

AN EPITOME
OF
THE HISTORY OF CEYLON,
COMPILED FROM NATIVE ANNALS:
AND
THE FIRST TWENTY CHAPTERS
OF
THE MAHAWANSO:

TRANSLATED BY
THE HON. GEORGE TURNOUR, Esq.,
CEYLON CIVIL SERVICE.

CEYLON:
COTTA CHURCH MISSION PRESS.

1836.

465.



402

INTRODUCTION.

THE circumstances under which "The EPITOME OF THE HISTORY OF CEYLON," which is appended to this pamphlet, was compiled, are explained in the following letter:—

To the Editor of the Ceylon Almanac.

SIR,—In compliance with your request, I have the pleasure to send you a chronological table of the kings of Ceylon, compiled from the native annals extant in this island.

In the comparatively short period that this colony has been a British possession, several histories, besides minor historical notices, of Ceylon have already been published in English.

The individuals to whom we are indebted for those works, unacquainted themselves with the native languages, and misguided by the persons from whom they derived their information, have concurred in representing that there were no authentic historical records to be found in Ceylon.

CORDINER affords no information regarding them; and falls at once into an anachronism of 471 years, by applying the following remark to the Buddha worshipped in Ceylon: "Sir W. Jones, on taking the medium of four several dates, fixes the time of Buddha, or the ninth great incarnation of Vishnu, in the year 1014 before the birth of Christ."

PERCEVAL asserts, that "the wild stories current among the natives throw no light whatever on the ancient history of the island: the earliest period at which we can look for any authentic information is the arrival of the Portuguese under Almeida, in 1505."

BERTOLACCI, in his valuable statistical work, states, "we learn, *from tradition*, that Ceylon possessed in former times a larger population and a much higher state of cultivation than it now enjoys: although we have no data to fix, with any degree of certainty, the exact period of this prosperity, yet the fact is incontestable. The signs which have been left, and which we observe upon the island, lead us gradually back to the remotest antiquity."

PHILALETHES, professedly writing "The History of Ceylon *from the earliest period*," which is prefixed to the last edition of KNOX's historical relation of the island, dates the commencement of the Wejayan dynasty

in A.D. 106, instead of B.C. 543; and is then reduced to the necessity of adding, "Without attempting to clear a way, where so little light is afforded, through this labyrinth of chronological difficulties, I shall content myself with exhibiting the succession of the Cingalese sovereigns, with the length of their reigns, as it appears in Valentyn."

DAVY appears to have been more accurately informed; but dependent on the interpretations of the natives, who are always prone to dwell on the exaggeration and fictions which abound in all oriental literature, has been induced to form the opinion, that "the Singhalese possess no accurate record of events; are ignorant of genuine history; and are not sufficiently advanced to relish it. Instead of the one they have legendary tales, and instead of the other historical romances."

To publish now, in the face of these hitherto undisputed authorities, a statement containing an uninterrupted historical record of nearly *twenty four centuries*, without the fullest evidence of its authenticity, or at least acknowledging the sources from which the data are obtained, would be to require the public to place a degree of faith in the accuracy of an unsupported document, which it would be most unreasonable in me to expect. I must therefore beg, if you use at all the paper I now send you, that it be inserted in the detailed form it has been prepared by me, together with this letter in explanation.

The principal native historical record in Ceylon is the MAHA WANSE. It is written in Pali verse. The prosody of Pali grammar prescribes not only the observance of certain rules which regulate syllabic quantity, but admits of an extensive license of permutation and elision of letters, for the sake of euphony. As the inflexions of the nouns and verbs are almost exclusively in the ultimate syllable, and as all the words in each verse or sentence are connected, as if they composed one interminable word, it will readily be imagined what a variety of constructions each sentence may admit of, even in cases where the manuscript is free from clerical errors: but, from the circumstance of the process of transcription having been almost exclusively left to mere copyists, who had themselves no knowledge of the language, all Pali manuscripts are peculiarly liable to clerical and other more important inaccuracies; many of which have been inadvertently adopted by subsequent authors of Singhalese works, materially altering the sense of the original. It is, I presume, to enable the reader to overcome these difficulties, that the authors of Pali works of any note, composed in verse, usually published a commentary also, containing a literal rendering of the sense, as well as explanations of abstruse passages.

The study of the Pali language being confined, among the natives of Ceylon, almost entirely to the priesthood, and prosecuted solely for the purpose of qualifying them for ordination, their attention has been principally devoted to their voluminous religious works on Buddhism. I have never yet

met with a native who had critically read through, and compared their several historical works, or who had, till lately, seen a commentary on the MAHA WANSE; although it was the general belief that such a commentary did still exist, or at least had been in existence at no remote period. By the kindness of the provincial chief priest of Saffragam, I was enabled in 1827 to obtain a transcript of that commentary, from a copy kept in Mulgirigalla wihare, a temple built in the reign of Saidaitissa, about 130 years before the birth of Christ; and when brought with me to Kandy, I found that the work had not before been seen by the chief or any one of the priests, of either of the two establishments which regulate the national religion of this island.

It had heretofore been the received opinion of the best informed priests, and other natives, that the MAHA WANSE was a national state record of recently-past events, compiled at short intervals by royal authority, up to the reign in which each addition may have been made; and that it had been preserved in the archives of the kingdom.

The above-mentioned commentary has not only afforded valuable assistance in elucidating the early portion of the MAHA WANSE, but it has likewise refuted that tradition, by proving that MAHA NAAMA TERRONNANSE, the writer of that commentary, was also the author of the MAHA WANSE from the commencement of the work to the end of the reign of Maha Sen, comprising the history of Ceylon from B. C. 543 to A. D. 301. It was compiled from the annals in the vernacular language then extant, and was composed at Anooradhapooru under the auspices of his nephew Daasen Kelliya, and the minister Deegha Sandana, between A. D. 459 and 477. It is still doubtful whether MAHA NAAMA was not also the author of the subsequent portion, to his own times. As the commentary, however, extends only to A. D. 301, and the subsequent portion of the work is usually called the SOOLOO WANSE, I am disposed to infer that he only wrote the history to A. D. 301.

From the period at which Maha Naama's work terminated, to the reign of Praakrama Bahoo in A. D. 1267, the Sooloo Wanse was composed, under the patronage of the last named sovereign, by Dharma Kirti Terronnanse at Dambedeniya. I have not been able to ascertain by whom the portion of the history from A. D. 1267 to the reign of Praakrama Bahoo of Kurunai-galla was written, but from that reign to A. D. 1758, the Maha or rather Sooloo Wanse was compiled by Tibbottoowewe Terronnanse, by the command of Kirti-Sree, partly, from the works brought during his reign by the Siamese priests, (which had been procured by their predecessors during their former religious missions to this island,) and partly from the native histories, which had escaped the general destruction of literary records, in the reign of Raaja Singha I.

The other works from which the accompanying statement has been framed,

and which have supplied many details not contained in the MAHA WANSE, are the following; which are written in Singhalese, and contain the history of the island, also from B. C. 543, to the period each work was written.

The POOJAAWALLEYE, composed by Mairoopaada Teronnanse, in the reign of Praakarama Bahoo, between A. D. 1267 and 1301.

The NEEKAAYSANGRAHA or SAISANAAWATAARA, by Daiwarakhita Jaya-Bahoo Teronnanse, in the reign of Bhuvaneka Bahoo in A. D. 1347.

The RAAJA RATNAIKARA, written at a more recent period (the exact date of which I have not been able to ascertain) by Abbayaraja Teronnanse of Walgampaaye.

The RAAJAWALLEYE, which was compiled by different persons at various periods, and has both furnished the materials to, and borrowed from, the MAHA WANSE.

Lastly, WILBAAGEDERA MUDIYANSE'S account of his embassy to Siam in the last century.

From these native annals I have prepared hastily, and I am aware very imperfectly, an Epitome of the History of Ceylon, containing its chronology, the prominent events recorded therein, and the lineage of the reigning families; and given, in somewhat greater detail, an account of the foundation of the towns, and of the construction of the many stupendous works, the remains of which still exist, to attest the authenticity of those annals.

The materials from which this statement is framed, were collected by me (assisted in the translation from the Pali by my native instructors) some years ago, when it was my intention to have arranged them for publication. Subsequent want of leisure, and the announcement of the proposal of publishing, in England, the translation of the greater part of the works noticed by me, have deterred me from prosecuting that project. By the last accounts received from home, the translation was in an advanced stage for publication. Its appearance in this country may, therefore, now be early looked for.

In the mean time, the circulation of this abstract of the History of Ceylon may be the means of making the translation more sought for when it arrives; and, at the present moment, when improved means of communication are being established to Ancooraadhapooora and to Trincomalie, traversing the parts of the island in which the ruins of the ancient towns, tanks, and other proofs of the former prosperity of Ceylon are chiefly scattered, this statement will perhaps be considered an appropriate addition to your Almanac for the ensuing year.

I am, Sir, your faithful obedient servant,

Kandy, September 14th, 1832.

GEORGE TURNOUR,

Ceylon Civil Service.

A few private copies, as well of the "Epitome" as of the "Historical Inscriptions" which appeared in the local almanac of the ensuing year, were printed for me at the time those periodicals were in the press;—the distribution of which, from various causes, was deferred for a considerable period of time.

In this interval, the long expected edition of the Mahawanso, translated in this island and published in England, under the auspices of Sir A. Johnston, arrived in India, forming the first of three volumes of a publication, entitled "THE SACRED AND HISTORICAL BOOKS OF CEYLON."

This laudable endeavour on the part of the late chief justice of this colony, to lay before the European literary world a correct translation of an Indian historical work—the most authentic and valuable perhaps ever yet brought to its notice—having, most unfortunately, failed, I have decided on proceeding with the translation commenced some years ago; the prosecution of which I had abandoned under the circumstances explained in the foregoing letter.

In now recurring to this task, however, the object I have in view, is not solely to illustrate the local history (the importance of which it is by no means my intention to depreciate by this remark), but also to invite the attention of oriental scholars to the historical data contained in the *ancient Pali Buddhistical records*, as exhibited in the Mahawanso, contrasted with the results of their profound researches in the *ancient Sanscrit Hindu records*, as exhibited in their various publications and essays, commencing from the period when the great Sir William Jones first brought oriental literature under the scrutiny and analysis of European criticism.

Before I enter upon this interesting question, in justice equally to Sir A. Johnston and to the native literature of Ceylon, I have, on the one hand, to endeavour to account for one of the most extraordinary delusions, perhaps, ever practised on the literary

world; and, on the other, to prevent these "SACRED AND HISTORICAL BOOKS OF CEYLON," as well as the "HISTORY OF BUDDHISM," (also published under that right honorable gentleman's auspices) being recognized to be works of authority, or adduced to impugn the data which may hereafter be obtained from the Buddhistical records in the Pali or any other oriental language.

The course pursued by Sir A. Johnston, both in collecting the originals, and procuring translations of "THE SACRED AND HISTORICAL WORKS OF CEYLON," is detailed in the following letter, which is embodied in the preface to these translations.

To the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors.

19, *Great Cumberland Place*, 13th Nov. 1826.

GENTLEMEN,

I have the honour, at the request of Mr. Upham, to enclose to you a letter from him soliciting the patronage of your honourable court to an English translation which he is about to publish of the three works called Mahavansi, the Rajavali, and the Rajaratnacari. The first is written in the Pali, and the other two in the Singhalese language, and they are all three explanatory of the origin, doctrines, and introduction into the island of Ceylon, of the Buddhist religion.

The English translation was a short time ago given by me to Mr. Upham, upon his expressing a wish to publish some genuine account of a religion which, whatever may be the nature and tendency of its doctrines, deserves the consideration of the philosopher and the statesman, from the unlimited influence which it at present exercises over so many millions of the inhabitants of Asia.

The circumstances under which I received the three works to which I have just alluded, afford such strong evidence of their authenticity, and of the respect in which they are held by the Buddhists of Ceylon, that I shall take the liberty of stating them to you, that your honourable court may form some judgment as to the degree of encouragement which you may be justified in giving to Mr. Upham.

After a very long residence on Ceylon as chief justice and first member of his majesty's council on that island, and after a constant intercourse, both literary and official, for many years, with the natives of every cast and of every religious persuasion in the country, I felt it to be my duty to submit it.

as my official opinion, to his majesty's government, that it was absolutely necessary, in order to secure for the natives of Ceylon a popular and a really efficient administration of justice, to compile, for their separate use, a special code of laws, which at the same time that it was founded upon the universally admitted, and therefore universally applicable, abstract principles of justice, should be scrupulously adapted to the local circumstances of the country, and to the peculiar religion, manners, usages, and feelings of the people. His majesty's government fully approved of my opinion, and officially authorised me to take the necessary steps for framing such a code.

Having publicly informed all the natives of the island of the wise and beneficial object which his majesty's government had in view, I called upon the most learned and the most celebrated of the priests of Buddha, both those who had been educated on Ceylon, and those who had been educated in the Burmese empire, to co-operate with me in carrying his majesty's gracious intention into effect; and to procure for me, as well from books as other sources, the most authentic information that could be obtained relative to the religion, usages, manners, and feelings of the people who professed the Buddhist religion on the island of Ceylon.

The priests, after much consideration amongst themselves, and after frequent consultations with their followers in every part of the island, presented to me the copies which I now possess of the Mahavansi, Rajavali, Rajaratnacari, as containing, according to the judgment of the best informed of the Buddhist priests on Ceylon, the most genuine account which is extant of the origin of the Budhu religion, of its doctrines, of its introduction into Ceylon, and of the effects, moral and political, which those doctrines had from time to time produced upon the conduct of the native government, and upon the manners and usages of the native inhabitants of the country. And the priests themselves, as well as all the people of the country, from being aware of the object which I had in view, felt themselves directly interested in the authenticity of the information which I received; and as they all concurred in opinion with respect to the authenticity and value of the information which these works contain, I have no doubt whatever that the account which they give of the origin and doctrines of the Buddhist religion is that which is universally believed to be the true account by all the Buddhist inhabitants of Ceylon.

The copies of these works which were presented to me by the priests, after having been, by my direction, compared with all the best copies of the same works in the different temples of Buddha on Ceylon, were carefully revised and corrected by two of the ablest priests of Buddha on that island.

An English translation of them was then made by my official translators, under the superintendence of the late native chief of the cinnamon department, who was himself the best native Pali and Singhalese scholar in the country ; and that translation is now revising for Mr. Upham by the Rev. Mr. Fox, who resided on Ceylon for many years as a Wesleyan missionary, and who is the best European Pali and Singhalese scholar at present in Europe.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) ALBX. JOHNSTON.

Nothing, surely, could be more commendable than the object and the proceeding here detailed ; nor could any plan have been adopted apparently better calculated to supply the deficiency arising from his own want of knowledge of the languages in which these works are composed, than the precautions thus taken by him for the purpose of insuring the authenticity of the translations. Who those individuals may be whom Sir A. Johnston was induced to consider "*two of the ablest priests of Buddha on that island,*" by whom "the copies of these works which were presented to me (Sir A. Johnston) after having been compared by my direction with *all the best copies* of the same works in the different temples of Buddha on Ceylon, were carefully revised and corrected," I have not ascertained. But it is evident that they were either incompetent to perform the task they undertook of rendering the Pali Mahawanso into Singhalese, or they totally misunderstood the late chief justice's object. Instead of procuring an authentic copy of the Pali original, and translating it into the vernacular language (from which "*the official translators*" were to transfer it into English), they appear, (as regards the period of the history embraced in some of the early chapters) to have formed, to a certain extent, a compilation of their own ; amplifying it considerably beyond the text with materials procured from the commentary on the Mahawanso,

and other less authentic sources ; and in the rest of the work, the original has, for the most part, been reduced to a mutilated abridgment.

This compilation, or abridgment, extends only to the 88th chapter of the Maháwanso, which brings the history of Ceylon down to A. D. 1319 ; within that period, moreover, the reigns of several kings are omitted : whereas in the perfect copies, the historical narration is continued for four centuries and a half further, extending it to the middle of the last century.

The "*official translators*," by whom this Singhalese version is stated to have been rendered into English, were, and to a certain extent still are, selected from the most respectable, as well in character as in rank, of the maritime chiefs' families. They profess, almost without exception, the Christian faith ; and for the most part, are candidates for employment in the higher native offices under government. Their education, as regards the acquisition of their native language, was formerly seldom persevered in beyond the attainment of a grammatical knowledge of Singhalese :—the ancient history of their country, and the mysteries of the religion of their ancestors, rarely engaged their serious attention. Their principal study was the English language, pursued in order that they might qualify themselves for those official appointments, which were the objects of their ambition. The means they possessed of obtaining an education in English, within the colony, at that period, prior to the establishment of the valuable missionary institutions since formed, were extremely limited ; while the routine of their official duties, after they entered the public service, were not calculated to improve those limited attainments. These remarks, however, apply to the past, and not the present condition of the colony ; and I should be doing the higher orders of the natives—of the maritime provinces at least—great injustice if I did not add, that they have both readily availed themselves of the improved means since

placed within their reach, and amply proved, by several highly creditable examples, their capacity to derive the fullest benefit from the opportunities so afforded to them. Nevertheless to the causes above suggested must, I believe, be attributed both the defects in composition, and the numerous obvious perversions of the sense of the Singhalese abridgment of the text, exhibited in the translations of "THE SACRED AND HISTORICAL BOOKS OF CEYLON."

As illustrations of the latter description of defects, I shall confine myself to noticing two instances.

Page 74. "The son of the late king Muttesiwe, called *Second Petissa*, became king of the island of Ceylon. He was a fortunate king:" p. 83. "This was in the year of our Buddho 236, in the eighteenth year of the reign of the king Darmasoka, and of the first year of the reign of *Petissa the second*, on the fifteenth day of the month of poson:" and similarly in every instance in which that sovereign is named, he is called "*Petissa the second*." Now the monarch here spoken of, is the most celebrated rája in the history of Ceylon; the ally of Asóko, the emperor of India, and the founder of buddhism in this island. His individual name was "Tisso." From his merits (according to the buddhistical creed) in a former existence, as well as in this world, he acquired the appellation of "Dewánanpiatisso;" literally, "of-the-déwos-the-delight-tisso." This title in the Singhalese histories is contracted into "Dewenipaitissa;" and in the vernacular language, "deweni" also signifies "second." These "*official translators*," ignorant of the derivation of this appellation, and of these historical facts, and unmindful of the circumstance of no mention having previously been made of "*Petissa the first*" in the work they were translating, at once designate this sovereign "*Petissa the second*"!!

In explaining the second unintentional perversion of the text above referred to, I shall have to notice the mischievous effects

which result from appending notes of explanation, when the subject of the text is not thoroughly understood.

Page 1. "In former times, our gracious Budhu, who has overcome the five deadly sins, having seen Budhu Deepankare,* did express his wish to attain the state of Budhu, to save living beings, as twenty four *subsequent* Budhus † had done; from whom also, he having obtained their assent, and having done charities of various descriptions, became sanctified and omniscient: he is the Budhu, the most high lord Guádma, who redeemed the living beings from all their miseries."

The rendering of this passage, as a specimen of the translators' style, compared with the rest of the translation, is rather above than below par. The only intrinsic errors imputable to it, if no notes had been appended, would have consisted,—first, in the statement that there were "*twenty four*" instead of "*twenty three Buddhos*" *subsequent to Deepankara*; and, secondly, in adopting the peculiar spelling, "Guádma," for the name of the present Buddho, in the translation of a Ceylonese work, in which he is invariably designated "Goutama." But two fatal notes are given on this passage, which cruelly expose the true character, or origin, of these blunders: viz.,

* "In the Buddhist doctrine (according to the first note) there are to be five Budhus in the present kalpe: Mahádewánan, Goutama, Deepankara—these have already existed and are in niewana;—Guádma, the fourth, is the Budhu of the present system, which has lasted 2372 years in 1830; the Budhu verousa or era, according to the greatest number of coincident dates, having commenced about the year 540 B. C."

† "The Loutouros Budhus (according to the second note) are inferior persons, being usually the companions of the Budhu, for their zeal and fidelity exalted to the divine privileges."

The former of these notes makes "Deepankara" the *immediate predecessor* of Goutama; all "*subsequent Buddhos*," therefore, must become equally *subsequent* to him,—and yet the term is applied in the translation to those *predecessors* of Goutama, by whom his advent was *predicted*!

In this instance also, as in the case of "*Petissa the second*," the error lies in the rendering of the word, which has been translated into "*subsequent*."

There are two classes of Buddhos, styled, respectively, in Páli, "Lókuttaro" and "Pachchéko." The former term, derived from "Lókassa-uttaro contracted into "Lókuttaro," signifies "the supreme of the universe." The latter from "Pati-ékan," by permutation of letters contracted into "Pachchéko" and "Pachché," signifies "severed from unity (with supreme buddhohood);" and is a term applied to an inferior being or deity, who is never coexistent with a supreme Buddho, as he is only manifested during a "buddhántara," or the period intervening between the nibbána of one, and the advent of the succeeding supreme Buddho; and attains nibbána without rising to supreme buddhohood. These terms in Singhalese are respectively written "Louturá" and "Pasé." But "passé" (with a double s.) in the vernacular language, also signifies "subsequent." No native Buddhist, however uneducated, would have committed the error of asserting, that there were twenty four Buddhos exclusive of Dipankaro; as the prediction of Goutama's advent is a part of a religious formula in constant use, which specifies either "the twenty four Buddhos and the Pasé Buddhos," or "the twenty four Buddhos, commencing with Dipankaro, and the Pasé Buddhos," as having been the sanctified characters who vouchsafed to him the "wiwerana" or sacred assurance. By some jumble, however, the word "pasé" has been translated into "subsequent," and made to agree with the "twenty four supreme Buddhos," instead of being rendered as the appellation of an inferior Buddho. Hence the rendering of the passage "did express his wish to attain the state of Budhu, to save living beings, as twenty four *subsequent* Budhus had done."

The revisers of this translation appear to have been aware that there was some confusion or obscurity in this passage, and

therefore appended the second note of explanation. In that note, however, an explanation is given conveying, unfortunately, a meaning precisely the reverse of the correct one. The "Louturá Budhus" are stated to be "inferior persons, usually the companions of the Budhu;" whereas the word literally signifies "supreme of the universe;" and on the other hand, the appellation "Pasé Buddhó" signifies, as specifically, the reverse of co-existence or companionship.

The first note, quoted above, is, if possible, still more calculated than the translation itself, to prejudice the authenticity of the buddhistical scriptures in Ceylon, when compared with the sacred records of other buddhistical countries.

In the translation, the present Buddhó is called "Guádma." As the English writers on subjects connected with buddhism in the various parts of Asia rarely spell the name similarly, it would have been reasonable to infer that "Guádma" was here intended for the Ceylonese appellations (Páli) "Gótamo," (Singhalese) "Goutama." The revisers, however, of the translation, in this instance also, think it necessary to offer a note of explanation. The object of their note appears to be to give the names of the four Buddhós of this (Páli) "kappo," (Singhalese) "kalpa," who have already attained buddhohood. They specify them to be Mahádewánan, Goutama, Deepankara, and Guádma: in which enumeration, with their usual ill luck, they are wrong in every single instance. "Mahádewánan" is not the individual name of any one of the twenty four Buddhós. It is an epithet applying equally to all of them, and literally means "the chief of the déwos." The first Buddhó of this kappo was "Kakusandho." The second was not "Goutama," (for when speaking of the twenty four Buddhós there is no other Goutama than the Buddhó of the present period) but "Konágamano." The third is not "Deepankara," for he is the first of the twenty four Buddhós, but "Kassapo." The fourth, or present Buddhó, is not "Guádma," but, in Páli, Gótamo; and, in Singhalese, Goutama. As this name, however, had been already appropriated in this

work for the second Buddho of this kappo, the publishers have, I presume, adopted the spelling "Guádma" to distinguish the one from the other.

It will scarcely be believed that all this confusion arises from the endeavour to illustrate a work, which, in the clearest manner possible, in its fifteenth chapter, gives a connected history of these four Buddhos; nor can the publishers altogether throw the blame of these mistakes on their coadjutors, the "*two ablest priests of Buddha*," and the "*official translators*;" for even in their translated abridgment of the fifteenth chapter (p. 92) the names of these four Buddhos are specified.

In another respect, however, either the said priests, or the translators, must be held responsible for a still more important error, which has led Mr. Upham, in his Introduction (p. xxii.) to notice, and comment on, the discrepancies of the buddhistical records of Ceylon, as compared with those of Nepal. He observes, "of these personages (the Buddhos mentioned in the Nepal records) only the four last are mentioned in the pages of Singhalese histories. References are indeed occasionally made to an anterior Budhu, but as no names or particulars are given, we are chiefly indebted for our knowledge of these preceding Budhus, viz., Wipasya, Sikhi, and Wisabhu, to the Nepalese and Chinese histories."

It is indeed unfortunate for the native literature of Ceylon, that it should be so misrepresented in an introduction to a work, which in the original contains in the first page, the *name of every one of the twenty four Buddhos, stated in the order of their advent*; to which work there is a valuable commentary, either giving the history of every one of these Buddhos, or referring to the authorities in which a detailed account of them may be found. Nor can the "*two ablest priests of Buddha*," and the other parties employed by Sir A. Johnston in collecting these records, plead ignorance of the existence of that valuable commentary (Tikáya-Maháwanso), for I observe in the list of Páli and Singhalese books,—vol. iii. p. 170,—two copies of that

work are mentioned; one in the temple at Mulgirigalla, from which my copy was taken; and the other in the temple at Bentotte.

This translation, which abounds in errors of the description above noticed, is stated to have been made "under the superintendence of the late native chief of the cinnamon department, (Rájapaxa, maha modliar), *who was himself the best Páli and Singhalese scholar in the country.*" I was personally acquainted with this individual, who was universally and deservedly respected, both in his official and private character. He possessed extensive information, and equally extensive influence, among his own caste at least, if not among his countrymen generally; and as of late years, the intercourse with the buddhistical church in the Burmese empire had been chiefly kept up by missions from the priesthood of his (the chalia) caste in Ceylon, the late chief justice could not, perhaps, have applied to any individual more competent to collect the native, as well as Burmese, Páli annals; or more capable of procuring the best qualified translators of that language into Singhalese, from among the Páli scholars resident in the maritime districts of the island, than Rájapaxa was. This was, however, the full extent to which this chief *could* have efficiently assisted Sir A. Johnston, in his praiseworthy undertaking; for the maha modliar was not himself either a Páli, or an English scholar. That is to say, he had no better acquaintance with the Páli, than a modern European would, without studying it, have of any ancient dead language, from which his own might be derived. As to his acquaintance with the English language, though he imperfectly comprehended any ordinary question which might be put to him, he certainly could not speak, much less write, in reply, the shortest connected sentence in English. *

* In 1822, five years after Sir A. Johnston left Ceylon, and before I had acquired a knowledge of the colloquial Singhalese, as Magistrate of Colombo, I had to examine Rájapaxa, maha modliar, as a witness in my court. On that occasion, I was obliged to employ an interpreter (the present perma-

He must therefore (unless he has practised a most unpardonable deception on Sir A. Johnston) be at once released from all responsibility, as to the correctness, both of the Páli version translated into Singhalese, and of the Singhalese version into English.

There is some similar misapprehension in pronouncing the late Rev. Mr. Fox, by whom the English translation is stated to have been revised in England, to be "*the best European Páli and Singhalese scholar at present in Europe.*" I had not the pleasure of being personally acquainted with this gentleman, who left the colony, I believe, soon after I arrived in it. I have always heard him spoken of with respect, in reference to his zeal in his avocation, and his attainments as an European classical scholar. I am, however, credibly informed, that this gentleman also had no knowledge of the Páli language.

A letter from Mr. Fox is inserted in the Introduction, p. xi., of which I extract the three first sentences.

"Having very carefully compared the translations of the three *Singhalese* books submitted to me with the originals, I can safely pronounce them to be correct translations, giving, with great fidelity the sense of the original copies.

"A more judicious selection, in my judgment, could not have been made from the numerous buddhist works extant, esteemed of authority among the professors of buddhism, to give a fair view of the civil and mythological history of buddhism, and countries professing buddhism.

"The Mahavansi is esteemed as of the highest authority, and is undoubtedly very ancient. The copy from which the translation is made is one of the temple copies, from which many things found in common copies are excluded, as not being found in the ancient Páli copies of the work. Every temple I have visited is furnished with a copy of this work, and is usually placed next the Játakas or incarnations of Buddha."

This extract serves to acquit him at once of laying claim to any knowledge of the Páli language; as he only speaks of having

gent assessor, Mr. Dias, modliar) not only to convey his Singhalese answers in English to me, but to interpret my English questions in Singhalese to him, as he was totally incapable of following me in English. With Europeans he generally conversed in the local Portuguese.

“carefully compared the translations of the *three Singhalese* books submitted to him with the originals.” But what shall I say of the prejudice he has raised against, and the injustice he has done to, the native literature of Ceylon, when he pronounces the wretched jargon into which a mutilated abridgment of the Maháwanso is translated “to be correct translations, giving with great fidelity the sense of the original copies;” and then proceeds to declare, (in reference to that mutilated abridgment and its accompaniments,) “a more judicious selection, in my judgment, could not have been made from the numerous buddhist works extant.” !!

Mr. Fox labors also under some unaccountable delusion, when he speaks of “abridged temple copies,” and calls the Maháwanso a “sacred work,” found in almost all the temples. It is, on the contrary, purely and strictly, an historical work, seldom consulted by the priesthood, and consequently rarely found in the temples; and I have never yet met with, or heard of, any abridged copy of the work. In direct opposition to this statement, Mr. Upham, to whom the publication of these translations was intrusted, and who was the author of “*THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM*,” makes the following note at p. 7 of that work :

“According to the information prefixed in a manuscript note, by the translator, Raja-pakse, a well known intelligent native of Ceylon, the Mahawansi is one of the most esteemed of all the sacred books of his countrymen, and has the character of being among the oldest of their writings, being throughout composed in Palee, the sacred buddhist language. This work has been so carefully preserved, that but slight differences are observable between the most ancient and most modern copies. It does not appear at what period it was composed, but it has been in existence from the period that the books of Ceylon were originally written, and it contains ‘the doctrine, the race, and lineage of Budha,’ and is, in fact, the religion and history of buddhism.”

