i>Ēcu varalāru</i> by Rev. Francis Kingsbury	1939
<i>Pāṇṭavar Katai</i> by Rev. Francis Kingsbury	1939
<i>Irāmaṅ Katai</i> by Rev. Francis Kingsbury	1938
<i>Katirkāmam</i> by Kula Capānātaṅ	1947
<i>Ārunuka Nāvalar Carittiram</i> by T. Kailāca Pillai	1916
<i>Tirāviap Pirakācikai</i> by Capāpati Nāvalar	1899

(2) Criticism, Literature and Art

<i>Pāvalar Carittira Tīpakam</i> by A. Catācivam Pillai	1886
<i>Īlamaṅṭalap Pulavar Carittiram</i> by Muttuttampip Pillai	1914
<i>Īlanāṭṭup Pulavar Carittiram</i> by Kaṇēcaiyar	1939
<i>Tamil Ilakkiya Varalāru</i> by V. Celvanāyakam	1951
<i>Ilakkīyat Tenral</i> by S. Vitiāṅantaṅ	1953
<i>Tamiḷar Cālpu</i> by S. Vitiāṅantaṅ	1954
<i>Ten Intiya Cīrpa Vaṭivaṅkaḷ</i> by Navaratṅam	

(3) Dramas

The earliest Dramas were of the Opera type where they have singing, dancing and prose conversation. Numerous works of this type were produced in Ceylon. The following may be cited as examples of this type :—

<i>Pūtataṅ Tampi Nāṭakam</i> by Tāvitu	1888
<i>Taruma Puttira Nāṭakam</i> Edited by Tampimuttu	1890
<i>Vēti Aracaṅ Nāṭakam</i> by Arāli Irāmu	1894

Then came the Drama, written mostly in prose on the European model. A fairly good number of works of this type were produced.

<i>Acōka Mālā</i> by Rāmaliṅkam	1943
<i>Uyirilāṅ Kumaraṅ</i> by Cōmacuntarap Pulavar	1936
<i>Cantirahāsaṅ</i> by Rev. Francis Kingsbury	
<i>Nāṅāṭakam</i> by K. Kaṇapatip Pillai	1940
<i>Irunāṭakam</i> by K. Kaṇapatip Pillai	1952
<i>Caṅkili</i> by K. Kaṇapatip Pillai	1956

Some Linguistic Peculiarities of the *Therīgāthā*

THE *Therīgāthā*, in common with other metrical works of the Pali Canon, presents in its language and syntax, vocabulary and style a remarkable uniformity. This is specially to be seen among the earlier works such as the *Sutta Nipāta*, *Dhammapada*, *Therīgāthā*, *Jātakapāli*, the metrical portions of the *Udāna* and *Itivuttaka* and the *gāthās* interspersed with the prose of the four major *Nikāyas*. It is found to a lesser extent in the later metrical works of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* such as the *Apadāna*, *Cariyāpiṭaka* and the *Buddhavaṃsa*. The twin works, the *Peta* and *Vimāna Vatthus*, though essentially preserving the old poetic diction, are brought within an artificial framework which leaves us in doubt as to whether they are to be classed with the earliest Canonical metrical literature or not, while in the case of the *Apadāna* which has undergone a high degree of stylisation there is nothing to warrant its inclusion among the earlier stratum of metrical literature. It has often been asserted that the *gāthās* in the Pali Canon are written in a separate "dialect." However, the evidence indicating a peculiar dialect of Pali, as is commonly understood by the term, is rather scanty, while on the other hand, what we see is a poetical variation of the language of the prose *Nikāyas* as has been necessitated by the literary form adopted to express the ideas embodied in these works. Hence the term "gāthā-dialect" should be employed in a special context and with no reference to a dialect as such. The characteristics of the "gāthā-dialect" are to be found to a very pronounced degree in the *Therīgāthā* as compared with other old metrical works. The wealth of data found in so short a work of a mere 522 stanzas is most interesting from the point of view of the student of the language. It is not only as regards linguistic peculiarities but also the general diction that the *Therīgāthā* stands out as a clear example of early Pali metrical literature. It is proposed here to enumerate some of these features classed under suitable categories wherever possible.

Vocabulary

A large proportion of the words used in the *Therīgāthā* seems to suggest that a special vocabulary has been reserved for metrical Pali. Some of these words are found in the prose idiom too, but the precise form in

which they occur often presents a variation from the accepted form found in the prose idiom. Some of them present interesting phonological changes and might even suggest the preservation of dialectical forms not already attested in Pali prose. Examples : *ḍāka* Id < Sk. *śāka*, also found in prose Vin. 1,246,248, but generally used in verse cp. Vv. 20-6 as against *sāka* used frequently in Pali (s.v. P.T.S.). The word *chamā* < Sk. *kṣamā*, in oblique cases only, "on or to the ground" occurs at 17d, 88c, 112b, 461d, 494c and 514d, but is not restricted to verse elsewhere. The epithets *asecanaka* lit. unadulterated (\sqrt{sic}) and *ojava* strength-giving, 55b, 196d are used to describe *nibbāna* as at M.I, 114 and S.I, 213. The noun *adhikuṭṭanā* an executioner's block, 58b, 141b, 234b is uniformly used with the verse beginning with *sattisūlūpamā kāmā*. The doublet *bāhā* f. of *bāhu*, essentially a poetical form when used absolutely occurs at 68c and 263b side by side with *bāhu*. The p.p.p. *addita* (\sqrt{rd}) 77b, 89d, 328bd occurs as often as *aṭṭa* 133a (Sk. *ārta*) and is confined to verse. The denominative verb *addiyāmi*// *addita* occurs at 140c as opposed to the frequently recurring *aṭṭiyati*// *aṭṭa* as in the Vinaya phrase *aṭṭiyati harāyati* etc. The adjective *palokina* (\sqrt{ruj}) occurs at 101b as at Sn. 593=S. IV, 205. The poetical forms *jānīyaṃ* 114d, for *ājānīyaṃ*, *saṃ* 136a, for *sakaṃ*, *poso* 296c < (Vc. *pūrṣa*), *vidaṃsenī* 74a cp. *pahaṃsati*; *gandha* 111d for *gantha*, *laṭṭhi* 291a, 297c instead of the parallel form *yaṭṭhi*, *Lacchiṃ* 419d instead of *-kkh-*, *kuthita* 504d in place of *-kaṭhita* as in *pakkathita*, *khu* 509c for *kho*, *chutṭha* 468c, ($\sqrt{kṣubh}$) instead of *chuddha* as at Dh. 41, *chupi* 514d to mean *khipi* and not *chupati*, to touch, are seen to occur in the Therigatha. The adjectives *bhidura* 35a and *pabhaṅguna* 140b are restricted to verse. There is a further contraction of the numeral *cullāsīti* to *cūlāsīti* at 51c. An unusual p.p.p. form *okkhita* Sk. *avokṣita* ($\sqrt{ukṣ}$ to sprinkle) occurs at 145b. The old Sanskrit perfect participle from *vidvān* is represented by both *vidū* and *viddasū*, the latter generally in its negative form as *aviddasū* 164d, 354b while the pf. 3 pl. coincides with *vidū* as at Th. I, 497d. Three old attributive adjectives (containing *-ant-* in the strong cases) are to be seen in *bhāgimā* 204d, *vuṭṭhimā* 487b, (cp. *candimā*) and *puttavati* 300c (like *rūpavati* 298c). The abstract noun *anusitṭhi* 211b alternates with *anusatthi* and *anusāsani* 178b. The pronouns *tvam* 206d, 387c etc. and *tvaṃ* 312c, 327e, 231a etc. are both freely attested while the forms *edisaka* 397d, 465b, *erisa*, *īdisa* Th. I, 1118c, *īrisa*, *kīrisa* 385c, 386c, *kīdisa* Th. I, 1187a are seen to occur in verse. The adjective *āharima*, "captivating," 299c is essentially a poetical form. The compound *iṅghālakhu* 386a is explained in the Commentary as *aṅgārakāsu*, "a pit of embers." The word *aṅgāra* may give *iṅgāla* in Prakritic dialects cp. *iṅgāla* in old Marathi, but the aspirate can hardly be

SOME LINGUISTIC PECULIARITIES

explained except on the basis of sporadic unetymological aspiration,"¹ *vide* Geiger § 40, Pischel § 206 ff., and *khu* is equally baffling; probably *kāsu* > *kasu* > *k^asu* > *khu* cp. *agāra* < *agga* as in *bhattagga khuragga* etc. The meaning assigned to the cpd. "a pit of glowing embers" Th₂A, 256, leaves no doubt in our minds though the form itself is very doubtful. The noun *olīkā* in *pīlikolikā* 395c is also of uncertain origin (Munda ?) cp. *olīgalla* s.v. P.T.S. Conjuncts with liquids as in *atraja -tr-* 151d, and *pariklesa -kl-* 191c, 345a are seen to occur as the normal forms. The form *saccadassā* 515d is to be taken as an irregular feminine of *dassī*, for *dassinī*, if it is not a mistake for *saccaddasā*. There is change of gender indicated in *jārāghara* m. 270c in place of the usual neuter and also in *kammakarāni* 340b instead of masculine.

The poems of Ambapālī 252-270, Subhā Jivakambavanikā 366-399, Isidāsī 400-447 and Sumedhā 448-522 are very interesting, *inter alia* from the point of vocabulary. In spite of the vigorous style of Ambapālī's verses she seems to be hard put for words to express all she wants to convey. Some ideas are expressed with the aid of apt similes while the symmetry is badly disturbed by the inclusion of verses which contain no similes. She labours the epithet *saṅha* 255a, 258a, 262a, 264a, 268a and is ever conscious of her *valī*, wrinkles, 256c, 259c, 266c, 269c. In spite of the grandeur of the verses the relatively impoverished vocabulary may crown her ballad with her own description in the concluding simile *apalepapatito jarāgharo* 270c. Subhā's verses bear the stamp of highest antiquity. The nominal forms of interest occurring in them have already been noted and the various participial and verbal forms will be discussed later. Purely from the point of vocabulary the words *hātaka*, *tapanīya*, *dhītikā*, *rahitam*, *bhūsanakam*, *kiḷanakam*, *pamha*, *kīriso*, *sombhā*, *kacillakā* as well as *iṅghālakhu* and *pīlikolikā* (already noted), can be said to belong to the poetic language while the forms *visatṭhe* for *vissatṭhe*, *pakkate* for *pakkhitte*, *ruppa* for *rūpiya* are evidently of dialectical origin. Isidāsī's verses are a curious combination of old idiom and artificial poetic expression with occasional disregard for grammar (probably a feminine trait!) e.g. p.p.p. *jitā* construed with an object 419d, "we have been robbed of Prosperity," sg. verb with pl. subject at 424ab, *dvijā* used as acc. pl. (a survival of the dual ?) and mixed idiom in 428ab. Words of special interest as belonging to the poetic vocabulary are: *maṇḍa* 400b (not 400c as taken by the P.T.S. text), *kariya* 402b, *abbhudīresum* 402d an analogical form, *valikam* 403a for *vyālikam* = *dosam*, *sunhā* 406d (acc. sg. in *-am* in apposition to *mam*), forms *demi* 408d, 409c,

1. Sinhalese editions prefer the variant *iṅgāla-* but it look like a "learned" emendation.

karati 424c and *sacchikari* (all three of which one may see frequently in the Ceylon epics) the dative case cpd. *bhattikatam* 413a, the historical future sgg. *vaccham* 415a, 416b, 425c (\sqrt{vas}), *gaccham* 426c (\sqrt{gam}), dative infinitives *kātuye* 418c, *marituye* 426d, old historical forms as *karihiti* fut. 3 sg. \sqrt{kr} 424d, *labhassu* imper. 2 sg. a' pada 432c, *apacissam* iṣ-Aor, 1 sg. 436b, *nillacchesi* si-Aor. 3 sg. of *nir-* $\sqrt{lañch}$ lit. deprived one of the characteristics of a male i.e. castrated, and absolutives *āpucchitūna* 426c and *apakaritūna* 447b which are usually confined in their usage to verse. The forms that invite our attention in Sumedhā's poem are : *sāsanakarehi* dat. pl. < -*bhyaḥ* 448d, *bujjhare* 3 pl. indic, a' pada 453d, *hessami* 460d, *chamā* 461d, *vāreyyam*, "marriage," 464d, 465d, 472d, *hohiti* 465c, *chutṭho* 468c, *chaddūna* 469a, *pidhatvā* 480c, *agha* 489b, 491bc, *kuthita* \sqrt{kvath} 504d, *khāhinti* $\sqrt{khād}$ 509c, *anubhosi* 510c, *chupi* 514d, *saccadassā* 515d, some of which have already been noted while the others will be discussed in their appropriate place.

Of the flexional forms used, *isibhi* 206a is a rare instance of the inst. pl. ending -*bhi* being preserved in Pali while in *sāsanakarehi* (*supra*) is to be seen a dative pl. in -*hi* instead of the usual gen. pl. ending used for the dative. The pronominal ending in *kānanasmim* 261a, also rare in old Pali, is to be found in abundance in the later language and here it may have been prompted by exigencies of metre. The acc. pl. form *dvijā* 430d is equally unusual and the change of gender of *ghara* to masculine 270c and of the numeral *ti* to neuter for the feminine *tisso* in *sakhiyo tīṇi janiyo* 518c are definite violations of the rules of grammar.

Sandhi and Samasa

No reference here will be made to sandhis and samāsas which conform to the normal prose idiom but only those forms which present special peculiarities will be touched upon. The behaviour of the final niggahita in sandhi in the Therīgāthā is very interesting ; its elision seems to be favoured throughout, and at the same time when the second member begins with a vowel as in the case of the personal pronoun there is further coalescence of the two vowels thus brought together as a result of the elision of the niggahita. As a rule, it is the initial vowel that is further elided. Poetic expression seems to demand the order *akarim aham* to *aham akarim* and in either case when the two words are joined by sandhi, in prose, the niggahita is changed to *m* but here, almost always, both the niggahita and the initial vowel are elided e.g. *cāri'ham* 79b, 123d, *vicari 'ham* 92c, 133d, *namassi'ham* 87d, *bhuñji'ham* 88d, *asevi'ham* 93b, *nirajji'ham* 93d, *saṃsari'ham*, 159d, etc. In instances such as *sampaṭivijjh'aham* 149b, and

pahīn'esam 276c it is the resultant *final* vowel on the elision of the niggahita, that is further elided. In the case of sandhis where the second member begins with a consonant the final niggahita alone is elided e.g. *sokāna sambhavo* 138d, *budhāna vandanā* 161d, *hatthapādāna chedanam* 191b, *sukkāna dhammānam* 278c. Both these types of sandhi are restricted to verse whereas the reduction of the final vowel of a word coalesced with a second member which is an auxiliary whose initial vowel is also elided is to be found in both prose and verse e.g. *paṭipanna'mhi* 94c for *paṭipannā amhi*, *aneja'mhi* 106c, *tevijja'mhā* 121d. The forms *koṭar'ohita* 395a, *okassayām'aham* 116b show the mere elision of the final vowel and call for no special attention. There is a large number of sandhis in which an inorganic consonant is augmented to bridge the hiatus between two vowels unlike in prose where the greater percentage of augmented consonants is organic ; e.g. *turiyā-r-iva* 381a, *kinnariyā-r-iva* 381b, *visapatto-r-iva* 386b, *puno-m-aham* 292d, *janamajjhe-r-iva* 394d, *vattani-r-iva* 395a. There is also an example of the semi-vowel replacing the final vowel in *pamuty atthu* with the reduction of *-tt->-t-* 248a.