I need hardly suggest, after what has been already stated, that Rájapaxa never could have been the real author of this note, asserting that the Maháwanso “is one of the most esteemed

of all the *sacred* books of his countrymen ;” nor could he have represented an history extending to the middle of the last century, and containing in it the specification of the reign in which the several portions of it were composed, to have “been in existence from the periods that the books of Ceylon were originally written.”

In his preface to the same work, Mr. Upham distinctly “disclaims all pretension to the philological knowledge and local information, requisite to render discussion useful, and illustration pertinent.” The spirit of candour in which this admission is made, would entitle Mr. Upham to be considered exclusively in the light of a publisher, irresponsible for any defect the work he edits may contain. A fatality, however, appears to attach to the proceedings of every individual connected with the publication of these Ceylonese works, from which Mr. Upham himself is not exempt, if the introduction, and the notes appended, to the translation of “*THE SACRED AND HISTORICAL BOOKS*” are to be attributed to him.

Thus, p. 83, the translator states that “Mahindo was accompanied with his nephew Sumenow, a samanere priest, seven years old, *the son of his sister Sangamitrah* ;” and p. 97, “The first queen Anulah, and 500 other queens, having obtained the state of Sakertahgamy, and also 500 *pleasure women*, put on yellow robes ; that is, became priestesses.” But when this publisher touches upon the same subjects in the following passage, p. 100, “in these days, the queen Anulah, together with 1000 women, were created priestesses by the Sangamitrah, and obtained the state of rahat ;” he thinks it necessary to enlighten his readers with a note : and forgetting altogether that he has to deal with “*matron queens and pleasure women*,” he gravely remarks, that “priestesses, although not now existing among the buddhists, were at this period of such sanctity, that an offender when led forth to be put to death, who was

so fortunate to meet one of these *sacred virgins*, was entitled, at her command, to a pardon ; and this privilege was *subsequently copied*, and adopted among the Romans, in the case of the vestal virgins." Mr. Upham has no more valid authority for saying that these "matrons and pleasure women" were considered either to assume the character of "sacred virgins" by their ordination, or to have been held in greater veneration than the rahat priests, than that the privilege of demanding the pardon of offenders, "was *subsequently copied*, and adopted among the Romans." Again, p. 222, in a note, he states correctly enough, that the "upasampadá were the priests of the superior quality." But at p. 300, where the ceremony of upasampadá (which simply signifies ordination) is mentioned, he forgets the former, and the correct rendering, and adds a note in these words: "this was the burning the various priests' bodies, and forming them into dawtoos, which had been preserved for that purpose." These instances of the same facts and circumstances being correctly stated in one, and incorrectly in another part, of both these publications, are by no means of infrequent occurrence ; which only tend to aggravate the neglect or carelessness of the parties employed in conducting this publication. Where such inaccuracies could be committed in the "SACRED AND HISTORICAL BOOKS," when an occasional note only is attempted, it may readily be imagined what the result must be, when Mr. Upham is employed to write "The HISTORY AND DOCTRINE OF BUDDHISM from Sir. A. Johnston's collection of manuscripts."

Imperfect as the information connected with buddhism possessed by Europeans at present is, it would not have been reasonable to have expected any connected and correct account of the metaphysical and doctrinal portions of that creed ; and until the "pitakattaya," or the three pitakas, which contain the buddhistical scriptures, and the ancient commentaries on them, are either consulted in the original, or correctly translated, there

must necessarily prevail great diversity of opinions on these abstruse and intricate questions. But in the historical portion, at least, for which the data are sufficiently precise, and readily obtained in the native annals of this island, "THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM" ought to have been exempt from any material inaccuracies. Even in this respect, however, the work abounds in the grossest errors. Thus, p. 1., in describing Ceylon, Mr. Upham speaks of "that island which the Buddha Guādma, this distinguished teacher of the eastern world, has chosen to make *the scene of his birth*, and the chief theatre of his acts and miracles : p. 2. referring to Adam's peak, he says, "it is celebrated for possessing the print of Buddha's foot left on the spot, *whence he ascended to the Déwalóka heavens :*" p. 73. "The buddhist temple of Mulgirigala *on Adam's peak*, is declared to be within this region (Jugandara Parwatte.)"

It is scarcely possible for a person, not familiar with the subject, to conceive the extent of the absurdities involved in these, and other similar passages. It is no burlesque to say, that they would be received, by a Ceylonese buddhist, with feelings akin to those with which an Englishman would read a work, written by an Indian, professedly for the purpose of illustrating the history of christianity to his countrymen, which stated,—that England was the scene of the birth of our Saviour ; that his ascension took place from Derby peak ; and that Salisbury cathedral stood on Westminster abbey.

And yet these are the publications put forth, as correct translations of, and compilations from, the native annals of Ceylon. Such is the force, respectability, and apparent competency of the attestations by which "THE SACRED AND HISTORICAL WORKS OF CEYLON" are sustained, that they have been considered worthy of being dedicated to the king, patronised by the court of directors, and sent out to this island, by the secretary of state, to be preserved among the archives of this government!!

After this signal failure on the part of Sir A. Johnston, and after the disappointments which have hitherto attended the labors of orientalists, in their researches for historical annals, *comprehensive in data and consistent in chronology*, I have not the hardihood to imagine, that the *translation alone* of a Páli history, containing a detailed, and chronologically continuous, history of Ceylon, for *twenty four centuries*; and a connected sketch of the buddhistical history of India, embracing the interesting period between B.C. 600, and B.C. 300; besides various other subsequent references, as well to India, as the eastern peninsula; would, without the amplest evidence of its authenticity, receive the slightest consideration from the literary world. I have decided, therefore, on publishing the *text also*, printed in roman characters, pointed with diacritical marks.

My object in undertaking this publication (as I have already stated) is, principally, to invite the attention of oriental scholars to the historical data contained in the ancient Páli buddhistical records, as exhibited in the Maháwansó; contrasted with the results of their profound researches, as exhibited in their various publications and essays, commencing from the period when Sir W. Jones first brought oriental literature under the scrutiny and analysis of European criticism.

Half a century has elapsed since that eminent person formed the Bengal Asiatic Society, which justly claims for itself the honor of having "numbered amongst its members all the most distinguished students of oriental literature, and of having succeeded in bringing to light many of the hidden stores of Asiatic learning." Within the regions to which their researches were in the first instance directed, the prevailing religion had, from a remote period, extending back, perhaps, to the christian era, been hinduism. The priesthood of that religion were considered to be exclusively possessed of the knowledge of the ancient literature of that country, in all its various branches.

The classical language in which that literature was embodied was **SANSKRIT**.

The rival religion to hinduism in Asia, from a period too remote to admit of chronological definition, was buddhism. The last successful struggle of buddhism for ascendancy in India, was in the fourth century before the christian era. It then became the religion of the state. The ruler of that vast empire was, at that epoch, numbered amongst its most zealous converts ; and fragments of evidence, literary, as well as of the arts, still survive, to attest that that religion had once been predominant throughout the most civilized and powerful kingdoms of Asia. From thence it spread to the surrounding nations ; among whom, under various modifications, it still prevails.

Hinduism, as the religion at least of its rulers, after an apparently short interval, regained its former ascendancy in India ; though the numerical diminution of its antagonists would appear to have been more gradually brought about. Abundant proofs may be adduced to shew the fanatical ferocity with which these two great sects persecuted each other,—a ferocity which mutually subsided into passive hatred and contempt, only when the parties were no longer placed in the position of actual collision.

European scholars, therefore, on entering upon their researches towards the close of the last century, necessarily, by the expulsion of the buddhists, came into communication exclusively with hindu pundits ; who were not only interested in confining the researches of orientalist to Sanscrit literature, but who, in every possible way, both by reference to their own ancient prejudiced authorities, and their individual representations, labored to depreciate in the estimation of Europeans, the literature of the buddhists, as well as the **PALI** or **MAGADHI** language, in which that literature is recorded.

The profound and critical knowledge attained by the distinguished Sanscrit scholars above alluded to, has been the means of elucidating the mysteries of an apparently unlimited mythology ; as well as of unravelling the intricacies of Asiatic astronomy, mathematics, and other sciences,— of analysing their various

systems of philosophy and metaphysics,—and of reducing tracts, grammatical as well as philological, into condensed and methodised forms ; thereby establishing an easier acquirement of that ancient language, and of the varied information contained in it.

The department in which their researches have been attended with the least success, is HISTORY ; and to this failure may perhaps be justly attributed the small portion of interest felt by the European literary world in oriental literature. The progress of civilization in the west has, from age to age, nay, from year to year, added some fresh advancement or refinement to almost every branch of the arts, sciences, and belles lettres ; while there is scarcely any thing, as hitherto developed in Asiatic literature, which could be considered either as an acquisition of practical utility to European civilization, or as models for imitation or adoption in European literature.

In the midst, nevertheless, of this progressively increasing discouragement, the friends of oriental research have proportionately increased their exertions, and extended the base of their operations. The formation of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and of similar institutions on the continent of Europe ; and the more rapid circulation of discoveries made in Asia, through the medium of the monthly journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, during the last four years, afford undeniable proofs of unabated exertion in those researches. To those who have watched the progress of the proceedings of these institutions, no small reward will appear to have crowned the gratuitous labors of orientalisists. In the pages of the Asiatic Journal alone, the decyphering of the alphabets in which the ancient inscriptions scattered over Asia are recorded, (which is calculated to lead to important chronological and historical results) ; the identification and arrangement of the ancient coins found in the Panjab ; the examination of the recently discovered fossil geology of India ; the analysis of the Sanscrit and Tibetan buddhistical records, contained in “hundreds of volumes,” by professor Wilson ; and the translation of the hindu plays, by the same distinguished scholar ;—exhibit

triumphant evidence, that at no previous period had oriental research been exerted with equal success. Yet it is in the midst of this comparatively brilliant career, and at the seat of the operations of the Bengal Asiatic Society, that the heaviest disappointment has visited that institution. It has within the last year been decided by the supreme government of India, that the funds which "have hitherto been in part applied to the revival and improvement of the literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, are henceforth to be appropriated to purposes of English education." In an unavailing effort of the Asiatic Society to avert that decision, the supreme government has thought proper to designate the printing of several standard oriental works, then in progress, to be "to little purpose but to accumulate stores of waste paper."

I advert not to these recent discussions in Bengal with any view to take part in them. My object is exclusively to show that the increasing discouragement or indifference evinced towards oriental research, does not proceed either from the exhaustion of the stores to be examined, or from the relaxation of the energy of the examiners; and to endeavour to account for the causes which have produced these conflicting results.

The mythology and the legends of Asia, connected with the fabulous ages, contrasted with those of ancient Europe and Asia Minor, present no such glaring disparity in extravagance, as should necessarily lead an unprejudiced mind to cultivate the study and investigation of the one, and to decide on the rejection and condemnation of the other. Almost every well educated European has exerted the first efforts of his expanding intellect to familiarize himself with the mythology and fabulous legends of ancient Europe. The immortal works of the poets which have perpetuated this mythology, as well as these legends, have from his childhood been presented to his view, as models of the most classical and perfect composition. In the progress to manhood, and throughout that period of life during which mental energy is susceptible of the greatest excitement,—in the senate, at the bar, on the stage, and even in the pulpit,—the most celebrated

men of genius have studiously borrowed, more or less of their choicest ornaments, from the works of the ancient poets and historians.

To those, again, to whom the fictions of the poets present no attractive charms, the literature of Europe, as soon as it emerges from the darkness of the fabulous ages, supplies a separate stream of historical narration, distinctly traced, and precisely graduated, by the scale of chronology. On the events recorded and *timed* in the pages of that well attested history, a philosophical mind dwells with intense interest. The rise and fall of empires ; the origin, growth, and decay of human institutions ; the arrest or advancement of civilization ; and every event which can instruct or influence practical men, in every station of life, are there developed, with the fullest authenticity. Whichever of these two departments of literature—fiction or fact—the European student may find most congenial to his taste, early associations and prepossessions have equally familiarized either to his mind.

As regards oriental literature, the impressions of early associations never can, nor is it to be wished that they ever should, operate on the European mind. Even in Europe, where the advantage of the spread of education, and of the diffusion of useful knowledge, are the least disputed of the great principles which agitate the public mind, there are manifest indications that it is the predominant opinion of the age, that into the scheme of that extended education—more of fact and less of fiction—more of practical mathematics and less of classics—should be infused, than have hitherto been adopted in public institutions. *Mutatis mutandis*, I regard the recent Indian fiat “that the funds which have hitherto been in part applied to the revival and improvement of the literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, shall be exclusively appropriated to purposes of *English* education,” to be conceived in the same spirit.

These early associations, then, being thus unavailing and unavailable, (if the foregoing remarks are entitled to any weight)

the creation of a *general* interest towards, or the realization of the subsiding expectations, produced at the formation of the Bengal Asiatic Society, in regard to, oriental literature, seems to depend on this single question ; viz.,

Does there exist now, or is there a prospect of an authentic history of India being developed hereafter, by the researches of orientalists ?

On the solution of this question, as it appears to me, depends entirely, whether the study of oriental literature (with reference not to languages, but the information those languages contain) shall continue, like the study of any of the sciences, to be confined to the few whose taste or profession has devoted them to it ; or whether it shall some day exercise an influence over that more extended sphere, which belongs to general history alone to exert.

This is an important, though not, perhaps, altogether a vital, question :—important, more especially at the present moment, as regards the interest it can create, and the resources it can thence derive, for the purpose of extending the basis of research ; but not vital, in as much as there is no more reason for apprehending the extinction of oriental research, from its having failed to extend its influence over the whole educated community of the world, than that geology, mineralogy, botany, or any of the other sciences should become extinct, because the interest each individually possesses is of a limited character. Nor does the continuance of oriental research, conducted by Europeans, appear, in any degree, to depend on the contingency of the permanence of British sway over its present Asiatic dominions ; for the spirit of that research has of late years gained even greater strength on the continent of Europe than in the British empire. But to return to the question :—

Does there exist now, or is there a prospect of an authentic history of India being developed hereafter, by the researches of orientalists ?

Preparatory to answering this question, I shall briefly touch on the published results of our countrymen's researches in the

department of HISTORY ; premising, that in the earlier period of their labors, their publications partook more of the character of theoretical or critical treatises, than accurate translations of the texts they professed to illustrate. This course was adopted, under the suggestion of Sir W. Jones ; who in his preliminary discourse on the institution of the Asiatic Society, remarked : “ You may observe I have omitted their languages, the diversity and difficulty of which are a sad obstacle to the progress of useful knowledge ; but I have ever considered languages as the mere instruments of real learning, and think them improperly confounded with learning itself. The attainment of them is, however, indispensably necessary.” Again, “ You will not perhaps be disposed to admit mere translations of considerable length, except such unpublished essays and treatises as may be transmitted to us by native authors.”

Sir W. Jones himself led the way in the discussion of the chronology of the hindus.* After a speculative dissertation, tending to an identification or reconciliation, in some particular points, of the hindu with the mosaic history, he has, with all that fascination which his richly stored mind enabled him to impart to all his discussions, developed the scheme of hindu chronology, as explained to him from hindu authorities, by Radhacanta Serman, “ a pundit of extensive learning and great fame among the hindus.” The chronology treated of in this dissertation, extends back through “ the four ages,” which are stated to embrace the preposterous period of 4,320,000 years ; and contains the genealogies of kings, collected from the puránas, which were then considered works of considerable antiquity. It is only in the middle of the “ fourth age,” when he comes to the Magadha dynasty, that hindu authorities enable him to assign a date to the period at which any of those kings ruled. On obtaining this “ point d'appui,” Sir W. Jones thus expresses himself :—

* A. R. vol. i. p. 71.

“*Puranjaya*, son of the twentieth king, was put to death by his minister. *Sunaca*, who placed his own son *Pradyota* on the throne of his *master*; and this revolution constitutes an epoch of the highest importance in our present inquiry; first, because it happened, according to the *Bhagawatanwerta*, two years before Buddha’s appearance in the same kingdom: next, because it is believed by the hindus to have taken place 3888 years ago, or 2100 before Christ; and, lastly, because a regular chronology, according to the number of years in each dynasty, has been established, from the accession of *Pradyota*, to the subversion of the genuine hindu government; and that chronology I will now lay before you, after observing only, that *Radhacanta* himself says nothing of Buddha in this part of his work, though he particularly mentions two preceding avataras in their proper places.

KINGS OF MAGADHA.

Pradyota	Y. B. C.
Palaca	2100
Visac’hayupa	
Rajaca	
Nandiwerdhana,.....	5 reigns = 138
Sisunaga	
Cacaverna.....	1962
Cshemadherman	
Cshetrajnya	
Vidhisara	
Ajatasatru	
Darbhaca	
Ajaya	
Nandiverdhana	
Mahanandi	10 reigns = 360 years 1602.
Nanda	

“ This prince, of whom frequent mention is made in the Sanscrit books, is said to have been murdered, after a reign of a hundred years, by a very learned and ingenious, but passionate and vindictive, brahman, whose name was Chánacya, and who raised to the throne a man of the Maurya race, named Chandragupta. By the death of Nanda and his sons, the Cshatriya family of Pradyota became extinct.

MAURYA KINGS.

Y. B. C.

Chandragupta	1502
Varisara	
Asocaverdhana	
Suyasas	
Desarat'ha.....	5
Sangata	
Salisuca	
Somasarman	
Satadhanwas	
Vrihadrat'ha	10 reigns = 137

“On the death of the tenth Maurya king, his place was assumed by his commander-in-chief, Pushamitra, of the Sanga nation or family.”

It is thus shown that, according to the hindu authorities, Chandragupta, the Sandracottos, who was contemporary with Alexander and Seleucus Nicator, to whose court at Palibothra Megasthenes was deputed, is placed on the throne about B. C. 1502 ; which is at once an anachronism of upwards of eleven centuries.

Sir W. Jones sums up his treatise by commenting on this fictitious chronology of the hindus, with the view to reconciling it, by rational reasoning, founded on the best attainable data, with the dates which that reasoning would suggest, as the probably correct periods of the several epochs named by him.

The whole of that paper, but more particularly as it treats of the “fourth age,” bears a deeply interesting relation to the question of the authenticity of the buddhistical chronology ; and it exhibits, in a remarkable degree, the unconscious approaches to truth, as regards the history of the Buddhos, made by rational reasoning, though constantly opposed by the prejudices and perversions of hindu authorities, and his hindu pundit, in the course of the examination in which Sir W. Jones was engaged.

Wilford* next brought the chronology of the hindus under consideration, by his "Genealogical Table, extracted from the Vishnu purána, the Bhagavat, and other puránas, without the least alteration." He however borrows from hindu annals, nothing but the names of the kings.

"When the puránas, (he says) speak of the kings of ancient times, they are equally extravagant. According to them, king Yudhishtir reigned seven and twenty thousand years; king Nanda, of whom I shall speak more fully hereafter, is said to have possessed in his treasury above 1,584,000,000 pounds sterling, in gold coin alone: the value of the silver and copper coin, and jewels, exceeded all calculation; and his army consisted of 100,000,000 men. These accounts, geographical, chronological, and historical, as absurd, and inconsistent with reason, must be rejected. This monstrous system seems to derive its origin from the ancient period of 12,000 natural years, which was admitted by the Persians, the Etrusians, and, I believe, also by the Celtic tribes; for we read of a learned nation in Spain, which boasted of having written histories of above six thousand years.

"The hindus still make use of a period of 12,000 divine years, after which a periodical renovation of the world takes place. It is difficult to fix the time when the hindus, forsaking the paths of historical truth, launched into the mazes of extravagance and fable. Megasthenes, who had repeatedly visited the court of Chandragupta, and of course had an opportunity of conversing with the best informed persons in India, is silent as to this monstrous system of the hindus. On the contrary, it appears, from what he says, that in his time they did not carry back their antiquities much beyond six thousand years, as we read in some MSS. He adds also, according to Clemens of Alexandria, that the hindus and the Jews were the only people who had a true idea of the creation of the world, and the beginning of things. There was then obvious affinity between the chronological systems of the Jews and the hindus. We are well acquainted with the pretensions of the Egyptians and Chaldeans to antiquity: this they never attempted to conceal. It is natural to suppose, that the hindus were equally vain: they are so now; and there is hardly a hindu who is not persuaded of, and who will not reason upon, the supposed antiquity of his nation. Megasthenes, who was

* A. R. vol. v. p. 241.

acquainted with the antiquities of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Jews, whilst in India made inquiries into the history of the hindus, and their antiquity, and it is natural to suppose that they would boast of it as well as the Egyptians or Chaldeans, and as much then as they do now. Surely they did not invent fables to conceal them from the multitude, for whom, on the contrary, these fables were framed."

Thus rejecting the whole scheme of hindu chronology, and adopting the date of the age of Alexander for the period at which Chandragupta reigned in India, Wilford, as regards chronology, simply tabularizes his list of kings, according to the average term of human life; and thereby approximates the hindu to the European chronology. "The puránas," he adds, "are certainly a modern compilation from valuable materials, which I am afraid no longer exist;" but from several hindu dramas (which have been recently translated and published by professor Wilson,) he deduces particulars connected with the personal history of Chandragupta, and supplies also some valuable geographical illustrations,—to both which I shall hereafter have occasion to advert. Wilford recurs to these subjects in greater detail, and with more close reference to buddhistical historical data, in his several essays on the Gangetic provinces, the kings of Magadha, the eras of Vicramaditya and Salivahana, and in his account of the jains or buddhists. Want of space prevents my making more than one extract. I shall only notice, therefore, as regards chronology, that Wilford in this instance* also bases his calculations on the European date assignable to the reign of Chandragupta; and that in doing so, it will be seen, by the following admission, that he disturbs the epoch of the Káliyuga by upwards of nineteen centuries.

"The beginning of the Cáli-yuga, considered as an astronomical period, is fixed and unvariable; 3044 years before Vicramaditya, or 3100. B. C.—But the

* A. R. vol. ix. p. 87.

beginning of the same, considered either as a civil, or historical period, is by no means agreed upon.

“In the Vishnu, Bráhmánda, and Váyu puránas, it is declared, that from the beginning of the Cáli-yuga, to Maha-nanda's accession to the throne, there were exactly 1015 years. This emperor reigned 28 years; his sons 12, in all 40; when Chandragupta ascended the throne, 315 years B.C.—The Cáli-yuga, then, began 1370 B.C., or 1314 before Vicramaditya: and this is confirmed by, and observation of, the place of the solstices, made in the time of Parására; and which, according to Mr. Davis, happened 1391 years B. C. or nearly so. Parására, the father of Vyása, died a little before the beginning of the Cáli-yuga. It is remarkable that the first observations of the colures, in the west, were made 1353 years before Christ, about the same time nearly, according to Mr. Bailly.”

Bentley, Davis, and others, have also discussed, and attempted to unravel and account for, these absurdities of the hindu chronology. Great as is the ingenuity they have displayed, and successful as those inquiries have been in other respects, they all tend to prove the existence of the above mentioned incongruities; and to shew that they are the result of systematic preversions, had recourse to, since the time of Megasthenes, by the hindus, to work out their religious impostures; and that they in no degree originate in barbarous ignorance, or in the imperfect light which has glimmered on a remote antiquity, or on uncivilized regions involved in a fabulous age.

The strongest evidence I could adduce of the correctness of this inference, will be found in the remarks of professor Wilson,* in his introductory observations on the “Rája Taringiní, a history of Cashmir.” He thus expresses himself:—

“The only Sanscrit composition yet discovered, to which the title of history can with any propriety be applied, is the Rája Taringiní, a history of Cashmir. This work was first introduced to the knowledge of the Moham-medans by the learned minister of Acber, Abulfazl; but the summary which he has given of its contents, was taken, as he informs us, from a Persian translation of the hindu original, prepared by order of Acbar. The example

* A. R. vol. xv.

set by that liberal monarch, introduced amongst his successors, and the literary men of their reigns, a fashion of remodelling, or re-translating the same work, and continuing the history of the province, to the periods at which they wrote.

The earliest works of this description, after that which was prepared by order of Acher, is one mentioned by Bernier, who states, an abridged translation of the Rájá Taringiní into Persian to have been made, by command of Jehangir. He adds, that he was engaged upon rendering this into French, but we have never heard any thing more of his translation. At a subsequent period, mention is made in a later composition, of two similar works, by Mulla Husein, Kári, or the reader, and by Hyder Malec, C'hadwaria, whilst the work in which this notice occurs, the Wakiat-i-Cashmir, was written in the time of Mohammed Shah ; as was another history of the province, entitled, the Nawadir-ul-Akhbar. The fashion seems to have continued to a very recent date, as Ghulam Husein notices the composition of a history of Cashmir having been entrusted to various learned men, by order of Jivana the Sic'h, then governor of the province ; and we shall have occasion to specify one history, of as recent a date as the reign of Shah Alem.

The ill directed and limited inquiries of the first European settlers in India, were not likely to have traced the original of these Mohammedan compositions ; and its existence was little adverted to, until the translation of the Ayin Acberi, by the late Mr. Gladwin, was published. The abstract then given, naturally excited curiosity, and stimulated inquiry ; but the result was unsatisfactory, and a long period intervened before the original work was discovered. Sir W. Jones was unable to meet with it, although the history of India from the Sanscrit Cashmir authorities, was amongst the tasks his undaunted and indefatigable intellect had planned ; and it was not until the year 1805, that Mr. Colebrooke was successful in his search. At that time he procured a copy of the work from the heirs of a bráhman, who died in Calcutta ; and about the same time, or shortly afterwards, another transcript of the Rájá Taringiní was obtained by the late Mr. Speke from Lucknow. To these two copies I have been able to add a third, which was brought for sale in Calcutta ; and I have only to add, that both in that city and at Benares, I have been hitherto unable to meet with any other transcript of this curious work.

The Rájá Taringiní has hitherto been regarded as one entire composition : it is however in fact a series of compositions, written by different authors, and at different periods ; a circumstance that gives greater value to its contents ; as, with the exceptions of the early periods of the history, the several authors

may be regarded almost as the chroniclers of their own times. The first of the series is the Rájá Taringiní of Calhana pandit, the son of Champaca ; who states his having made use of earlier authorities, and gives an interesting enumeration of several which he had employed. The list includes the general works of Suvrata and Naréndra ; the history of Gonerda and his three successors, by Hela Rájá, an ascetic ; of Lava, and his successors to Asoca, by Padma Mihira ; and of Asoca and the four next princes, by Sri Ch'havillacara. He also cites the authority of Nila Muni, meaning probably the Nila Purána, a purána known only in Cashmir ; the whole forming a remarkable proof of the attention bestowed by Cashmirian writers upon the history of their native country : an attention the more extraordinary, from the contrast it affords, to the total want of historical inquiry in any other part of the extensive countries peopled by the hindus. *The history of Calhana commences with the fabulous ages, and comes down to the reign of Sangrama Deva, the nephew of Diddá Ráni, in Saca 949, or A. D. 1027, approaching to what appears to have been his own date, Saca 1070, or A. D. 1148.*

The next work is the Rájavali of Jona Rájá, of which, I regret to state, I have not yet been able to meet with a copy. It probably begins where Calhana stops, and it closes about the time of Zein-ul-Ab-ad-din, or the year of the Hijra 815, as we know from the next of the series.

The Sri Jaina Rájá Taringiní is the work of Sri Vara Pandita, the pupil of Jona Rájá, whose work it professes to continue, so as to form with it, and the history of Calhana, a complete record of the kingdom of Cashmir. It begins with Zein-ul-Ab-ad-din, whose name the unprepared reader would scarcely recognize, in its Nagari transfiguration of Sri Jaina Ollábha Dina, and closes with the accession of Fatteh Shah, in the year of the Hijra 882, or A. D. 1477. The name which the author has chosen to give his work of Jaina Taringiní, has led to a very mistaken notion of its character ; it has been included amongst the productions of jain literature, whilst in truth the author is an orthodox worshipper of Siva, and evidently intends the epithet he has adopted as complimentary to the memory of Zien-ul-Ab-ad-din, a prince who was a great friend to his hindu subjects, and a liberal patron of hindu letters, and literary men.

The fourth work, which completes the aggregate current under the name of Rájá Taringiní, was written in the time of Acber, expressly to continue to the latest date, the productions of the author's predecessors, and to bring the history down to the time at which Cashmir became a province of Acber's empire. It begins accordingly where Sri Vara ended, or with Fatteh Shah, and closes with Nazek Shah ; the historian apparently, and judiciously,

avoiding to notice the fate of the kingdom during Hamayun's retreat into Persia. The work is called the Rajavali Pataca, and is the production of Punja or Prajnga Bhatta.

Of the works thus described, the manuscript of Mr. Speke, containing the compositions of Calhana and Sri Vara, came into my possession at the sale of that gentleman's effects. Of Mr. Colebrooke's manuscript, containing also the work of Punja Bhatta, I was permitted by that gentleman, with the liberality I have had on former occasions to acknowledge, to have a transcript made; and the third manuscript, containing the same three works, I have already stated I procured by accidental purchase. Neither of the three comprises the work of Jona Rája; and but one of them, the transcript of Mr. Colebrooke's manuscript, has the third tarong or section of Calhana's history. *The three manuscripts are all very inaccurate; so far so, indeed, that a close translation of them, if desirable, would be impracticable.* The leading points, however, may be depended upon, agreeing not only in the different copies, but with the circumstances narrated in the compendium of Abulfazl, and in the Mohammedan or Persian histories which I have been able to procure."

For the purposes of the comparative view I shall presently draw, I wish to notice pointedly here, that the earliest portion of this history comes down to A. D. 1027; that the author of it flourished about A. D. 1148; and that "the three manuscripts are all very inaccurate; so far so, indeed, that a close translation of them, if desirable, would be impracticable."

In reviewing his sketch of the Cashmírian history, the professor observes, in reference to its chronology :—

"The chronology of the Rája Taringini is not without its interest. The dates are regular, and for a long time both probable and consistent, and as they may enable us to determine the dates of persons and events, in other parts of India, as well as in Cashmir, a short review of them may not be wholly unprofitable.

The more recent the period, the more likely it is that its chronology will be correct; and it will be therefore advisable to commence with the most modern, and recede gradually to the most remote dates. The table prefixed was necessarily constructed on a different principle, and depends upon the date of Gonerda the third, which, as I have previously explained, is established according to the chronology of the text. Gonerda the third lived, according to Calhana pandit, 2330 years before the year Sæca 1070, or A. D. 1148, and consequently his accession is placed B. C. 1132: the periods of each reign are then regularly deduced till the close of the history, which is thus placed in the year of Christ 1025, or about 120 years before the author's

own time. That the reign of the last sovereign did terminate about the period assigned, we may naturally infer, not only from its proximity to what we may conclude was the date at which the work was written, but from the absence of any mention of Mahmud's invasions, and the introduction of a Prithivi Pala, who is very possibly the same with the Pitteruge Pal of Lahore, mentioned in the Mohammedan histories."

In applying the proposed test of "receding gradually to the most remote dates," the anachronism at the period of the reign of Gonerda third is not less than 796 years: the date arrived at by this recession being B. C. 388, while the text gives B. C. 1182: and various collateral evidences are adduced by the professor to shew that the adjusted is the probably correct one. This anachronism of course progressively increases with the recession. At the colonization of Cashmir, it amounts to 1048 years. The respective dates being, text B. C. 3714, and adjusted epoch B. C. 2666. I shall hereafter have to advert to those parts of the Rájá Tarinjini which touch on buddhism.

In Colonel Tod's superb publication, "The Annals of Rajasthan," the whole of the above data are reconsidered in reference to the hindu texts; but some trifling alterations only are made in those early dynasties. From poetical legends, the successful decyphering of inscriptions, and the discovery of a new era, (the Balábhi) a very large mass of historical information has, with incredible industry, been arranged into the narrative form of history; the chronology of which has been corrected and adjusted, as far as practicable, according to the occasional dates developed in that historical information.

At the end of these remarks will be found reprinted, portions of professor Wilson's prefaces to his translations of the historical dramas—the MUDRA RAKSHASA, and the RETNAVALI; to both which I shall have to refer, in commenting on the chapters of the Maháwanso, which embrace the periods during which the events represented on these hindu plays occurred.

I believe, I have now adverted to every published notice of hindu literature, in reference to *continuous* hindu history. And if I were called upon to answer the question, suggested by myself; upon the evidence adduced, I should say, in reply to the first

part of that proposition—That there does not now exist an authentic, connected, and chronologically correct hindu history ; and that the absence of that history proceeds, not from original deficiency of historical data, nor the ravages of war, but the systematic perversion of those data, adopted to work out the monstrous scheme upon which the hindu faith is based.

In regard to the second part of the proposition, the answer can only be made inferentially and hypothetically. Judging from what has already been effected, by the collateral evidence of the history of other countries, and the decyphering of inscriptions and coins, I am sanguine enough to believe that such a number of authentic dates will in time be verified, as will leave intervals of but comparatively short duration in the ancient Indian dynasties between any two of those authentic dates ; thereby rescuing hindu history in some degree from the prejudice under which it has been brought by the superstitions of the native priesthood.

One of the most important services rendered to the cause of oriental research of late years, is, perhaps, “the restoration and decyphering of the Allahabad inscription, No. 2,” achieved by Doctor Mill, and published in the *Asiatic Journal* of June, 1834.

In reference to this historical inscription, the learned principal observes, “undoubtedly we should be strongly inclined, if it were possible, to identify the king thus named (though the name is far from being an uncommon one) with the celebrated prince so called, the only one in whom the Puranic and Greek histories meet, the Chandragupta or Sandracoptus, to whom Seleucus Nicator sent the able ambassador, from whom Strabo, Arrian, and others derived the principal part of their information respecting India.” After adducing further particulars tending to shew this identity, with the most laudable caution, on grounds therein explained, he abandons this identification. “It is not therefore (says Dr. Mill) among the descendants or successors of Curu,

whether reigning (like those Magadha princes) at Patna or at Delhi, that we must look for the subject of the Allahabad inscription ; but, if I mistake not, in a much nearer kingdom, that of Canyácubja or Canouje." The annals, however, of Páli literature appear to afford several interesting notices, tending both to remove some of these doubts, and to aid in elucidating this valuable inscription. It will be found in the ensuing pages, that the Móriyan was a branch of the Sákyan dynasty, who were the descendants of Ixkswaku, of the solar line : though the name of Chandragupta's father is not given in the particular work under consideration, to admit of its being compared with the inscription, it is specifically stated that he was the last sovereign of Móriya of that family, and lost his life with his kingdom : his queen,* who was then pregnant, fled with her brother to Pátaliputta (where Chandragupta was born) to seek protection from their relations the Nandos, whose father, Susunágo, was the issue of a Lichchawi rája, by a "nagarasóbhini,"—one of the Aspasias of Rájagaha. If this identity of Chandragupta be established, Samudragupta would be the Bindusáro of Páli history, to whom, as one of the supreme monarchs of India, the designation would not be inappropriate. And indeed, in the Maháwanso, in describing the completion of the buddhistical edifices in the reign of his son and successor, Dhammásoko, a similar epithet is applied to his empire.

*Sammudapariyantañ só Jambúdiṇan samantató passi sabbé wiháre-
cha nánda, puḍá wibhúsité.*

"He saw (by the power of a miracle) all the wiháros, situated in every direction through the ocean-bound Jambudípo, resplendent with offerings."

Also within a few months, another orientalist, the Rev. Mr. Stevenson of Poonah, "through the aid afforded by the Al-

* I am told there is historical authority to show that she was herself a princess of Lichchawi, which I hope to verify before the Maháwanso issues from the press.

lahabad inscription, and assistance from other sources," has been enabled to decypher some of the inscriptions at the caves of Carli; which will probably prove the key to the inscriptions in the stupendous temples at Ellora. Mr. Stevenson adds, "many important duties prevent me from allotting much time to studies of this nature, and the time I can spare for such a purpose will be better spent in endeavouring to elucidate the history of the Dakhan (Dekan) from the numerous inscriptions, in this and other ancient characters, which are to be found up and down the country; assured that the learned in Calcutta will soon reveal to us whatever mysteries the Allahabad and Delhi columns conceal."

The Journal of September last, contains the translation of the inscriptions upon two sets of copper plates found "several years since" in the western part of Gujerat, which Mr. Secretary Wathen has now been enabled to translate; and by means of those two inscriptions alone, to fix the period of the reigns of no less than eighteen sovereigns of the Valabhi or Balhavi dynasty, between the years A. D. 144 and 559.

Contemporaneously with this decyphering of inscriptions, the pages of the Asiatic Journal have displayed the successful labors of Mr. Prinsep, its editor and the secretary of the society, in identifying and classifying various ancient coins, equally conducive to the supply of the grand desideratum in oriental literature,—**CHRONOLOGY.**

In the midst of this interesting and triumphant career of oriental research, I have undertaken the task of inviting the attention of orientalists to the Páli buddhistical literature of *India*, the examination of which is not within my own reach. If they are found to approximate, in any degree, to the authenticity of the Páli historical annals of *Ceylon*, we shall not only be able to unveil the history of India from the 6th century before Christ, to the period to which those annals may have been

continued in India ; but they will also serve to elucidate there, as they have done here, the intent and import of the buddhistical portion of the inscriptions now in progress of being decyphered.

To do justice, however, to the important question under consideration, I must briefly sketch the history of the Mágadhi or Páli language, and the scheme of buddhism in reference to history, as each is understood in Ceylon.

Buddhists are impressed with the conviction that their sacred and classical language, the Mágadhi or Páli, is of greater antiquity than the Sanscrit ; and that it had attained also a higher state of refinement than its rival tongue had acquired. In support of this belief they adduce various arguments, which, in their judgment, are quite conclusive. They observe, that the very word “ Páli ” signifies, original, text, regularity ; and there is scarcely a buddhist Páli scholar in Ceylon, who, in the discussion of this question, will not quote, with an air of triumph, their favorite verse,—

Sá Mágadhi ; mûla bhásá, nardiyádi kappiká, brahmánóchásuttálpá, Sambuddháchápi bhásaré.

“ There is a language which is the root (of all languages) ; men and bráhmans at the commencement of the creation, who never before heard nor uttered an human accent, and even the supreme Buddhos, spoke it : it is Mágadhi.”

This verse is a quotation from Kachcháyano’s grammar, the oldest referred to in the Páli literature of Ceylon. The original work is not extant in this island. I shall have to advert to it hereafter.

Into this disputed question, as to the relative antiquity of these two ancient languages, it is not my intention to enter. With no other acquaintance with the Sanscrit, than what is afforded by its affinity to Páli, I could offer no opinion which would be entitled to any weight. In abstaining, however, from engaging in this discussion, I must run no risk of being considered a participator in the views entertained by the Ceylon

buddhists ; nor of being consequently regarded in the light of a prejudiced advocate in the cause of buddhistical literature. Let me, therefore, at once avow, that, exclusive of all philological considerations, I am inclined, on *primâ facie* evidence—external as well as internal—to entertain an opinion adverse to the claims of the buddhists on this particular point. The general results of the researches hitherto made by Europeans, both historical and philological, unquestionably converge to prove the greater antiquity of the Sanscrit. Even in this island, all works on astronomy, medicine, and (such as they are) on chemistry and mathematics, are exclusively written in Sanscrit. While the books on buddhism, the histories subsequent to the advent of Gótamo Buddhó, and certain philological works, alone, are composed in the Páli language.

The earliest notice taken of the Mágadhi or Páli by our countrymen, is contained, I believe, in Mr. Colebrooke's essay* on the Sanscrit and Prácrit languages, which commences in these words :—

“ In a treatise on rhetoric, compiled for the use of Ma'nicya Chandra, Rája of Tirabhucti or Tírhút, a brief enumeration of languages, used by hindu poets, is quoted from two writers on the art of poetry. The following is a literal translation of both passages.

‘ Sanscrita, Pra'crita, Paisachī, and Mágad'hi, are in short the four paths of poetry. The gods, &c. speak Sanscrita ; benevolent genii, Pra'crita ; wicked demons, Paisa'chī ; and men of low tribes and the rest, Mágad'hi. But sages deem Sanscrita the chief of these four languages. It is used three ways, in prose, in verse, and in a mixture of both.’

‘ Language, again, the virtuous have declared to be fourfold : Sanscrita (or the polished dialect,) Prácrita (or the vulgar dialect,) Apabhraṅs'a (or jargon), and Mis'ra (or mixed). Sanscrita is the speech of the celestials, framed in grammatical institutes ; Prácrita is similar to it, but manifold as a provincial dialect, and otherwise ; and those languages which are ungrammatical, are spoken in their respective districts.’ ”

* A. R. vol. vii. p. 199.

The Paisáchī seems to be gibberish, which dramatic poets make the demons speak, when they bring these fantastic beings on the stage. The mixture of languages, noticed in the second quotation, is that which is employed in dramas, as is expressly said by the same author in a subsequent verse. It is not then a compound language, but a mixed dialogue, in which different persons of the drama employ different idioms. Both the passages above quoted are therefore easily reconciled. They in fact notice only three tongues: 1, Sanscrit, a polished dialect, the inflections of which, with all its numerous anomalies, are taught in grammatical institutes. This the dramatic poets put into the mouths of gods and of holy personages. 2, Prácrit, consisting of provincial dialects, which are less refined, and have a more imperfect grammar. In dramas it is spoken by women, benevolent genii, &c. 3, *Mágad'hi, or Apabhrans'a, a jargon destitute of regular grammar. It is used by the vulgar, and varies in different districts: the poets, accordingly, introduce it into the dialogue of plays as a provincial jargon spoken by the lowest persons of the drama.*

Pánini, the father of Sanscrit grammar, lived in so remote an age, that he ranks among those ancient sages whose fabulous history occupies a conspicuous place in the puránas, or Indian theogonies.

It must not be hence inferred, that Pánini was unaided by the labours of earlier grammarians; in many of his precepts he cites the authority of his predecessors, sometimes for a deviation from a general rule, often for a grammatical canon which has universal cogency. He has even employed some technical terms without defining them, because, as his commentators remark: 'Those terms were already introduced by earlier grammarians.' None of the more ancient works, however, seem to be now extant; being superseded by his, they have probably been disused for ages, and are now perhaps totally lost.

A performance such as the Pániniya grammar must inevitably contain many errors. *The task of correcting its inaccuracies has been executed by Cátyáyana, an inspired saint and lawgiver, whose history, like that of all the Indian sages, is involved in the impenetrable darkness of mythology.* His annotations, entitled Várticas, restrict those among the Pániniya rules which are too vague, enlarge others which are too limited, and mark numerous exceptions which had escaped the notice of Pánini himself.

The amended rules of grammar have been formed into memorial verses by Bhartri-hari, whose metrical aphorisms, entitled Cárícá, have almost equal authority with the precepts of Pánini, and emendations of Cátyáyana. If the popular traditions concerning Bhartri-hari be well founded, he lived in the

century preceding the Christian era; for he is supposed to be the same with the brother of Vicramaditya, and the period when this prince reigned at Ujjayini is determined by the date of the samat era."

It can be no matter of surprize, when so eminent a scholar as Mr. Colebrooke was led by prejudiced hindu authorities to confound Mágadhi with Apabhrans'a, and to describe it as "a jargon destitute of regular grammar, used by the vulgar, and spoken by the lowest persons of the drama;" that that language, and the literature recorded in it, should not have attracted the attention of subsequent orientalists. With the exception of the notice it has received in Ceylon, and from scholars on the continent of Europe, I apprehend, I may safely say, that it is not otherwise known, than as one of the several minor dialects emanating from the Sanscrit, and occasionally introduced into hindu works, avowedly for the purpose of marking the inferiority, or provinciality, of the characters who speak, or inscribe those Prácrit passages.

To an attentive observer of the progress made in oriental philological research, various literary notices will suggest themselves, subsequent to the publication of Mr. Colebrooke's essay; which must have the tendency of raising a doubt in his mind as to the justice of the criticism of the hindu philologists, which imputes this inferiority to the Mágadhi language. Without any acknowledged advocacy of its cause, professor Wilson, by the notes appended to his translations of the Hindu Plays, has done much towards rescuing Mágadhi from its unmerited degradation. Although in his introductory essay on "the Dramatic System of the Hindus" he expresses himself with great caution, in discussing the merits of the Prácrit generally, and the Mágadhi in particular; yet, in his introduction to "the Drama of Vikrama and Urvasi, one of the three plays attributed to Kálidás" he bears the following decided testimony in its favour:—

"The richness of the Prácrit in this play, both in structure and in its metrical code, is very remarkable. A very great portion, especially of the

fourth act, is in this language; and in that act also a considerable variety of metre is introduced: it is clear, therefore, that this form of Sanscrit must have been highly cultivated long before the play was written, *and this might lead us to doubt whether the composition can bear so remote a date as the reign of Vicramaditya (56 B. C.)* It is yet rather uncertain whether the classical language of hindu literature had at that time received so high a polish as appears in the present drama; *and still less, therefore, could the descendants have been exquisitely refined, if the parent was comparatively rude.* We can scarcely conceive that the cultivation of Prácrit preceded that of Sanscrit, when we advert to the principles on which the former seems to be evolved from the latter; *but it must be confessed that the relation between Sanscrit and Prácrit has been hitherto very imperfectly investigated, and is yet far from being understood."*

What the extent of the progress made may be by the savans of Europe, in attaining a proficiency in the Mágadhi language, I have had no other opportunities of ascertaining in this remote quarter of the globe, than by the occasional allusions made to their labours in the proceedings of our societies connected with Asiatic literature; and considering that so recently as 1827, the members of the Asiatic Society of Paris were so totally destitute of all acquaintance of the language, as not to have possessed themselves of a single elementary work connected with it, and that they were actually forming a grammar for themselves, the advancement made in the attainment of Páli on the continent of Europe surpasses the most sanguine expectation which could have been formed. In proof of this assertion, I cite a passage from the essay on the Páli language, published by Messieurs Burnouf and Lassen, members of the Asiatic Society of Paris in 1827.

“ Et d'abord on peut se demander quel est le caractère de la langue palié ? Jusqu'a quel point s'éloigne-t-elle, ou se rapproche-t-elle du sanskrit ? Dans quelle contrée a-t-elle pris la forme que nous lui voyons maintenant dans l'Inde, ou dans les pays dont le bouddhisme est la loi religieuse ? Le pali diffère-t-il suivant les diverses contrées où il domine comme langue sacrée, où bien est-il partout uniformément et invariablement le même ? Enfin, le pali présente-t-il quelques analogies avec les dialectes dérivés de la même source que lui ; et, s'il en présente, de quelle nature sont-elles ? On conviendra sans peine que le seul moyen d'essayer de résoudre de pareilles questions, est

de donner une analyse exacte de la structure grammaticale du pali : c'est ce que nous allons tenter de faire ; mais, avant que nous commençons, qu'on nous permette quelques remarques sur les matériaux et les sources, où nous avons puiser la connaissance de cette langue.

“ Il ya deux moyens d'arriver á la connaissance d'un idiome auquel les travaux des grammairiens ont donné, pour ainsi dire, une constitution propre, et dont la culture est attestée par des compositions littéraires ; c'est de l'apprendre dans les grammaires originales, c'est-à-dire, aller de l'inconnu au plus inconnu, ou d'en abstraire la connaissance des livres et de la littérature même. Les secours de la première espèce existent pour le pali, au moins Leyden affirme-t-il qu'on possède á Ceylan quelques vocabulaires et grammaires de cette langue, et Joinville donne en effet le titre de plusieurs ouvrages de ce genre, dans son Memoire cite plus haut. *Pour nous, ce secours nous a complètement manqué ; il nous a donc fallu faire la grammaire nous-mêmes, mais les ouvrages qui nous ont servi pour ce dessein, quoi qu'extrêmement interessans sous un autre rapport, se sont malheureusement trouves les moins propres à faciliter un pareil travail. On verra par les notices, que nous avons données dans l'appendice, des manuscrits dont nous avons fait usage, qu'ils sont presque exclusivement d'une nature philosophique et religieuse. Dans les compositions de ce genre, le style est peu varié, et il reproduit constamment, avec le retour des mêmes formules, la monotone répétition des mêmes inflexions grammaticales. Il eût été à désirer que nous eussions pu consulter un plus grand nombre d'ouvrages historiques, qui nous eussent donné une grande variété de mots et de formes, et c'est pour n'avoir pas eu ce secours que nous n'avons pu déterminer l'étendue réelle de la conjugaison pali.*”

In no part of the world, perhaps, are there greater facilities for acquiring a knowledge of Páli afforded than in Ceylon. Though the historical data contained in that language have hitherto been underrated, or imperfectly illustrated, the doctrinal and metaphysical works on buddhism are still extensively, and critically studied by the native priesthood; and several of our countrymen have acquired a considerable proficiency therein. The late Mr. W. Tolfrey, of the Ceylon civil service, commenced the translation of the most practical and condensed Páli Grammar extant in Ceylon, called the Balávátáro, and of Moggallaná's Páli vocabulary, both which, as well as the Singhalese dictionary, left imperfect at that gentleman's death, have been successfully completed, and published by the Rev. B. Clough, a Wesleyan missionary, by whose labour and research, the study of both the ancient and the vernacular languages of this island has been facilitated in no trifling degree.

I might safely rest on this translation of the *Balávátáro*, and on the Páli historical work I have now attempted to give to the public, the claims both of the Páli language for refinement and purity; and of the historical data its literature contains for authenticity. I shall, however, now proceed to give a brief, but more precise account of both.

The oldest Páli grammar noticed in the literature of Ceylon, is that of *Kachcháyano*. It is not now extant. The several works which pass under the name of *Kachcháyano's* grammars, are compilations from, or revisions of, the original; made at different periods, both within this island and in other parts of Asia. I have never waded through any of them, having only consulted the *Balávátáro*.

The oldest version of the compilation from *Kachcháyano's* grammar is acknowledged to be the *Rúpasiddhi*. I quote three passages; two from the grammar, and the other from its commentary. The first of these extracts, without enabling me to fix (as the name of the reigning sovereign of Ceylon is not given) the precise date at which this version was compiled, proves the work to be of very considerable antiquity, from its having been composed in the *Daksina*, while buddhism prevailed there as the religion of the state. The second and third extracts, in my opinion, satisfactorily establish the interesting and important point that *Kachcháyano*, whose identity Mr. Colebrooke says in his essay is "involved in the impenetrable darkness of mythology," was one of the eighty celebrated cotemporary disciples of *Gótamo Buddho*, whose names are repeatedly mentioned in various portions of the *Pitakattya*. He flourished therefore in the middle of the sixth century before the birth of Christ, and upwards of four hundred years before *Bhatríhári*, the brother of *Vicramaditya*, by whom, according to Mr. Colebrooke's essay, "the amended rules of grammar were formed into memorial verses;" as well as before *Kálidás*, on whose play professor *Wilson* comments.

The first quotation is from the conclusion of the Rúpasiddhi:—

Wikkyhdtánandathérabhaya waragurúnañ Tambapaññiddhájánañ, sissó Dipañkarákkhyo Damilawasumati dipaladdhappakáso Báládichchádi wásaddwitayamadhiwasan, sásanañ jótayí yo, sóyam Buddhappiyuwho yati; imamujukan Rúpasiddhiñ akási,

A certain disciple of Anando, a preceptor who was (a rallying point) unto eminent preceptors like unto a standard, in Tambapanni, named Dípankaro, renowned in the Damila kingdom (of Chola) and the resident-superior of two fraternities, there the Báládichchá, (and the Chudámanikyo), caused the religion (of Buddho) to shine forth. He was the priest who obtained the appellation of Buddhappiyo (the delight of Buddho,) and compiled this perfect Rúpasiddhi.

Buddhappiyo commences the Rúpasiddhi in these words:—

Kachchýananacháchariyañ namitwá; nissáya Kachchýanawaññanádiñ, bálappabódhatthamujuñ karissanñ wyattañ sukaññañ pada-rúpasiddhiñ

Reverentially bowing down to the Acha'rayo Kachchá'yano, and guided by the rules laid down by the said Kachchá'yano, I compose the Rúpasiddhi, in a perspicuous form, judiciously subdivided into sections, for the use of degenerated intellects (of the present age, which could not grasp the original).

In the commentary on the Rúpasiddhi, we find the following distinct and important particulars regarding Kachchá'yano, purporting to be conveyed in his own words:—

“Kachchassa apachchañ, Kachchýano. Kachchótikira, tasmiñ gotté pañhamapuriso. Tappabhawantá tabbansiká sabbéwa Kachchýand játa. Tabhañsi kócháyamiti Kachchýano, Kóchýan Kachchýano námo ? Yó étadaggañ, ‘Bhikkhawé! mama sāvakánañ bhikkhúnañ sankhitténa bhásitassa wittháreña atthañ wibhajantánañ yadidañ Mahákachchýanóti’ étadagge ðhapito Bhagawá mañ chatuparisamajjhé nisinnó, Suriyarasmísamphassawikasamánamíwa padumañ sassirikañ mukhañ wíwaritwá, Brahmaghósañ nichchhárentó. ‘Gaṅgáya wáluka kkiyé; udakañ kkiyé mahannawé; mahiyá mantiká kkiyé; takkhéna muma buddhiyá,’ ádindá ñána gajjanañ gajjituñ, samatthó mahápañño, bhikkhawé; Sáriputtótí ádiná; tésu tésu suttésu attanáwa; Lókanáthañ ðhapetwána yéchaññe idhapáninó

paṇḍya Śāriputtassa kalaṇagghanti solasanti ādinā; dchariyēhi wḍḍṇitaṇḍṇé Śāriputtōchā; tadaṇṇésucha pabhinnapaṭisambhidésu mahásdvakésu wijjamánésupi; Chakkawattirājā wiyá rajjawhana-samatthaṇ jēṭṭhaputtaṇ parindyakatiḥḍné ṭhapento, Tathágata-wachanaṇ wibhajantḍnaṇ étadaggé ṭhapési. Handdhaṇ Tathágata-tassa pachchúpakāraṇ karissámi. Dātabbaméwaṭṭhānantaraṇ Bha-gawá adási. Bhagawato yathábhuchchakathanaṇ saddhápessami. Ewaṇ sati náṇḍ dēsa bhásá sattá Sakkatādi khalitawachana maṇḍ-kāraṇ jetwá, Tathágatēna wuttāya sabhāwa niruttiyá. sukhēna Buddhawachanaṇ uggaṇḥissantiti.” attano balaṇ dassento Nirutti-pitakaṇ “atthó akkharasaṇṇātóti” imassa wakkyyassa yathá būthaṇ saddalakkhanamakāsi. Só Mahákachchāyanatthēró idha Kachchā-yanóti wutto.

Kachchāyano signifies the son of Kachcho. The said Kachcho was the first individual (who assumed that name as a patronimic) in that family. All who are descended from that stock are, by birth, Kachchāyaná.

(If I am asked) “Who is this Kachchāyano? Whence his name Kachchāyano?” (I answer), “It is he who was selected for the important office (of compiling the first Pāli grammar, by Buddho himself; who said on that occasion): ‘Bhikkus! from amongst my sanctified disciples, who are capable of elucidating in detail, that which is expressed in the abstract, the most eminent is this Mahakachchāyano.’”

Bhagawá (Buddho) seated in the midst of the four classes of devotees, of which his congregation was composed, (viz. priests and priestesses, male and female lay ascetics);—opening his sacred mouth, like unto a flower expanding under the genial influence of Surio's rays, and pouring forth a stream of eloquence like unto that of Brahma,—said: “My disciples! the profoundly wise Śāriputto is competent to spread abroad the tidings of the wisdom (contained in my religion) by his having proclaimed of me that,—‘To define the bounds of his omniscience by a standard of measure, let the grains of sand in the Ganges be counted; let the water in the great ocean be measured; let the particles of matter in the great earth be numbered;’ as well as by his various other discourses.”

It has also been admitted that, excepting the saviour of the world, there are no others in existence whose wisdom is equal to one sixteenth part of the profundity of Śāriputto. By the Achārayas also the wisdom of Śāriputto has been celebrated. Moreover, while the other great disciples also, who had overcome the dominion of sin and attained the four gifts of sanctification, were yet living; he (Buddho) allotted, from among those who were capable of illustrating the word of Tathágata, this important task to me,—in the same manner

that a Chakkawatti rāja confers on an eldest son, who is capable of sustaining the weight of empire, the office of Parināyako. I must therefore render unto Tathāgata a service equivalent to the honor conferred. Bhagawā has assigned to me a most worthy commission. Let me place implicit faith in whatever Bhagawā has vouchsafed to propound.

This being achieved, men of various nations and tongues, rejecting the dialects which have become confused by its disorderly mixture with the Sanscrit and other languages, will, with facility, acquire, by conformity to the rules of grammar propounded by Tathāgata, the knowledge of the word of Buddho." Thus the théro Mahākachchāyano, who is here (in this work) called simply Kachchāyano, setting forth his qualifications; pursuant to the declaration of Buddho, that "sense is represented by letters," composed the grammatical work called Niruttipitako.

There are several other editions or revisions of Kachchāyano's grammar, each professing, according as its date is more modern, to be more condensed and methodized than the preceding one. In the version entitled the Payóghasiddhi alone (as far as my individual knowledge extends) is to be found the celebrated verse,—

*"Sā Māgadhī; mūla bhasā, narāyē yādi kappikā, brahmānō-
chassuttāpā, Sambuddhāchāpi bhāsarē."*

From these different grammars, the Bálávátáro, translated by the Rev. Mr. Clough, was compiled. The last Páli edition of that work brought to my notice, is reputed to have been revised at the commencement of the last century.

I am not aware that there is more than one edition of the vocabulary called the Abhídhānappadīpikā, a translation of which is annexed to Mr. Clough's grammar. The Páli copy in my possession was compiled by one Moggallāno, at the Jéto wiháro, in the reign of Parakkamo; whom I take to be the king Parakkamo, who reigned at Pulatthinagaró, between A. D. 1153, and 1186, and the work itself is almost a transcript of the Sanscrit Amerakósha; which is also extant in Ceylon. There is also another series of grammars called the Moggallāno, deriving their name from the author of the Abhídhānappadīpikā, above mentioned.

The foregoing observations, coupled with the historical data, to which I shall now proceed, will serve, I trust, to prove, that the Páli or Mágadhi language had already attained the refinement it now possesses, at the time of Gótamo Buddho's advent. No unprejudiced person, more especially an European who has gone through the ordinary course of a classical tuition, can consult the translation of the Bálávátáro, without recognizing in that elementary work, the rudiments of a precise and classically defined language, bearing no inconsiderable resemblance, as to its grammatical arrangement, to the Latin; nor without indeed admitting that little more is required than a copious and critical dictionary, to render the acquisition of that rich, refined, and poetical language, the Páli, as facile as the attainment of Latin.