Of the numerous cpds. found in frequent use in the Therīgāthā mention need be made only of unusual forms such as the *aluk-samāsas*: *uddhamṣotā* 12d, *kālaṅkatā* 219a, *udakecarā* 241d, *pubbekatam* 243b, the case-cpds. *abhiññāvosi* 64b, *puttakate* < Sk. *-kr̥te* 303c, *bhattikatam* 413a, etc. The bv. cpd. *khaṇātīta* 5c is not exclusively poetic. *Rāhuggaho* (qualifying *cando*) 2b is a bv. cpd. and *uttamaṅgabhū* (comy. *-jā*) 253b looks like an old upapada-cpd. The latter can as well be a sandhi of *uttamaṅga* and *bhū* a contraction of *abhū* < Sk. *abhūt'*. All these forms reflect the old poetic language.

Primary Derivatives

There is to be found a fair number of unusual and old Future Passive Participles, Present Participles, Infinitives, Past Participles Passive and Absolutives. As all the forms in the collection belong to old Pali these that call for special attention only will be cited here. F.P.P. :—*appaṭivāniya* (< Sk. *a-prati-vrāṇa-ika*: *vrāṇa* the guṇa from \sqrt{vr} *vr̥ṇoti* to obstruct) 55a, *labbham* 308a, *dessā* f. from $\sqrt{dviṣ}$ 416c, *vāreyyam* used nominally “a wooing” from \sqrt{vr} *varati* 464d, 472d and *abhisamvisēyyam* < Sk. *viśīrya-* 466c. The pr. p. medial *esānā* 283c has a few parallels in old works like Sn. e.g. *kāmayāna* Sn. 767a, and is an old Vedic form. In *dhovim* 412b there is perhaps a contraction of *dhovantim* ; vide Comy. Among the infinitives there is an abundance of historical forms such as *pappotum* 60d

which do not call for special attention, but there occurs a small number of old Vedic dative infinitives which had already disappeared in Classical Sanskrit e.g. *gantave* 332b, *kātuye* 418c, *marituye* 426d and perhaps *etase* v.l. *etave* 291d. The form *santaye* 342b may be a dative of purpose differing from Sk. only as regards the sibilant, though the pure Pali form is *santiyā* but is quite probable that it is analogically modelled on *marituye*. As regards absolutives too the general pattern of old Pali can be observed. Special poetical forms are seen in *ovariyāna* 367b, 368d, 369d an extension of *ovariya* *ava-*√*vr*, *āpucchitūna* 426c, *apakaritūna* 447b and *chaddūna* 469a, the ending *-tūna* being a parallel of *-tvāna*. The forms *olubbha* (√*labh*, with unetymological aspiration) 17b, 27c, *abhirūhiya* 27d, *nikujjiya* 30b *oḍḍiya* (√*ḍi* with *ava* or *ud*?) 73d, *ādissa* (√*dis* with *ā*) 213a, *āhaniya* 398a and *āhariya* 460c are quite regular and agree with the usual rule in Sk., but *bandhiya* 81b, *chaddiya* 98b, *dakkhiya* (from the future base) 381c, 382c, *jāniya* 388c, *liṅgiya* √*laṅgh* with the loss of aspirate and vowel weakening 398b, and *kariya* 402b do not contain prefixes to justify the formation of the absolute with the suffix *-ya*. Both types, however, belong to *gāthā-Pāli* though the latter is not attested in such large number in other early metrical works. The later *Pāli kāvyas*, including the historical epics have adopted this form and used it as the standard one (besides that ending in *-tvā*) for the absolute. Though the ending *-tūna* is fairly well attested *-tvāna* is rarer : see *chetvāna* 103d, 156a. An interesting form is *pidhatvā* 480c not as an absolute but as a rare variant of *pidahati* without the usual split-aspirate.

The Verb

Almost all the types of verbal forms belonging to early Pali are attested in the *Therīgāthā*. Among the numerous forms available a few will be mentioned here. In the indicative 2 sg. *pavecchasi* 272b represents a dialectical variation of *payacchasi*, but is not unusual cp. *pavecche* Sn. 463c and *anuppaveccheyya* in the phrase *devo ca sammādhāraṃ anuppaveccheyya*. *Samādhemi* 50c too contains a vowel change *-e-* interesting from a phonological angle ; also cp. *pidhatvā* for the retention of *-dh-*. Other indicatives worthy of note are *vedayase*, 2 sg. medial 237d, *bujjhare* 453d, *acchare* 54b (√*ās* to sit) both 3 pl. med ; *pamuccare* 242d passive 3 pl. with the a'pada ending and *saremhase* 389a med. 1 pl. with subjunctive meaning (*vide* Geiger § 122). The imperative forms too are numerous e.g. 2 sg. *supāhi* la, *sehi* 16a, *ārādhayāhi* 6c, *phusehi* 6a (both bases *phusa-* and *phassa-* are seen to occur cp. *phusayim* 149d, 155d, *aphassayi* 322d, 323e, 324d and *phassaye* opt. 1 sg.), *vajjāsi* 307a from the base *vajja-* extracted from the

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optative cp. *vajja* imper. 2 sg. 323a, *vajjam* opt. 1 sg. 308c vide Geiger §143; medial: *pūrassu* 3a, *sikkhassu* 4a, *yuñjassu* 5a, *paccavekkhassu* 33c, *harassu* 396c, *labhassu* 432c. *bhuñjassu* 484b, *damassu* 509a; passive : *muccassu* 2a; 1 pl. medial : *ramāmase* 370d, 371d. Opt. 1 sg. *ācare* 80d, *adhigacche* 196c, *vajjam* 308c, *icche* 332b, *pihaye* 339d, *patthaye* 341b, *lāgame* 341d; plural : medial, *viharemasi* 375b, vide Geiger § 129; 3 sg. *avasāya* (from *osāpeti*—not with Merris JPTS 1886, *ava-* √*sā sāyayati*) 12a *kayirā* 61a, *nivesaye* 391d, 392d.

The forms of the future tense attested in Th2 are most interesting e.g. 1 sg. *pabbajissam* 292d, *pakkāmissam* 294a both with connecting vowel *i* and contraction, *dassam* 153c (√*dā*), *gaccham* 306e, 426c (*gam-t-sya-*), *vaccham* 414c, 416b, 425c (√*vas* with change to *vat-sya-*), *vihissāmi* 360c (*vi-har-sya->vihissa*), *hessāmi* 460d (*bhaviṣya->hessa-*); plural: *vihissāma* 121c; 2 sg.: *dakkhisi* 232d (√*drs*), and with *-sya-* contracted to *-hi-* in *ehisi* 166d <(Sk. *eṣyasi*), *padāhisi* 303b <(Sk. *-dāsyasi*), *anubhohisi* 510c (Sk. *-bhaviṣyasi*) and *kāhasi* 57b (**karṣya-* usually Sk. *kariṣyasi*); 3 sg. with the same contraction, *hehiti* 249d, 250d, 288d, 389d, *hohiti* 465c (from √*bhū*) and *karihiti* 424d. For *vacchati* 294b see *vaccham* ; plural *khāhinti* 509c (√*khād*).

Aorist : Almost all the varieties of the aorist verb are attested among the 1 sg. forms (vide Geiger 158 ff.) e.g. *nādhigam* 122d, *ajjhaham* 339b, 67d, *addasam* 97c, *aparajjham* 418a, *addasāmi* 135a, *phusayim* 149d, 155d, *visodhayim* 120d, *padālayim* 120f, *āpādim* 40c, *upāgacchim* 43a, *byapānudim* 318d, *anussarim* 120b, *sacchākāsim* 137d, *dakkhim* (without the augment —Ccmy. *datthum!*) 137c, *upakāsim* 89c, *utthāsim* 96c, *pahāsim* 101c, *upāvisim* 148b, 154d, 178d *apacissam* 436b, *dakkhisam* 84d (see *dakkhim*), *avocam* 124c; plural : *upāvisum* 119a, 3 sg. *upaccagā* 5b, *addasāsi* 390c, *viramāsi* 397a, *āgami* 14b, *abbuhi* 52a, 131a, cp. *abbahi*, *vyapānudi* 52d, 131d, 162c, *vedi* (Sk. *avedīt*) 63a; 3 pl.: *upaccagum* 4b, *abbhudiresum* 402d, and Aor. 3 sg. medial: *amaññatha* 143d and *vidatha* 420d.

Much can be said of the idiom, style and poetic merits of the *gāthās* of this work, but this will have to be reserved for a later contribution as a study of linguistic peculiarities does not warrant their inclusion here.

N. A. JAYAWICKRAMA.

Buddhism and Christianity^{*}

AMONG the five great religions to which nearly nine-tenths of present-day humanity belong, Buddhism and Christianity have been the most frequent subjects of comparison. And rightly so. Because, together with Islam, and unlike Hinduism and Chinese universalism, they are 'world religions,' that is to say forms of belief that have found followers not merely in a single though vast country, but also in wide regions of the entire world.

Buddhism and Christianity, however, differ from Islam in so far as, unlike the latter, they do not stress the natural aspects of world and man, but they wish to lead beyond them. A comparison between Buddhism and Christianity, however, proves so fruitful mainly because they represent, in the purest form, two great distinctive types of religion which arose East and West of the Indus valley. For two millenniums, these religious systems have given the clearest expression of the metaphysical ideas prevalent in the Far East and in the Occident, respectively,

The similarities between these two religions extend, if I see it rightly, essentially over three spheres : (1) the life history of the founder, (2) ethics, and (3) church history.

1. The biographies of Buddha and Christ show many similar features. Both were born in a miraculous way. Soon after their birth, their future greatness is proclaimed by a sage (Asita, Simeon). Both astonish their teachers through the knowledge they possess, though still in their early childhood. Both are tempted by the devil before they start upon their public career. Both walk over the water (Jātaka 190 ; Matth. 14, 26). Both feed 500 and 5,000 persons respectively (Jātaka 78 ; Mark 14, 16ff) by multiplying miraculously the food available. The death of both is accompanied by great natural phenomena. Also the parables ascribed to them show some similarities, as for instance the story of the sower (Samyutta 42, 7; Matth. 13, 3), of the prodigal son ('Lotus of the Good Law,' Chap. IV; Lk. 14), of the widow's mite (Kalpanamanditika ; Mark 12).

From these parallels some writers have attempted to conclude that the Gospels have drawn from the Buddhist texts. But this contention goes much too far. If there is any dependence at all, of the stories in the

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Gospels on those of India, it could be only by oral tradition, through the migration to the West of certain themes which originated in India, and were taken over by the authors of the biblical scriptures. But that is in no way certain, because many of those similarities are not so striking as to exclude the possibility of their independent origin at different places.

2. Both Buddha and Jesus based their ethics on the 'Golden Rule.' Buddha told the Brahmins and householders of a certain village as follows: "A lay follower reflects thus: 'How can I inflict upon others what is unpleasant to me?' On account of that reflection, he does not do any evil to others, and he also does not cause others to do so" (Saṃyutta 55, 7). And Jesus says in the Sermon of the Mount: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do so to them: for this is the law and the prophets" (Matth. 7, 12; Lk. 6, 31).—this being, by the way, a teaching which, in negative formulation, was already known to the Jewish religion (Tob. 15, 4).

Also the principle "Love thy neighbour like unto yourself" (Lk. 10, 27) which, in connection with Lev. 19, 18, was raised by Jesus to a maxim of ethical doctrine, is likewise found in Buddhism where it was given a philosophical foundation mainly by the thinkers of Mahayana (Śāntideva, beginning of Śikṣāsamuccaya). As to the injunction that love should also be extended to the enemy there is also a parallel statement by the Buddha. According to the Majjhima Nikāya No. 21 he said: "If, O monks, robbers or highwaymen should with a double-handled saw cut your limbs and joints, whoso gave way to anger thereat, would not be following my advice. For thus ought you to train yourselves: 'Undisturbed shall our mind remain, no evil words shall escape our lips; friendly and full of sympathy shall we remain, with heart full of love, free from any hidden malice. And that person shall we suffuse with loving thoughts; and from there on the whole world.'"

A practical proof of the love of enemies was given, as the report goes, by the Buddhist sage Āryadeva. After a philosophical disputation, a fanatical adversary attacked him in his cell with a sword, and Āryadeva was fatally wounded. In spite of that, he is said to have helped his murderer to escape by disguising him with his own monk's robe. Schopenhauer, and others after him, believed, in view of these ethical teachings, that the Gospels "must somehow be of Indian origin" (Parerga II, §179), and that Jesus was influenced by Buddhism with which he was said to have become

acquainted in Egypt. For such a supposition, however, there is not the slightest reason, since we encounter similar noble thoughts also among Chinese and Greek sages, and, in fact, among the great minds of the whole world, without having to assume an actual interdependence.

3. Also the historical development of both religions presents several parallels. Both, setting out from the countries of their origin, have spread over large parts of the world, but in their original home lands they have scarcely any followers left. The number of Christians in Palestine is very small to-day, and on the whole continent of India proper, there are at present not even half a million Buddhists. The brahmanical counter-reformation starting about 800 A.C., and the onslaught of Islam beginning about 1000 A.C., have brought about the passing of already decadent Buddhism in its fatherland, while it counts millions of devotees in Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, China, Japan, Tibet, Mongolia, and so on. It is strange how little that fact of the disappearance of Buddhism from the land of the Ganges has been apprised by even many educated persons in the West. Some still believe that Buddhism is the dominant religion of India proper, though out of a population of 400 millions, about 95 millions belong to the Islam, and 270 millions are Hindus (that is devotees of Vishnu and Shiva) among whom the caste system prevails, with Brahmins constituting the hereditary priestly gentry.