In developing the more interesting question, involving the character, the value, and the authenticity, of the historical data contained in the Páli buddhistical annals, I must enter into greater detail; and quote with greater explicitness the authorities from which my exposition is derived;—as it is opposed, in many essential respects, to the views entertained by some of the orientalistes who have hitherto discussed this subject, from records extant in other parts of India.

It is an important point connected with the buddhistical creed, which (as far as I am aware) has not been noticed by any other writer, that the ancient history, as well as the scheme of the religion of the buddhists, are both represented to have been exclusively developed by revelation. Between the manifestation of one Buddho and the advent of his successor, two periods are represented to intervene;—the first is called the buddhántáro or buddhótpádo, being the interval between the manifestation of one Buddho and the period when his religion becomes extinct. The age in which we now live is the buddhótpádo of Gótomo. His religion was destined to endure 5000 years; of which 2379 have now passed away (A.D. 1836) since his death, and 2621 are yet to come. The second is

the abuddhótpádo, or the term between the periods when the religion revealed by one Buddho becomes extinct, and another Buddho appears, and revives by revelation the doctrines of the buddhistical faith. It would not be practicable, within the limits which I must here prescribe for myself, to enter into an elucidation of the preposterous term assigned to an abuddhótpádo ; or to describe the changes which the creation is stated to undergo, during that term. Suffice it to say, that during that period, not only does the religion of each preceding Buddho become extinct, but the recollection and record of all preceding events are also lost. These subjects are explained in various portions of the Pitakattya, and more particularly in the Buddhawansadésana ; but in too great detail to admit of my quoting those passages in this place.

By this fortunate fiction, a limitation has been made to the mystification in which the buddhistical creed has involved all the historical data, contained in its literature, *anterior to the advent of Gótamo*. While in the hindu creed there is no such limitation ; and professor Wilson in his analysis of the Puranas, from which (excepting the Rája Taringiní) the hindu historical data are chiefly obtained, proves that those works are, comparatively, of modern date.

The distinguishing characteristics, then, between the hindu and buddhistical historical data appear to consist in these particulars ; —that the mystification of hindu data is protracted to a period so modern that no part of them is authentic, in reference to chronology ; and that their fabulous character is exposed by every gleam of light thrown on Asiatic history by the histories of other countries, and more especially by the writers who flourished, respectively, at the periods of, and shortly after, the Macedonian and Mahomedan conquests. While the mystification of the buddhistical data ceased a century at least prior to B.C. 588, when prince Siddhato attained buddhohood, in the character of Gótamo Buddho.

According to the buddhistical creed, therefore, all historical data, whether sacred or profane, *anterior to Gótomo's advent*, are based on *his* revelation. They are involved in absurdity as unbounded, as the mystification in which hindu literature is enveloped.

For nearly five centuries subsequent to the advent of Gótomo, the age of inspiration and miracle is believed to have endured among the professors of his faith. His last inspired disciple, in Ceylon at least, was Malayadéwo théro, the kinsman of Watta-gámini, who reigned from B. C. 104 to B. C. 76. It would be inconsistent with the scheme of such a creed, and unreasonable also on our part, to expect that the buddhistical data, comprised in those four and half centuries, should be devoid of glaring absurdities and gross superstitions. These defects, however, in no degree prejudice those data, in as far as they subserve the chronological, biographical, and geographical, ends of history.

Gótamo Buddho, by whom, according to the creed of the buddhists, the whole scheme of their historical data, anterior to his advent, was thus revealed, entered upon his divine mission in B. C. 588, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Bimbisáro, sovereign of Mágadha (who became a convert to buddhism); and died in B. C. 543, in the eighth year of the reign of Ajátasatto, the son of the preceding monarch. These revelations are stated to have been orally pronounced in Páli, and orally perpetuated for upwards of four centuries, until the close of the buddhistical age of inspiration. They compose the "Pitakattya," or the three Pitakas, which now form (if I may so express myself) the buddhistical scriptures, divided into the Winéyo, Abhidhammo, and Sutto pitako.

At the demise of Gótamo, Mahákassapo was the hierarch of the buddhistical church, in which a schism arose, even before the funeral obsequies of Buddho had terminated. For the suppression of this schism, and for asserting the authenticity of the Pitakattya, the first "Dhammasangítí," or convocation on

religion, was held at Rájagaha, the capital of Ajátasatto, in B. C. 543. The schism was suppressed, and the authenticity of the Pitakattya in Páli was vindicated and established. Upon that occasion, dissertations, or commentaries, called "Atthakathá" on the Pitakattya, were also delivered.

In B. C. 443, at the lapse of a century from Gótamo's death, the second Dhammasangítí was held, in the tenth year of the reign of Kálásóko, at Wésáli, for the suppression of a heresy raised by certain priests, natives of Wajji, resident in that city. The hierarch was the venerable Sabbakámi; and under his direction, Réwato conducted the convocation. The authority of the Pitakattya was again vindicated; and the Atthakathá, delivered on that occasion, serve to develop the history of buddhism for the interval which elapsed since the last convocation.

In B. C. 309, in the eighteenth year of the reign of Dhammásoko, the supreme sovereign of India, who was then a convert to buddhism, the third convocation was held at Pátilipura; Moggaliputtatisso being then the hierarch.

In the ensuing analysis of the Mahawanso, will be found references to the portions of the Pitakattya and Atthakathá, in which detailed accounts of these convocations may be found.

In B. C. 307, the théro Mahindo, the son of the emperor Dhammásoko, embarked on his mission for the conversion of Ceylon. The reigning sovereign of this island, Déwananpiyatisso, was converted to buddhism, and several members of his family were ordained priests. Many wiháros were founded by this monarch in this island, of which the Maháwiháro was the principal. His minister Díghasandano built the pariwéno, or college, called after himself, Díghasanda-sénápoti-pariwéno, which, as well as the royal incumbencies, were bestowed on Mahindo.

Under the control of that high priest of Ceylon, fraternities were formed for all these religious establishments. The successions to which, regulated by certain laws of sacerdotal inheritance,

still prevalent in the island, were uninterruptedly kept up, as will be seen by the twenty chapters now published.

The Pitakattya, as well as Atthakathá propounded up to the period of the third convocation in India, were brought to Ceylon by Mahindo, who promulgated them, orally, here ;—the Pitakattya in Páli, and the Atthakathá in Singhalese, together with additional Atthakathá of his own. His inspired disciples, and his successors, continued to propound them, also orally, till the age of inspiration passed away ; which took place in this island (as already stated) in the reign of Wattagámini, between B. C. 104 and B. C. 76. They were then embodied into books : the text in the Páli, and the commentaries in the Singhalese language. The event is thus recorded in the thirty third chapter of the Mahawanso :—

*Pitakattya pálincha, tassá Atthakathancha tan, mukhapáthína
dñésuñ pubbé bhikkhu mahámati,*

*Hániñ disvána sattñnan tadd bhikkhú samdgatá, chirattñhitthan
dhammassa potthakésu likhápayañ.*

The profoundly wise (inspired) priests had theretofore orally perpetuated the text of the Pitakattaya and their Atthakathá. At this period, these priests, foreseeing the perdition of the people (from the perversions of the true doctrines) assembled ; and in order that religion might endure for ages, recorded the same in books.

In the reign of the rája Mahanámo, between A. D. 410 and 432, Buddhaghóso transposed the Singhalese Atthakathá also, into Páli. The circumstance is thus stated in the thirty seventh chapter of the Maháwanso :—

*Bódkhimaññasamtpamhi játó bráhma namánawó wíjdsippakaláwédít
ttsu wédésu páragó,*

*Sammá wíññanasamayó sabbawádawísaradó wádatthi Jambudt-
pamhi dhindannó pawáddinó.*

*Wiháramekañ ágama, rattíñ pátañ, jalimanañ, pariwattéti sam-
punnapadañ suparimañdalañ.*

*Tatthéko Réwatónama maháthéro wíjñniya “ mahápaññó ayañ
satto damétuñ waññattíti só.”*

"Kónu gaddrabhardwéna wirawantóti?" abruwi; "gaddrabhá-nañ rawé atthañ kiñ jánásiti?" dha tañ.

"Ahañ jánéti" wuttó só ósárési sakammatañ, wuttañ wuttañ wiyá-dsi, wiródhampicha dassayi.

Ténahi "twañ sakañ wádamótárehicha" chóditó, pdlimahdbhi-dhammassa atthamassa nasódhiyá.

Aha "kasséso mantóti?" "Buddhamantóti" sobbruwi "Dhímé-tanti wuttéhi?" "Ganha pabbajatañ" iti.

Mantatthi pabbajitwá só ugganhi Pitakattyañ "ékáyanó ayañ maggó" iti pachchháta maggahi.

Buddhassawiya gambhira ghósattánañ wiyákaruñ "Buddhaghó-sóti" só sóhi Buddhówiya mahitalé.

Tattha Nánódayañ náma katwá pakaranañ tadd dhammasaṅga-niyákási kaṇḍaṇ só Atthasáliniñ.

Parittatthakathanchéwa kátumárabhi buddhimá; tañ diswá Ré-wató théro idañ wachanabruwi.

"Pdlimattamidhánitañ: natthi Atthakathá idha; tatháckariyá-wáddácha bhinnarúpá nawijjaré.

"Sihalatthakathá suddhá; Mahindéna matimatá saṅgítityamáru-haṇ Sammasambuddhadésitañ,

"Sáriputtádigitancha kathámaggañ samekkhiya, katá Sihalabhá-sdya Sihalésu pawattati.

"Tañ tattha gantwá sutwá twañ; Mágadhánañ niruttiyá pari-wattéhi: sá hóti sabbalókahitá wahá."

Ewan wuttó pasannésó nikkhumitwá tató, imañ dīpamágd imas-siwa rañṇó kálé, mahámati.

Maháwihárañ sampattó wiharé sabbasáddhunañ Mahápadháwa-ghárañ gantwá Sanghapálassa santiké,

Sihalatthakathañ sutwá théráwáddancha sabbayó, dhammassámissa ésówa adhippáyóti nichechhiya.

Tattha saṅghassa mánetwá "kátumatthakathañ mama; potthaké détha sabbéti" dha wimañsitun sati.

Saṅghógáthadwayañ tassádsi "sámatthiyañ tawa ettha dasséhi; tañ diswá sabbé dématí potthaké."

Piṭakattiyametthéwa saddhimatthakatháya so "Wisuddhimaggañ" námáká saṅgahetwá samásató;

Tató saṅghañ samúhetwá Sambuddhamatakówidāñ mahábóddhi samīpamhi so tañ wáchétumdrahi.

Dēwatā tassa nēpuññañ pakāsētun mahājānē chhādēsun potthakañ sōpi dwattikkhattumpi tañ akd.

Wāchētun tatiyē wāre potthakē samuddhaṭṭe potthakaddwaya mañnamhi sañṭhāpēsun tañ maru.

Wāchayāsu tadd bhikkhu potthakattiyamēkatō : ganthatō, atthātō-chāpi pubbāparawasēnawā ;

Thērāwaddēhi, pālihi, padēhi, wyanjanēhicha, aṇṇathattha bhahunēwa pōthhakesupi tisupi.

Atha ugghōsayi saṅgho tuṭṭhahaṭṭho wisēsato " nissāñ sayāñ sō Metṭīyyō " iti watwā punappunāñ.

Saddhimaṭṭhukathayādā potthakē Piṭakattiyē Ganthakari wasantō sō wiḥre dūrasāṅkari.

Pariwattēsi sabbāpi Sihalāṭṭhakathā tadā sabbēsāñ mūlabhāsdiya Māgadhyaniruttiyā.

Sattānañ sabbabhāsānañ sā ahōsi hitwaha : thēriyāchariyā sabbē Pāliwīya tamaggahuñ.

Atha katabbakiachetsu gātsu pariniṭṭhitañ wanditun sō mahā-bōdhiñ Jambudīpamupdgami.

A brāhman youth, born in the neighbourhood of the terrace of the great bo-tree (in Magadha), accomplished in the "wija" and "sippa;" who had achieved the knowledge of the three wēdos, and possessed great aptitude in attaining acquirements; indefatigable as a schismatic disputant, and himself a schismatic wanderer over Jambudīpa, established himself, in the character of a disputant, in a certain wihāro, and was in the habit of rehearsing, by night and by day, with clasped hands, a discourse which he had learned, perfect in all its component parts, and sustained throughout in the same lofty strain. A certain maha thēro named Rēwato, becoming acquainted with him there, and (saying to himself) "This individual is a person of profound knowledge; it will be worthy (of me) to convert him;" inquired, "Who is this who is braying like an ass?" (The brāhman) replied to him, "Thou canst define, then, the meaning conveyed in the bray of asses." On (the thero) rejoining, "I can define it;" he (the brāhman) exhibited the extent of the knowledge he possessed. (The thero) criticised each of his propositions, and pointed out in what respect they were fallacious. He who had been thus refuted, said, "Well then descend to thy own creed;" and he propounded to him a passage from the "Abhidhammo" (of the Pitakattya). He (the brāhman) could not divine the signification of that (passage); and inquired, "Whose manto is this?" "It is Buddho's manto." On his exclaiming, "Impart it to me;" (the thero) replied, "Enter the sacerdotal order." He who was desirous of acquiring the knowledge of the Pitakattya; subsequently coming to this conviction: "This is the sole road (to salvation;)" became a convert to

that faith. As he was as profound in his (ghósó) eloquence as Buddho himself, they conferred on him the appellation of Buddhaghósó (the voice of Buddho); and throughout the world he became as renowned as Buddho. Having there (in Jambudípo) composed an original work called "Nanádayan;" he at the same time wrote the chapter called "Atthasálini," on the Dhammasangini (one of the commentaries on the Abhidhammo).

Réwato théro then observing that he was desirous of undertaking the compilation of a "Parittatthakathan" (a general commentary on the Pitakattya) thus addressed him: "The text alone (of the Pitakattya) has been preserved in this land: the Atthakathá are not extant here; nor is there any version to be found of the 'wádá' (schisms) complete. The Singhalese Atthakathá are genuine. They were composed in the Singhalese language by the inspired and profoundly wise Mahindo; the discourses of Buddho, authenticated at the three convocations, and the dissertations and arguments of Sárputto and others, having been previously consulted (by him); and they are extant among the Singhalese. Repairing thither, and studying the same, translate (them) according to the rules of the grammar of the Mágadhas. It will be an act conducive to the welfare of the whole world."

Having been thus advised, this eminently wise personage, rejoicing thereat, departed from thence, and visited this island, in the reign of this monarch (Mahanámo). On reaching the Mahawiháro (at Anurádhapura) he entered the Mahapadháno hall, the most splendid of the apartments in the wiháro, and listened to the Singhalese Atthakathá, and the Théráwádá, from the beginning to the end, propounded by the théro Sanghapáli; and became thoroughly convinced that they conveyed the true meaning of the doctrines of the lord of dhammo. Thereupon, paying reverential respect to the priesthood, he thus petitioned: "I am desirous of translating the Atthakathá; give me access to all your books." The priesthood, for the purpose of testing his qualifications, gave only two gáthá, saying: "Hence prove thy qualification; having satisfied ourselves on this point, we will then let thee have all the books." From these (taking these gáthá for his text), and consulting the Pitakattya together with the Atthakathá, and condensing them into an abridged form, he composed the commentary called the Wisuddhimaggan. Thereupon having assembled the priesthood who had acquired a thorough knowledge of the doctrines of Buddho, at the bo-tree, he commenced to read out (the work he had composed). The déwatás, in order that they might make his (Buddhaghósó's) gifts of wisdom celebrated among men, rendered that book invisible. He, however, for a second and third time recomposed it. When he was in the act of producing

his book for the third time, for the purpose of propounding it, the déwatás restored the other two copies also. The (assembled) priests then read out the three books simultaneously. In those three versions, neither in a verse, in a signification, nor in a single misplacement by transposition; nay, even in the théra controversies, and in the text (of the Pitakattya), was there in the measure of a verse, or in the letter of a word, the slightest variation. Thereupon the priesthood rejoicing, again and again fervently shouted forth, saying, "Most assuredly this is Metteyyo (Buddho) himself;" and made over to him the books in which the Pitakattya were recorded, together with their Atthakatha'. Taking up his residence in the secluded Gantha'karo wiha'ro, at Anura'dhapura, he translated, according to the grammatical rules of the Ma'gadhi, *which is the root of all languages*, the whole of the Singhalese Atthakatha' (into Pa'li). This proved an achievement of the utmost consequence to all the languages spoken by the human race.

All the théros and acha'rayos held this compilation in the same estimation as the text (of the Pitakattya). Thereafter, the objects of his mission having been fulfilled, he returned to Jambudípo, to worship at the bo-tree (at Uruwéla'ya in Ma'gadha).

This Páli version of the Pitakattya and of the Atthakathá, is that which is extant now in Ceylon; and it is identically the same with the Siamese and Burmese versions. In appendix A will be seen a statement of the divisions, and subdivisions, contained in the Pitakattya. A few of these subdivisions are not now to be obtained complete in the chief temples of Kandy, and are only to be found perfect, among those fraternities in the maritime districts, who have of late years derived their power of conferring ordination from the Burmese empire; and they are written in the Burmese character.

The identity of the buddhistical scriptures of Ceylon with those of the eastern peninsula is readily accounted for, independently of the consideration that the missions for the conversion of the two countries to buddhism, originally proceeded to these parts at the same time, and from the same source; viz. at the close of the third convocation, as stated in the twelfth chapter of the Maháwanso: for Buddhaghósó took his Páli version of those scriptures, after leaving Ceylon, to the eastern peninsula. This circumstance is

noticed even in the "essai sur le pâli par Messieurs Burnouf and Lassen ;" though, at the same time, those gentlemen have drawn two erroneous inferences ; first, that buddhism was originally introduced by Buddhaghósó into Pegu ; and, secondly, that his resort to the eastern peninsula was the consequence of his expulsion from India under the persecutions of the bráhmans.

Passons maintenant dans la presqu'île au-delà du Gange, et cherchons-y le date de l'établissement du bouddhisme, et, avec lui, du pa'li et de l'écriture. Nous n'avons plus ici l'avantage de nous appuyer sur un texte original, comme pour l'histoire cingalaise. Car, bien que les Barmans possèdent, dit-on, des livres historiques fort étendus, nul, que nous sachions, n'a encore été traduit dans aucune langue d'Europe ; nous sommes donc réduits aux témoignages souvent contradictoires des voyageurs. Suivant le P. Carpanus, l'histoire des Bramans appelée Maha'razoen (mot sans doute dérive du sanskrit Maharadja), rapporte que les livres et l'écriture palis furent apportées de Ceylan au Pegu, par un brahmane nommé Bouddhaghosa (voix de Bouddha) l'an 940 de leur ère sacrée, c'est-à-dire, l'an 397 de la notre. Cette date nous donne pour le commencement de l'ère sacrée des Barmans, l'an 543 avant J.-C., l'année même de la mort de Bouddha, suivant la chronologie cingalaise.

Il n'est pas étonnant que les habitans de la presqu'île s'accordent en ce point avec les cingalaise, puisque c'est d'eux qu'ils disent avoir reçu leur culte. Il est cependant permis de remarquer que leur témoignage sert encore de confirmation à la date de la mort de Bouddha (543 ans avant J. C.), que nous avons choisie entre toutes celles que nous offraient les diverses autorités. Celle de l'introduction du bouddhisme au Pegu, l'an 397 de notre ère, s'accorde également avec les dates qui ont été exposées et discutées plus haut. On a vu, en effet que les livres bouddiques écrits en pa'li, existaient à Ceylan, vers 407 de J. C., ce qui ne dit pas que cette langue n'ait puy être connue antérieurement. Le pa'li a donc pu rigoureusement être porté de là dans la presqu'île au-delà du Gange, l'an 397 de notre ère. D'ailleurs, le voyage de Bouddhaghosa se rattache à l'histoire générale de culte, de Bouddha dans l'Inde ; car à l'époque où il a eu lieu la lutte du brahmanisme contre le bouddhisme s'achevait par la défaite de celui-ci, et nous avons vu le dernier patriarche du culte proscrit quitter alors l'Inde pour toujours.

It will be observed, that the date mentioned here, does not accurately accord with that of the Maháwanso. Mahanámo, the sovereign of Ceylon at the time of Buddhaghósó's visit, came to the

throne A. D. 410, and he reigned twenty two years. The precise extent, however, of this trifling discrepance cannot be ascertained, as the date is not specified of either Buddhaghóso's arrival at, or departure from, this island.

The subsequent portions of the Maha'wanso contain ample evidence of the frequent intercourse kept up, chiefly by means of religious missions, between the two countries, to the close of the work. A very valuable collection of Pa'li books was brought to Ceylon, by the present chief of the cinnamon department, George Nadoris, modliar, so recently as 1812. He was then a buddhist priest, and had proceeded to Siam for the purpose of obtaining from the monarch of that buddhist country, the power (which a Christian government could not give him) of conferring ordination on other castes than the wellála; to whom the Kandyan monarchs, in their intolerant observance of the distinctions of caste, had confined the privilege of entering into the priesthood.

The contents of these Pitakattya and Atthakatha', divested of their buddhistical inspired character, may be classed under four heads.

1. The unconnected and desultory references to that undefined and undefinable period of antiquity, which preceded the advent of the last twenty four Buddhos.
2. The history of the last twenty four Buddhos, who appeared during the last twelve buddhistical regenerations of the world.
3. The history from the last creation of the world, containing the genealogy of the kings of India, and terminating in B. C. 543.
4. The history from B. C. 543 to the age of Buddhaghóso, between A. D. 410 and 432.

With these ample and recently revised annals, and while the Singhalese Atthakatha' of the Pitakattya, and various Singhalese historical works, were still extant, Mahana'mo théro composed the first part of the Maha'wanso. It extends to the thirty seventh chapter, and occupies 119 pages of the talipot leaves of which the

book is formed. He composed also a Tíka', or abridged commentary on his work. It occupies 329 pages. The copy I possess in the Singhalese character, is full of inaccuracies; while a Burmese version, recently lent to me by Nadoris modliar, is free from these imperfections.

The historian does not perplex his readers with any allusion to the first division of buddhistical history. In the second, he only mentions the names of the twenty four Buddhos, though they are farther noticed in the Tíka'. In the third and fourth, his narrative is full, instructive, and interesting.

He opens his work with the usual invocation to Buddho, to the explanation of which he devotes no less than twenty five pages of the Tíká. Without stopping to examine these comments, I proceed to his notes on the word "Maháwanso."

"Maháwanso" is the abbreviation of "Mahantánan wanso;" the genealogy of the great. It signifies both pedigree and inheritance from generation to generation; being itself of high import, either on that account, or because it also bears the two above significations; hence "Maháwanso."

What that Maháwanso contains (I proceed to explain). Be it known, that of these (i. e. of the aforesaid great) it illustrates the genealogy, as well of the Buddhos and of their eminently pious disciples, as of the great monarchs commencing with Mahásammato. It is also of deep import, in as much as it narrates the visits of Buddho (to Ceylon). Hence the work is (Maha') great. It contains, likewise, all that was known to, or has been recorded by, the pious men of old, connected with the supreme and well defined history of those unrivalled dynasties ("wanso"). Let (my hearers) listen (to this Maha'wanso).

Be it understood, that even in the (old) Atthakathá, the words "Dípat-thutiya sádhusakkatan" are held as of deep import. They have there (in that work) exclusive reference to the visits of Buddho, and matters connected therewith. On this subject the ancient historians have thus expressed themselves: "I will perspicuously set forth the visits of Buddho to Ceylon; the arrival of the relic and of the bo tree; the histories of the convocations, and of the schisms of the théros; the introduction of the religion (of Buddho) into the island; and the settlement and pedigree of the sovereign (Wijayo)." It will be evident, from the substance of the quotations here made, that the numerical extent of the dynasties (in my work) is exclusively derived from that source: (it is no invention of mine).

Thus the title "Maháwanso" is adopted in imitation of the history composed by the fraternity of the Maháwiha'ro (at Anurádhapura). In

this work the object aimed at is, setting aside the Singhalese language, in which (the former history) is composed, that I should sing in the Ma'gadhi. Whatever the matters may be, which were contained in the Atthakathá, without suppressing any part thereof, rejecting the dialect only, I compose my work in the supreme Mágadhi language, which is thoroughly purified from all imperfections. I will brilliantly illustrate, then, the Maháwanso, replete with information on every subject, and comprehending the amplest detail of all important events; like unto a splendid and dazzling garland, strung with every variety of flowers, rich in color, taste, and scent.

The former historians, also, used an analogous simile. They said, "I will celebrate the dynasties ("wanso") perpetuated from generation to generation; illustrious from the commencement, and lauded by many bards: like unto a garland strung with every variety of flowers: do ye all listen with intense interest."

After some further commentaries on other words of the first verse, Mahanámo thus explains his motives for undertaking the compilation of his history, before he touches on the second.

Thus, I, the author of the Maháwanso, by having rendered to religion the reverence due thereto, in my first verse, have procured for myself immunity from misfortune. In case it should be asked in this particular place, "Why, while there are Maháwansos composed by ancient authors in the Singhalese language, this author has written this Palapadóru-wanso?" in refutation of such an unmeaning objection, I thus explain the advantage of composing the Palapadóru-wanso; viz., that in the Maháwanso composed by the ancients, there is the defect, as well of prolixity, as of brevity. There are also (other) inaccuracies deserving of notice. Avoiding these defects, and for the purpose of explaining the principle on which the Palapadóru-wanso I am desirous of compiling, is composed, I proceed to the second verse.

On the twenty four Buddhos, Mahanámo comments at considerable length in his Tíká. In some instances those notes are very detailed, while in others he only refers to the portions of the Pitakattya and Atthakathá, from which he derives his data. It will be sufficient in this condensed sketch, that I should furnish a specification of the main points requisite to identify each Buddho, and to notice in which of the regenerations of the

world each was manifested, reckoning back from the present kappo or creation.

The following particulars are extracted from the "Buddhawsadésaná," one of the subdivisions of the Suttapitakó, of the Pitakattya.

The twelfth kappo, or regeneration of the world, prior to the last one, was a "Sáramando kappo," in which four Buddhos appeared. The last of them was the first of the twenty four Buddhos above alluded to: viz.,

1. Dípankaro, born at Rammawatínagara. His parents were Sudhéwo rája and Sumédháya déwi. He, as well as all the other Buddhos, attained buddhohood at Uruwéláya, now called Bud-dhaghyá. His bo-tree was the "pipphala." Gótamo was then a member of an illustrious bráhman family in Amarawatínagara.

The eleventh regeneration was a "Sáarakappo" of one Buddho.

2. Kondanno, born at Rammawati nagara. Parents, Sunanda rája and Sujatadéwi. His bo-tree, the "sálakalyána." Gótamo was then Wijitáwi, a chakkawati rája of Chandawati-nagara in Majjimadésa.

The tenth regeneration was a "Sáramando kappo" of four Buddhos.

3. Mangalo, born at Uttara nagara in Majjimadésa. Parents, Uttararája and Uttaradéwi. His bo-tree, the "nága." Gótamo was then a brahman named Suruchi, in the village Siribráhmano.

4. Sumano, born at Mékhalánagara. Parents, Sudassano maharája and Sirimádéwi. His bo-tree, the "nága." Gótamo was then a Nága rája named Atulo.

5. Rewato, born at Sudhannawatínagara. Parents, Wipalo maharája and Wipuladéwi. His bo-tree, the "nága." Gótamo was then a bráhman versed in the three wédos, at Rammawatí nagara.

6. Sóbhito, born at Sudhammanagara. His parents bearing

the same name. His bo-tree, the "nága." Gótamo was then a bráhmaṇ named Sujáto, at Rammawatí.

The ninth regeneration was a "Warakappo" of three Buddhos.

7. Anómadassi, born at Chandawatínagara. Parents, Yasaworája and Yasódarádéwi. His bo-tree, the "ajjuna." Gótamo was then a Yakkha rája.

8. Padumo, born at Champayá nagara. Parents, Asamo maharája and Asamádéwi. His bo-tree, the "sónaka." Gótamo was then a lion, the king of animals.

9. Nárado, born at Dhammawatínagara. Parents, Sudhéwo maharája and Anópamádéwi. His bo-tree, the "sónaka." Gótamo was then a tápaso in the Himawanto country.

The eighth regeneration was a "Sáarakappo" of one Buddho.

10. Padumuttaro, born at Hansawatínagara. Parents, Anuruló ra'ja and Sujátadéwi. His bo-tree, the "salala." Gótamo was then an ascetic named Jatilo.

The seventh regeneration was a "Mandakappo" of two Buddhos.

11. Sumédo, born at Sudassananagara. Parents bore the same name. His bo-tree, the "nipa." Gótamo was then a native of that town, named Uttaro.

12. Sujáto, born at Sumangalanagara. Parents, Uggato rája and Pabbáwatidéwi. His bo-tree, the "wélu." Gótamo was then a chakkawati rája.

The sixth regeneration was a "Warakappo," of three Buddhos.

13. Piyádassi, born at Sudannanagara. Parents, Sudatta maharája and Subaddhdéwi. His bo-tree, the "kakudha." Gótamo was then a bráhmaṇ named Kassapo, at Siriwattanagara

14. Atthadassi, born at Sonanagara. Parents, Ságara rája and Sudassanadéwi. His bo-tree, the "champa." Gótamo was then a bráhmaṇ named Susimo.

15. Dhammadassi, born at Surananagara. Parents, Saranamaha rája and Sunandadéwi. His bo-tree, the "bimbaja'la." Gótamo was then Sakko, the supreme of déwos.

The fifth regeneration was a "Sarakappo," of one Buddha.

16. Siddhatho, born at Wibhāranagara. Parents, Udēni maharāja and Suphasadēwi. His bo-tree, the "kaniha'ni." Gótamo was a brahman named Mangalo.

The fourth regeneration was a "Mandakappo," of two Buddhos.