It is also significant that to-day the overwhelming majority of the followers of Buddhism and Christianity belong to a race and linguistic group different from those of their founders. Buddha was an Indo-Aryan; but, with a few exceptions, most of his devotees are found to-day among the yellow races. Jesus and the Apostles were Jews, but the main contingent of Christians is made up of Europeans speaking Indo-Germanic languages. This shows, very strikingly, that race, language and religion are entirely different spheres. There is perhaps a deep law underlying that fact. Nations of foreign blood accept a new religion with such a great sympathy and enthusiasm probably because it offers them something which they did not possess of their own, and which therefore supplements their own mental heritage in an important way. This holds true also in the case of Islam, since, among the nearly 300 million Mohammedans, those of the Prophet's race, the Semites, are in a minority compared with the Muslims of Turkish, Persian, Indian, Malayan and African extraction.

In the course of their historical development and their dissemination among foreign nations, Buddhism as well as Christianity have absorbed much that was alien to them at the start. One may even say that, after a religion has gone through a sufficiently long period of development and has been exposed to divers influences, more or less all phenomena will appear which the history of religion has ever produced. Buddhism and Christianity, originally, had strict views on all matters of sex, but in both certain sects appeared again and again, which were given to moral laxity or even taught ritual sex enjoyment, as in Buddhism the Shakti cults of the 'Diamond Vehicle' (Vajra-yana), or in Christianity certain gnostic schools, medieval sects and modern communities. Buddha and Christ reject extreme asceticism, but there arose numerous zealots who not only advocated painful self-mortification, but even castrated (as the Skopzi) or burned themselves. Pristine Buddhism taught self-liberation through knowledge. Later, however, a school arose which considered man too weak to win salvation by himself, and instead, expected deliverance by the grace of Buddha Amitābha. These Amitābha schools have developed a theology which, to a certain extent, presents a parallel to the Protestant doctrine of salvation by faith. In Japan, the most influential of these schools, the Shin sect, has even broken with the principle of monastic celibacy, and thereby produced a sort of Buddhist clergy of the Protestant type. On the other, hand, Tibetan Buddhism has created a kind of Ecclesiastical State with the Dalai Lama as its supreme head.

Both Buddhism and Christianity teach to transcend the world. And, in conformity with the idea of the supremacy of the spiritual life over the conventions of the world, in the monastic order or the church community all class distinctions had to cease. The Buddha taught: "As the rivers lose their names when they reach the ocean, just so members of all castes lose their designations once they have gone forth into homelessness, following the teaching and the discipline of the Perfect One" (Ang. 8, 19). And the Apostle Paul wrote (Gal. 3, 28): "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor freeman, neither male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus."

These postulates, however, did not change conditions prevailing in worldly life. Social reforms were entirely alien to the intentions of Buddhism and Christianity in those early days. In various countries and up to modern times, there were not only house slaves, and even temple slaves, but even in Christian countries, slavery was abolished only in the 19th century (Brazil 1888).

Finally, both religions have in common certain features of cult and forms of worship. I mention here only: monasticism, tonsure of the clergy, confession, the cult of images, relic worship, ringing of bells, use of rosary and incense, and the erection of towers. There has been much controversy about the question whether and to what extent, one may assume mutual influence with regard to these and several other similarities, but research has so far not come to an entirely satisfactory conclusion.

Though in many details there are great similarities between Buddhism and Christianity, one must not overlook the fact that in matters of doctrine, they show strong contrasts, and their conceptions of salvation belong to entirely different types of religious attitude. Buddhism, in its purest form, presents a religion based on the conception of an eternal and universal law, a conception found in various forms in India, China and Japan. Christianity, on the other hand, belongs, together with the teaching of Zoroaster, the Jewish religion and Islam, to those religions that profess to have a divine revelation which is manifested in history, and these religions have conquered for themselves all parts of the world west of India' The contrast between Buddhism and Christianity will become clear by objectively placing side by side their central doctrines. I shall base that comparison on what are still to-day, just as nearly 2,000 years ago, the fundamental doctrinal tenets of both religions, and shall not consider here differences of detail or modern interpretations. Since I may assume an acquaintance with the teachings of Christianity, I shall begin each subsequent discussion of single points, with a very brief statement of the Christian doctrine concerned, following it up with a somewhat more detailed treatment of the different teachings in Buddhism. I hope that, in that way, I shall be able to bring out clearly the differences between these two religions.

1. Christianity differs from all great world religions first of all in that it gives to the personality of its founder a central position in world history as well as in the doctrine of salvation. In Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Islam, Judaism, and still more so in religions having no personal founder but being products of historical growth, like Hinduism and Chinese universism, in all of them it is a definite metaphysical and ethical doctrine promulgated by holy men, which is the very centre of their systems. For the Christian, however, it is faith in Jesus Christ that is the inner core of his religion. This evinces most clearly from the fact alone that the 22 scriptures of the New Testament contain only comparatively few sermons of Jesus concerned with doctrinal matters, while by far the greatest part of

the Buddhist Canon is devoted to expositions of the Buddha's teachings. In the scriptures of the New Testament, from the Gospel of St. Matthew up to the Revelation of St. John, the most important concern of the authors was to demonstrate that Christ was a supernatural figure unique in the entire history of the world. Christ's redemptory death on the cross, his resurrection, ascension, and his future advent, are therefore the core of the Christian doctrine of salvation.

Buddha's position in Buddhist doctrine bears in no way comparison with these features of Christianity. For the historical Gautama was not the incarnation of a God ; he was a human being, purified through countless rebirths as animal, man or angel, until finally in his last embodiment, he attained by his own strength that liberating knowledge which enabled him to enter Nirvana. He was one who pointed out the way to deliverance, but did not, by himself, bestow salvation on others. Though also to him a miraculous birth has been attributed, yet it was not described as a virginal birth. The whole difference, however, of the Buddha's status from that of Christ is chiefly demonstrated by the fact that a Buddha is not an isolated historical phenomenon, but that many Enlightened Ones had appeared in the past, teaching the same doctrine ; and that, in the future too, Buddhas will appear in the world who will expound to erring humanity the same principles of deliverance in a new form. The later Buddhism of the Great Vehicle (Mahayana) even teaches that many, if not all men carry within themselves the seed of Buddhahood, so that after many rebirths they themselves will finally attain the highest truth and impart that to others.

2. But even the historical personalities of Jesus and the Buddha differ widely. Jesus grew up in a family of poor Jewish craftsmen. Devoting himself exclusively to religious questions, he was a successor of the Jewish prophets who enthusiastically proclaimed the divine inspirations bestowed upon them. As a noble friend of mankind, full of compassion for the poor, he preached gentleness and love for one's neighbour ; but on the other hand, he attacked with a passionate zeal abuses, for instance when he showed up as hypocrites the Scribes and Pharisees, when he drove from the Temple the traders and money-lenders ; and held out the prospect of eternal damnation to those who refused to believe in him (Mark 16, 16). With the conviction of being the expected Messiah he preached the early advent of the Heavenly Kingdom (Matth. 10, 23). With that promise he primarily turned to the 'poor in spirit' (Matth, 5, 3), because not specu-

lative reasoning, but pious and deep faith is the decisive factor : What is hidden to the clever and wise, has been revealed by God to the babes (Matth. 11, 25).

Gautama Buddha, however, stemmed from the princely house of the Sakyas that reigned on the southern slopes of the Himalaya. He lived in splendour and luxury up to his 29th year, then he left the palace and its womenfolk, and went forth into homelessness as a mendicant. After a six years' vain quest for insight spent with various Brahman ascetics, he won enlightenment at Uruvela. This transformed the Bodhisattva, i.e. an aspirant for enlightenment, into a Buddha, that is into one who has awakened to truth. From then onward, up to the eightieth year of his life, he proclaimed the path of deliverance found by him. He died at Kusinara about 480 B.C. Buddha was an aristocrat of high culture, with a very marked sense for beauty in nature and art, free from any resentment, and possessed of a deep knowledge of man's nature. He was a balanced personality, with a serene mind and winning manners, representing the type of a sage who, with firm roots within, had risen above the world. In the struggle with the systems of his spiritually dynamic time, he evolved out of his own thought a philosophical system that made high demands on the mental faculties of his listeners. As he himself said : " My doctrine is for the wise and not for the unwise." The fact that his teaching had an appeal also for the uneducated, is explained by his great skill in summarizing in easily intelligible language the fundamental ideas of his philosophy.

So far we have found the following difference between Buddhism and Christianity : Christianity, from its very start, was a *movement of faith* appealing to the masses : and only when it won over the upper classes, a Christian philosophy evolved. Buddhism, however, was, in its beginnings, a *philosophical teaching of deliverance*. Its adherents were mainly from the classes of noblemen and warriors, and of the wealthy middle-class, with a few Brahmins. Only when Buddhism reached wider circles it became a popular religion.

3. The teachings of all great religions are laid down in holy scriptures to which an authoritative character is ascribed surpassing all other literature. Christianity regards the Bible as the "Word of God," as an infallible source of truth in which God, by inspiring the authors of these scriptures, revealed things that otherwise would have remained hidden to man. Contrary to Christianity, Islam and Hinduism, atheistic Buddhism does not know

of a revelation in that sense. Nevertheless it possesses a great number of holy texts in which the sayings of the Buddha are collected. That Canon comprises those insights which the Buddha is said to have won by his own strength through comprehending the true nature of reality. It is claimed that everyone who, in his mental development, reaches the same high stage of knowledge, will find confirmed by himself the truth of the Buddha's statements. In fact, however, Buddhists ascribe to that Canon likewise a kind of revealing character, in so far as they appeal to the sayings of the 'omniscient' Buddha which are regarded by them as the final authority. The interpretation of the Buddha word, however, has led among the Buddhists to as many controversies as Bible exegesis among Christians.

We shall now proceed to describe the fundamental tenets of Christian and Buddhist doctrine. In doing so, we shall have to limit ourselves to the general principles which, for two thousand years, have been common to all schools or denominations of these religions. I shall first speak about the different position taken by Christians and Buddhists towards the central questions of religion, that is God, world and soul, and later proceed to a treatment of their teachings on salvation.

4. The central tenet of Christian doctrine is the belief in an eternal, personal, omnipotent, omniscient and all-loving God. He has created the world from nothing, sustains it, and directs its destiny ; he is law-giver, judge, the helper in distress and the saviour of the creatures which he has brought into being. Angels serve him to carry out his will. As originally created by God, all of them were good angels. But a section of them turned disobedient, and, breaking away from the heavenly hosts, formed an opposition to the other angels, a hierarchy which under its leader, the Satan, strives to entice man to evil. Though the devils' power is greater than that of man, it is restricted by the power of God so that they cannot do anything without God's consent, and at the end of the days they will be subjected to divine judgement.

The Buddhists, on their part, believe in a great number of deities (devatā) which direct the various manifestations of nature and of human life. They also know of evil demons and of a kind of devil, Māra, who tries to turn the pious from the path of virtue. But all these beings are impermanent though their life-span may last millions of years. In the course of their reincarnations, they have come to their superhuman form of existence thanks to their own deeds ; but when the productive power

of their deeds is exhausted, they have to be reborn on earth again, as humans. Though the world will always have a sun god or a thunder god, the occupants of these positions will change again and again, in the course of time. It is obvious that these gods with their restricted life-span, range of action and power, cannot be compared with the Christian God since they cannot, be it singly or in their totality, create the world nor give it its moral laws. Hence they resemble only powerful superhuman kings whom the pious devotees may well, to a certain extent, solicit for gifts and favours, but who cannot exert any influence on world events in their totality.

Many *Hindus* assume that, above the numerous impermanent deities, exists an eternal, omniscient, all-loving and omnipotent God who creates, sustains, rules and destroys the world. But the *Buddhists* deny the existence of such a Lord of the Universe. Because, according to them, in the first place, no such original creator of the world can be proved to exist, because every cause must have another cause, and secondly, an omnipotent God will have to be also the creator of evil and this will conflict with his all-loving nature ; or, alternatively, if he is to be good and benevolent, he will have to be thought of without omnipotence and omniscience, since otherwise he would not have called into existence this imperfect world of suffering or he would have eliminated evil. Buddhism, therefore, is outspokenly atheistic, in that respect. The world is not governed by a personal God, but by an impersonal law that, with inexorable consistency, brings retribution for every morally good or evil deed. The idea that there are numerous deities of limited power can be found also in other religions ; and the ancient Greeks, Romans and Germans believed that, above the gods, there is Moira, Anangke, Fatum or Destiny, which eventually rules everything. For the Chinese the highest principle is the 'Tao' which sustains the cosmic order and the harmony between heaven, earth and man. With the Indians, there appears already in Vedic times the idea that gods and men are subject to the moral world-order, the Rita (ṛta), and from about 800 B.C. this idea is linked with the doctrine of Karma, the doctrine of the after-effects of guilt and merit. According to that doctrine, every action carries in itself, seed-like, its own reward or punishment. After death, an individual, in accordance with his good or evil deeds, is reincarnated in the body of either an animal, a man, a deity or a demon, in order to reap the fruits of his previous actions. This retribution occurs automatically, as a natural, regular occurrence, without requiring a divine judge who shares out reward and punishment.

As to the differences between Buddhism and Christianity, in the present context, we may say that the same functions which in Christian doctrine are related to the concept of a personal God, are in Buddhism divided among a number of different factors. The natural and moral order of the world and its periodical rise and fall are preserved by an impersonal and immanent cosmic law (Dharma). The retribution for one's actions operates through the inherent efficacy of these deeds themselves. Helpers in need are the numerous, but transient, deities, while the truths of deliverance are revealed by human beings evolved to the perfection of Buddhas (Awakened Ones) who therefore are also made objects of a cult and of devotion. Saviour, however, is each man for himself, in so far as he has overcome the world through wisdom and control.

The homage paid to the Buddha, as it may be observed in Buddhist temples, has a meaning quite different from the worship of God in Christian Churches. The Christian worships God in reverence due to the creator of the universe and the ruler of all its destinies ; or he does so in order to be granted spiritual or material boons by God's grace. The Buddhist pays homage to the Buddha without expecting that he hears him or does something for him. Since the Buddha has entered into Nirvana he can neither hear the prayers of the pious nor can he help them. If a Buddhist turns to the Buddha as if to a personality that actually confronts him, his act has a fictive character. The devotee expects from his act only spiritual edification and a good Karma. This theory as advocated to-day by orthodox Buddhism, has, however, often been altered in practice and in the teachings of some of the Buddhist schools. But even those who think it possible that a Buddha may intervene in favour of a devotee, regard the Buddha only as a Saviour, a bringer of deliverance, and not as the creator and ruler of the universe.

5. According to Christian doctrine, God has created the world from nothing, and he rules it according to a definite plan. The stopping of the cosmic process comprises the end of the world, the universal resurrection of the dead, the Day of Judgement, the eternal damnation of the sinners and the eternal bliss of the pious in a heavenly Jerusalem descended to earth. Until the 18th century, it was believed that the entire world history comprised only 6,000 years, though the time of the creation has been calculated differently. The Byzantines made their world era start on the 1st of September 5509 B.C. while Luther dated the creation at the year

3960 B.C. Although the calculations about the beginning and the end of the world process—mainly based on the statements about the generations between Adam and Christ (Matth, 1, 17 and Lk, 3, 21)—have been abandoned in recent times, yet for Christianity the view that the historical fact of creation and salvation constitutes a single and unrepeatable event, remains a guiding principle.

Buddhism, however, knows neither a first beginning nor a definite end of the world. Since every form of existence presupposes action in a preceding life, and since Karma produced in one existence must find its retribution in a future one, Buddhism teaches a periodical cycle of cosmic rise and fall, evolution and dissolution. Since the number of living beings that produce Karma, is infinitely vast, and the unexhausted Karma of beings inhabiting a world which is in the process of dissolution, has to find realization in a newly arising world, worldly existence will never come to an end, however large the number of human beings may be that reach deliverance. There is another essential difference between the Christian and the Buddhist conception of the world. Buddhists have always assumed an infinite number of world systems situated next to each other in space, each of which consisting of an earth, a heaven above and a hell below.

6. According to Christian views, man is composed of body and soul. While the body is formed of matter in the mother's womb, the soul is a special creation of God, from nothing. A soul is a simple, spiritual, immaterial substance. Maintained in eternal existence by God, the soul continues also after the dissolution of the body at death, and receives from God the rewards of its deeds, either in heaven or hell. At the end of time, God causes a resurrection of all flesh and unites again the souls with their former bodies. By the fact that thus the whole man, i.e. not only his soul but also his body, received reward or punishment, the bliss of the heavenly realm or the torment of eternal damnation is felt with still greater intensity. In Christianity, the significance of life on earth and of the decisions made in it, has been enhanced to the utmost through the idea that it is man's conduct during that short life-span which determines the soul's destiny for all eternity.

Also many Indian systems are based upon that anthropological dualism. It is the conception of an infinitely large number of eternal and purely spiritual souls linked, since beginningless time, with bodies formed by particles of primordial matter. The souls are thought to change these

bodies in the course of their existences, until they become free of them on attainment of deliverance. In contrast to all Indian teachings of deliverance, and most others, Buddhism denies the existence of eternal substances, essentially unchangeable. What appears to us as matter, actually comes into being only through the natural co-operation of a multitude of single factors like colours, sounds, odours, tactiles, spatial and temporal qualities, etc. Also what we call 'soul,' is only a play of ever-changing sensations, perceptions and cognitive acts, combined into an entirety, yet being devoid of any underlying entity. It is only because some of these complex phenomena seem to have a relative stability, that men believe in the existence of matter or soul. But in truth, only dharmas exist, i.e. 'factors of existence' that arise in functional dependence on each other, and cease again after a short time. This doctrine of the Dharmas is the characteristic teaching peculiar to Buddhism. It was developed by the Buddha into a philosophy of becoming from an idea still noticeable in the Vedic texts ascribing positive subsistence to everything that exists, including qualities, events, modal states, etc.

In that respect, Buddha is a precursor of Hume and Mach who likewise declared any substance to be a fiction. But for the Buddha, the doctrine of the Dharmas combines with the acceptance of a moral law governing the efficacy of all actions. Just as nothing occurs without producing some effect in the physical world, so every morally good or evil act is the cause of definite effects. Though, when a being dies, a combination of factors is dissolved which had previously formed a personality, yet the deeds performed in the life now passed, become the cause of a new and separate being's birth. The newly born is different from the being that had died, but it takes over, as it were, the latter's inheritance. Thus the stream of the factors of existence is continued also after death, and one life form follows the other without break. Since any act can have only a retribution of limited duration, Buddhists do not know eternal bliss in heaven or eternal torments in hell, but believe that the inhabitants of heaven and hell are later reborn again on earth.

7. Christianity and Buddhism agree in their strong emphasis on the impermanency of all things. In Christianity, the suffering, inherent in the world, is the outcome of sin, and sin is disobedience towards God's commandments. Because Adam had sinned, all his progeny is afflicted with Original Sin. Man is too weak to free himself from sin by his own strength. Therefore, God in his compassion became man in Christ, and

died, as a vicarious redemptory sacrifice for all humanity. Through Christ's sacrificial death all men have become free from the power of sin, but that vicarious salvation from evil becomes reality only if man opens himself to divine grace through his faith in Christ.

The idea of collective guilt and collective salvation is far from the Buddhist's way of thinking. According to Buddhism, everyone accumulates his own evil and everyone has to work out his own deliverance. The entire Christian conception of sin, as a matter of fact, is alien to the Buddhist. If man has to suffer in punishment for his misdeeds, it is not on account of his disobeying divine commandments, but because his actions are in conflict with the eternal cosmic law and therefore produce bad Karma. In general, the suffering which is life is for a Buddhist not stamped with the mark of sin, but carries only the character of impermanence and insubstantiality. This inherent characteristic of existence is the cause of life ever ending in death, of life with its aimless and meaningless wandering through always new forms of being. It is that what basically constitutes life's suffering. And the cause of this woeful conflict is a thirst for sense-enjoyment, an attachment to existence, a will to live, a passion that either craves for possession or wants to escape. All these propensities and impulses have their original source in ignorance, that is in lack of insight into the true nature of reality. He who sees that neither in the internal nor in the external world anything can be found that abides; and that there is also no Ego as a point of rest within the general flux of phenomena; who is aware that there is no self either as the eternal witness or temporary owner of sense perceptions and volitions—such a one, through that very knowledge, is set free of selfishness, of hate, greed and delusion. By a gradual process of purification, extending through aeons over many existences, he finally discards the illusion of self-affirmation. Through mindful observation, keen reflection and meditative calm he eliminates all selfish propensities, and sees also his own personality as a mere bundle of Dharmas, i.e. processes of natural law that arise and vanish conditioned by functional relations. Dispassionate and without attachment, he pervades, as the Buddhist scriptures say, "the whole world with his heart filled with loving-kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy and equanimity" (Dīgha No. 13). Without clinging to life and without fear of death he waits for the hour when his bodily form breaks up and he reaches final deliverance from rebirth.

8. The definite and perpetual state of salvation which is the redeemed person's share according to Christian doctrine, is conceived as an eternal life in the heavenly kingdom. If, after the second advent of Christ, the resurrection of the dead and the Last Judgement, the final kingdom of God has been established, then, after the old world's destruction, on a new earth, the redeemed ones will live in an inseparable communion with God and Christ.

The Buddhist conception of Nirvāṇa presents the most radical contrast to Christian eschatology. The Christian hopes for infinite continuation of his entire personality, not only of his soul but also of his body resurrected from dust to a new life. The Buddhist, however, wishes to be extinguished completely, so that all mental and corporeal factors which form the individual, will disappear without a remainder. Nirvana is the direct opposite of all that constitutes earthly existence. It is a relative Naught in so far as it contains neither the consciousness nor any other factor that occurs in this world of change or could possibly contribute to its formation. Not wrongly, therefore, has Nirvana been compared to empty space in which there are no differentiations left, and which does not cling to anything. In strongest contrast to the world which is impermanent, without an abiding self-nature and subject to suffering, Nirvana is highest bliss, but a bliss that is not *felt*, i.e. beyond the happiness of sensation (Aṅg. 9, 34, 1-3). In the conception of the final goal of deliverance there is expressed the ultimate and most decisive contrast between the Christian and the Buddhist abnegation of the world. The Christian renounces the world because it is imperfect through sin, and he hopes for a personal, active and eternal life beyond, in a world that, through God's power, has been freed from sin and purified to perfection. But the Buddhist thinks that an individual existence without becoming and cessation, and, hence, without suffering, is unthinkable. He believes, though, that in future, during the ever-recurring cyclical changes of good and bad epochs, also a happy age will dawn upon mankind again. But that happy epoch will be no less transient than earlier ones have been. Never will the cosmic process find its crowning consummation in a blessed finality. Hence there is no collective salvation, but only an individual deliverance. While the cosmic process following unalterable laws continues its course, only a saint who has become mature for Nirvāṇa, will extinguish like a flame without fuel, in the midst of an environment that, with fuel unhausted, is still aburning.

9. The different attitude towards the world and its history tallies also with the dissimilar evaluation given to other religions by Christians and Buddhists respectively. Christianity being convinced of the absolute superiority of its own faith, has always questioned the justification of other forms of faith. Buddhism, however, does not believe that man has to decide about it within a single life on earth. The Buddhist, therefore regards all other religions as first steps to his own. Consequently, in the countries to which Buddhism spread, it did not fight against the original religions found there, but tried to suffuse them with its own spirit. Therefore Buddhism has never claimed exclusive, absolute or totalitarian authority. In modern China, most Buddhists are simultaneously Confucian and Taoists, and in Japan, membership of a Buddhist sect does not exclude faith in the Shinto gods. This large-hearted tolerance of Buddhism is also illustrated in its history which is almost free from religious wars and persecution of heretics.

The fundamental doctrines of Buddhism and Christianity as outlined here and accepted as concrete facts by the majority of the faithful, have sometimes been interpreted by thinkers of both religions in a rationalistic or in a mystical sense, and these interpretations have modified the meaning of these doctrines considerably. In our present context, however, we cannot enter into a treatment of these transformations. By doing so, our comparative study would lack that firm ground required, which, for a historian's purpose, can be provided only by the authoritative and clearly outlined tenets of the respective teachings.

Though Buddhism and Christianity differ from each other in their respective views about world and self, about the meaning of life and man's ultimate destiny, yet they agree again in the ultimate postulates of all religious life. For both religions proclaim man's responsibility for his actions and the freedom of moral choice; both teach retribution for all deeds, and believe in the perfectibility of the individual. "You must be perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect" (Matth. 5, 48), says Jesus. And Buddha summarizes the essence of his ethics in the words: "To shun all evil, to practise what is good, to cleanse one's own heart: that is the teaching of the Enlightened Ones."

HELMUTH. V. GLASSENAPP

Some Comments on Robert Knox and his Writings on Ceylon

THE most well-known and, indeed, the most historically valuable of Robert Knox's writings is "*An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon, in the East Indies...*" published in London in 1681¹. But Knox has left behind certain other writings which were published only in quite recent times or have not yet been published. The Manuscript entitled: *Concerning Several Remarkable Passages of my Life that hath hapned since my Deliverance out of my Captivity*, a work generally referred to as the *Autobiography*, was first published in 1911². Knox's manuscript *Sinhalese Vocabulary*³ was published by D. W. Ferguson in 1896. Two letters of which Knox was, in each case, one of the signatories, were found amongst the Dutch records and published in the nineteenth century⁴.

There is however, an interleaved copy of *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon*. .⁵, in which there is much additional material on the Island, and this material has not hitherto been published. It appears that a second edition of the *Historical Relation* had been contemplated, because this interleaved copy was specially provided for Knox in 1684-85 on his second voyage to the East, in charge of the *Tonquin Merchant*. It was on this voyage that the ship's crew mutinied and left Knox stranded at St. Helena. Ultimately, the only property of his which Knox recovered was this inter-

1. Copies of this first edition are hard to come by. In general use is the 1911 Glasgow edition of James Ryan to which was appended Knox's *Autobiography* (published for the first time). Ryan's edition is inadequate and defective in many respects. He does not use italics to indicate direct and indirect speech in the manner of the first edition. He inserts dates on the margins without indicating that it is an innovation of his. There are also sins of omission and commission in the index. To give some random examples—There is no reference to "religion," "Malabars" and to the girl "Luca." The index refers to the adoption of a half-caste boy, when actually the evidence points more to the adoption of a girl. Moreover, inadequate editorial help is given towards the elucidation of peculiar words and phrases and the identification of place-names.

2. See note 1 above.

3. Which seems to have been partly copied out by Dr. Robert Hooke, who seems to have been Knox's most important contact with the world of learning. It was in Hooke's library that Knox says he saw the *Hortus Mallabaricus* of Van Rheede. For Knox's Sinhalese vocabulary cf. *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (JCRAS), XIV. 47 (1896). 155 ff.

4. By J. R. Blake in JCRAS IV. 14 (1867-70), 143-150. cf. also E. Reimers "Rajasinghe II and His British Captives." JCRAS XXX, 78 (1925) 15, 18, 19.

5. Christy Library (43E) Dept. of Ethnography, British Museum.

leaved copy ; all his other property on board had been distributed amongst themselves by the mutineers. Knox did not conclude adding information here and there in this copy until 1711, the year in which he wrote his will and concluded the *Autobiography*. On 5th July of that year he wrote a concluding note in which he said, *inter alia*,

“I find in many particulars I have bin too breife, which then were so freesh in my memory, that I could very well have much enlarged there one, as I now wish I had done, since I find the booke hath mett with good exception in the World, which then I feared it would not. Some few additions as I read alonge, I have scribbled on these loose papers....”

The additions referred to by Knox though less than what he might have made had his memory been fresher, are nevertheless very considerable and valuable. For instance, there is much new information on military affairs, on the Great Rebellion of 1664, Rajasinghe and some of his Chiefs, social and religious life of the people and on trade and economic activities.

In the following pages, I propose to take into account all the writings referred to above and draw attention to certain details and features which have been hitherto overlooked or not sufficiently emphasised when discussing⁶ the reliability and general historical value of Knox's work.

It may be noted at the outset that Knox was not a keen and percipient observer throughout the entire 19½ years of his enforced stay in the Island. For several months after he was captured by the Sinhalese in April 1660 he appears to have been too preoccupied with looking after his father and bemoaning the fate that had overtaken them, to take much note of his strange surroundings. He was unable afterwards to identify the place near Kandy where he and his father were first lodged for some two months. Till some time after his father's death in February 1661, he seems to have been oblivious to much that was happening outside. He spent much of the day meditating and in a “heavenly Converse with my two books”⁷. He was himself ill, stricken down with “Ague” every three days for some

6. I am aware of the following editions, articles, translations and reviews relating to Knox and his writings (apart from those already mentioned). Acharya P. Vajiranana, *Knox-ge Lanka Ithihasaya*, (An historical relation by Robert Knox, translated into Sinhalese) Vol. I, Mahabodhi Press (Colombo), 1928 ; *Knoxge Lanka Vistharaya* (No editor or translator mentioned). Lakehouse Press ; E. F. C. Ludowyk (Ed.) *Robert Knox In The Kandyan Kingdom*, O.U.P. 1948, Philalethes, *The History of Ceylon (to which is subjoined Robert Knox's Historical Relation of the Island...)* London 1817; D.N.B. Article on Knox ; D.F. (Ed.) “Letters from Captain Robert Knox to his cousin, John Stripe, the Antiquary” *The Monthly Literary Register* Vol. II (Colombo 1894) 177 ff. F. H. DE VOS (Trans.) “Extracts relating to Ceylon from the Dag-register, Batavia” *JCRAS* XXVI (1918) 181-981; C. R. BOXER “Ceylon through Puritan Eyes, Robert Knox in the Kandyan Kingdom 1661-1679” *History Today*, October 1954.