17. Tisso, born at Khémanagara. Parents, Janasando rāja and Padumádēwi. His bo-tree, the "assana." Gótamo was then Sujáto rāja at Yasawatínagara.

18. Phusso, born at Kási. Parents, Jayasēno rāja and Siremáya dēwi. His bo-tree, the "amalaka." Gótamo was then Wijitáwi, an inferior rāja.

The third regeneration was a "Sarakappo," of one Buddha.

19. Wipassi, born at Bandhuwatínagara. Parents bore the same name. His bo-tree, the "pátali." Gótamo was then Atulo rāja.

The last regeneration was a "Mandakappo," of two Buddhos.

20. Sikhi, born at Arunawattínagara. Parents, Arunawattirāja and Papháwattidēwi. His bo-tree, the "pundariko." Gótamo was then Arindamo rāja at Paribhuttanagara.

21. Wessabhu, born at Anúpamanagara. Parents, Suppalittha maharāja and Yasáwatidēwi. His bo-tree, the "sála." Gótamo was then Sadassano rāja of Sarabhawati nagara.

The present regeneration is a "Mahábadda kappo," of five Buddhos.

22. Kakusando, born at Khemawatínagara. Parents, Aggidatto, the purahitto bráhmaṇ of Khémarāja, and Wisákha. His bo-tree, the "sirísa." Gótamo was then the aforesaid Khémarāja.

23. Konágamano, born at Sobhawatí nagara. Parents, a bráhmaṇ named Yannadattho and Uttará. His bo-tree, the "udumbara." Gótamo was Pabbato rāja (the mountain monarch) at Mithila.

24. Kassapo, born at Bára'nasinagara. Parents, the bráhmaṇ Bráhmadatto and Dhanawati. His bo-tree, the "nigrodha." Gótamo was a bráhmaṇ named Jotipálo at Wappulla.

Gótamo is the Buddho of the present system, and Mettéyyo is still to appear, to complete the number of the present "Mahábadda kappo."

All these Buddhos, Gótamo excepted, are represented to have appeared in the long period which intervened between the reigns of Néru and Makhádéwo. The recession to an age so immeasurably and indefinitely remote is a fiction, of course, advisedly adopted, to admit of the intervention of an "abuddhotpádo," with its progressive decrease and readjustment of the term of human life; which, according to the buddhistical creed, precedes the advent of each supreme Buddho. The Maháwanso does not attempt to give the designations of these preposterous series of monarchs, who are stated to have reigned during that interval; but the Pitakattya and the Atthakathá do contain lists of the names of all the rájas of the smaller, and of the initial rájas of the larger, groups. Whenever these buddhistical genealogical materials are tabularized and graduated, on the principle applied to the hindu genealogies, they will probably be found to accord with them in a considerable degree; making due allowance for the variation of appellations made by either sect, in reference to, or in consequence of, events and circumstances connected with their respective creeds.

In reference to the twelfth verse, the Tíká explains that the name Uruwéláya,—the present Buddhaghya, where the sacred bo tree still stands, and at which place several inscriptions are recorded, some of which have been translated and published in the Asiatic Researches and Journals,—is derived from "Urú" (great) and "weláyá" (sands); from the great mounds or columns of sand which are stated to be found in its vicinity, and which have attracted the attention of modern travellers also.

I shall only notice further, in regard to the first chapter, that the isle of Giridípo is mentioned as being on the south east coast of Ceylon, and is represented to abound in rocks covered

with enormous forest trees. The direction indicated, points to the rocks nearly submerged, which are now called the Great and the Little Basses. But as speculation and hypothesis are scrupulously avoided in my present sketch, I shall abstain from further comment on this point.

Mahíyangano, the spot on which Buddho alighted in his first visit to Ceylon, is the present post of Bintenne, where the *dágoba* completed by Dutthagámini still stands. Sélasumano, or Sumanakúto, is Adam's peak. The position of Nágadípo, the scene of Buddho's second visit, I am not able to identify. It is indicated to have been on the northern coast of the island. The alleged impression of Buddho's foot on Adam's peak; the *dágoba* constructed at Kalyáni, near Colombo; as well as the several *dágobas* built at Anurádhapura, and at Dhígawápi, and the bo-tree subsequently planted at the former place; together with the numerous inscriptions,—the most modern of which alone have yet been decyphered,—are all still surviving and unobliterated evidences confirmatory of Gótamo's three visits to Ceylon.

In opening the second chapter, Mahanámo supplies detailed data touching several of Gótamo's incarnations, prior to his manifestation in the person of Mahásammato, the first monarch of this creation. I shall confine myself to a translation of that portion of the commentary which treats of that particular incarnation. It will serve to assimilate his production or manifestation, by "*opapátika*" or *apparitional birth*, with the hindu scheme of the origination of the solar race.

At the close of that existence (in the Brahma world) he was regenerated a man, at the commencement of this creation, by the process of "*opapátika*" From the circumstance of mankind being then afflicted with unendurable miseries, resulting from the uncontrolled state of the sinful passions which had been engendered, as well as from the consternation created by the murder, violence, and rapine produced by a condition of anarchy, a desire manifested itself among men to live subject to the control of a ruler. Having met and consulted together, they thus petitioned unto him (the Buddho elect), "O great man! from henceforth it belongs to thee to

provide for our protection and common weal." The whole human race having assembled and come to this decision, the appellation was conferred on him of "Mahásammato," "the great elect."

Valuable as the comments are on the genealogy of the Asiatic monarchs—the descendants and successors of Mahásammato,—they are still only abridged and insulated notes deduced (as already noticed by me) from the Pitakattya and the Atthakathá; to which justice would not be done in this limited sketch of the buddhistical annals. As a proof, however, of Mahanámo's general rigid adherence to the data from which his history is compiled, I may here notice one of the instances of the care with which he marks every departure, however trivial, from the authorities by which he is otherwise guided. He says, in reference to the twenty eight kings mentioned in the 6th verse: "In the Atthakathá composed by the Uttarawiháro priests, omitting Chétiyo, the son of Upacharako, and representing Muchalo to be the son of Upacharako, it is stated that there were only twenty seven rájas, whose existence extended to an asankya of years."

In reference to these genealogies, I shall now only adduce the following extracts from the Tiká, containing the names of the capitals at which the different dynasties reigned; and giving a distinct account of Okkáko, (Ixkwaku of the hindus) and of his descendants, as well as the derivation of the royal patronymic "Sakya,"—to which no clue could be obtained in hindu annals; but which is nearly identical with the account extracted by Mr. Csoma de Koros from the Tibetan "Káhgyur," and published in the Bengal Asiatic Journal of August, 1833.

Those nineteen capitals were,—Kusáwatí, Ayójjhápura, Báránasi, Kapila, Hatthipura, Ekachakkhu, Wajirawutti, Madhura, Arithapura, Indapatta, Kósambi, Kannagóchha, Rojá, Champá, Mithila, Rájagaha, Takkasilla, Kusinára, Támalittí.

The eldest son of Okkáko was Okkákamukho. The portion of the royal dynasty from Okkákamukho to Suddhódano, (the father of Gótamo Buddho) who reigned at Kapila, was called the Okkáko dynasty. Okkáko had five consorts, named Hatthá, Chittá, Jantu, Pálini, and Wisákhá. Each had a retinue of five hundred females. The eldest had four sons, named, Okkákamukho,

Karakando, Hatthinoko, and Nipuro; and five daughters, Piyá, Sapiyá, Anandá, Sanandá, and Wiyitaséná. After giving birth to these nine children she died, and the rája then raised a lovely and youthful princess to the station of queen consort. She had a son named Jantu, bearing also his father's title. This infant on the fifth day after his nativity was presented to the rája, sumptuously clad. The delighted monarch promised to grant any prayer of her's (his mother) she might prefer. She, having consulted her relations, prayed that the sovereignty might be resigned to her son. Enraged, he thus reproached her: "Thou outcast, dost thou seek to destroy my children?" She, however, taking every private opportunity of lavishing her caresses on him, and reproaching him at the same time, with "Rája! it is unworthy of thee to utter an untruth;" continued to importune him. At last, the king assembling his sons, thus addressed them: "My beloved, in an unguarded moment, on first seeing your younger brother Jantu, I committed myself in a promise to his mother. She insists upon my resigning, in fulfilment of that promise, the sovereignty to her son. Whatever may be the number of state elephants and state carriages ye may desire; taking them, as well as a military force of elephants, horses, and chariots, depart. On my demise, return and resume your rightful kingdom." With these injunctions he sent them forth, in the charge of eight officers of state. They, weeping and lamenting, replied, "Beloved parent, grant us forgiveness for any fault (we may have committed.)" Receiving the blessing of the rája, as well as of the other members of the court, and taking with them their sisters who had also prepared to depart,—having announced their intention to the king in these words, "We accompany our brothers,"—quitted the capital with their army, composed of its four constituent hosts. Great crowds of people, convinced that on the death of the king they would return to resume their right, resolved to adhere to their cause, and accompanied them in their exile.

On the first day, this multitude marched one yojana only; the second day, two; and the third day, three yojanas. The princes thus consulted together: "The concourse of people has become very great: were we to subdue some minor rája, and take his territory; that proceeding also would be unworthy of us. What benefit results from inflicting misery on others? Let us, therefore, raise a city in the midst of the wilderness, in Jambudípo." Having decided accordingly, repairing to the frontier of Himawanto, they sought a site for their city.

At that period, our Bodhisattho, who was born in an illustrious bráhman family, and was called Kapila bráhman, leaving that family, and assuming the sacerdotal character in the "Isi" sect, sojourned in the Himawanto country in a "pannasa'la" (leaf hut) built on the borders of a pond, in a forest of sal trees. This individual was endowed with the gift called the "bhúmilakkhanan;" and could discern good from evil, for eighty cubits

down into the earth, and the same distance up into the air. In a certain country, where the grass, bushes, and creepers had a tendency in their growth, taking a southerly direction then to face the east: where lions, tigers, and other beasts of prey, which chased deer and hog; and cats and snakes, which pursued rats and frogs, on reaching that division, were incapacitated from persevering in their pursuit; while, on the other hand, each of the pursued creatures, by their growl or screech only, could arrest their pursuers; there this (Kapila Isi,) satisfied of the superiority of that land, constructed this pannasa'la.

On a certain occasion, seeing these princes who had come to his hut, in their search of a site for a city, and having by inquiring ascertained what their object was; out of compassion towards them, he thus prophesied: "A city founded on the site of this pannasa'la will become an illustrious capital in Jambudípo. Amongst the men born here, each will be able to contend with a hundred or a thousand (of those born elsewhere). Raise your city here, and construct the palace of your king on the site of my pannasála. On being established here, even a chanda'lo will become great like unto a Chakkawatti rája." "Lord!" observed the princes, "will there be no place reserved for the residence of Ayyo?" "Do not trouble yourselves about this residence of mine: building a pannasa'la for me in a corner, found your city, giving it the name 'Kapila.'" They, conforming to his advice, settled there.

The officers of state thus reasoned: "If these children had grown up under their father's protection, he would have formed matrimonial alliances for them; they are now under our charge:" and then addressed themselves on this subject to the princes. The princes replied: "We see no royal daughters equal in rank to ourselves; nor are there any princes of equal rank to wed our sisters. By forming unequal alliances, the children born to us, either by the father's or mother's side, will become degraded by the stain attached to their birth; let us therefore form matrimonial alliances with our own sisters." Accordingly, recognizing in their eldest sister the character and authority of a mother, in due order of seniority (the four brothers) wedded (the other four sisters).

On their father being informed of this proceeding, he broke forth (addressing himself to his courtiers) into this exultation: "My friends, most assuredly they are 'sakya'.' My beloved, by the most solemn import of that term, they are unquestionably sakya'." (powerful, self-potential).

From that time, to the period of king Suddhódano, all who were descended (from those alliances) were called Sakya'.

As the city was founded on the site where the brahman Kapilo dwelt, it was called Kapilanagara.

The account of the first convocation on religion, after Gótamo's death, is so clearly and beautifully given in the third chapter,

that no explanatory comments are requisite from me. For detailed particulars regarding the construction of the convocation hall at Ra'jagaha, and the proceedings held therein, the Tika' refers to the Samantapa'sada Atthakatha', and to the Digha'nika'yo, and Sumangala wila'sini Attakattha'.

The fourth and fifth chapters are the most valuable in the Maha'wanso, with reference to the chronology of Indian history. It will be observed that in some respects, both in the names and in the order of succession, this line of the Ma'gadha kings varies from the hindu genealogies.

Reserving the summing up of the chronological result till I reach the date at which the Indian history contained in the Maha'wanso terminates, I shall proceed to touch on each commentary which throws any light on that history, in the order in which it presents itself, in that interval.

The first of the notes I shall select, contains the personal history of Susuna'go, who was raised to the throne on the deposition of Na'gada'sako. With the exception of a somewhat far-fetched derivation suggested of that usurper's name, the account bears all the external semblance of authenticity. This note is interesting in more than one point of view. It describes the change in the Ma'gadha dynasty to have proceeded from the deposition, and not from the voluntary abdication, of Na'gada'sako. It, likewise, is not only corroborative of the tolerance of courtesans in the ancient social institutions of India, which was, I believe, first developed by professor Wilson's translation of the hindu plays; but shows also that there was an office or appointment of "chief of courtesans," conferred and upheld by the authority of the state. Professor Wilson thus expresses himself in his essay on the dramatic system of the hindus, on this point.

"The defective education of the virtuous portion of the sex, and their consequent uninteresting character, held out an inducement to the unprincipled members, both of Greek and Hindu society, to rear a class of females, who should supply those wants which rendered home cheerless, and should

give to men hetœra or female friends, and associates in intellectual as well as in animal enjoyment. A courtesan of this class inspired no abhorrence : she was brought up from her infancy to the life she professed, which she graced by her accomplishments, and not unfrequently dignified by her virtues. Her disregard of social restraint was not the voluntary breach of moral, social, or religious precepts : it was the business of her education to minister to pleasure ; and in the imperfect system of the Greeks, she committed little or no trespass against the institutes of the national creed, or the manners of society. The Hindu principles were more rigid ; and not only was want of chastity in a female a capital breach of social and religious obligations, but the association of men with professed wantons was an equal violation of decorum, and, involving a departure from the purity of caste, was considered a virtual degradation from rank in society. In practice, however, greater latitude seems to have been observed ; and in the "Mrichchakati" a brâhman, a man of family and repute, incurs apparently no discredit from his love for a courtesan. A still more curious feature is, that his passion for such an object seems to excite no sensation in his family, nor uneasiness in his wife ; and the nurse presents his child to his mistress, as to its mother ; and his wife, besides interchanging civilities (a little coldly, perhaps, but not compulsively), finishes by calling her 'sister,' and acquiescing therefore in her legal union with her lord. It must be acknowledged that the poet has managed his story with great dexterity, and the interest with which he has invested his heroine, prevents manners so revolting to our notions, from being obtrusively offensive. No art was necessary, in the estimation of a hindu writer, to provide his hero with a wife or two, more or less ; and the acquisition of an additional bride is the ordinary catastrophe of the lighter dramas."

The following is a literal translation of the note in question, in the Tika'.

Who is this statesman named Susuna'go ? By whom was he brought up ? He was the son of a certain Lichchawi ra'ja of Wésali. He was conceived by a courtesan ("Naggarasôbhini," literally "a beauty of the town") and brought up by an officer of state. The foregoing is recorded in the Attakatha' of the priests of the Uttarawiha'ro (of Anura'dhapura). Such being the case, and as there is no want of accordance between our respective authorities, I shall proceed to give a brief sketch of his history.

Upon a certain occasion, the Lichchawi râjas consulted together, and came to the resolution, that it would be prejudicial to the prosperity of their capital, if they did not keep up the office of "Naggarasôbhini tha'rantaran" (chief of courtesans). Under this persuasion, they appointed to that office a lady of unexceptionable rank. One of these ra'jas, receiving her into his own palace, and having lived with her, there, for seven days, sent her away. She had then conceived unto him. Returning to her residence, she was delivered.

after the ordinary term of pregnancy. The issue proved to be an abortion. Deeply afflicted, and overwhelmed with shame and fear, causing it to be thrown into a basket, carefully covered with its lid, and consigning it to the care of a female slave, she had it placed, early in the morning, at the Sankhárátánan (where all the rubbish and sweepings of a town are collected). The instant it was deposited there (by the slave), a certain nágarája, the tutelár of the city, observing it, encircling it in its folds and sheltering it with its hood, assumed a conspicuous position. The people who congregated there, seeing (the snake), made the noise "su," "su," (to frighten it away); and it disappeared. Thereupon, a person who had approached the spot opening (the basket) and examining it, beheld the abortion matured into a male child, endowed with the most perfect indications of greatness. On making this discovery, great joy was evinced. A certain chief who participated in this exultation, taking charge of the infant removed him to his house; and on the occasion of conferring a name on him, in reference to the shouts of "su," "su," above described, and to his having been protected by the nágarája, conferred on him the name of "Susunágo."

From that time protected by him (the chief), and in due course attaining the wisdom of the age of discretion, he became an accomplished achárayo; and among the inhabitants of the capital, from his superior qualifications, he was regarded the most eminent person among them. From this circumstance, when the populace becoming infuriated against the rája Nágadásako deposed him, he was inaugurated monarch, by the title of Susunágo rája.

In the tenth year of the reign of Kálásóko, the son and successor of Susunágo, a century had elapsed from the death of Gótamo, and the second convocation on religion was then held under that monarch's auspices, who was a buddhist, at Wésáli;—his own capital being Pupphapura. The fourth chapter contains the names of the sovereigns, and the term of their respective reigns during that period, as well as the circumstances under which the second convocation originated, and the manner in which it was conducted. The Tíká contains some important comments on the "schisms" with which the fifth chapter commences. Not to interrupt the continuity of the historical narrative of India, I shall proceed with the translation of the notes on the Nandos, and on Chandagutto and his minister Chánakko. I regret that want of space prevents my printing the text of these valuable notes in this sketch. It will, however, be given in the work, of which this pamphlet is intended as the

prospectus. I have endeavoured to make the translation as strictly literal as the peculiarities of the two languages would admit.

Subsequent to Kálásóko, who patronised those who held the second convocation, the royal line is stated to have consisted of twelve monarchs to the reign of Dhammásóko, when they (the priests) held the third convocation. Kálásóko's own sons were ten brothers. Their names are specified in the Attakathá. The appellation of "the nine Nandos" originates in nine of them bearing that patronymic title.

The Attakathá of the Uttarawiha'ro priests sets forth that the eldest of these was of an extraction (maternally) not allied (inferior) to the royal family; and that he dwelt in one of the provinces: it gives also the history of the other nine. I also will give their history succinctly, but without prejudice to its perspicuity.

In aforetime, during the conjoint administration of the (nine) sons of Kálásóko, a certain provincial person appeared in the character of a marauder, and raising a considerable force, was laying the country waste by pillage. His people, who committed these depredations on towns, whenever a town might be sacked, seized and compelled its own inhabitants to carry the spoil to a wilderness, and there securing the plunder, drove them away. On a certain day, the banditti who were leading this predatory life having employed a daring, powerful, and enterprising individual to commit a robbery, were retreating to the wilderness, making him carry the plunder. He who was thus associated with them, inquired: "By what means do you find your livelihood?" "Thou slave," (they replied) "we are not men who submit to the toils of tillage, or cattle tending. By a proceeding precisely like the present one, pillaging towns and villages, and laying up stores of riches and grain, and providing ourselves with fish and flesh, toddy and other beverage, we pass our life jovially in feasting and drinking." On being told this, he thought: "This mode of life of these thieves is surely excellent: shall I, also, joining them, lead a similar life?" and then said, "I also will join you, I will become a confederate of your's. Admitting me among you, take me (in your marauding excursions)." They replying "sádhu," received him among them.

On a subsequent occasion, they attacked a town which was defended by well armed and vigilant inhabitants. As soon as they entered the town the people rose upon and surrounded them, and seizing their leader, and hewing him with a sword, put him to death. The robbers dispersing in all directions repaired to, and reassembled in, the wilderness. Discovering that he (their leader) had been slain; and saying, "In his death the extinction of

our prosperity is evident : having been deprived of him, under whose control can the sacking of villages be carried on ? even to remain here is imprudent : thus our disunion and destruction are inevitable:" they resigned themselves to desponding grief. The individual above mentioned, approaching them, asked : " What are ye weeping for ?" On being answered by them, " We are lamenting the want of a valiant leader, to direct us in the hour of attack and retreat in our village sacks ;" "In that case, my friends, (said he) ye need not make yourselves unhappy ; if there be no other person able to undertake that post, I can myself perform it for you ; from henceforth give not a thought about the matter." This and more he said to them. They, relieved from their perplexity by this speech, joyfully replied "sádhu;" and conferred on him the post of chief.

From that period proclaiming himself to be Nando, and adopting the course followed formerly (by his predecessor), he wandered about, pillaging the country. Having induced his brothers also to co-operate with him, by them also he was supported in his marauding excursions. Subsequently assembling his gang, he thus addressed them : " My men ! this is not a career in which valiant men should be engaged ; it is not worthy of such as we are ; this course is only befitting base wretches. What advantage is there in persevering in this career, let us aim at supreme sovereignty ?" They assented. On having received their acquiescence, attended by his troops and equipped for war, he attacked a provincial town, calling upon (its inhabitants) either to acknowledge him sovereign, or to give him battle. They on receiving this demand, all assembled, and having duly weighed the message, by sending an appropriate answer formed a treaty of alliance with them. By this means reducing under his authority the people of Jambudípo in great numbers, he finally attacked Patiliputta (the capital of the Indian empire), and usurping the sovereignty, died there a short time afterwards, while governing the empire.

His brothers next succeeded to the empire in the order of their seniority. They altogether reigned twenty two years. It was on this account that (in the Maha'wanso) it is stated that there were nine Nandos.

Their ninth youngest brother was called Dhana-nando, from his being addicted to hoarding treasure. As soon as he was inaugurated, actuated by miserly desires the most inveterate, he resolved within himself ; " It is proper that I should devote myself to hoarding treasure ;" and collecting riches to the amount of eighty kótis, and superintending the transport thereof himself, and repairing to the banks of the Ganges,—by means of a barrier constructed of branches and leaves interrupting the course of the main stream, and forming a canal he diverted its waters into a different channel : and in a rock in

the bed of the river having caused a great excavation to be made, he buried the treasure there. Over this cave he laid a layer of stones, and to prevent the admission of water, poured molten lead on it. Over that again he laid another layer of stones, and passing a stream of molten lead (over it), which made it like a solid rock, he restored the river to its former course. Levying taxes among other articles, even on skins, gums, trees, and stones, he amassed further treasures, which he disposed of similarly. It is stated that he did so repeatedly. On this account we call this ninth brother of theirs, as he personally devoted himself to the hoarding of treasure, "Dhana-nando."

The appellation of "Móriyan sovereigns" is derived from the auspicious circumstances under which their capital, which obtained the name of Móriya, was called into existence.

While Buddho yet lived, driven by the misfortunes produced by the war of (prince) Widhuhabo, certain members of the Sa'kya line retreating to Himawanto, discovered a delightful and beautiful location, well watered, and situated in the midst of a forest of lofty bo and other trees. Influenced by the desire of settling there, they founded a town at a place where several great roads met, surrounded by durable ramparts, having gates of defence therein, and embellished with delightful edifices and pleasure gardens. Moreover that (city) having a row of buildings covered with tiles, which were arranged in the pattern of the plumage of a peacock's neck, and as it resounded with the notes of flocks of "konchos" and "mayuros" (pea fowls) it was so called. From this circumstance these Sákyas lords of this town, and their children and descendants, were renowned throughout Jambudípo by the title of "Móriya." From this time that dynasty has been called the Móriyan dynasty.

After a few isolated remarks, the Tíká thus proceeds in its account of Chánakko and Chandagutto.

It is proper that, in this place, a sketch of these two characters should be given. Of these, if I am asked in the first place, Where did this Chánakko dwell? Whose son was he? I answer, He lived at the city of Takkasila'. He was the son of a certain bráhman at that place, and a man who had achieved the knowledge of the three védos; could rehearse the mantos; skilful in stratagems; and dexterous in intrigue as well as policy. At the period of his father's death he was already well known as the dutiful maintainer of his mother, and as a highly gifted individual worthy of swaying the chhatta.

On a certain occasion approaching his mother, who was weeping, he inquired: "My dear mother! why dost thou weep?" On being answered

by her : " My child, thou art gifted to sway a chhatta. Do not, my boy, endeavour, by raising the chhatta, to become a sovereign. Princes every where are unstable in their attachments. Thou, also, my child, will forget the affection thou owest me. In that case, I should be reduced to the deepest distress. I weep under these apprehensions." He exclaimed : " My mother, what is that gift that I possess? On what part of my person is it indicated?" and on her replying, " My dear, on thy teeth," smashing his own teeth, and becoming " Kandhadatto " (a tooth-broken-man) he devoted himself to the protection of his mother. Thus it was that he became celebrated as the filial protector of his mother. He was not only a tooth-broken-man, but he was disfigured by a disgusting complexion, and by deformity of legs and other members, prejudicial to manly comeliness.*

In his quest of disputation, repairing to Pupphapura, the capital of the monarch Dhana-nando,—who, abandoning his passion for hoarding, becoming imbued with the desire of giving alms, relinquishing also his miserly habits, and delighting in hearing the fruits that resulted from benevolence, had built a hall of alms-offerings in the midst of his palace, and was making an offering to the chief of the bra'hmans worth a hundred kōtis, and to the most junior bra'hman an offering worth a lac,—this bra'hman (Cha'nakko) entered the said apartment, and taking possession of the seat of the chief bra'hman, sat himself down in that alms-hall.

At that instant Dhana-nando himself,—decked in regal attire, and attended by many thousands of " siwaka'" (state palanquins) glittering with their various ornaments, and escorted by a suite of a hundred royal personages, with their martial array of the four hosts, of cavalry, elephants, chariots, and infantry, and accompanied by dancing girls, lovely as the attendants on the dévos; himself a personification of majesty, and bearing the white parasol of dominion, having a golden staff and golden tassels,—with this superb retinue, repairing thither, and entering the hall of alms-offerings, beheld the bra'hman Cha'nakko seated. On seeing him, this thought occurred to him (Nando) : " Surely it cannot be proper that he should assume the seat of the chief bra'hman." Becoming displeased with him, he thus evinced his displeasure. He inquired : " Who art thou, that thou hast taken the seat of the chief bra'hman?" and being answered (simply), " It is I;" " Cast from hence this cripple bra'hman; allow him not to be seated," exclaimed (Nando); and although the courtiers again and again implored of him, saying, " Déwo! let it not be so done by a person prepared to make offerings as thou art; extend

* Hence his name " Kautilya " in the Hindu authorities.

thy forgiveness to this bra'hman;" he insisted upon his ejection. On the courtiers approaching (Cha'nakko) and saying, "Acha'riyo! we come, by the command of the ra'ja, to remove thee from hence; but incapable of uttering the words 'Acha'riyo depart hence,' we now stand before thee abashed:" enraged against him (Nando), rising from his seat to depart, he snapt asunder his bra'hmanical cord, and dashed down his jug on the threshold; and thus vowing vengeance, "Kings are impious: may this whole earth, bounded by the four oceans, withhold its gifts from Nando;" he departed. On his sallying out, the officers reported this proceeding to the ra'ja. The king, furious with indignation, roared, "Catch, catch the slave." The fugitive stripping himself naked, and assuming the character of an ajiwako, and running into the centre of the palace, concealed himself in an unfrequented place, at the Sankha'rata'nan. The pursuers not having discovered him, returned and reported that he was not to be found.

In the night he repaired to a more frequented part of the palace, and meeting some of the suite of the royal prince Pabbato,* admitted them into his confidence. By their assistance, he had an interview with the prince. Gaining him over by holding out hopes of securing the sovereignty for him, and attaching him by that expedient, he began to search the means of getting out of the palace. Discovering that in a certain place there was a ladder leading to a secret passage he consulted with the prince, and sent a message to his mother for the key of the passage. Opening the door with the utmost secrecy, and escaping with the prince out of that passage, they fled to the wilderness of Winjjha'.

While dwelling there, with the view of raising resources, he converted (by recoining) each kaha'panan into eight, and amassed eighty kotis of kaha'pana'. Having buried this treasure, he commenced to search for a second individual entitled (by birth) to be raised to sovereign power, and met with the aforesaid prince of the Móriyan dynasty called Chandagutto.

His mother, the queen consort of the monarch of Móriya-nagara, the city before mentioned, was pregnant at the time that a certain powerful provincial ra'ja conquered that kingdom, and put the Móriyan king to death. In her anxiety to preserve the child in her womb, departing for the capital of Pupphapura, under the protection of her elder brothers and under disguise she dwelt there. At the completion of the ordinary term of pregnancy giving birth to a son, and relinquishing him to the protection of the déwos, she placed him in a vase, and deposited him at the door of a cattle pen. A bull

* Parawatte of the Hindus.

named Chando stationed himself by him, to protect him; in the same manner that prince Ghósó, by the interposition of the *déwata'*, was watched over by a bull. In the same manner, also, that the herdsman in the instance of that prince Ghósó repaired to the spot where that bull planted himself, a herdsman, on observing this prince, moved by affection, like that borne to his own child, took charge of and tenderly reared him; and in giving him a name, in reference to his having been watched by the bull Chando, he called him "Chandagutto;" and brought him up. When he had attained an age to be able to tend cattle, a certain wild huntsman, a friend of the herdsman, becoming acquainted with, and attached to him, taking him from (the herdsman) to his own dwelling, established him here. He continued to dwell in that village.

Subsequently, on a certain occasion, while tending cattle with other children in the village, he joined them in a game, called "the game of royalty." He himself was named *ra'ja*; to others he gave the offices of sub-king. &c. Some being appointed judges, were placed in a judgment hall; some he made officers of the king's household; and others, outlaws or robbers. Having thus constituted a court of justice, he sat in judgment. On culprits being brought up, regularly impeaching and trying them, on their guilt being clearly proved to his satisfaction, according to the sentence awarded by his judicial ministers, he ordered the officers of the court to chop off their hands and feet. On their replying, "*Déwo!* we have no axes;" he answered: "It is the order of Chandagutto that ye should chop off their hands and feet, making axes with the horns of goats for blades, and sticks for handles. They acting accordingly, on striking with the axe the hands and feet were lopt off. On the same person commanding, "Let them be re-united," the hands and feet were restored to their former condition.

Chánakko happening to come to that spot, was amazed at the proceeding he beheld. Accompanying (the boy) to the village, and presenting the huntsman with a thousand *kaha'paná*, he applied for him; saying, "I will teach your son every accomplishment; consign him to me." Accordingly conducting him to his own dwelling, he encircled his neck with a single fold of a woollen cord, twisted with gold thread, worth a lac.

The discovery of this person is thus stated (in the former works): "He discovered this prince descended from the *Móriyan* line."

He (Chánakko) invested prince Pabbato, also, with a similar woollen cord. While these youths were living with him, each had a dream which they separately imparted to him. As soon as he heard each (dream), he knew that of these prince Pabbato would not attain royalty; and that Chandagutto would, without loss of time, become paramount monarch in Jambudípo. Although he made this discovery, he disclosed nothing to them.

On a certain occasion having partaken of some milk-rice prepared in butter, which had been received as an offering at a bráhmical disputation; retiring from the main road, and lying down in a shady place protected by the deep foliage of trees, they fell asleep. Among them the Acha'riyo awaking first, rose; and, for the purpose of putting prince Pabbato's qualifications to the test, giving him a sword, and telling him: "Bring me the woollen thread on Chandagutto's neck, without either cutting or untying it," sent him off. Starting on the mission, and failing to accomplish it, he returned. On a subsequent day, he sent Chandagutto on a similar mission. He repairing to the spot where Pabbato was sleeping, and considering how it was to be effected, decided: "There is no other way of doing it; it can only be got possession of, by cutting his head off." Accordingly chopping his head off, and bringing away the woollen thread, presented himself to the bráhman, who received him in profound silence. Pleased with him, however, on account of this (exploit), he rendered him in the course of six or seven years highly accomplished, and profoundly learned.

Therewith, on his attaining manhood, deciding: "From henceforth this individual is capable of forming and controlling an army;" and repairing to the spot where his treasure was buried, and taking possession of, and employing it; and enlisting forces from all quarters, and distributing money among them, and having thus formed a powerful army, he entrusted it to him. From that time throwing off all disguise, and invading the inhabited parts of the country, he commenced his campaign by attacking towns and villages. In the course of their (Cha'nakko and Chandagutto's) warfare, the population rose en masse, and surrounding them, and hewing their army with their weapons, vanquished them. Dispersing, they re-united in the wilderness; and consulting together, they thus decided: "As yet no advantage has resulted from war; relinquishing military operations, let us acquire a knowledge of the sentiments of the people." Thenceforth, in disguise, they travelled about the country. While thus roaming about, after sunset retiring to some town or other, they were in the habit of attending to the conversation of the inhabitants of those places.

In one of these villages, a woman having baked some "appalapúwa" (pancakes) was giving them to her child, who leaving the edges would only eat the centre. On his asking for another cake, she remarked: "This boy's conduct is like Chandagutto's, in his attempt to take possession of the kingdom." On his inquiring, "Mother, why, what am I doing; and what has Chandagutto done?" "Thou, my boy, (said she,) throwing away the outside of the cake, eat the middle only. Chandagutto also in his ambition to be a monarch, without subduing the frontiers, before he attacked the towns, invaded the heart of the country, and laid towns waste. On that account, both the inhabitants of the town and others, rising, closed in upon him, from the frontiers to the centre, and destroyed his army. *That was his folly.*"

They, on hearing this story of hers, taking due notice thereof, from that time, again raised an army. On resuming their attack on the provinces and towns, commencing from the frontiers, reducing towns, and stationing troops in the intervals, they proceeded in their invasion. After an interval, adopting the same system, and marshalling a great army, and in regular course reducing each kingdom and province, then assailing Patiliputta and putting Dhana-nando to death, they seized that sovereignty.

Although this had been brought about, Chánakko did not at once raise Chandagutto to the throne; but for the purpose of discovering Dhana-nando's hidden treasure, sent for a certain fisherman (of the river); and deluding him with the promise of raising the chhatta for him, and having secured the hidden treasure; within a month from that date, putting him also to death, inaugurated Chandagutto monarch.

Hence the expression (in the Maháwanso) "a descendant of the dynasty of Móriyan sovereigns;" as well as the expression "installed in the sovereignty." All the particulars connected with Chandagutto, both before his installation and after, are recorded in the Attakathá of the Uttarawiháro priests. Let that (work) be referred to, by those who are desirous of more detailed information. We compile this work in an abridged form, without prejudice however to its perspicuity.

His (Chandagutto's) son was Bindusáro. After his father had assumed the administration, (the said father) sent for a former acquaintance of his, a Jatilian, named Maniyatappo, and conferred a commission on him. "My friend, (said he) do thou restore order into the country; suppressing the lawless proceedings that prevail." He replying "sádhu," and accepting the commission, by his judicious measures reduced the country to order.

Chánakko, determined that to Chandagutto—a monarch, who by the instrumentality of him (the aforesaid Maniyatappo) had conferred the blessings of peace on the country, by extirpating marauders who were like unto thorns (in a cultivated land)—no calamity should befall from poison, decided on inuring his body to the effects of poison. Without imparting the secret to any one, commencing with the smallest particle possible, and gradually increasing the dose, by mixing poison in his food and beverage, he (at last) fed him on poison; at the same time taking steps to prevent any other person participating in his poisoned repasts.

At a subsequent period his queen consort was pronounced to be pregnant. Who was she? Whose daughter was she? "She was the daughter of the eldest of the maternal uncles who accompanied the rája's mother to Puppapúra." Chandagutto wedding this daughter of his maternal uncle, raised her to the dignity of queen consort.

About this time, Chánakko on a certain day having prepared the monarch's repast sent it to him, himself accidentally remaining behind for a moment. On recollecting himself, in an agony of distress, he exclaimed, "I must

hasten thither, short as the interval is, before he begins his meal;" and precipitately rushed into the king's apartment, at the instant that the queen, who was within seven days of her confinement, was in the act, in the rája's presence, of placing the first handful of the repast in her mouth. On beholding this, and finding that there was not even time to ejaculate, "Don't swallow it," with his sword he struck her head off; and then ripping open her womb, extricated the child with its caul, and placed it in the stomach of a goat. In this manner, by placing it for seven days in the stomach of seven different goats, having completed the full term of gestation, he delivered the infant over to the female slaves. Causing him to be reared by them, on conferring a name on him—in reference to a spot (Bindu) which the blood of the goats had left—he was called Bindusáro.

Then follows another long note, which represents that the monarch whose corpse was reanimated after his death, was not Nando's, as stated in the hindu authorities, but Chandagutto's, by a yakkho named Déwagabbho. The imposture was detected by Chandagutto's prohitto bráhmaṇ : and Bindusáro with his own hands put him to death, and buried his parent with great pomp.

The next extract I shall make from the Tíká, contains the personal history of Nigródho, as well as of Asóko, who was converted by the former to the buddhistical creed.

This Nigródho, where did he reside? Whose son was he? To answer the inquiry of the sceptical, (the Maháwanso has stated) "This royal youth was the son of prince Sumano, the eldest of all the sons of Bindusáro." From the circumstance of their having been intimate in a former existence (as dealers in honey), and as he was the son of his elder brother, he was moved with affection towards him, the instant he saw him. Although they did not recognise each other, the gratification was mutual.

When his parent was on the point of death, Asóko quitted the kingdom of Ujjéni, which had been conferred on him by his father, and hastening to Pappapura, established at once his authority over the capital. As soon as his sire expired, putting to death his brother Sumano, the father of Nigródho, in the capital, he there usurped the sovereignty without meeting with any opposition. He came from Ujjéni, on receiving a letter of recall from his father, who was bed-ridden. In his (Bindusáro's) apprehension, arising from a rumour which had prevailed that he (Asóko) would murder his own father, and being therefore desirous of employing him at a distance from him, he had (previously) established him in Ujjéni, conferring the government of that kingdom on him.

While he was residing happily there, having had a family consisting of Mahindo and other sons and daughters, on the receipt of a leaf (letter) sent by the minister, stating that his father was on his death bed, without stopping any where, he hastened to Patiliputta, and rushing straight to the royal apartment, presented himself to his parent. On his (father's) death, having performed the funeral obsequies, he consulted with the officers of state, and asserting his authority over the capital, assumed the monarchy.

The rest of the fifth chapter, containing the account of Asóko's conversion—the history of Moggaliputtatisso, by whom the third convocation was held, as well as of that convocation, is full of interesting matter, detailed with peculiar distinctness, on which the comments of the Tíká throw no additional light.

At this stage of his work, being at the close of the third convocation, Mahánámo abruptly interrupts his history of India, and without assigning any reason in the sixth chapter for that interruption, resumes the history of Lanká, in continuation of the visits of Buddho, given in the first chapter, commencing with the landing of Wijayo. His object in adopting this course is sufficiently manifest to his readers, when they come to the twelfth chapter. In the Tíká, however, he thus explains himself for following this course, at the opening of the sixth chapter.

As soon as the third convocation was closed, Maha Mahindo, who was selected for, and sent on, that mission, by his preceptor Moggaliputto, who was bent on establishing the religion of Buddho in the different countries (of Jambudípo) came to this island, which had been sanctified, and rescued from evil influences, by the three visits paid, in aforetime, by the supreme Buddho; and which had been rendered habitable from the very day on which Bhagawa' attained parinibba'nan.

Accordingly, at the expiration of two hundred and thirty six years from that event, and in the reign of Dewana'npiyatisso, (Mahindo) arrived. Therefore (the Maháwanso) arresting the narrative of the history (of Jambudípo) here, where it was requisite that it should be shown how the inhabitants of this island were established here; with that view, and with the intent of explaining the arrival of Wijayo, it enters (at this point), in detail, into the lineage of the said Wijayo, by commencing (the sixth chapter) with the words. "In the land of Wangu, in the capital of Wangu. &c."

The Tíká adds nothing to the information contained in the Maháwanso, as to the fabulous origin of the Sihala dynasty. There are two notes on the first verse, on the words "*Wangésu*"

and "*puré*," which should have informed us fully as to the geographical position of the country, and the age in which the Wangu princes lived. They are however unsatisfactorily laconic, and comprised in the following meagre sentences.

There were certain princes named Wangu. The country in which they dwelt becoming powerful, it was called "Wangu," from their appellation.

The word "*puré*" "*formerly*," signifies anterior to Bhagawa' becoming Buddho."

The attempt to explain with precision, by speculative and conjectural inferences, that which is designedly obscured under the veil of a fable, can seldom lead to a satisfactory result. All that can be safely advanced in regard to the contents of the sixth chapter is, that Wijayo, through the female branch, was descended from the royal family of Kálinga (Northern Circars); that his grandmother had connected herself with some obscure individual, named Sího, (which word also signifies 'lion'); and that he (Wijayo) and his followers were banished from the land, from which they came to Lanká. I shall hereafter notice the probability of the date of his landing having been antedated by a considerable term, for the purpose of supporting a pretended revelation or command of Buddho, with which the seventh chapter opens.

It became a point of interesting inquiry to ascertain, whether the buddhists of Ceylon had ventured to interpolate this injunction, as well as "the five resolves silently willed by Gótamo," mentioned in the seventeenth chapter, into the Pitakattya, for the purpose of deluding the inhabitants of this island; as that imposition might, perhaps, have been detected by comparing those passages with the Pitakattya of the Burmese empire, and the Sanscrit edition presented to the Bengal Asiatic Society, by Mr. Hodgson. On referring, accordingly, to the Parinibbánsuttan in the Dhiksangí, *no trace whatever was to be found there of these passages*. But the "five resolves" alone are contained in the Attakathá to that Suttan; but even there the command to Sakko, predictive of Wijayo's landing in Ceylon, is not noticed.

I took the opportunity of an official interview with the two high priests of the Malwatte and Asgiri establishments and their fraternity, to discuss this, apparently fatal, discrepancy, with them. They did not appear to be aware that the "five resolves" were only contained in the Attakathá; nor did they attach any kind of importance to their absence from the text. They observed, that the Pitakattya only embodied the essential portions of the discourses, revelations, and prophecies of Buddhó. That his disciples for some centuries after his nibbánan, were endowed with inspiration; and that *their* supplements to the Pitakattya were as sacred in their estimation as the text itself. On a slight hint being thrown out, whether this particular supplement might not have been "a pious fraud" on the part of Mahindo, with the view of accelerating the conversion of the ancient inhabitants of Ceylon; the priests adroitly replied, if *that* had been his object, he would have accomplished it more effectually by altering the Pitakattya itself. Nothing can exceed the good taste, the unreserved communicativeness, and even the tact, evinced by the heads of the buddhistical church in Ceylon, in their intercourse with Europeans, as long as they are treated with ordinary courtesy.

At a recent interview in Kandy between the present Bishop of Calcutta and the above mentioned priests, brought about at their request, when I officiated to interpret for the parties, a conversation of considerable duration was kept up by the priests, with admirable dexterity, in avoiding the approach to obnoxious or debateable topics; chiefly dwelling on the virtue of morality, and the power of truth. The concluding speech of the late high priest of Asgiri was most happily conceived, as the substitute for the hymn with which these interviews are generally closed, but which was inadmissible on this particular occasion. "There can be nothing offensive (said he) in our commending a Christian Bishop to the protection of the deity whom he himself worships."

The fabulous tone of the narrative in which the account of Wijayo's landing in Lanká is conveyed, in the seventh chapter, bears, even in its details, so close a resemblance to the landing of Ulysses at the island of Circé, that it would have been difficult to defend Mahanámo from the imputation of plagiarism, had he lived in a country in which the works of Homer could, by possibility, be accessible to him. The seizure and imprisonment of his men, and his own rencontre with Circé, are almost identical with the fate of Wijayo and his men, on their landing in Lanká, within the dominions of Kuwéni.

“ We went, Ulysses ! (such was thy command !)
 Through the lone thicket and the desert land.
 A palace in a woody vale we found,
 Brown with dark forests, and with shades around.
 A voice celestial echoed from the dome,
 Or nymph or goddess, chanting to the loom.
 Access we sought, nor was access deny'd :
 Radiant she came ; the portals open'd wide :
 The goddess mild invites the guest to stay :
 They blindly follow where she leads the way.
 I only wait behind of all the train :
 I waited long, and ey'd the doors in vain :
 The rest are vanish'd none repass'd the gate ;
 And not a man appears to tell their fate.
 Then sudden whirling, like a waving flame,
 My beamy falchion, I assault the dame.”

“ Struck with unusual fear, she trembling cries ;
 She faints, she falls ; she lifts her weeping eyes.
 What art thou ? say ! from whence, from whom you came ?
 O more than human ! tell thy race, thy name.
 Amazing strength, these poisons to sustain !
 Not mortal thou, nor mortal is thy brain.
 Or art thou he ? the man to come (foretold
 By Hermes powerful with the wand of gold),
 The man from Troy, who wandered ocean round ;
 The man for wisdom's various arts renown'd,
 Ulysses ? Oh ! thy threatening fury cease,
 Sheath thy bright sword, and join our hands in peace !
 Let mutual joys our mutual trust combine,
 And love, and love-born confidence, be thine.

And how, dread Circé ! (furious I rejoin)
 Can love, and love-born confidence be mine !
 Beneath thy charms when my companions groan,
 Transform'd to beasts, with accents not their own ?
 O thou of fraudulent heart, shall I be led
 To share thy feast-rites, or ascend thy bed ;
 That, all unarm'd, that vengeance may have vent,
 And magic bind me, cold and impotent ?
 Celestial as thou art, yet stand denied ;
 Or swear that oath by which the gods are tied.
 Swear, in thy soul no latent frauds remain,
 Swear by the vow which never can be vain.
 The goddess swore : then seiz'd my hand, and led
 To the sweet transports of the genial bed."

It would appear that the prevailing religion in Lanká, at that period, was the demon or yakkha worship. Buddhists have thence thought proper to represent that the inhabitants were yakkhos or demons themselves, and possessed of supernatural powers. Divested of the false colouring which is imparted to the whole of the early portion of the history of Lanká in the Maháwanso, by this fiction, the facts embodied in the narrative are perfectly consistent, and sustained by external evidence, as well as by surviving remnants of antiquity. No train of events can possibly bear a greater semblance of probability than that Wijayo, at his landing, should have connected himself with the daughter of some provincial chieftain or prince ; by whose means he succeeded in overcoming the ruling powers of the island ;—and that he should have repudiated her, and allied himself with the sovereigns of Southern India, after his power was fully established in the island.

The narrative is too full and distinct in all requisite details, in the ensuing three chapters, to make any further remarks necessary from me.

The eleventh chapter possesses more extended interest, from the account it contains of the embassy sent to Asóko by Dewá-nanpiyatisso, and of the one deputed to Lanká in return.

The twelfth chapter contains the account of the dispersion of the buddhist missionaries, at the close of the third convocation, in B.C. 307, to foreign countries, for the purpose of propagating their faith. I had intended in this place to enter into a comparison of the data contained in professor Wilson's sketch of the Rája Taringiní, with the details furnished in this chapter of the Maháwanso, connected with the introduction of buddhism in Cashmir. The great length, however, of the preceding extracts from the Tíká, which has already swelled this pamphlet beyond the dimensions originally designed, deters me from undertaking the task in the present sketch. I shall, therefore, now only refer to the accordance between the two authorities (though of conflicting faiths) as to the facts of that conversion having taken place in the reign of Asóko; of the previous prevalence of the nága worship; and of the visitation by tempests, which each sect attributed to the impiety of the opposite party; as evidences of both authorities concurring to prove the historical event here recorded, that this mission did take place during the reign of that supreme ruler of India.

As to the deputations to the Mahísamandala, Wanawása, and Aparantaka countries, I believe it has not been ascertained whether any of their ancient literature is still extant; nor, indeed, as far as I am aware, have their geographical limits even been clearly defined. Although we are equally without the guidance of literary records in regard to the ancient history of Maharátta, also, the persevering progress of oriental research has of late furnished some decisive evidence, tending to prove that the stupendous works of antiquity on the western side of India, which had heretofore been considered of hindu origin, are connected with the buddhistical creed. The period is not remote, I hope, when the successful decyphering of the more ancient inscriptions will elicit *inscribed* evidence, calculated to afford explicit explanation of the *pictorial* or *sculptural* proofs

on which the present conclusions are chiefly based. In regard to the geographical identification of the Yóna country, I am of opinion we shall have to abandon past speculations, founded on the similarity of the names of "Yóna" and "Yavana"; and the consequent inferences that the Yavanas were the Greeks of Bactriana;—as Yóna is made mention of long anterior to Alexander's invasion, in the ancient Páli works. The term therefore can have no connection with the Greeks.

If in the "regions of Himawanto" are to be included Tibet and Nepal, the collection of Sanscrit and Tibetan buddhistical works, made by Mr. Hodgson,—cursorily as they have hitherto been analyzed,—has already furnished corroborative evidence of the deputation above-mentioned to Cashmir, and of the three convocations. When the contents of those works have been more carefully examined, that corroboration will probably be found to be still more specific and extensive.

As to the deputation into Sówanabhúmi; the Pitakattya of the Burmese are, minutely and literally, identical with the buddhist scriptures of Ceylon. The translations which appeared in the Bengal Asiatic Journal for May, 1834, of the inscriptions found at Buddhaghya and Ramree island, are valuable collateral evidence, both confirmatory of the authenticity of the Pitakattya, and explanatory of the deputation to Sówanabhúmi; the latter agreeing even in respect to the names of the théros employed in the mission, with the Maháwanso.

In entering upon the thirteenth chapter, a note is given in the Tiká, which I extract in this place, as containing further particulars of the personal history of Asóko; and I would take this opportunity of correcting a mistranslation, by altering the passage "she gave birth to the noble (twin) sons Ujjénio and Mahindo," into "she gave birth to the noble Ujjénian prince Mahindo." The other children born to Asóko at Ujjéni, alluded to in a former note, were probably the offspring of different mothers.

Prior to this period, prince Bindusa'ro, the son of Chandagutto of the Móriyan dynasty, on the demise of his father had succeeded to the monarchy, at Pátaliputta. He had two sons who were brothers. Of them (the sons) there were, also, ninety other brothers, the issue of different mothers. This monarch conferred on Asóko, who was the eldest* of all of them, the dignity of sub-king, and the government of Awanti. Subsequently, on a certain occasion, when he came to pay his respects to him (the monarch), addressing him, "Sub-king, my child! repairing to thy government, reside at Ujjéni," ordered him thither. He, who was on his way to Ujjéni, pursuant to his father's command, rested in his journey at the city of Chétiyagiri, at the house of one Déwo, a settho. Having met there the lovely and youthful daughter of the said settho, named princess Chétiya, and becoming enamoured of her; soliciting the consent of her parents, and obtaining her from them, he lived with her. By that connection she became pregnant; and being conveyed from thence to Ujjéni, she gave birth to the prince Mahindo. At the termination of two years from that date, giving birth to her daughter Sanghamittá, she continued to dwell there. Bindusáro, the father of the sub-king, on his death bed, calling his son Asóko to his recollection, sent messengers to require his attendance. They accordingly repaired to Ujjéni, and delivered their message to Asóko. Pursuant to those instructions, he hastened to his father by rapid stages, leaving his son and daughter, in his way, at Chétiyagiri; and hurried to his father at Pátaliputta, and performed the funeral obsequies of his parent, who died immediately on his arrival. Then putting to death the ninety nine brothers of different mothers, and extirpating all disaffected persons, and raising the chhatta, he there solemnized his inauguration. The mother of the théro (Mahindo), sending her children to the king's court, continued to reside herself at the city of Chétiyagiri. It is from this circumstance (that the author of the Maháwanso has said), "While prince Asóko was ruling over the Awanti country."

The Tíká affords no new matter, as far as regards the interesting narrative contained in the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth chapters. The twentieth chapter contains a chronological summary of the reign of Dhammásóko, at the opening of which the Tíká gives the following note, affording another proof of the minute attention paid by the author to prevent any misapprehension in regard to the chronology of his history.

* This is at variance with a preceding note, which made Sumano the eldest of all Bindusáro's sons.

"After describing the arrival of the bo-tree, and preparatory to entering upon the chapter on the subject of the theros obtaining "parinibbāna," the account of the death of the two monarchs, Dhammāsoko and Dewānanpiyattisso, is set forth (in the Mahāwanso in these words): "In the eighteenth year of the reign of Dhammāsoko, the bo-tree was placed in the Mahaméghawanna pleasure garden."

(In the Mahāwanso it is stated), "these years collectively amount to thirty seven." By that work it might appear that the total (term of his reign) amounted to forty one years. That reckoning is erroneous; the last year of each period is again counted as the first of the next period. By avoiding that double appropriation, the period becomes thirty seven years. In the Attakathā, avoiding this absurd (literally laughable) mistake, the period is correctly stated. It is there specified to be thirty seven years."

I have now rapidly gone through the first twenty chapters of the Mahāwanso, making also extracts from the most interesting portions of the Tikā which comment on them. These chapters have been printed in this form to serve as a prospectus to the volume of the Mahāwanso, which I am nearly prepared to issue from the press. This pamphlet is intended chiefly for private distribution among Literary Societies and Oriental scholars, whose criticism I invite, not on the translation (for the disadvantages or advantages under which that translation has been attempted will be undisguisedly stated) but on the work itself.

The chronological data of the Indian history therein contained, may be thus tabularized.

Name.	Accession of each king.		Reign. Years.	
	B. C.	B. B.		
Bimbisáro.....	603	60	52	} Gótamo died in the eighth year of this king's reign, which event constitutes the buddhistical era.
Ajátasattu.....	551	8	32	
Udáyibhaddako	519	A. B. 24	16	
Anuraddhako } Mundho ... }	503	40	8	Collectively.
Nágadāsako.....	495	48	24	
Susunágo.....	471	72	18	
Kálásoko.....	453	90	28	
Nandos.....	425	118	22	Collectively.
Nandos.....	403	140	22	Individually.
Chandagutto ...	381	162	34	
Bindusa'ro	347	196	28	
Asóko	319	224	An anachronism of } 6 years the specified date being A. B. 218. } 37	

If Chandagupta and Seleucus Nicator be considered cotemporaries, and the reign of the latter be taken to have commenced in B. C. 323 (the year in which Alexander died) a discrepancy is found to exist of about 60 years, between the date of the western authorities, and that given in the Maháwanso. The buddhist era, from which these dates are reckoned, appears to be too authentically fixed to admit of its being varied from B. C. 543 to about B. C. 480, for the adjustment of this difference. On the other hand, as during the 218 years comprised in the reigns of the above mentioned rájas, there are two correcting epochs given,—one at the 100th and the other at the 218th year,—while the accession of Chandagupta is represented to have taken place in the 162nd year of Buddho; it is equally inadmissible, to make so extensive a correction as 60 years within two such closely approximated dates, by any attempt at varying the terms of the reigns of the kings who ruled in that interval. The attention paid by the author to ensure chronological accuracy (as noticed on various occasions in the foregoing remarks) is moreover so scrupulously exact, that it appears to me that the discrepancy can only proceed from one of these two sources; viz., either it is an intentional perversion adopted to answer some national or religious object, which is not readily discoverable; or, Chandagupta is not identical with Sandracottos.

As to the detection of any intentional perversion; I have only the means at present of consulting the Burmese Páli annals, which version of the Pitakattya is entirely in accordance with the Ceylonese authorities. Even in the Buddhaghyá inscription, the accession of Asóko is stated to have been in A. B. 218. I have not met with any analysis of the Nepal Sanscrit annals. Professor Wilson however has furnished an abstract of the Tibetan version, made from an analysis prepared by Mr. Csoma de Koros, which is published in the January and September numbers of the Journals of 1832. The former contains the following observations in reference to this particular point.

“On the death of Sákya, Kásyapa, the head of the Baud’dhas, directs 500 superior monks to make a compilation of the doctrines of their master. The “Do” is also compiled by Ananda; the “Dul-va” by Upáli; and the “Ma-moon,” Abhidharma, or Prajná-páramitá, by himself. He presides over the sect at Rájagriha till his death.

Ananda succeeds as hierarch. On his death his relics are divided between the Lichchivis and the king of Magadha; and two chaityas are built for their reception, one at Allahabad, the other at Pátaliputra.

One hundred years after the disappearance of Sákya, his religion is carried into Kashmir.

One hundred and ten years after the same event, in the reign of Asóka, king of Pa’taliputra, a new compilation of the laws of Sákya was prepared by 700 monks, at Yanga-pa-chen -Allahabad.

The twelfth and thirteenth volumes contain supplementary rules and instructions, as communicated by Sákya to Upáli, his disciple, in answer to the inquiries of the latter.

We shall be better prepared, upon the completion of the catalogue of the whole of the Káh-gyar, to offer any remarks upon the doctrines it inculcates, or the historical facts it may be supposed to preserve. It is, therefore, rather premature to make any observations upon the present analysis, confined as that is to but one division of the work, and unaccompanied by extracts, or translations; but we may perhaps be permitted to inquire what new light it imparts, as far as it extends, to the date and birth-place of Sákya.

Any thing like chronology is, if possible, more unknown in Baud’dha than Brahmanical writings; and it is in vain therefore to expect any satisfactory specification of the date at which the Buddha Sákya flourished. We find however that 110 years after his death, Asóka, king of Pa’taliputra, reigned: now in the Vishnu Purána, and one or two other Puránas, the second king of Magadha from Chandragupta, or Sandracoptos, bears the title of Asóka, or Asókaverddhana. If this be the prince intended, Sákya lived about 430 years before the christian era, which is about one century posterior to the date usually assigned for his appearance. It is not very different, however, from that stated by the Siamese to Mr. Crawford. By their account, his death took place in the first year of the sacred era, being the year of the little snake; on Tuesday, being the full moon of the sixth month. The year 1822, was the year 2364 of the era in question; and as Buddha is stated by them to have died when 80 years of age, his birth by this account took place 462 years before the christian era.”

If the inference here drawn could be sustained, the discrepancy above noticed, between the chronology of the western and the buddhistical authorities would be more than corrected; making the

era of Gótamo fall between 430 and 462 years before the christian epoch. I have reason to believe, however, that this conclusion is deduced from a misconception (and a very natural one) on the part of Mr. Csoma de Koros, in forming his analysis from the Tibetan versions. In the buddhistical works extant in Ceylon, whenever a consecutive series of events is specified in chronological order, the period intervening between any two of those events is invariably reckoned from the date of the event immediately preceding, and not from the date of the first event of the series. On re-examination of the text—of the Sanscrit versions at least—this gentleman will probably find that the three events here alluded to are the three convocations, which are described in the Maháwanso: the first as being held in the year of Gótamo's death; the second, one hundred years afterwards; and the third, one hundred and eighteen years after the second; making the date of Asóko's accession to be the 218th, instead of 110th year of Buddho.