7. *Autobiography* fo. 86/88.

sixteen months. Even afterwards, he made very slow progress in learning to communicate with the Sinhalese and understand what was happening around him. He says he was unable to speak or understand Sinhalese “for severall yeares⁸.” He admits that even after 5 years he could speak the language only “somewhat.”⁹ The knowledge of the language which he ultimately acquired, though rather considerable, still had many limitations. For instance, the common greeting of *Ayubowan* (*Oiboa*) Knox renders as “Many lives” when it actually means “long life!” or “may you live long!” To give another example, Knox says that *Annuna min yain ecka or rowaying younda epa* means ‘Go not with a slave in one boat’. As is obvious, this is a gross confusion of words, *Annuna min yain* (*sic*) stands for “a foolish man” and not “a slave,” and *ecka* stands for the conjunction “with” and not the numeral “one”. Hence: “Go not with a fool in a boat”.

Knox’s experiences were limited not only by difficulties of language but also by certain other restrictions. Till the close of 1664 he was at one place—Bandara Koswatte some thirty miles to the north west of Kandy—where he was allowed very little freedom of movement, so much so that he lived for nearly one and a half years at this place without even knowing that some of his countrymen were quartered only some 15 or 20 miles away¹⁰. At Akkaragala where he was next quartered for over an year he obtained greater freedom of movement and permission even to visit his former quarters at Bandara Koswatte further to the East. Thereafter he was quartered at Lagundeniya (near Gampola) where his movements were severely restricted for three years—till the end of 1669. It was only in the following year or somewhat later, that he began to enjoy very considerable freedom of movement, when he took up residence at Eladetta (not far from Lagundeniya). This freedom Knox enjoyed for about nine years till his escape in 1679. It is important to note that even during these nine years his travel was restricted, on his own accord, to an area to the north-west of Gampola and Kandy. Knox was hoping to escape to Dutch territory from the north-west and hence in the course of his peddling he always frequented that region¹¹. That is how Knox had first-hand knowledge only of the region to the west and north-west of Gampola and Kandy. When he speaks of other parts of the country, he is depending on hearsay, even though his descriptions are at times very graphic¹².

8. *Ibid*

9. *Ibid* fo. 89/91.

10. cf. *Hist. Rel.* 130.

11. *Ibid* 145, 153-55.

12. cf. also Knox’s very graphic description of Rajasinghe (whom he never really saw) See below, p. 23.

In addition to linguistic and geographical limitations, Knox's experiences were also limited by the undoubtedly narrow circle with which he had intimate contacts. It is apparent from evidence throughout the book that he had no access to people who had some learning. He found no Sinhalese who could tell him anything about their origin.¹³ A garbled version of the Vijaya legend was related to him not by them—but by some Portuguese. This is not surprising because Knox appears to have generally moved amongst sections of the people who were in very low economic, social and cultural circumstances. With perhaps but one exception Knox had only the business of a humble supplicant with even the petty chiefs¹⁴. In February 1680 (which was about four months after his escape from the Kandyan Kingdom) Knox declared before the Dutch authorities at Batavia that “he could not say anything certain about the condition of the Sinhalese or of Raja (Sinha) as he had always kept aloof from the court and the chiefs. . . . and, for this reason he had only once asked for sustenance from the old Adigar. . .”¹⁵ On page 172 of the *Historical Relation*, we find Knox replying to the query of the Dutch Governor of Ceylon as to whether he had “any Acquaintance or Discourse with the Great Men at the Court” : “I answered that I was too small to have any Friendship or Intimacy, or hold Discourse with them”. It is also apparent that Knox had no acquaintance at all with the most learned section of the people, namely the Buddhist *bhikkhus* or monks ; and this, not merely because he was “too small”, but perhaps also because of his strong religious prejudices. It was, of course, possible for Knox to observe, from a distance as it were, and to hear from others much about these higher classes of society, but such observations and knowledge could not be anything but superficial and inadequate. One has also to remember that Knox was no sociologist or historian collecting information, and that whilst in the Island he had no idea at all of some day writing a book about the country and the people.

Looking a little more closely at the people with whom Knox (like almost all his fellow-captives) was thrown into close contact, one tends to conclude that they were people of low-caste¹⁶. The English captives seem to have been all quartered in *gabadagam* or royal lands at the trouble and expense of certain inhabitants therein. Beef-eaters, such as the

13. *Hist. Rel.* 61

14. cf. *Hist. Rel.* 150.

15. cf. *JCRAS* XXVI. 71 (1918) 190; also *Hist. Rel.* 150.

16. This fact is of importance in view of the tremendous social significance attached to the institution of caste in Knox's time (and even later).

English were, were considered so unclean¹⁷ that the people detailed to look after them could not be of high caste. It is also well-known that criminals guilty of serious crimes were kept in banishment in *gabadagam*¹⁸. Knox found that this was the case at Lagundeniya. “And oftentimes into this Town did the King use to send such Malefactors as he was minded suddenly to cut off”. Knox states that he and three other English captives derived some comfort of mind only after they were informed by a message sent, it is said, on behalf of the King, that they should not think they were being considered as “Malefactors” but as men “whom His Majesty did highly esteem”¹⁹. The people who had to look after the Englishmen and the “Malefactors” were palanquin-bearers and “keepers of the King’s Cattle”. These were, therefore low-caste people²⁰. It is also noteworthy that at Eladetta where he lived from 1670-79 he had to take precautions against thieves, because among his neighbours were “many Thieves of outlandish people that are either slaves to great men or inhabitances, whereas the naturall borne Chingulay so much abhors Thievere..”²¹ Knox also often refers to the poverty of the people amongst whom he was quartered²². It is apparent therefore from all that has been said above, that he was moving most often and most intimately amongst people of low economic, social and cultural circumstances.

This conclusion, however, comes up against certain statements of Knox, in which he claims that “White Men” and Christians were given privileges and accorded a respect by the King and his people which raised them above the native inhabitants²³. Some of his claims relate to rather trifling matters and many indicate a great deal of naïvetè on his part. He refers to the privilege, which “White Men” had, to wear any manner of apparel and also a sword; also the privilege they had to whiten their houses with lime²⁴.

17. cf. *Hist. Rel.* 67, 138; Interleaved copy addition to p. 122.

18. cf. R. Peiris, *Sinhalese Social Organisation*, Colombo (1956). 51.

19. This “high esteem” was however, not apparent in the way they were being treated.

20. *Hist. Rel.* 142-43. cf. Sir John D’Oyly, *A Sketch of the Constitution of Kandyan Kingdom*, (1929) 11, 43, 66.

21. *Autobiography* fo. 91/93.

22. cf. e.g. *Hist. Rel.* 143, 150, 188; *Autobiography* fo. 86/88.

23. In a letter of 23 January 1670 to the English Governor, at Madras, however, we find Knox and other Englishmen referring to “this hellish condition in which we are” and requesting the Governor or “any good charitable Christian” to bestow on them “any deed of charity.” cf. also letters of Loveland and Knox, 21 August 1669. *JCRAS* XXX 78. (1925) 15, 19.

24. *Hist. Rel.* 187.

The freedom to wear any manner of apparel stemmed undoubtedly from their being foreigners, who did not fall into the caste-system of the country. But the privilege of wearing a sword seems certainly to have been confined only to those who served the King as soldiers or at the palace, notwithstanding Knox's statement. In none of the brawls or incidents in which the ordinary Englishmen were involved is there any reference to swords. Moreover, when Knox set out on his escape, the weapons with which he and his companion were armed were nothing more than an axe and a knife²⁵. As regards the supposed privilege of whitening houses with lime, he himself gives definite evidence to the contrary²⁶. Knox also makes much of the fact that the English captives lived at the expense of the people amongst whom they were quartered²⁷. The people of course were not doing this because of any respect or regard for the foreigners but only because of the royal command. Incidentally, it may be noted that the Moorish beggars and the rodiyas (who were at the very bottom of the social ladder) had similar privileges so that they lived "as well, or better than the other sorts of People"²⁸.

Knox also claimed by implication that Rajasinha's appointment of many Europeans to high posts gave further proof of a superior status attached to "White Men"²⁹. It certainly appears that as men of war, the King believed (with much justification) the Europeans superior to the generality of his own subjects; but he gave high office only on condition of loyal service. Out of about thirty English captives only three were given employment under him. And of these, one was disgraced for disloyalty and sent away to a remote place, a second was executed for the same reason; only the third, (who held the only important office out of the three) "had the good luck to die a natural Death". A fourth man, William Vassal, seems to have enjoyed some favour at the King's hands though he apparently held no office³⁰. Moreover, it would be a mistake to believe that offices and favours were bestowed in this manner to foreigners on the basis of race or skin colour. Rajasinha I of Sitawaka had raised to the highest office a South Indian named Aritta Kivendu Perumal; Vimaladharmasuriya I had as one of his chief ministers a Portuguese (Manuel Diaz) who proved loyal to him to the last; one of Senarat's

25. *Hist. Rel.* 162.

26. *Hist. Rel.* 131.

27. *cf. Hist. Rel.* 128, 188.

28. *Ibid.* 71, 85.

29. *Ibid.* 187.

30. *cf. on the above. Hist. Rel.* 134-36; 147; Six Englishmen also served as volunteer soldiers for a while and had a miserable time according to Knox (*Hist. Rel.* 148).

Adigars or Chief Ministers was a South Indian³¹. And we know from Knox that one of Rajasinha's Adigars was also a South Indian³². Thus by considering the Kings' favours and appointments, it is difficult to conclude that a superior status was attached to Europeans.

What of the attitude of the ordinary people? Did it justify Knox's claim? “ And indeed all over the Land they do bear as it were a natural respect and reverence to White Men, in as much as Black, they hold to be inferior to White ”³³. In theory the social position of the “ White Men ” was superior to that of the lower castes. “ All Outlandish People (foreigners) are esteemed above the inferior ranks ”³⁴. But from Knox himself we know that regarding the “ Whites ” there was “ an abatement of their Honour that they eat Beef and wash not after they have been at Stool ; which things are reckoned with this People an Abomination ”. That was why even the low caste people would not permit the contamination of their clay water-pots by the touch of Knox and his fellow Englishmen³⁵. It is also noteworthy that the people assigned to feed the captives provided them with no mats to sleep on or clothes to wear, but performed only their minimum obligations. Moreover, during about three months in 1665-66, no one provided the captives with food because no orders had been given for their maintenance. As a result the English were forced to beg in the streets³⁶. These and other such facts indicate that there is little or no substance behind Knox's claim of “ a natural respect and reverence to white men ” amongst the Kandyan people³⁷.

The question then arises as to how and why Knox was induced to make such a claim. It is possible, that to some extent he may have been misled by the flattery of some of the inhabitants with whom he came into contact. It is almost certain that he was misled to some extent by the people's sense of humour, a quality, which it is generally recognized, Knox sadly lacked. The Kandyans—at least in Knox's time—could

31. cf. Treaty of March 1612 between Senarat and the Dutch, Commonwealth Office library, *Dutch Records*, B. Vol. 3.

32. *Hist. Rel.* Interleaved Addition to p. 72.

33. *Hist. Rel.* 187.

34. *Ibid.* 69.

35. *Ibid.* Interleaved addition to p. 122.

36. *Hist. Rel.* 140 ; cf. also Declaration of William Day and Thomas Kirby in April 1683 *JCRAS* XXX. 78 (1925) 23.

37. Note also in this connection, Knox's complaints about the insolence of the Kandyans. *Hist. Rel.* 121, 125. When he asked the people of Bandara Koswatte to help carry his dead father to the grave, they “ brought forth a great rope they used to tie their cattle withal, therewith to drag him by the Neck into the woods ” (*Hist. Rel.* 125).

heartily enjoy a joke at their own expense. He relates how they told him about a god who came down to earth one day and asked everyone to "come before him and demand what they would have and it should be granted them". Everyone's wishes were granted. The "White Men" asked for Beauty, Valour and Riches and obtained them. But the Sinhalese, who came last, when asked by the god, what they came for, answered *Nicamava* ("I came for nothing"). And the god replied "Do you come for nothing, then go away with nothing"³⁸. It is also possible that Knox misunderstood the friendliness of the people, and the indulgence and justice of officials³⁹, towards strangers, as being the result of "a natural respect and reverence to White Men". But besides all these reasons, there was a perhaps much more important one behind Knox's claims. He had a very strong racial and religious pride and prejudice, which is apparent throughout his book⁴⁰. His exaggerated claims on behalf of the superior status accorded to the captives, stem, whether consciously or unconsciously, very much from this pride and prejudice.

The claims on behalf of Christianity seem to have been the result of similar factors. "But on the contrary both King and people do generally like the Christian Religion better than their own. . . . and do believe there is a greater God than any they adore"⁴¹. Moreover, in this matter, Knox was misled by the extraordinary religious tolerance of the Sinhalese—a tolerance such as Europe had not witnessed up to Knox's time. In after years, when Knox had more time to reflect on this question, he touches upon the truth when he writes :

"As they (the Sinhalese) are not biggotted in their owne Religion ; they care not of what religion straingers that dwell amongst them are of, they doe beleeeve there is a plurallity of Gods, and more than they know ; therefor all nations have a free liberty to use and injoy their owne Religion, with all or any manner of Cerimories, thare to belonging, without the lest opposition or so much as Rideculing." ⁴²

Knox's religious and racial prejudices partly account for another set of statements, which on examination do not hold water. These relate to the supposed differences between the highlanders and lowlanders. For example, he says :

38. *Hist. Rel.* 106.

39. cf. *Ibid.*, 129-30, 134. But *cp.* 147.

40. e.g. " . . . it came to pass that we must be separated and placed asunder, one in a Village, where we could have none to confer withall or look upon, but the horrible black faces of our heathen enemies." *Hist. Rel.* 121. cf. also 128, 134, 169.