In the absence of other data the learned professor reverts, allowably enough, in this inquiry, to the only established epoch of hindu history, the age of Chandagupta; and thence infers that "Sákya lived about 430 years before the Christian era;" in support however of his inference he quotes a most palpable mistake contained in Crawfurd's Siam. It is there correctly enough stated that "the year 1822 was 2364 of the era in question." The revolution of the buddhist year takes place in May: the first year of that era therefore comprised the last eight months of B. c. 543, and the first four of B. c. 542. Mr. Crawfurd then proceeds to say, "and as Buddho is stated to have died when 80 years of age, his birth by this account took place 462 years before the Christian era." This gentleman forgets that he has to deal with a calculation of recession, and proceeds to deduct from, instead of adding 80 years to, 542: thereby making it appear that Gótamo was born 80 years after the date assigned for his death; or B. c. 462 instead of 622.

Here, again, as Mr. Colebrooke in his essay, professor Wilson has inadvertently lent the authority of his high reputation as an oriental scholar, in passing a sentence of unmerited condemnation on "Bauddha writings." He says, "any thing like real chronology is, if possible, more unknown in the Bauddha than the bráhmanical writings; and it is in vain, therefore, to expect any satisfactory specification of the date at which the Buddha Sákya flourished." Even if a discrepancy, to the extent he notices, of about one hundred years, had really existed, among the various versions of the buddhist annals scattered over the widely separated regions in which buddhism has prevailed; instead of that anachronism being founded on an error so self-evident that it ought not to have escaped detection; still I would ask, wherein does this chronological inferiority of the buddhistical, as compared with the bráhmanical annals, consist? Are we not indebted to his own valuable researches for evidence of the Puránas being comparatively modern compilations? And does not the anachronism at the period of the reign of Chandragupta, *in them*, amount to upwards of 1100 years? And have we not his own authority for saying, that, "the only Sanscrit composition yet discovered, to which the title of history can with any propriety be applied, is the Rája Taringiní, a history of Cashmir? And does he not himself, exhibit *in that work* an anachronism of upwards of 700 years in the age of Gonerda III.; which is nearly two centuries posterior to the age of Sákya Buddho?

As to the second point,—the identity of Chandragupta with Sandracottos,—it will be observed, that the author of the Maháwanso, in his history, gives very little more than the names of the Indian monarchs, and the term of their reigns; which are, moreover, adduced solely for the purpose of fixing the dates of the three convocations, till he comes to the accession of the great patron of buddhism, Asóko. I have, therefore, extracted every passage in his Tíká, which throws any light on this interesting

historical point. I have taken the liberty, also, of reprinting, in an appendix, professor Wilson's notes on the *Mudra Rákshasa*; both because many of the authorities he quotes are not accessible to me, and as it is desirable that this identity in the buddhistical annals should be tested by the same evidence by which the question is tried in the bráhmanical annals. The points both of accordance and discordance, between the buddhistical data, and, on the one hand, the bráhmanical, and, on the other, the European classical, data, are numerous. I could not enter into an illustrative examination of these particulars, without going into details, inadmissible in this sketch. Those who are interested in the inquiry, will be left to form their own comparisons, and draw their own conclusions in this respect. I shall only venture to observe, that, at present, I incline to the opinion that this discrepancy of 60 years proceeds from some *intentional perversion* of the buddhistical chronology.

I here close my remarks on the Maháwanso, as regards the historical information it contains of India. When we find that all these valuable data, regarding *India*, are met with in an *epitomised introduction*, or *episode*, to a buddhistical history of *Ceylon*; and that the termination of this historical narrative of India occurs at this particular point, not from any causes which should render that narrative defective here, but because the Ceylonese branch of buddhistical history diverges at this date from the main stream; is it not reasonable to infer, that in those regions of Asia, where the Páli buddhistical literature is still extant, it will be found to contain the history of those countries in ampler detail, and continued to a later period than the reign of the first supreme monarch of India, who became a convert to Gótamo Buddho's religion? That such literary records are extant, we have the following unqualified testimony of Colonel Tod.

"Immense libraries, in various parts of India, are still extant, which have survived the devastations of the Islamite. The collections of Jessulmer and

Puttam, for example, escaped the scrutiny of even the lynx-eyed Alla, who conquered both these kingdoms, and who would have shown as little mercy to those literary treasures, as Omar displayed towards the Alexandrine library. Many other minor collections, consisting of thousands of volumes each, exist in central and western India; some of which are the private property of princes, and others belong to the Jain communities."

"Some copies of these Jain MSS from Jessulmer, which were written from five to eight centuries back, I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society. Of the vast numbers of these MS books in the libraries of Puttam and Jessulmer, many are of the most remote antiquity, and in a character no longer understood by their possessors, or only by the supreme pontiff and his initiated librarians. There is one volume held so sacred, for its magical contents, that it is suspended by a chain in the temple of Chintamun, at the last named capital in the desert, and is only taken down to have its covering renewed, or at the inauguration of a pontiff. Tradition assigns its authorship to Samaditya Sooru Acharya, a pontiff of past days, before the Islamite had crossed the waters of the Indus, and whose diocese extended far beyond that stream. His magic mantle is also here preserved, and used on every new installation. The character is, doubtless, the nail-headed Páli; and could we introduce the ingenious, indefatigable, and modest Mon. Burnouf with his able coadjutor, Dr. Lassen, into the temple, we might learn of this sybilline volume, without their incurring the risk of loss of sight, which befel the last individual, a female Yati of the Jains, who sacrilegiously endeavoured to acquire its contents."

To which testimony, I cannot refrain from adding the following note, appended to the proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society, in April, 1835.

Passage of a letter published by Lieut. Webb in a Calcutta periodical, in the year 1833.

"You are yet all in the dark, and will remain so, until you have explored the grand libraries of Patan, a city in Rájputána; and Jessulmer a town north west of Joadpur, and Cambay; together with the travelling libraries of the Jain bishops. These contain tens of thousands of volumes, and I have endeavoured to open the eyes of some scholars here on the subject. At Jessulmer are the original books of Bhandá (Buddha), the sybilline volumes which none dare even handle. Until all these have been examined, let us declare our ignorance of hindu literature, for we have only gleaned in the field contaminated by conquest, and where no genuine record could be hoped for."

Here, then, is a new, inciting, and extensive field of research, readily accessible to the oriental scholar. The close affinity of Páli to Sanscrit, together with the aid afforded by Mr. Clough's translated Páli Grammar, in defining the points in which they differ, will enable any Sanscrit scholar to enter upon that interesting investigation with confidence; and the object I have principally in view will have been realized, if I shall have in any degree stimulated that research.

It scarcely falls within the scope of this prospectus to enter into any detailed examination of the Maháwanso, as regards the history of Ceylon, which I reserve to form an appendage to the principal publication. Suffice it to say, that from the date of the introduction of buddhism into Ceylon, in B. C. 307, that history is authenticated by the concurrence of every evidence, which can contribute to verify the annals of any country; as will be found by reference to the accompanying "Epitome," imperfectly and hastily as it has been compiled.

In regard to the 236 years which elapsed, from the death of Gótamo to the introduction of buddhism in Ceylon, in B. C. 307; there is ground for suspecting that sectarian zeal, or the impostures of superstition, have led to the assignment of the same date for the landing of Wijayo, with the cardinal buddhistical event,—the death of Gótamo. If historical annals did exist (of which there is ample internal evidence) in Ceylon, anterior to Mahindo's arrival, buddhist historians have adapted those data to their falsified chronology. The otherwise apparent consistency of the narrative contained in that portion of the history of Ceylon, together with the established facts of the towns and edifices, therein described, being in existence at the period of Mahindo's landing, justify the inference, that the monarchs named, and the events described, are not purely buddhistical fictions. My reluctance, moreover, to admit the particular date assigned to the landing of Wijayo, does not proceed solely from its suspicious coincidence with the date of Gótamo's

death. The aggregate period comprised in those 236 years, it will be observed, has been apportioned, on a scale of decimation, among the six rajas who preceded Déwánanpiyatisso, which distribution is not in itself calculated to conciliate confidence; and in the instance of the fifth rāja, Pandukábhayo, it is stated that he married at 20 years of age, succeeded in dethroning his uncle when he was 37 years, and reigned for 70 years. He is therefore 107 years old when he dies, having been married 87 years; and yet the issue of that marriage, Mutasiwo, succeeds him and reigns 60 years! One of the Singhalese histories does, indeed, attempt to make it appear that Mutasiwo was the grandson; but I now find that that assertion is founded purely on an assumption, made possibly with the view of correcting the very imperfection now noticed. It is manifest, therefore, that there is some inaccuracy here, which calls for a curtailment of the period intervening between the landing of Wijayo and the introduction of buddhism; and it is not unworthy of remark, that a curtailment of similar extent was shown to be requisite in the Indian portion of this history, of that particular period, to render the reigns of Chandragupta and Seleucus Nicator cotemporaneous. This principle of decimating has also been applied in filling up the aggregate term comprised in the reigns of the four brothers of Déwánanpiyatisso, who successively ascended the throne after him. But subsequently to Dutthagámini, in B. C. 164, there does not appear to be the slightest ground for questioning the correctness of the chronology of the Ceylonese history, even in these minute respects.

Whether these unimportant falsifications have, or have not, been intentionally had recourse to, they in no degree affect the reputation of Mahánámo, as an historian; for the following very curious passage in Buddhaghóso's Atthakathá on the Winéyo, which was composed only fifty years before Mahánámo compiled his history, shows that great pains had been taken, even at that period, to make it appear that the chronology of these three centuries of buddhistical history, which preceded Asóko's conversion, was correct, as exhibited in those Atthakathá.

In the eighteenth year of the reign of Ajátasattu, the supreme Buddho attained parinibbánan. In that very year, prince Wijayo, the son of prince

Sího, and the first monarch of Tambapanni, repairing to this island, rendered it habitable for human beings. In the fourteenth year of the reign of Udáyabhado, in Jambudípo, Wijayo died here. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Udáyabhado, Pánduwásodéwo came to the throne in this island. In the twentieth year of the reign of Nágadáso there, Pánduwásadéwo died here. In the same year Abhayo succeeded to the kingdom. In the seventeenth year of the reign of Susunágo there, twenty years of the reign of Abhayo had been completed; and then, in the said twentieth year of Abhayo, the traitor Pandukábhayo usurped the kingdom. In the sixteenth year of the reign of Kálásoko there, the seventeenth year of Pandukábhayo's reign had elapsed here. The foregoing (years) together with this one year, will make the eighteenth (of his reign). In the fourteenth year of the reign of Chandagutto, Pandukábhayo died here; and Mutasi'wo succeeded to the kingdom. In the seventeenth year of the reign of Dhammásoko rája, Mutasiwo rája died, and Déwananpiyatisso rája succeeded to the kingdom.

From the parinibbánan of the supreme Buddho, Aja'tasattu reigned twenty four years. Udayabhado, sixteen. Anuruddho and Mundho, eighteen. Nágadá-sako twenty four. Susunágo eighteen years. His son Ka'la'soko twenty eight years. The ten sons of Ka'la'soko reigned twenty two years. Subsequently to them, Nawanando reigned twenty two years. Chandagutto twenty four years. Bindusa'ro, twenty eight years. At his demise Asóko succeeded, and in the eighteenth year after his inauguration, Mahindo théro arrived in this island. This royal narration is to be thus understood.

The synchronisms attempted to be established in this extract, between the chronology of India and of Ceylon, are not, it will be observed, successfully made out, as regard the reigns of Susunágo and Kálásoko. The discrepancies in the duration of the joint rule of Anuruddho and Mundho, and in the reign of Chandagutto, proceed, probably, from clerical errors of the transcribers.

After the most minute examination of the portion of Mahá-wanso compiled by Mahanámo, I am fully prepared to certify, that I have not met with any other passage in the work, (unconnected with religion and its superstitions,) than those already noticed, which could by the most sceptical be considered as prejudicial to its historical authenticity. In several instances he adverts prospectively to events which took place posterior to the date at

which his narrative had arrived, but in every one of these cases, it is found that the anticipated incidents are invariably anterior to his own time.

The *Tíká* also to the *Maháwanso* is equally faultless in these respects, save in one single, but very remarkable, instance. In enumerating, at the opening of the 5th chapter, the "schisms" which had prevailed in the buddhistical church, the *Maháwanso* states, that six had arisen in India, and *two* in Ceylon. The *Tíká*, however, in commenting on this point, mentions *three* schisms in Ceylon, and specifies the dates when each occurred. I quote this passage, as it will serve to illustrate, what I have already suggested, as to the mode of computing the dates of a consecutive series of chronological events in buddhistical works.

Of these (schisms) the fraternity of *Abhayagiri*, at the expiration of 217 years after the establishment of religion in Lanka', in the reign of king *Wattaga'mini*, by separating the *Pariwa'nan* section of *Bhagawa'* from the *Winéyo*, which had been propounded for the regulation of sacerdotal discipline; by both altering its meaning and misquoting its contents; by pretending also that they were conscientious seceders, according to the "*therawáda*" rules; and assuming the name of the *Dhammaruchika* seceders, established themselves at the *Abhayagiri wiha'ro*, which was constructed by *Wattagámini*.

At the expiration of 341 years from that event, the fraternity (subsequently established) at the *Jétawanno*, even before the said *Jétawanno wiha'ro* was founded, severing themselves from the *Dhammaruchika* schismatics, and repairing to the *Dhakkhiná wiháro*, they also by separating the two *Wibhangos* of *Bhaga'wa'* from the *Winéyo*, which had been propounded for the regulation of sacerdotal discipline; by both altering their meaning and misquoting their contents, and assuming the appellation of the *Sa'galika* schismatics; and becoming very powerful at the *Jétawanno wiha'ro* built by *ra'ja Maha'séno*, established themselves there.

Hence the expression in the *Maha'wanso*, "the *Dhammaruchiya* and *Sa'galiya* secessions in Lanka'."

At the expiration of 350 years from that event, in the reign of the *ra'ja Dáthápatisso* (also called *Aggrabhódi*) the maternal nephew (of the preceding monarch) a certain priest named *Da'tha'we'dhako* resident at the *Kurunda-chatta pariwéno* at the *Jétawanno wiha'ro*, and another priest also named *Da'tha'wédhako*, resident at the *Kolomba'lako pariwéno* of the same *wiháro*;

—these two individuals, influenced by wicked thoughts, lauding themselves, vilifying others, extolling their heresies in their own nika'yas, dispelling the fear which ought to be entertained in regard to a future world, and discouraging the resort for the purpose of listening to dhamma; and representing also that the separation of the two Wibhangos in the Dhammaruchika schism, and the Pariwa'ran section in the Sa'galika schisms, proceeded, severally, from the misconduct of the Maha'wiha'ro fraternity; and propagating this unfounded statement, together with other deceptions usual among schismatics; and recording their own version in a form to give it the appearance of antiquity, they imposed (upon the inhabitants).

These dates give the following result :

	B.C.	A.B.	
Buddhism introduced in	307	236	in the reign of Déwánanpiyatisso
The Dhammaruchikaschism, } 217 years thereafter.....	90	453	do. Wattagámini
The Ságalika schism, } 341 years thereafter.....	A.D. 251	794	do. Góthábhayo.
The third schism, } 350 years thereafter.....	601	1144	do. Aggrabhódi.

} Vide Epítome

In this case, also, for the conjectural solution of the difficulty in question, I am reduced to a selection between two alternatives. Either Mahanámo was not the author of the Tíká, or the last sentence has been subsequently added by another hand.

When I consider the general tenor of this commentary, more particularly in its introductory portions, as well as the passage in this particular extract, intervening between the notices of the second and third schisms, "Hence the expression in the Maháwanso, the Dhammaruchiya and Ságaliya secessions in Lanká;" which is in fact an admission that the comment on the third schism had no reference to the Maháwanso; and the total absence of all precedent of a buddhist author attributing his work to another individual, I cannot hesitate to adopt the latter alternative. But the interpolation (if interpolation it be) is of old date, as it is found in Nadoris Modliar's Burmese edition also.

I shall now close my remarks on the portion of the Maháwanso composed by Mahanámo, with three quotations; the first his own

concluding sentence in the *Tíká*, which affords an additional, if not conclusive, argument to justify my judgment in pronouncing him to be the author of that commentary; the other two from the 38th chapter of the *Maháwanso*, which will serve to shew, in connection with the extract above mentioned, that “*Mahánámo* resident at the *pariwéno* founded by the minister *Díghasandano*,” was *Dhátuséno*’s maternal uncle, by whom that *ra’ja* was brought up under the disguise of a priest; and that the completion and public rehearsal of his work took place towards the close of that monarch’s reign. A reference to the epitome will give the personal history of *Dhátuséno*.

Extract from the *Tíká*.

Upon these data, by me, the *théro*, who had, with due solemnity, been invested with the dignified title of *Mahána’mo*, resident at the *pariwéno* founded by the minister *Díghasandano*; * endowed with the capacity requisite to record the narrative comprised in the *Maha’wanso*;—in due order, rejecting only the dialect in which the *Singhalese Attakatha’* are written, but retaining their import and following their arrangement, this history, entitled the “*Palapa-dóruwanso*,” is compiled.

As even in the times, when the despotism of the ruler of the land, and the horrors arising from the inclemencies of the seasons, and when panics of epidemics and other visitations prevailed, this work escaped all injury; and moreover as it serves to perpetuate the fame of the *Buddhos*, their disciples and of the *Paché buddhos* of old, it is also worthy of bearing the title of “*Wansutthappaka’sini*.”

Extracts from the *Maháwanso*—Chapter 38.

Certain members of the *Móriyan* dynasty, dreading the power of the (usurper) *Subho*,† the *balatho*, had settled in various parts of the country, concealing themselves. Among them, there was a certain landed proprietor named *Dhátuséno*, who had established himself at *Nandiwápi*. His son named *Dhátá*, who lived at the village *Ambiliya’go*, had two sons, *Dha’tuséno* and *Sílatissabodhi*, of unexceptionable descent; *their mother’s brother, devoted to the cause of religion, continued to reside (at Anurádhapura) in his sacerdotal character, at the edifice built by the minister Díghasandano*. The youth

* *Maha’wanso*, Chap. xv. p. 111: in my letter to the editor of the *Ceylon Almanac*, I erroneously stated that he was the minister of *Dha’tuseno*.

† *Epitome* A. D. 56. A. B. 599. p. 20.

Dha'tuséno became a priest in his fraternity, and on a certain day while he was chaunting at the foot of a tree, a shower of rain fell," &c.

"Causing an image of Maha' Mahindo to be made, and conveying it to the edifice (the Ambama'lako) in which his body had been burnt, in order that he might celebrate a great festival there; and that he might, also, promulgate the contents of the Dipawanso, distributing a thousand pieces, he caused it to be read aloud thoroughly."

As a specimen of the style in which a subsequent portion of the Maháwanso is composed by a different author, I have added the fifty ninth chapter also to the appendix, (C) printed in the form adopted for the volume in the press. This particular chapter has been specially selected, that I might draw attention to another instance of the mutual corroboration afforded to each other, between professor Wilson's translations of the hindu historical plays and this historical work.

It will be found in the Retna'wali, and the professor's preface thereto, (which is reprinted in appendix B) that that play was written between A. D. 1113 and 1125, and that its principal Ceylonese historical characters are "Retnáwali" and "her father Wikkramaba'hu, king of Sinhala." Now, on referring to the epitome,* it will be seen that the only discrepancies apparent between the two works, are those variations which would reasonably be expected in productions of such opposite characters.

From the circumstances of the name of Wikkramaba'hu,† who was Retna'wali's brother, being given to her father, whose name was Wijayabehu, who reigned from A. D. 1071 to A. D. 1126; and of Vatsa's solicitation of Retnáwali proving unsuccessful according to the Maha'wanso, instead of its being successful as it is represented in this play, it would appear to be allowable to infer (unsatisfactory as such inferences generally are) that this play was written while the embassy was pending, and in anticipation of a favorable result: all the details connected with the shipwreck of Retnáwali, and the return of the embassy to the court of the Kósambian monarch, being purely the fictions of the poet.

* Epitome A. D. 1071; A. B. 1614. p. 38.

† Epitome A. D. 1127; A. B. 1670. p. 40.

With the view of attempting to account for Vasavadata, Vatsa's queen, calling the monarch of Ceylon "*uncle*," and Retnawali "*sister*," I may suggest, that the term "*mátulo*," in Páli, or its equivalent in Sanscrit, applies in Ceylon equally to "*a maternal* uncle*" "*the husband of an aunt*," and to a "*father in law*;" and that there is no specific term to express the relationship of "*cousin*." The daughter of a *maternal* aunt would be called "*sister*." I should hence venture to infer, that Wijayabáhu was Vasavadata's uncle only by his marriage to her maternal aunt; in which case her mother, "*the consort of the rája of Ujjéni*," would, as well as Tilókasundari, the wife of Wijayabáhu, be princesses of the Kálinga royal family. Colonel Tod's Annals notice the matrimonial alliances which had been formed, between the rájas of western India and Kálinga, about that period.

By the circulation of this pamphlet, unaccompanied by any allusion to Mr. Hodgson's labours, in illustrating the buddhistical system now prevalent in Nepal and countries adjacent to it, I might unintentionally render myself accessory to the protraction of an unavailing discussion, which has been pending for some time past, between that gentleman and other orientalisks, who derive their information connected with buddhism entirely from Páli annals.

I trust that I shall not incur the imputation of presumption, when I assert that the two systems are essentially different from each other; their non-accordance in no degree proceeding, as it appears to be considered by each of the contending parties, from erroneous inferences drawn by his opponent.

Mr. Hodgson's sketch of buddhism, prepared as it has been with the assistance of one of the most learned buddhists in Nepal, is presented in a form too complete and integral, to justify any doubt being entertained as to its containing a correct and authentic view of the doctrines now recognized by, a portion at least of, the inhabitants of the Himalayan regions.

* A *paternal* uncle would, among the Singhalese, be called "*younger*" or "*elder father*," according as he might be senior or junior to the real father.

According to that sketch the buddhistical creed recognises but one *Swayambhú* ; designates the Buddhos to be “*manúsiya*” and “*dhyáni* Buddhos ;” the former inferior to the latter, and both subordinate or inferior to the *Swayambhú* ; defines a “*Tathagata*” to signify a being who has already attained “*nibbuti*,” and past away ; and, moreover, Mr. Hodgson advances, that in the early ages the sacerdotal order had no existence, as an institution contradistinguished from the lay ascetics.

This scheme is, unquestionably, entirely repugnant to that of the buddhism of Ceylon and the eastern peninsula ; wherein every Buddho is a *Swayambhú*,—the self-created, self-existent, supreme and uncontroled author of the system, to reveal and establish which he attained buddhohood : “*manúsiya*” and “*dhyáni* Buddhos” are terms unknown in the Páli scriptures : the order and ordination of priests are institutions prominently set forth in Gótamo’s ordinances, and rigidly enforced, even during his mission on earth, as will be seen even in the details of a work purely historical, as the *Maháwanso* is ; and “*Tathágatá*” is by no means restricted to the definition of a person who has ceased to exist by the attainment of “*nibbuti*.”

Mr. Hodgson has been at some pains to explain the meaning of the word “*Tathágatá*,” as recognized in the countries to which his researches extended. Among other essays, in a contribution to the *Asiatic Journal* of August, 1834, he says :

“The word “*tathágata*” is reduced to its elements, and explained in three ways : 1st, thus gone ; which means, gone in such a manner that he (the *tathágata*) will never appear again ; births having been closed by the attainment of perfection. 2nd, thus got or obtained ; which is to say (cessation of births) obtained, degree by degree, in the manner described in the Buddha scriptures, and by observance of the precepts therein laid down. 3rd, thus gone, that is, gone as it (birth) came ; the pyrrhonic interpretation of those who hold that doubt is the end, as well as beginning, of wisdom ; and that *that* which causes birth, causes likewise the ultimate cessation of them, whether that ‘final close’ be conscious immortality or virtual nothingness. Thus the epithet *tathágata*, so far from meaning ‘come’ (*avenu*), and implying incarnation, as

Remusat supposed, signifies the direct contrary, or 'gone for ever,' and expressly announces the impossibility of incarnation; and this according to all the schools, sceptical, theistic, and atheistic.

I shall not, I suppose, be again asked for the incarnations of the tathá-gatas,* Nor, I fancy, will any philosophical peruser of the above etymology of this important word have much hesitation in refusing, on this ground alone, any portion of his serious attention to the 'infinite' of buddhist avatárs, such as they really are. To my mind they belong to the very same category of mythological shadows with the infinity of distinct Buddhas, which latter, when I first disclosed it as a fact in relation to the belief of these sectaries, led me to warn my readers "to keep a steady eye upon the authoritative assertion of the old scriptures, that Sákya is the 7th and last of the Buddhas.†

P. S.—Whether Remusat's 'avenu'‡ be understood loosely, as meaning 'come,' or strictly as signifying 'come to pass,' it will be equally inadmissible as the interpretation of the word tathágata; because tathágata is designed expressly to announce that all reiteration and contingency whatever is barred with respect to the beings so designated. They cannot come; nor can any thing come to pass affecting them.

* To the question, "What is the tathágata?" the most holy of buddhist scriptures returneth for answer, "It does not come again."

† Asiatic Researches, vol. xvi. p. 445.

‡ Avenu, signifies quod evenit, contigit, that which hath happened.—(Dictionnaire de Trevoux.) Tathágatá-tathá thus (what really is), gata' (known, obtained).—Wilson's Sans. Dict. Ed.

Without the remotest intention of questioning the correctness of Mr. Hodgson's inferences, as drawn from the authorities accessible to him, I may safely assert that the late Mons. Abel Remusat's definition of that term by rendering it "avenu" is also perfectly correct, according to the Páli scriptures. The following quotations will suffice, according to those authorities, to shew both the derivation of that word, and that Sákya so designated himself, while living, and actively engaged in the promulgation of his creed, in the character of Buddho.

Taken from the Sumangala-wila'sini Atthakatha' on the Brahmaja'la Suttan, which is the first discourse in the Díghanika'yo of the Suttapitako.

"Of the word *Tathágato*. I (proceed to) give the meaning of the appellation *Tathágato* which was adopted by Buddho himself. Bhagawa' is *Tathágato* from eight circumstances. *Tathá áyato*, he who had *come* in the same manner (as the other Buddhos) is *Tathágato*. *Tathá gato*, he who had *gone* in

like manner, is *Tathágato*. *Tathá lakkhanan ágató*, he who appeared in the same (glorious) form, is *Tathágato*. *Tathá dhammé yatháwato*, *abhúsum-buddho*, he who had, in like manner, acquired a perfect knowledge of, and revealed, the dhammos, is *Tathágato*. *Tathá dassitáya*, as he, in like manner, saw, or was inspired, he is *Tathágato*. *Tathá wáditáya*, as he was similarly gifted in language, he is *Tathágato*. *Tathá káritáya*, as he was similarly gifted in works, he is *Tathágato*. *Abhíbhawanatténa*, from his having converted (the universe to the recognition of his religion) he is *Tathágato*."

The following are extracts from different sections of the Pitakattaya, showing that Gótamo Buddho designated himself *Tathágato* in his discourses. Buddho invariably speaks in the third person in the Pitakattaya.

In the Lakkhanasuttan in the Díghanika'yo. "Bhikkhus! this Tatha'gato, in a former existence, in a former habitation, in a former world, in the character of a human being, having abjured the destruction of animal life, &c."

In the Dakkhinawibhangasuttan in the Majjhimanika'yo. "Anando! the offerings made in common to the assembled priesthood are seven. The offering that is made in the presence of Buddho to both classes (priests and priestesses) is the first of (all) offerings made in common. After Tatha'gato has attained parinibbuti, (similar) offerings will continue to be made to both classes of the priesthood.

In the Dhammachakkappawattanasuttan in the Sanyuttakanika'yo (Buddho's first discourse, delivered on his entrance into Benares, as noticed in the first chapter of the Maha'wanso). "Bhikkhus! without adopting either of these extremes, by Tatha'gato, an intermediate course has been discovered, &c."

In the Wérangasuttan in the Anguttaranika'yo. "Bra'hman! the repose of Tathágato, in another (mortal) womb; his reappearance by any future birth in this world, is at an end:—like the tree uprooted by the root, like the palmyra lopt (of its head), the principle of (or liability to) regeneration is overcome; the state of exemption from further reproduction has been achieved."

Under these circumstances, it cannot be possible to deprecate too earnestly a perseverance in the fruitless attempt to reconcile the conflicting doctrines of two antagonist sects, professing the same faith. It is to Mr. Hodgson that the literary world is indebted for having obtained access to the Sanscrit and Tibetan works on buddhism. Much remains to be done in analyzing the Sanscrit version; defining the age in which they were compiled; ascertaining the extent of their accordance with the Páli version; and deducing from thence a correct knowledge as to whether the differences now apparent, between the buddhistical systems of the

northern and southern portions of Asia, are discernible as exhibited in those ancient texts, or are the results of subsequent sectarian divisions in the buddhistical church.

In these introductory remarks, I have shewn that "Páli" is synonymous with "Mágadhi," the language of the land in which buddhism, as promulgated by Sákya or Gótamo, had its origin ; and that it was at that period no inferior, provincial dialect, but a highly refined and classical language. I have fixed the dates at which the buddhistical scriptures, composed in that language, were revised at three solemn convocations held under regal authority ; traced their passage to Ceylon ; and defined the age in which the commentaries on those scriptures (which also are considered inspired writings) were translated into Páli in this island. Although we are compelled to reject the belief, entertained by buddhists here, that these scriptures were perpetuated orally for 453 years, before they were reduced to writing, as being founded on superstitious imposture, originating perhaps in the priesthood denying to all but their own order access to their scriptures ; yet there is no reasonable ground for questioning the authenticity of the history thus obtained, of the origin, recognition and revisions of these Páli scriptures.

As far as an opinion may be formed from professor Wilson's analysis of M. Csoma de Koros' summary of the contents of the Tibetan version (which is pronounced to be a translation from the Sanscrit made chiefly in the ninth century), that voluminous collection of manuscripts contains several, distinct, editions of the buddhistical scriptures, such as they are embodied in the Páli version ; enlarged in various degrees, probably, by the intermixture into the text of commentaries,* some of which appear to be of comparatively modern date.