41. *Ibid.* 83.

42. *Ibid.* Interleaved add. to p. 72.

“COMMENTS ON ROBERT KNOX”

“For there is a great difference between the people inhabiting the high-lands, or the mountains of Cande, and those of the low-lands. who are of a kinder nature by far than the other. For these countreys beneath the mountains formerly were in subjection unto the Portuguese. Whereby they have been exercised and acquainted with the customs and manners of Christian people, which. . . . have begot and bred in them a kind of love and affection towards Strangers, being apt to shew Pity and Compassion on them in their distress.”⁴³

It is evident from Knox's narrative that he received enough “Pity and Compassion” from the highlanders; but on almost every such occasion he ascribes their actions to God's intervention.⁴⁴ Long afterwards when he was reflecting on what he believed was the lack of true charity amongst his contrymen in England, he set down the following observations which clearly show that the Sinhalese (whether lowland or highland) did not learn pity, compassion and charity from the Portuguese:

“The Heathen Pagans on Ceylone account releaving of the poore so well pleasing to God, that. there are strangers that come from beyound the seas one purpose to begg. I have often seene the beggar will scarce stay till they come out to give them, and then they will follow him with their Charity as if it were the beggers just due, which they dare not Detaine. . . . these heathen are very Compationate to indigent people of what nation or Religion soever and their Common or usuall saying in such a case is (Omme gea Durria) he was a Mothers Child.”⁴⁵

It is also worth noting that on occasion Knox reveals two different attitudes towards people of the same place. Perhaps the people who behaved most uncharitably towards him were the people of Bandara Koswatte who, when requested by him to help carry his father for burial, brought a rope used for tying cattle and prepared therewith to drag the dead man by the neck to the place of burial. Knox was righteously indignant at “this Insolency of the Heathen”. But several years later when he visited Bandara Koswatte he was treated well by these same inhabitants. And referring to this welcome one finds him explaining: “for the people in the lowlands are naturally of a kind and friendly disposition”⁴⁶. Now all this reveals another defect in Knox's work which ultimately stems from the fact that he was no historian or sociologist but an ordinary layman. He often does not analyse, compare and collate all the evidence he had on any particular matter; and thereafter, give a balanced view or interpretation. Thus, he gives opinions or conclusions taking into account only those features which strike his attention most at any given moment. If he had taken all the evidence into account, it is obvious

43. *Hist. Rel.* 121.

44. cf. *Ibid.* 120, 128, 129, 142, 144, 147. But *cp.* 169, 173-74; *Autobiography.* fo. 70/72 where acts of “Pity and Compassion” from others such as the Dutch are given their just due.

45. *Autobiography* fo. 116/114.

46. *Hist. Rel.* 125; *Autobiography* fo. 90/92. Incidentally, the people of Bandara Koswatte cannot be classed as lowlanders as they are so much to the interior of the island, and it is extremely doubtful whether they were ever under Portuguese rule.

he would not have made the unfavourable comments on the highlanders noted above ; not perhaps, would he have made such extravagant claims regarding the position of Europeans and Christians in the Kandyan Kingdom.

This criticism also applies to a considerable extent to Knox's portrayal of Rajasinha and his government. It need not be doubted that Rajasinha was a tyrant. But an unmitigated tyrant such as Knox portrays him to have been he certainly was not. In the *Historical Relation*, he gives many gruesome details about the King's cruelty, and declares that "He seems to be naturally disposed to Cruelty : For he sheds a great deal of blood"⁴⁷. But it is highly significant that these statements were made primarily on the authority of rumours⁴⁸. For in a statement to the Dutch authorities at Batavia he declared in February 1680 :

"Of Raja's government he had heard that it was very cruel and that many people were killed on his orders, but during the 19 years he was there he had only seen four being killed at various places, and also some dead bodies and skeletons on stakes in the roads and villages. . . But that Raja's reign since his 19 years stay has become worse, killing on the slightest provocation his chief rulers and families. although he can only report what is rumoured."⁴⁹

Besides, a good deal of the alleged cruelty derived from the King's supposed murder of his son—a rumour later found to be false.

In addition to alleging extreme cruelty, Knox stigmatises Rajasinha's government as being :

"Tyrannical and Arbitrary in the highest degree : for he ruleth Absolute and after his own Will and Pleasure : his own head being his only Counsellor."⁵⁰

There is, however, much evidence in the *Historical Relation* itself which tends to diminish the force of these strictures. For instance, Knox admits that he committed a capital crime in white-washing his house but that he was excused because he had done it in ignorance of the law⁵¹.

47. *Hist. R.l.* 40 ; 53-54.

48. In this connection, it is important to note that Knox was thrown very much amongst dissatisfied people. The people in *gabadagam* would naturally have complaints against the king on whose behalf the lands were cultivated and the English captives and other prisoners looked after. Besides, it was natural for Knox to seek the company of dissatisfied or disloyal elements as he himself was soured against the king on account of his captivity. The English sympathies were with the rebels in 1664 and even after the failure of the rebellion, they exchanged confidences with some of the rebels (cf. *Hist. Rel.* 138-39). Incidentally, it is interesting to note that although Knox was so very bitter about his captivity he happily employed himself as a slave-trader in after years. He even mentions regretfully that although Sinhalese women were pretty, there seemed to be no possibility of catching any of them.

49. *JCRAS* XXVI. 71 (1918), 189.

50. *Hist. Rel.* 43.

51. cf. *Ibid.* 131.

On another occasion he says : “ As for the King’s command, I dreaded it not much, having found by observation that the King’s Orders wear away by time and the neglect of them comes at last to be unregarded”⁵². The people of Gampola disobeyed the King’s orders rather than forego the pleasure of one of their village games which the King had forbidden on account of its obscenity⁵³. It is quite apparent also that important powers were delegated to the chiefs by the king and that the normal work of administration was carried on by them. It was they who disposed of the English prisoners in various villages and saw to their maintenance (though Knox at times seems to have believed that the king was personally attending to these matters). For instance, Knox was permitted to buy land at Eladetta and shift thence from Lagundeniya by the local chief ; and when later he appealed to the Adigar to order the people of Gampola to bring his rations to Eladetta, the Adigar “ upon consideration of the People’s poor condition, appointed me monthly to come to him at the King’s Palace for a Ticket to receive my Allowance out of the King’s Store-houses⁵⁴. That the King was not such an “ Absolute Tyrant ” as Knox says he was, is indicated by other very striking evidence. On one occasion, the Dissawe of the Four Korales disobeyed the King’s orders not to give any quarter to the Dutch troops at Arandora and instead sent them as prisoners to the King. The monarch was in no way offended and the Dissawe continued in the King’s favour till his death⁵⁵. Then again, when describing William Vassals’ interview with Rajasinha Knox relates how “ one of the Great men there present ” interrupted the conversation between Vassal and the King to object to a certain man, whom Vassal had suggested as a suitable letter-bearer “ to the English Nation,” and to ask whether there was no better person⁵⁶. Thus it is apparent that the chiefs were not only entrusted with the ordinary administration of the kingdom, but they were also given very considerable latitude both at court and outside. It is pertinent to note that this conclusion is substantially supported by Knox’s own evidence before the Dutch authorities at Batavia in February 1680. Said he :

52. *Ibid.* 143-44.

53. *Ibid.* 98-99.

54. cf. on the above : *Hist. Rel.* 50-53 ; 142-43 ; 150.

55. *Hist. Rel.* Interleaved Addition to p. 181.

56. *Hist. Rel.* 136. The object of course, was to find out the persons through whom Vassal had secretly contacted the English.

“ No European can have any communication with *Raja* or can say anything for certain about the *Raja* or his government as he does everything in secret and only with his chiefs. Of which chiefs he remembers having heard that the chiefs of the provinces must always reside at Court with *Raja* and the provinces are governed by the minor chiefs, *Raja* leaving everything in their hands and they, in their turn, leaving it to other rulers to carry out the orders of *Raja*.”⁵⁷

These and other such evidence definitely indicate that Knox has been unfair to Rajasinha by making the type of wholesale condemnation noted above. And it enables the reader to note once again that in his interpretations of men and affairs Knox is at times rather unreliable.

The question may be asked at this point as to whether Knox's rather extreme and unfair stigmatisation of the King stemmed only from insufficient consideration of the evidence, ready belief in rumours and personal bitterness towards the monarch for having kept him in captivity. The answer is that there was at least one other reason for this attitude. Knox seems to have been strongly anti-monarchical. In his *Autobiography*⁵⁸, he refers to death by small-pox (in April 1711) of the Dauphin of France and the Emperor of Germany and comments :

“by which I observe that the greatest of Mortalls, who by some are esteemed as Gods vice Gerents, and have the sole power over Nations, are afflicted and cut of by the most odious desease that falles one the meanest of theire subjects ; wheare is now theire pretended power to Cure deseases with a touch of their fingers ”

Whilst on the subject of Rajasinha we might also note that at times Knox gives the impression that he saw the King. He refers to the King's

“ great rowling Eyes, turning them and looking every way alwayes moving them: a brisk bold look, a great swelling Belly, and very lively in his actions and behaviour, somewaht bald, not having much hair upon his head, and that gray, a large comely Beard, with great Whiskers.His Apparel is very strange and wonderful,his Doublet after so strange a shape, that I cannot well describe it. . . . ”⁵⁹

But in his evidence before the Dutch authorities at Batavia in February 1680, one finds Knox admitting :

“ that he, during the whole term of his imprisonment did not see the King more than twice standing in his palace, but at such a distance that he could hardly see him his style of dress and appearance could not be remembered.”⁶⁰

57. *JCRAS* XXVI. 71 (1918). 188.

58. Fo. 78/80.

59. *Hist. Rel.* 33-34.

60. cf. *JCRAS* XXVI. 71 (1918), 186. As it is apparent from the sketches in the interleaved copy of the *Hist. Rel.* that Knox was an extraordinarily poor artist, it is obvious that the man who drew the well-known portrait of Rajasinha had to depend on a mental picture given by Knox, who himself had hardly seen the King. The portrait, therefore, may have no real resemblance to the King.

Thus Knox stands condemned for giving a false impression to the reader of the *Historical Relation*. This makes one wonder whether he may not be guilty of straying from the path of accuracy and truth even in other matters. In his Sinhalese Vocabulary,⁶¹ he refers to a pet monkey, which he had trained to bring fire-brands to light his pipe. Why he makes no mention of this pet either when giving a description of monkeys in Chapter VI of the *Historical Relation* or when giving details of his life in captivity is very strange. Or take the interview with the Dutch Governor of Ceylon : When Knox was asked why Rajasingha did not make peace with the Dutch, he says :

“ I answered, I was not one of his (Rajasingha's) council and knew not his meaning.”

This rather insolent reply is quite out of character with Knox and with the circumstances in which he was placed at the moment.

Apart from evidence which suggests that sometimes Knox strayed from the path of accuracy and truth as a result of his straining after effect (or for some other reason) there is also evidence which suggests that he was reluctant to mention, or determined not to mention, certain things. For instance, from letters written by Knox and some of the other captives to the English at Madras, it is apparent that they were bitterly hostile to William Vassal ; and they complained that any monies sent from outside to them were all appropriated by Vassal without giving them anything.⁶² But there is no hint of all this in the *Historical Relation*. It is, however, obvious that Knox could not write in condemnatory terms of any of the English lest their relations in England take up cudgels against him. But this does not apply to Lucea, the half-caste girl whom he had adopted⁶³ during his captivity in the island. One wonders why Knox is so silent regarding her. It is all the more puzzling because when he set out on his flight to Dutch territory, he makes no mention of Lucea and refers only to

“ having left an Old Man at Home, whom I had hired to live with me, to look after my House and Goats.”⁶⁴

Did the girl find life with the peevish, puritanical and rather close-fisted man too unbearable and run away to her poor parents ? However, that may be, we have some grounds to make us feel that there were matters on which Knox preferred to be silent.

61. cf. JCRAS XIV. 47 (1896). 60.

62. cf. JCRAS XXX. 78 (1925) 15-20. It is apparent that Vassal was being considered as the chief amongst the English Captives by the Dutch authorities in Colombo and the English in India.

63. *Hist. Rel.* 153. Autobiography. 64/67.

64. *Hist. Rel.* 156.

It is also worth nothing that Knox seems to have been familiar with Phillipus Baldaeus's work on Ceylon: *Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel en het Machtige Eylandt Ceylon* (1672) although he nowhere acknowledges it. At least, Knox depended for the outlines of the island and the topography of the low-country areas entirely on Baldaeus. Details from Baldaeus's map are incorporated, sometimes quite unintelligently. For instance, where Baldaeus has made certain comments in Dutch such as "Eynde van de Caneel landen" (meaning "end of the cinnamon lands") they are retained in the original form in Knox's map apparently under the mistaken belief that they refer to place-names. We cannot, however, find much fault with Knox for not indicating his debt to Baldaeus, because plagiarism was a common feature in seventeenth century writing, Baldaeus himself being often guilty of this practice.

Before concluding, one more observation remains to be made. It is generally assumed that Knox's description of economic conditions during his time in the Kandyan Kingdom are valid for the entire seventeenth century, and perhaps even for the sixteenth. But at least one important qualification has to be kept in mind. During almost the entire period of Knox's captivity, there was a very severe and effective economic blockade of Kandy by the Dutch. The foreign trade of the kingdom was virtually brought to a standstill, and even its earlier very considerable trade with the coastal areas was stopped by Rajasinha in retaliation for Dutch actions. Allowance has therefore to be made when reading the *Historical Relation* for the effects on general economic conditions within the Kingdom resulting from this interruption of trade. Similarly allowance has to be made, when studying these aspects of life in the kingdom, for the almost continuous warfare with the Portuguese that the Kandyans had to face since the late sixteenth century.

K. W. GOONEWARDENA

The Authorship of *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*

THE authorship of *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*, a short biography in Sinhalese of the Saṅgharāja |Vāliṅga Saraṇāṅkara, is generally attributed to Ayittāliyāddē Muhandirama, though the name of the author of this work is not mentioned anywhere in the body of the book or in a colophon. Hēnpiṭagedara Piyananda Sthavira in his edition of this work says that this biography was written by Ayittāliyāddē Muhandiramarāla who was one of the ambassadors sent to Siam to fetch the *upasampadā* to Ceylon. He further says that Ayittāliyāddē Muhandirama had closely associated himself with the Saṅgharāja.¹ Nāhalle Paññāsēna and Puñcibaṇḍāra Sannasgala, who brought out an edition of this work in 1947, say that the author of this work would have remained unknown but for a monk named Īriminnē Vipassī who mentions the author of *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* in his *Ādāhanavata*. They further state that it is now finally settled that the author of this work was Ayittāliyāddē Muhandirama, who was one of the five envoys sent to Siam in the last embassy sent to that country.² In a foot note the editors state that they have not seen the book called *Ādāhanavata*. It is, however, difficult to understand how these three editors came to the conclusion that Ayittāliyāddē Muhandirama, who had gone to Siam to fetch the *upasampadā* to Ceylon was the author of the *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*. The editor of the 1954 edition does not tell us on what authority he attributes the work to Ayittāliyāddē, while the other two editors refer to some evidence said to be found in a book that they have had no opportunity of examining. Nor do these two editors quote any other authority.

Possibly their statements are based on a remark appearing in the introduction to an edition of the *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* published in 1916. K. Srī Sumaṅgala Sthavira, who brought out this edition, states that he learnt that this book was written by Ayittāliyāddē Muhandirama from a work called *Saṅgharāja-ādāhanavata* written by the Mahāthera Īriminnē Vipassī.³ This work does not appear to have been ever printed, and, as far as the writer is aware, manuscript copies of this work are not known

1. *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* edited by Hēnpiṭagedara Piyananda Sthavira, 1954, p. iv.

2. *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* edited by Nāhalle Paññāsēna and Puñcibaṇḍāra Sannasgala, Colombo 1947, p. xxvi.

3. *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* edited by Kataluvē Srī Sumaṅgala Sthavira, Galle, 1916, p. i.

to exist anywhere either in Ceylon or abroad. Thus it is difficult to ascertain to what extent this editor's statement is trustworthy. There is, however, one passage in the *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* itself which casts considerable doubt on the veracity of the information that is said to be found in the *Saṅgharāja-ādāhanavata*. This passage is as follows :—

නැවත තුන්වෙනි වාරෙන් එම විල්බාගෙදර මුහන්දිරමිරාලන් ආසින්තාලියද්දේ මුහන්දිරමිරාලන් පට්ටපොල රටේරාලන් ඇල්ලේපොල වෙඩික්කාර මොහොට්ටාලන් යටිනුවර රීරියගම නිලමේන් යන මේ නිලමක්කාර පස්දෙනා සමග බොහෝ පඩුරු පරිවාර ජන සහිත සැදැහපත් සියාම් දේශයට යවා පුවර උපාලි මහාසථවිරසාමීන් ප්‍රමුඛ භික්ෂු සංඝයා වැඩමවාගෙන ඇවිත් ඒ අමාත්‍යවරු නිරිකුණාමලෙන් ගොඩ බැසපු තැනේදී⁴.....

This statement that the five envoys who had gone to Siam arrived in Trincomalee with the Siamese monks is factually untrue in two respects. First, of the five envoys who had been sent to Siam, Paṭṭapōḷa Mohoṭṭāla died there and therefore only four envoys eventually returned to Ceylon. Secondly, only Vilbāgedara Muhandirama together with the Siamese monks and the Siamese envoys arrived in Trincomalee. The other three envoys, namely Āllēpōḷa Mohoṭṭāla, Īriyagama Muhandirama and Ayittāliyāddē Muhandirama, and their entourage arrived in Colombo a few months before Vilbāgedara arrived in Trincomalee. When the Siamese monks, the Siamese envoys and the Sinhalese envoys and their entourage left Siam, they travelled in two ships. Āllēpōḷa Mohoṭṭāla, Īriyagama, Muhandirama, Ayittāliyāddē Muhandirama and their entourage travelled in a Dutch ship, while Vilbāgedara Muhandirama, at the request of the King of Siam, travelled with the monks and the envoys from Siam in a Siamese ship. Soon after leaving Siam, the Siamese ship foundered off a place called Muan Lakok. The Dutch ship sailed on without knowing what had happened to the other ship and ultimately arrived in Colombo, having stopped at Malacca for some considerable time to get news of the other ship. Later Vilbāgedara Muhandirama and the monks and envoys from Siam arrived in Trincomalee.⁵ Assuming that Ayittāliyāddē was the author of *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*, as is stated in the three editions of this work mentioned above, it is very strange that he has failed to mention, in the section devoted to the mission sent to Siam in 1750, the death of Paṭṭapōḷa Mohoṭṭāla in Siam and the misfortunes that befell Vilbāgedara

4. *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* edited by H. Piyananda, pp. 14-15.

5. Peiris, P. E., An Account of King Kīrti Sri's Embassy to Siam, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Vol. XVIII, pp. 17-44. Vilbāgedara Muhandirama also has written an account of the mission sent by King Kīrti Sri Rajasiṃha to Siam in 1750. A manuscript copy of this work is in the Library of the University of Ceylon.

and his fellow passengers at Muan Lakok, particularly when it is remembered that he has given such details in discussing the two missions sent to Siam in the reign of King Srī Vijaya Rājasimha.⁶

If Ayittāliyaddē was the author of this work, the only motive that may have prompted him to deliberately distort the truth would have been a desire to obtain a share of the credit for successfully bringing the Siamese monks to Ceylon. It has, however, to be borne in mind that Ayittāliyaddē was a trusted officer engaged in the service of the King as a *muhandirama* of the *vedikkāra lēkama* in charge of the district of Dumbara. When he returned from Siam he appears to have been appointed to a post in the royal palace, where his duties were to receive representatives of the Dutch Government and to conduct them to and from the various frontiers of the Kandyan Kingdom.⁷ Thus as a well-trusted and experienced official Ayittāliyaddē would have known that a distortion of the facts concerning a well-known event would, instead of bringing credit to him, even imperil the official position he was occupying at the time. Incidentally it is worth recalling that the *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*⁸ was written in the year 1779, one year after the death of the Saṅgharāja and that King Kīrti Srī Rājasimha, under whose direction the Siamese monks were invited to Ceylon, died in the year 1782.

In view of the reasons adduced above it can be stated that Ayittāliyaddē Muhandirama was not the author of *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*.

P. E. E. FERNANDO.

6. *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*, edited by H. Piyananda, pp. 13-14.

7. Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council 1762, edited and translated by J. H. O. Paulusz Colombo, 1954, pp. 36, 62 and 65.

8. *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*, edited by H. Piyananda, p. 1.

Padalanchana at Anuradhapura

THE *Cūlavamsa*, Chapter 54, v. 44, has recorded that Mahinda IV (956—972) ‘restored the beautiful temple of the four *cetiyas* in Padalāñchana which had been burnt down by the troops of the Chola King.’¹ To the average Sinhalese Buddhist of today, Padalāñchana would connote one and only one sacred place : that is the Footprint on the summit of the mountain called Sirīpāda or Samanoḷa-kanda in Sinhalese, Sumana-kūṭa or Samanta-kūṭa in Pali, and is generally referred to as Adam’s Peak by European writers. The Footprint on Sirīpāda is venerated by the Buddhists of Ceylon as one of the sixteen great places hallowed by the Buddha in this Island ; it occupies the fourth place in a set of three Pali verses enumerating these shrines, often recited by the faithful in their devotions, the first line of which runs: *Mahiyaṅgaṇaṃ Nāgadīpaṃ Kalyāṇaṃ Pada-lāñchanaṃ*. Another well-known Pali verse includes it among four Footprints left by the Buddha at places widely separated in the Buddhist world, the other three being one each on the banks of the Narmadā river, on the Saccabaddha mountain and in the city of the Yonakas.² The Footprint on Sirīpādakanda in Ceylon has been held in great veneration by the Buddhists of Burma, Siam and Cambodia from the twelfth century up to modern times.

The Chronicle does not, in this place, refer to the Padalāñchana of the Sumana-kūṭa or Samantakūṭa, and such an identification on the evidence of modern usage does not seem to accord with the statement that the shrine or shrines restored by Mahinda IV were previously burnt down by the troops of the Chola king. The Chola invasion referred to is that which took place in the reign of Udaya IV (946—954) when Parāntaka I despatched a powerful army to Ceylon, with the object of gaining possession of the Pāṇḍya regalia which were left with the Sinhalese king in the reign of Dappula III. The Chola army succeeded in capturing Anurādhapura,

1. *Jhāpitaṃ Coḷa-rājassa balena Padalāñchane
Catunnaṃ cetiyānaṃ so ramaṇīyaṃ ghaṛaṃ akā*

This verse can be understood to mean, as in the above translation of Geiger, that there was one shrine for all the four *cetiyas*. It is more likely that the author meant ‘a shrine for each of the four *cetiyas*.’

2. *Yaṃ Nammadāya nadiyā puline ca tīre
Yaṃ Saccabadha-girike Sumanācalagge
Yaṃ tattha Yonaka-pure munino ca pādaṃ
Taṃ pāda-lāñchanam ahaṃ sirasā namāmi.*

but did not achieve its main purpose of gaining possession of the Pāṇḍya regalia, for Udaya IV fled with them to Rohaṇa. The Chola army pursued the fleeing monarch, but the Sinhalese recovered from the shock of the enemy's first offensive in time not only to check him before he reached the frontiers of Rohaṇa but also to force him out of the Island and to launch a counter invasion of the Chola dominions, where he was compelled to disgorge the loot that he had taken from Ceylon.³ Sirīpāda-kanda is within Rohaṇa and, if the Chola army did not enter that principality on this occasion, they could not have destroyed a shrine on that mountain. Even if we were to argue on the ground that the Peak, being close to the frontiers of Rohaṇa, might have been reached by an enemy who is stated to have failed to penetrate into that principality, the Peak itself, or the wilderness at its foot, was not the type of terrain to which a king in fear of any enemy would have fled. It was in pursuit of Udaya IV that the Chola army might have entered the Peak wilderness, but the Badulla pillar-inscription⁴ furnishes us with evidence to indicate that it was to the districts around Mahiyaṅgaṇa that the Sinhalese monarch fled to elude Parāntaka's army. And it is not necessary to march by the Peak to arrive at Mahiyaṅgaṇa from Anurādhapura. Moreover, a general operating in a hostile and unfamiliar country would scarcely have undertaken a campaign in such terrain as the approaches to the Peak, and given hostage to Fortune by making himself easily vulnerable in guerilla warfare by the forces of that country acquainted with the topography. If the Cola forces did not penetrate to the wilderness of the Peak, they could not have burned a shrine connected with the Footprint (*pada-lāñchana*) thereon. The shrine of the Footprint which the Cholas burnt down, and which was restored by Mahinda IV, therefore, must have been somewhere else. These or similar considerations must have weighed with Geiger when he, in his translation of the *Cūlavamsa*,⁵ refrained from making the possible identification of Padalāñchana with Sirīpāda-kanda, and contented himself with pointing out the only other reference⁶ to this name in that chronicle, which states that Vajirā, the wife of Sakka-senāpati, 'had a home built in Padalāñchana, and granted it to the *bhikkhuni*s of the universally revered Thera School.' The Peak is hardly a place for the establishment of a convent for nuns who, according to the Vinaya rules, are prohibited from having their places of residence far removed from human habitations.⁷

3. *Cūlavamsa*, LIII, vv. 39ff.

4. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, pp. 78ff.

5. Part I, p. 182, footnote 5.

6. *Cūlavamsa*, chapter 52, v. 63.

7. Vide, *Dhammapadaṭṭh akathā*, P. T.S. ed. Vol. II, pp. 51, 52. The Vinaya Pitaka, P. T. S. ed. Vol. II, p. 278.

Thus, these two references to a Padalāñchana in the *Cūlavamsa*, in themselves, contain evidence to show that Sumana-or Samanta-kūṭa was not meant by them ; but they do not indicate where in fact this Padalāñchana was. The evidence necessary to identify the Padalāñchana referred to in these two contexts of the chronicle, is forthcoming in the old Sinhalese glossary to the *Mahābodhivamsa* (*Mbg.*), a text ascribed to the Polonnaruva period, but for which the tenth century would not be a date inconsistent with its language. The Pali *Mahābodhivamsa*,⁸ in the section named *Mahāvihāra-paṭiggahaṇakathā*, gives an account of the legendary visits to this Island by the four Buddhas of this *kalpa*, mentioning in particular the spots hallowed by each of the Buddhas spending a few moments seated in meditation thereon. The account of the visit of Kakusandha, the first Buddha of this *kalpa*, ends with the statement that the Teacher, after hallowing the site of the future Thūpārāma, and after preaching the *dhamma*, proceeded to the terrace named *Ratanamālaka*, rose into the air from that site, and returned to Jambudīpa. The Sinhalese gloss explains *Ratanamālaka*, not only by giving the Sinhalese equivalent of the name, *Ruvanmaḷuyehi*, but also with the comments : *Hē dān satara-Budun pada-lasa pādum-desē maha-sā-tānhi*,⁹ ‘ that is at present the site of the main *cetiya* (*stūpa*) in the shrine of the Footprints (*padalasa*) of the four Buddhas.’

Koṇāgamana, the second Buddha of this *kalpa*, is said to have hallowed the same spots as did his predecessor. He likewise terminated his tour of Anurādhapura at the future Thūpārāma, and rose into the air for the return journey from Sudassanamālaka to the east of the last mentioned place. For *Sudassana-malake*, the *Mbg.*¹⁰ has the following gloss : *Sudasunmaḷuyehi, hē dān Padalasa pādum-desen devana maha-sā tān*, ‘ at the Sudasunmaḷu, that is at present the site of the great *cetiya* which is the second from the east at Padalasa.’ The corresponding account of the visit of the Buddha Kassapa ends with the statement that the Teacher rose to the air for the return journey from the Somanassa-mālaka, which, too, was to the east of the site of the future Thūpārāma. The gloss in the *Mbg.*¹¹ for *Somanassa-mālake* is *Somnas-maḷuyehi : hē dān Padalasa pādum-desen tun-vana mahāsā-tān*, ‘ at the Somnas-maḷu, that is at present the site of the great *cetiya*, which is the third from the east at Padalasa.’ The historic Buddha, during the last of the three visits he is believed to have paid to Ceylon, rose to the air

8. P.T.S. Edition, pp. 126ff. This account corresponds to *Mahāvamsa*, XVI, vv. 75—165 and I.

9. *Mahābodhivamsa—granthipada-viveraṇaya*, edited by Śrī Dharmārāma-Nāyaka Thera, 1910 p. 131.

10. *Op. Cit.*, p. 131.

11. *Ibid.*

for the return journey after spending a few moments on the site of the future Silā-cetiya. The gloss of the *Mbg.* on the word *Silā-cetiyaṭṭhāne* of the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* is *Sala-sā-tānhi du, hē Padalasa satara-vana kūḍā dāgāba ya*,¹² 'also at the site of Sala-sā; that is (at present) the small fourth *dāgāba* at the Padalasa.'

The Sinhalese word *padalasa*, in the above extracts from the *Mbg.*, is the exact equivalent of the Pali *Padalāñchana*. At the Padalasa, according to the *Mbg.*, there were four *cetiya*s, evidently built respectively over Footprints left by the four Buddhas of this *kalpa*. The *Cūlavāṃsa* states that, at the Padalāñchana, where a shrine or shrines were restored by Mahinda IV, there were four *cetiya*s. It is therefore reasonable to take the Padalāñchana referred to at *Cūlavāṃsa*, LIV, v. 44, as identical with the Padalasa of the *Mbg.* Three of the *cetiya*s at this Padalasa (Padalāñchana) were believed, at the time the *Mbg.* was written, to mark three legendary sites which are definitely stated in the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* as well as in the *Mahāvāṃsa*, to have been to the east of the Thūpārāma. A shrine here might well have been burnt down by the Chela troops in the reign of Udaya IV, for they occupied Anurādhapura and also consigned to the flames the Temple of the Tooth, the Dhammasaṅgaṇī House and the Mahāpālī within the city (*Cūlavāṃsa*, LIV, v. 45). The Padalāñchana referred to in the *Cūlavāṃsa*, LIV, 44, was thus situated to the east of the Thūpārāma. The other reference in the *Cūlavāṃsa* to the Padalāñchana, as we have seen, informs us that a residence for nuns was established there. A site to the east of the Thūpārāma would not have been inappropriate for a nunnery.

Three of the four Footprints to the east of the Thūpārāma were left by the three previous Buddhas rising to the air from that spot. Mihintale is also eulogised in the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*¹³ as being sanctified by the Footprints of the three previous Buddhas. According to the *Mahāvāṃsa*, it was on this hill, known by three other names in those mythical times¹⁴, that the three previous Buddhas alighted on their visits to the Island. The ancient belief thus seems to have been that an indelible impress of a Buddha's foot would remain at a spot from which he rose to the air or to which he alighted. In these actions, greater pressure would naturally have been exerted on the ground by the feet than in normal walking.

12. *Mbg.*, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

13. P.T.S. Edition, p. 117. *Tiṇṇaṃ pubba Buddhānaṃ padalañchanapavitte Ambatthale*.

14. *Mahāvāṃsa*, XV, vv. 62, 96 and 131.

The *Mbg.* also places to the east of the Thūpārāma the site of the Silā-cetiya, which, according to the faithful, has the honour of being the piece of ground in this Island on which the Buddha trod for the last time. The *Mahāvamsa* (XXXIII, 24) informs us that a Silāthūpa was founded by Lajjitissa (circa 119—110 B.C.) to the east of the Thupārāma. We are not told here that this monument was built over a Footprint of the Buddha, but the location of the Silācetiya¹⁵ to the east of the Thūpārāma by the *Mbg.* would justify us in the assumption that the *stūpa* was built to mark a spot believed at that time to have been the last at which the Buddha sat in meditation on the third visit. The *Dīpavamsa* (XIX, 13) also credits Lajjitissa with the construction of the Silāthūpa, without, however, stating where it was. There was, however, no unanimity in ancient times about the identity of this Silācetiya or-thūpa. The devotees of Mihintalē, it appears, were not content with that sacred hill having the Footprints of the previous Buddhas only. For we are told by the *Pūjāvalī*¹⁶ that the last place hallowed by the Buddha on the third visit to this Island was Maha-sala-sāya (P. Mahā-silā-cetiya) at Mihintalē. The existence, in ancient times, of a Silā-cetiya at Mihintalē is attested by the *Mahāvamsa* as well as the Habarana rock inscription of about the fourth century.¹⁷

A third Silā-thūpa of an early date is referred to in the *Dīpavamsa* (XIX, 17) in a verse which has not yet been satisfactorily interpreted. In recording the establishment of the Abhayagiri Vihāra by Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya, this chronicle says: *Abhayagirim patitthapesi Silāthūpam cetiyam antare*. Oldenberg's translation of this half-verse is: 'He erected the Abhayagiri (monastery) between the Silāthūpa and the Cetiya.'¹⁸ The use of the word *antare* in this verse, following a noun in the accusative case, is paralleled by *Dakkhiṇa-vihāram antare* at XXII, 58, where *antare* clearly means 'in' or 'within,' not 'between'. *Silāthūpam* as well as *Abhayagirim* are objects of *patitthāpest*. The translation would thus be: 'He established the Abhayagiri (monastery and) the Silāthūpa which is within (its) *cetiya*.' What the text connotes is that Vaṭṭagāmaṇī built the Silācetiya which forms the core of the Abhayagiri Dāgāba, the huge pile built encasing this being the work of later hands. As the ancient belief was that the Silāthūpa marked the site from which the Buddha rose to the air to return to Jambudīpa from Ceylon, and thus received the Footprint of the Master,

15. 'Silā-thūpa' and 'Silā-Cetiya' are synonymous.

16. *Pūjāvalī*, edited by Bentota Saddhatissa Thera, 1953, p. 708.

17. *Mahāvamsa*, chapter XXXIV, v. 31; E. Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, No. 61. See also *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* for 1951, p. 22.

18. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 217.

such an interpretation of the above verse would accord with the claim of the inmates of the Abhayagiri Viḥāra, recorded by Fa-Hien, that the *stūpa* of this monastery was built over a Footprint of the Buddha.¹⁹

It would, of course, be an invidious task, particularly at this distance of time, to adjudicate between the claims of various religious institutions for the possession of the Silāthūpa. The shrine of this name within the establishments which acknowledged the authority of the Mahāvihāra was located, according to the *Mbg.*, at the Padalāñchana to the east of the Thūpārāma. The only ancient *stūpa* at present to be seen to the east of this Dāgāba is that now popularly, but erroneously, believed to be the shrine erected over the ashes of Saṅghamittā-therī.²⁰ This is evidently not the Silāthūpa, for it is not built of stone. It may be one of the four *cetiya*s at the Padalāñchana. The reference to three of these monuments as *maha-sā*, great *cetiya*s, was probably in comparison with the fourth, which is called a *kuḍā* (small) *dāgāba*, and not on account of their actual size. The remains of the Silācetiya and the other two *cetiya*s might well have been cleared away when the site came to be used as the cremation ground for the abbots of the Bō-tree temple in modern times. No thorough investigations on the site are practicable due to the presence of the monuments (*alu-vihāres*) built in memory of these dignitaries. It is also not impossible that the four *cetiya*s of the Padalāñchana at Anurādhapura were further to the east, and that their remains had to yield place to the bungalows for medical officers erected by the Public Works Department.

Yam kiṃ ci samudaya-dhammam sabbam tam nirodha-dhammam!

S. PARANAVITANA

19. Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (Boston, 1885), Vol. I, p. 1xxiii.

20. Saṅghamittā's body, taken out of the city by way of the eastern side of the Thūpārāma (*Thūpārāma-puratthato*), was cremated at a spot within sight of the great Bodhi tree (*Mahābodhi-padassite*). The *cetiya* in her honour was built where her body was cremated (*Mahāvamsa*, XX, v. 52).

Reviews

Aspects of Sinhalese Culture : By Martin Wickremasinghe. The Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., Colombo, 1958, 2nd Edition, 166 pages with index and 21 plates.

THIS collection of essays may be considered the mature reflections of a well-known Sinhalese writer on some outstanding features of Sinhalese culture. In its present form, which is a revised edition of the work with the essays somewhat re-arranged and which first appeared in 1952, this work includes articles contributed by the author, from time to time, to newspapers and periodicals. The subjects treated include a wide range of interests—art and sculpture, literature, poetics, folklore, poetry, nationalism, education and religion.

The first impression that one would get on reading through this collection of essays is that a wide range of important topics, concerning vital problems and aspects of culture, have been treated in twenty five comparatively short articles. One would have expected a more sustained and exhaustive treatment of the subjects, considering their very nature and scope. For it need hardly be remarked that a sketchy treatment of subjects, especially when they deal with aspects of that composite whole called culture (whatever its variety may be) is fraught with grave dangers. This would appear to be particularly true in the case of Sinhalese culture where the principal features have yet to be delineated.

The use of such terms as Apollonian and Dionysian to describe certain features of Sinhalese culture requires careful consideration. The only justification for the choice of such terms would be that the book attempts to put before the English reader certain important features of our culture in terms intelligible to him. This may be the case if the book were addressed to European readers as well, (and this may have partly been the author's intention). But to the English reader of Ceylon and Eastern countries whose acquaintance with the Classical European civilization is very remote, these terms will not mean much. The greater drawback, however, is that such terms may fail to bring home to the reader certain other fundamental features of our culture. If that were to happen, in the slightest degree, it would be a pity. Similar terms have all too frequently been employed by European writers to describe aspects of Eastern life and thought which they have not been able to understand.

Similarities that may be observed in some aspects of the folk culture of two different societies would tempt the student to draw the unwarranted conclusion of culture-borrowing. This would lead to disastrous results if the features were not subject to a thoroughgoing analysis and also not supported by a wealth of concrete evidence. The elements of Sinhalese folk culture which are sought to be explained by parallels from the culture of the Pacific Islands would seem to require more evidence. The evidence of a posthumous work of Hocart to show Ceylon and Polynesian parallels would seem to be superficial and inadequate. Parallels have been drawn between ancient Indian and even Celtic culture. But unless such parallels are supported by a larger mass of evidence, our knowledge of either will not be increased nor our understanding deepened. Folk culture is admittedly a complex problem. Its nature and scope are so vast that without more evidence, any conclusion to the effect of culture-borrowing would, in the present circumstances, be unwarranted.

In the essays on 'Folk Poetry of the Sinhalese,' where some provocative and forthright comments are made on Sinhalese poetry, the so-called affinity of Sinhalese folk poetry and the Psalms of the Sisters and Brethren could have been dealt with in greater detail.

If the foregoing statements have left the impression that this book is not of much value, we should hasten to correct it. The shortcomings referred to above, rather tend to throw into bold relief some of its valuable features. Although some ideas expressed in the work may not be new to the Sinhalese reader, the author's views on aspects of Sinhalese culture are here available to the English reader in a handy volume. The main thesis that culture grows by borrowing, re-adaptation and modification is sustained throughout. The individuality and distinctiveness of some features of Sinhalese culture are brought out, while unhealthy and valueless elements are not overlooked. There is nothing here of the cheap sentimentalism associated with writings on culture.

The importance of the subjects themselves treated in this volume can hardly be overstressed. They are of interest to the general reader as well as the special student. Some of the essays, especially those dealing with Sinhalese sculpture like those on the Buddha Statue, the Isurumuniya lovers and Sinhalese masks, to mention a few, would stimulate further reflection. If the topics discussed in this volume merit a more detailed and exhaustive treatment readers will be grateful to the writer for focussing their attention on some fundamental aspects of Sinhalese Culture.

A. S. Kulasuriya

History of the Sinhalese Noun: A Morphological Study based on Inscriptions. By D. J. Wijayarathne, with a foreward by Julius de Lanerolle. pp. 217+xxv. University of Ceylon Press Board, Colombo 1956.

DR. D. J. WIJAYARATNE'S 'History of the Sinhalese Noun' is a most welcome addition to the works dealing with the early history of the Sinhalese language. As is well known, of all the Indo-Aryan languages, Sinhalese has the longest unbroken documentation, extending as it does from the inscriptions of the 3rd century B. C. right down to the present day. Dr. Wijayarathne's study is based upon the inscriptions from the 3rd century B.C. to the 10th century A.D. and throughout the forms quoted are classified according to the centuries in which they occur, thus giving a clear picture of the morphological developments which took place over this period.

Apart from the clear and most useful marshalling of all the facts, perhaps the most important contribution made by Dr. Wijayarathne is his comprehensive discussion of the way in which the earlier declensional system of Sanskrit depending upon differentiation of purely grammatical gender has been replaced by a declensional system in which the two categories of animate and inanimate are differentiated. Especially instructive in this respect is the establishment of the date between the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. at which this transformation was carried through.

Like Dr. P. B. F. Wijeratne, to whose most valuable detailed examination of the phonology of the inscriptions published in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (1946-58) he makes frequent reference, Dr. Wijayarathne, pays strict scientific attention to the principle of the regularity of sound change, without which all speculation as to linguistic relationship is worthless. In rightly stressing the fact that in its origin Sinhalese is ultimately descended from an eastern Indo-Aryan dialect of the Ardhamagadhi type, he clearly separates the basic eastern vocabulary from the many loan words which have entered the language, some no doubt, before its speakers left the Indian mainland, from other Indo-Aryan dialects (as, e.g. *gī* from the widespread MI. from *ghia* < *ghrtā*- which ousted the expected **ghata* which would have become **gaḷa*), or the very large number of words adopted with various modifications from the religious and literary Pali- (as, e.g., *miya* from Pa. *mata*- beside the basic Sinhalese *mala* < *mṛtā*-).

For this reason one would have welcomed further discussion of some apparent anomalies. Why, e.g., (p. 24) *milā* < *mul(i)ya*- but *hir* < *sur(i)ya*-,? The apparently reverse changes (pp. 26 & 40) of *-a* > *-i* and *-i* > *-a* seem to require elucidation. It might be better (p. 53) to think of *ihita* as resting upon a contamination of *duhitṛ*- and *jātā* rather than to refer it to an OI. **jhitr*-. It is noteworthy that the eastern languages have *jh*- (Oṛ. *jhia* & *jhua*, Bg. *jhī*, Ass. *zī*) opposed to central western *dh*-, although some of the Dardic area also has *jh*- (Dam. *zū*, Shum, *zū*, Gaw. *zū*, Kal. (Urtsun) *jhur*, Kho. *zūr*). Greater emphasis might perhaps have been laid (p. 100) on the conservative nature of many spellings variant spellings of *ika* and *ita*, e.g., clearly indicate a state in which both *-k*- and *-t*- had become *-y*-. The differentiation of the indefinite masculine in *-ek* and feminine in *-ak* referred to on p. 181 may possibly rest upon an earlier masc.-*e* *ek* and fem.-*a* *ek*. This is supported by the fact that the oblique masculine is *-ak*, i.e., *-a* (*-aha*) *ek*.

An index of all the words discussed, some 1500, goes a long way towards providing a vocabulary of the inscriptional language. But even a summary indication against the words of their meaning would have added much to its accessibility.

But to sum up, this is a work which all students of Sinhalese historical grammar will find most valuable. They will be grateful to the Ceylon University Board for making its publication possible, and to the printer who, no doubt with the author's own very careful typographical arrangement of his material, has produced so well printed and clear a text.

R. L. Turner