The least tardy means, perhaps, of effecting a comparison of the

* The three convocations, and other notices of events subsequent to the death of Gótamo, *could* only appear in the commentaries.

Páli with the Sanscrit version, will be to submit to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta (by whom the Sanscrit works could be consulted in the original) a series of summaries of the Páli scriptures, sufficiently detailed to afford a tolerably distinct perception of the contents of the text; and embodying at the same time in it from the commentaries, whatever may be found in them either illustrative of the text, or conducive of information in the department of general history. If leisure permits, I purpose attempting this task.

It only remains for me now to explain the disadvantages, or advantages, under which I have undertaken the translation of the Maháwanso, in order that no deficiency on my part may prejudice an historical work of, apparently, unquestionable authenticity, and, compared with other Asiatic histories, of no ordinary merit. I wish to be distinctly understood, that in turning my mind to the study of Páli, I never devoted myself to the undertaking, with the view of either attaining a critical knowledge of the language, or prosecuting a purely philological research. A predilection, formed at my first entrance into the civil service, to be employed in the newly acquired Kandyan provinces, which had been ceded on a convention, which guaranteed their ancient laws, led me to study the Singhalese tongue. The works I was referred to, for the information I sought; though they contained much that was valuable, as regarded both the institutions and the history of the land, all professed to derive their authority from Páli sources: In further pursuit of the objects I had in view, I undertook the study of Páli, aided by the translation of the grammar before noticed. The want, however, of dictionaries, to assist in defining the meaning of words and phrases, in a language so copious and refined as the Páli is, was a great drawback; and the absence of Páli instructors in the island, who possessed an adequate knowledge of English, to supply the place of dictionaries, left me dependent on my knowledge of Singhalese, in rendering their vernacular explanations into English. I may, therefore, have formed erroneous conceptions of the meaning of some of the Páli roots and compound terms. On the other

hand, I have possessed the advantage, from my official position, of almost daily intercourse with the heads of the buddhistical church, of access to their libraries, and of their assistance both in the selection of the works I consulted, and in the explanation of the passages which required elucidation.

This translation, however, has been hastily made, at intervals of leisure, snatched from official occupations ; and each chapter was hurried to the press as it was completed. It has not, therefore had the benefit of a general revision, to admit of a similarity of terms and expressions being preserved throughout the work. The correction of the press also (with which I had to communicate by the post at a distance of nearly eighty miles) has been conducted under similar disadvantages. I shall not attempt to correct the errata, produced in consequence, excepting in the instances in which the sense of any word or passage may be affected. In printing the text together with the translation, every Páli or Sanscrit scholar is enabled to rectify any mis-translation into which I may have fallen. I have made no alteration in the text, beyond separating the words, as far as the confluent character of the language would admit ; punctuating the sentences ; and introducing capital letters. In the translation no additions have been admitted, but what are enclosed in parenthesis ; and those additions (as will be suggested by the passages themselves) are either derived from the *Tíká*, or were considered necessary for the due explanation of their meaning, in rendering those sentences into English.

The whole publication will occupy two volumes quarto ; but I shall not commence on the second, till I am satisfied, by the opinion expressed by orientalists on this pamphlet, that I have not, in my unassisted judgment, been led to overrate the value of the "Maháwanso" generally. A glossary and a map will be published with the First Volume.

A synopsis of the Roman alphabet, adopted as the substitute for the Páli, is subjoined.

APPENDIX.

A

A statement of the contents of the Pa'li Buddhist scriptures, entitled the PITAKATTAYA: OF THREE PITAKAS: specifying also the number of the Talipot leaves on which they are inscribed.

SUTTAPITAKO

consists of the following sections.

1. *Dighanikāyo*—292 leaves of 8 lines each side, each leaf 1 ft. 10 in. long.
2. *Majjhimanikāyo*—432 leaves of 8 and 9 lines each side, each leaf 1 foot 11 inches long.
3. *Sanyuttakanikāyo*—351 leaves of 8 and 9 lines each side, each leaf 2 feet 2 inches long.
4. *Anguttrānikāyo*—654 leaves of 8 and 9 lines each side, each leaf 1 foot 10 inches long.
5. *Khudakanikāyo*— is composed of 15 books; viz.,
 - i. *Khudakapāṭaṅ*— not ascertained yet.
 - ii. *Dhammapadaṅ* — 15 leaves of 9 lines each side, each leaf 1 foot 8 inches long.
 - iii. *Udānaṅ* — not ascertained yet.
 - iv. *Itti-uttakaṅ*—31 leaves of 8 lines each side, each leaf 1 foot 9 inches long.
 - v. *Suttanipāṭaṅ*— 40 leaves of 9 lines each side, each leaf 2 feet
 - vi. *Wimānawatthu*—158 leaves of 7 and 8 lines each side, each leaf 1 foot 9 inches long.
 - vii. *Pētawatthu*— 142 leaves of 8 and 9 lines each side, each leaf 1 foot 8 inches long.
 - viii. *Thérāgāthā*— not ascertained yet.
 - ix. *Thérīgāthā*—110 leaves of 8 lines on each side, each leaf 1 ft. 7 in. long.
 - x. *Jātakan*—The commentary is intermixed with the text, and in that form it is a voluminous work of 900 leaves.
 - xi. *Niddēso*— not ascertained yet.
 - xii. *Paṭisambhidaṅ*—220 leaves of 8 lines on each side, each leaf 1 foot 11 inches long.
 - xiii. *Apaddānaṅ*— 196 leaves of 10 lines on each side, each leaf 2 feet long.
 - xiv. *Buddhawansa* } not ascertained yet.
 - xv. *Chariyāpiṭako* }

ABHIDHAMMAPITAKO

consists of the following sections.

1. *Dhammasaṅgani*— 72 leaves of 10 lines on each side, each leaf 2 feet 4 inches long.
2. *Wibhaṅga*—130 leaves of 8 lines on each side, each leaf 2 ft. 4 in. long.
3. *Kuthāwatthu*— not ascertained yet.

NOTE.—Some of the above books are not to be obtained in Kandy, and others only in an incomplete form. This statement will, if possible, be perfected for the quarto.

4. *Puggalañ*—28 leaves of 8 lines on each side, each leaf 2 feet 4 inches long.
5. *Dhātu* — 31 leaves of 8 lines on each side, each leaf 2 feet 4 inches long.
6. *Yamakañ* — 131 leaves of 10 lines on each side, each leaf 2 feet 4 inches long.
7. *Paṭṭhanañ* — 170 leaves of 9 and 10 lines on each side, each leaf 2 feet 4 inches long.

WINEYAPITAKO

consists of the following sections.

1. *Parājikó* — 191 leaves of 7 and 8 lines on each side, each leaf 1 foot 10 inches long.
2. *Pachitinañ* — 154 leaves of 9 and 10 lines on each side, each leaf 1 foot 9 inches long.
3. *Chuláwaggó* — 196 leaves of 8 and 9 lines on each side, each leaf 1 foot 10 inches long.
4. *Maháwaggó* — 199 leaves of 8 and 9 lines on each side, each leaf 1 foot 10 inches long.
5. *Pariwáro* — 146 leaves of 10 and 11 lines on each side, each leaf 1 foot 9 inches long.

APPENDIX.

B

Professor Wilson's Notes on the Mudra Rákshasa.

It may not here be out of place to offer a few observations on the identification of CHANDRAGUPTA and SANDROCOTTUS. It is the only point on which we can rest with any thing like confidence in the history of the Hindus, and is therefore of vital importance in all our attempts to reduce the reigns of their kings to a rational and consistent chronology. It is well worthy therefore of careful examination, and it is the more deserving of scrutiny, as it has been discredited by rather hasty verification and very erroneous details.

Sir William Jones first discovered the resemblance of the names, and concluded CHANDRAGUPTA to be one with SANDROCOTTUS. (*As. Res.* vol. iv. p. 11.) He was, however, imperfectly acquainted with his authorities, as he cites "a beautiful poem" by *Somadeva*, and a tragedy called the coronation of *Chandra*, for the history of this prince. By the first is no doubt intended the large collection of tales by *Somabhatta*, the *Vrihat Kathá*, in which the story of NANDA'S murder occurs: the second is, in all probability, the play that follows, and which begins after CHANDRAGUPTA'S elevation to the throne. In the fifth volume of the *Researches* the subject was resumed by the late Colonel Wilford, and the story of CHANDRAGUPTA is there told at considerable length, and with some accessions which can scarcely be considered authentic. He states also that the *Mudrá Rákshasa* consists of two parts, of which one may be called the coronation of CHANDRAGUPTA, and the second his reconciliation with RAKSHASA, the minister of his father. The latter is accurately enough described, but it may be doubted whether the former exists.

Colonel Wilford was right also in observing that the story is briefly related in the *Vishnu Purána* and *Bhágavat*, and in the *Vrihat Kathá*; but when he adds, that it is told in a lexicon called the *Kámandakí* he has been led into error. The *Kámandakí* is a work on *Niti*, or Polity, and does not contain the story of NANDA and CHANDRAGUPTA. The author merely alludes to it in an honorific verse, which he addresses to CHANAKYA as the founder of political science, the Machiavel of India.

The birth of NANDA and of CHANDRAGUPTA, and the circumstances of NANDA's death as given in Colonel Wilford's account, are not alluded to in the play, the *Mudrá Rákshasa*, from which the whole is professedly taken, but they agree generally with the *Vrihat Kathá* and with popular versions of the story. From some of these, perhaps, the king of *Vikatpalli*, *Chandra Dás*, may have been derived, but he looks very like an amplification of *Justin's* account of the youthful adventures of *Sandrocottus*. The proceedings of CHANDRAGUPTA and CHANAKYA upon NANDA's death correspond tolerably well with what we learn from the drama, but the manner in which the catastrophe is brought about (p. 268) is strangely misrepresented. The account was no doubt compiled for the translator by his pundit, and it is therefore but indifferent authority.

It does not appear that Colonel Wilford had investigated the drama himself, even when he published his second account of the story of CHANDRAGUPTA (*As. Res.* vol. ix. p. 93), for he continues to quote the *Mudrá Rákshasa* for various matters which it does not contain. Of these, the adventures of the king of *Vikatpalli*, and the employment of the Greek troops, are alone of any consequence, as they would mislead us into a supposition, that a much greater resemblance exists between the Grecian and Hindu histories than is actually the case.

Discarding, therefore, these accounts, and laying aside the marvellous part of the story, I shall endeavour, from the *Vishnu* and *Bhágavat Puránas*, from a popular version of the narrative as it runs in the south of India, from the *Vrihat Kathá*,* and from the play, to give what appear to be the genuine circumstances of CHANDRAGUPTA's elevation to the throne of *Palibothra*.

A race of kings denominated *Saisunágas*, from *Sisunága* the first of the dynasty, reigned in *Magadhá*, or *Behar*: their capital was *Pátaliputra*, and the last of them was named NANDA or MAHAPADMA NANDA. He was the son of a woman of the *Súdra* caste, and was hence, agreeably to Hindu law, regarded as a *Súdra* himself. He was a powerful and ambitious prince, but cruel and avaricious, by which defects, as well as by his inferiority of birth, he probably provoked the animosity of the Brahmans. He had by one wife eight sons, who with their father were known as the nine NANDAS; and, according to the popular tradition, he had by a wife of low extraction, called *Murá*, another son named CHANDRAGUPTA. This last circumstance is not stated in the *Puránas* nor *Vrihat Kathá*, and rests therefore on rather questionable authority; at the same time it is very generally asserted, and is corroborated by the name *Maurya*, one of CHANDRAGUPTA's denominations, which is explained by the commentator on the *Vishnu Purána* to be a patronymic formative, signifying the son of *Murá*. It also appears from the play, that CHANDRAGUPTA was a member of the same family as NANDA, although it is not there stated that he was NANDA's son.

* For the gratification of those who may wish to see the story as it occurs of these original sources, translations are subjoined; and it is rather important to add, that in no other *Purána* has the story been found, although most in the principal works of this class have been carefully examined.

But whatever might have been the origin of this prince, it is very likely that he was made the instrument of the insubordination of the Brahmins, who having effected the destruction of NĀNDA and his sons, raised CHANDRAGUPTA, whilst yet a youth, to the throne. In this they were aided by a prince from the north of India, to whom they promised an accession of territory as the price of his alliance. The execution of the treaty was evaded, very possibly by his assassination, and to revenge his father's murder, his son led a mingled host against *Magadhā*, containing amongst other troops, *Yavanas*, whom we may be permitted to consider as Greeks. The storm was averted, however, by jealousies and quarrels amongst the confederates. The army dispersed, and MALAYAKETU, the invader, returned baffled and humbled to his own country. CHANDRAGUPTA reigned twenty-four years, and left the kingdom to his son. We have now to see how far the classical writers agree with these details.

The name is an obvious coincidence. *Sandrocottus* and CHANDRAGUPTA can scarcely be considered different appellations. But the similarity is no doubt still closer. Athenæus, as first noticed by Wilford (*As. Res.* vol. v. 262.) and subsequently by Schlegel (*Indische Bibliothek*), writes the name, *Sandrakoptus*, and its other form, although more common, is very possibly a mere error of the transcriber. As to the *Andracottus* of Plutarch, the difference is more apparent than real, the initial sibilant being often dropped in Greek proper names.

This name is however not the only coincidence in denomination that may be traced. We find in the play that CHANDRAGUPTA is often called *Chandra* simply, or the moon, of which *Chandramas* is a synonyme; and accordingly we find in *Diodorus Siculus*, the king of the *Gangaridæ*, whose power alarms the Macedonian, is there named *Xandrames*. The *Aggramen* of *Quintus Curtius* is merely a blundering perversion of this appellation.

There are other names of the prince, the sense of which, though not their sound, may be discovered in classical writers. These are *Vrishala*, and perhaps *Maurya*. The first unquestionably implies a man of the fourth or servile caste; the latter is said by Wilford to be explained in the *Jāti Viveka* the offspring of a barber and a *Sūdra* woman, or of a barber and a female slave. (*As. Res.* vol. v. p. 285.) It is most usually stated, however, to mean the offspring of *Murá*, as already observed, and the word does not occur in any of the vocabularies in the sense attached to it by Col. Wilford.* It is sufficient, however, to observe, that the term *Vrishala*, and frequent expressions in the drama, establish the inferior origin of CHANDRAGUPTA, a circumstance which is stated of the king of the *Gangaridæ* at the time of Alexander's invasion by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Quintus Curtius*, and *Plutarch*.

According to the two former of these writers, *Xandrames* or *Chandramas* was contemporary with Alexander. They add, that he was the son of the queen by an intrigue with a barber, and that his father being raised to honour

* Colonel Tod considers *Maurya* a probable interpolation for *Mori*, a branch of the *Pramāra* tribe of Rajputs, who in the eighth century occupied Chitore. He observes also, that Chandragupta in the *Purānas* is made a descendant of *Sehesnag* of the *Takshak* tribe, of which last no other mention has been found, whilst instead of *Sehesnag* the word is *Sisunaga*; and with respect to the fact of the princes belonging to the *Pramāra* tribe no authority is cited. Colonel Tod, like the late Col. Wilford, is sparing of those specific references, which in all debateable points are indispensable. See *Transactions Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 211. Also, *Account of Rājāshtan*, p. 53.

and the king's favour, compassed his benefactor's death, by which he paved the way for the sovereignty of his own son, the ruling prince. We have no indication of these events in the Hindu writers, and CHANDRAGUPTA, as has been noticed, is usually regarded as the son of NANDA, or at least a relative. It may be observed that his predecessors were *Súdras*, and the character given to MAHAPADMA NANDA in the *Vishnu Puraná*, agrees well enough with the general tenor of the classical accounts, as to his being of low origin and estimation, although an active and powerful prince. If NANDA be the monarch alluded to, there has been some error in the name; but, in either case, we have a general coincidence in the private history of the monarch of the *Gangaridæ*, as related by the writers of the east or west.

If the monarch of Behar at the time of Alexander's invasion was NANDA, it is then possible that CHANDRAGUPTA, whilst seeking, as the Hindus declare, the support of foreign powers to the north and north-west of India, may have visited Alexander, as asserted by Plutarch and Justin. We cannot, however, attach any credit to the marvellous part of the story as told by the latter, nor can we conceive that a mere adventurer, as he makes *Sandrocoptus* to have been, should have rendered himself master of a mighty kingdom, in so brief an interval as that between Seleucus and Alexander, or by the aid of vagabonds and banditti alone.

Although, therefore, the classical writers had gleaned some knowledge of CHANDRAGUPTA's early history, it is very evident that their information was but partially correct, and that they have confounded names, whilst they have exaggerated some circumstances and misrepresented others. These defects, however, are very venial, considering the imperfect communication that must have subsisted between the Greeks and Hindus, even at the period of Alexander's invasion, and the interval that elapsed before the accounts we now possess were written. These considerations rather enhance the value of both sets of our materials. It is more wonderful that so much of what appears to be the truth should have been preserved, than that the stories should not conform in every particular.

However questionable may be the contemporary existence of Alexander and *Sandrocoptus*, there is no reason to doubt that the latter reigned in the time of Seleucus Nicator, as Strabo and Arrian cite the repeated declarations of Megasthenes, that he had often visited the Indian prince. Seleucus is said to have relinquished to him some territories beyond the Indus, and to have formed a matrimonial alliance with him. We have no trace of this in the Hindu writers, but it is not at all improbable. Before the Christian era the Hindus were probably not scrupulous about whom they married; and even in modern days, their princesses have become the wives of Mohammedan sovereigns. CHANDRAGUPTA, however, had no right to be nice with respect to the condition of his wife, and in whichever way the alliance was effected, it was feasible enough, whilst it was a very obvious piece of policy in CHANDRAGUPTA, as calculated to give greater security to his empire and stability to his reign. The failure of Seleucus in his attempt to extend his power in India, and his relinquishment of territory, may possibly be connected with the discomfiture and retreat of MALAYAKETU, as narrated in the drama, although it may be reasonably doubted whether the Syrian monarch and the king of *Magadhá* ever came into actual collision. It is very unlikely that the former ever included any part of the Punjab within his dominions, and at any rate it may be questioned whether CHANDRAGUPTA or his posterity long retained, if they ever held, possession of the north-western provinces, as there is no conjecturing any resemblance between the names of the *Maurya* princes (*As. Res.* vol. ix. table) and the *Amitrochates* and

Sophagasenas, who reinforced the armies of Antigonus the son of Seleucus, and of Antigonus the Great, with those elephants that were so highly prized by the successors of Alexander (Wilford, *As. Res.* vol. v. p. 286, and Schlegel, *Indische Bibliothek*), although, as shewn by Schlegel, the names are undoubtedly Sanscrit and Hindu.

All the classical writers agree in representing *Sandrocoptus* as king of the nations which were situated along the Ganges, which were the *Gangaridæ* and *Prasii*—called, however, indifferently, but no doubt inaccurately, *Gargaridæ*, *Gandaridæ*, and *Gandarii*, and *Prasii*, *Parrhasii*, and *Tabresii*. The first name was probably of Greek origin, expressing, as *Raderus* and *Cellarius* justly observe, the situation of the nations in the neighbourhood of the Ganges; but in truth there was a nation called the *Gandhari* or *Gandaridæ* west of the Indus, whom the classical authors often confound with the *Gangetic* nations, as has been shewn in another place. (*As. Res.* vol. xv.) The other appellation, which is most correctly *Prasii*, is referable to a Hindu original, and is a close approximation to *Práchi*, the eastern country, or *Práchyá*, the people of the east, in which division of *Bharata Khanda*, or India, *Mithilá*, the country opposite to *Behar*, and *Magadhá* or South *Behar*, are included by Hindu geographers. Both Greek and Hindu accounts are therefore agreed as to the general position of the people over whom *CHANDRAGUPTA* reigned.

Finally; the classical authors concur in making *Palibothra* a city on the *Ganges*, the capital of *Sandrocoptus*. *Strabo*, on the authority of *Megasthenes*, states that *Palibothra* is situated at the confluence of the *Ganges* and another river, the name of which he does not mention. *Arrian*, possibly on the same authority, calls that river the *Erranoboas*, which is a synonyme of the *Sone*. In the drama, one of the characters describes the trampling down of the banks of the *Sone*, as the army approaches to *Pátaliputra*; and *Pátaliputra*, also called *Kusumapura*, is the capital of *CHANDRAGUPTA*. There is little question that *Pátaliputra* and *Palibothra* are the same, and in the uniform estimation of the Hindus, the former is the same with *Patna*. The alterations in the course of the rivers of India, and the small comparative extent to which the city has shrunk in modern times, will sufficiently explain why *Patna* is not at the confluence of the *Ganges* and the *Sone*, and the only argument, then, against the identity of the position, is the enumeration of the *Erranoboas* and the *Sone* as distinct rivers by *Arrian* and *Pliny*: but their nomenclature is unaccompanied by any description, and it was very easy to mistake synonymes for distinct appellations. *Rájamahal*, as proposed by *Wilford*, and *Bhágálpur*, as maintained by *Franklin*, are both utterly untenable, and the further inquiries of the former had satisfied him of the error of his hypothesis. His death prevented the publication of an interesting paper by him on the site of *Palibothra*, in which he had come over to the prevailing opinion, and shewn it to have been situated in the vicinity of *Patna*.*

It thus appears, that the Greek and Hindu writers concur in the name, in the *private history*, in the *political elevation*, and in the *nation and capital* of an Indian king, nearly, if not exactly cotemporary with *Alexander*, to a degree of approximation that cannot possibly be the work of accident; and it may be reasonably concluded, therefore, that the era of the events described in the following drama is determined with as much precision as that of any other remote historical fact.

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiv. p. 380.

1.

Pauranic accounts of Chandragupta.

The son of *Mahánandi*, born of a *Súdra* woman, a powerful prince named *Mahápadma*, shall put an end to the *Kshetriya* rule, and from his time the kings will be mostly *Súdras*, void of piety. He will bring the earth under one umbrella, his rule being irresistible, and he will reign like another *Bhārgava*. He will have eight sons, *Sumályá* and others, who will be kings of the earth for one hundred years. A Brahman will destroy these nine *Nandas*, and after their disappearance the *Mauryas* will reign in the *Kali* age. That Brahman will inaugurate CHANDRAGUPTA as king.—(*Bhāgavat*, 12th *Skandha*.)

Mahánandi will be the last of the ten *Saisunāga* princes, whose joint reigns will be three hundred and sixty-two years. The son of *Mahánandi* or *Nanda*, named *Mahápadma*, will be born from a *Súdra* mother. He will be avaricious, and like another *Parasurāma* will end the *Kshetriya* race, as from him forwards the kings will be all *Súdras*. He, *Mahápadma*, will bring the whole earth under one umbrella, his rule being irresistible. He will have eight sons, *Sumályá* and others who after him will govern the world. He, and these sons will reign for a period of one hundred years, until *Kautilya*, a Brahman, shall destroy the nine *Nandas*.

After their destruction the *Mauryas* will possess the earth, *Kautilya* inaugurating CHANDRAGUPTA in the kingdom.—(*Vishnu Purāna*.)

The comment explains *Maurya* thus;—so named from CHANDRAGUPTA, the first, who derived this name from his mother *Murá*, one of the wives of NANDA.

2.

Story of Nanda, as related by Vararuchi in the Vrihat Katha.

I now returned from my sojourn in the snowy mountains, where by the favour of *Siva* I had acquired the *Pāniniya* grammar. This I communicated to my preceptor *Versha*, as the fruit of my penance; and as he wished to learn a new system, I instructed him in that revealed by *Swāmi Kumāra Vyāri*, and *Indradatta* then applied to *Versha* for like instructions, but he desired them first to bring him a very considerable present. As they were wholly unable to raise the sum, they proposed applying for it to the king, and requested me to accompany them to his camp, which was at that time at *Ayodhya*; I consented, and we set off.

When we arrived at the encampment we found every body in distress, NANDA being just dead. *Indradatta*, who was skilled in magic, said; “This event need not disconcert us: I will transfuse my vitality into the lifeless body of the king. Do you, *Vararuchi*, then solicit the money: I will grant it, and then resume my own person, of which do you, *Vyāri*, take charge till the spirit returns.” This was assented to, and our companion accordingly entered the carcase of the king.

The revival of NANDA caused universal rejoicing. The minister *Sakatala* alone suspected something extraordinary in the resuscitation. As the heir to the throne, however, was yet a child, he was well content that no change should take place, and determined to keep his new master in the royal

station. He immediately, therefore, issued orders that search should be made for all the dead bodies in the vicinage, and that they should forthwith be committed to the flames. In pursuance of this edict the guards came upon the deserted carcase of *Indradatta*, and burning it as directed, our old associate was compelled to take up his abode permanently in the tenement which he had purposed to occupy but for a season. He was by no means pleased with the change, and in private lamented it with us, being in fact degraded by his elevation, having relinquished the exalted rank of a *Brahman* for the inferior condition of a *Sūdra*.

Vyari having received the sum destined for our master, took leave of his companion *Indradatta*, whom we shall henceforth call *Yogananda*. Before his departure, however, he recommended to the latter to get rid of *Sakatata*, the minister, who had penetrated his secret, and who would, no doubt, raise the prince *CHANDRAGUPTA* to the throne, as soon as he had attained to years of discretion. It would be better, therefore, to anticipate him, and, as preparatory to that measure, to make me, *Vararuchi*, his minister. *Vyari* then left us, and in compliance with his counsel I became the confidential minister of *Yogananda*.

A charge was now made against *Sakatata*, of having, under pretence of getting rid of dead carcases, burnt a *Brahman* alive; and on this plea he was cast into a dry well with all his sons. A plate of parched pulse and a pitcher of water were let down daily for their sustenance, just sufficient for one person. The father, therefore recommended to the brothers to agree amongst themselves which should survive to revenge them all, and relinquishing the food to him, resign themselves to die. They instantly acknowledged their avenger in him, and with stern fortitude refusing to share in the daily pittance, one by one expired.

After some time *Yogananda*, intoxicated like other mortals with prosperity, became despotic and unjust. I found my situation therefore most irksome, as it exposed me to a tyrant's caprice, and rendered me responsible for acts which I condemned. I therefore sought to secure myself a participator in the burthen, and prevailed upon *Yogananda* to release *Sakatata* from his captivity and reinstate him in his authority. He therefore once again became the minister of the king.

It was not long before I incurred the displeasure of *Yogananda*, so that he resolved to put me to death. *Sakatata*, who was rejoiced to have this opportunity of winning me over to his cause, apprised me of my danger, and helped me to evade it by keeping me concealed in his palace. Whilst thus retired, the son of the king, *Hiranyagupta*, lost his senses, and *Yogananda* now lamented my absence. His regret moved *Sakatata* to acknowledge that I was living, and I was once more received into favour. I effected the cure of the prince, but received news that disgusted me with the world, and induced me to resign my station and retire into the forests. My disappearance had led to a general belief that I had been privately put to death. This report reached my family. *Upakosa*, my wife, burnt herself, and my mother died broken hearted.

Inspired with the profoundest grief, and more than ever sensible of the transitory duration of human happiness, I repaired to the shades of solitude and the silence of meditation. After living for a considerable period in my hermitage, the death of *Yogananda* was thus related to me by a *Brahman*, who was travelling from *Ayodhya* and had rested at my cell.

Sakatata brooding on his plan of revenge, observed one day a *Brahman* of mean appearance digging in a meadow, and asked him what he was doing there. *CHANAKYA*, the *Brahman*, replied: "I am rooting out this grass

which has hurt my foot." The reply struck the minister as indicative of a character which would contribute to his designs, and he engaged him by the promise of a large reward and high honours to come and preside at the *Sradhha* which was to be celebrated next new moon at the palace. CHANAKYA arrived, anticipating the most respectful treatment; but *Yogananda* had been previously persuaded by *Sakatata* to assign precedence to another Brahman, *Subandhu*, so that when CHANAKYA came to take his place he was thrust from it with contumely. Burning with rage, he threatened the king before all the court, and denounced his death within seven days. NANDA ordered him to be turned out of the palace. *Sakatata* received him into his house, and persuading CHANAKYA that he was wholly innocent of being instrumental to his ignominious treatment, contributed to encourage and inflame his indignation. CHANAKYA thus protected, practised a magical rite, in which he was a proficient, and by which on the seventh day NANDA was deprived of life. *Sakatata* on the father's death effected the destruction of *Hiranyagupta*, his son, and raised CHANDRAGUPTA, the son of the genuine NANDA, to the throne. CHANAKYA became the prince's minister; and *Sakatata* having attained the only object of his existence, retired to end his days in the woods.

3.

Story of *Nanda* and *Chandragupta*, by a Pundit of the Dekhin.

(From a Manuscript in the collection of the late Col. Mackenzie, *Sanscrit*, *Telinga* character.)

After invoking the benediction of *Ganesa* the writer proceeds: In the race of *Bharadvaja*, and the family of the hereditary councillors of the *Bhosala* princes, was born the illustrious and able minister *Bhavaji*. He was succeeded by his son *Gangadhara* surnamed *Adhwari* (a priest of the *Yajur Vēda*), who continued to enjoy the confidence of the king, and was equal to *Vrihaspati* in understanding.

By his wife *Krishnambika*, *Gangadhara* had two sons, who were both employed by the *Raja, Sahuji*, the son of the preceding prince. The favour of the *Raja* enabled these ministers to grant liberal endowments to pious and learned *Brahmans*.

The elder of the two, *Nrisinha*, after a life passed in prayer and sacred rites, proceeded to the world of *Brahma*, leaving three sons.

Of these, the elder was *Ananda Raya Adhwari*. He was noted for his steadiness and sagacity from his childhood, and in adult years deserved the confidence of his prince, *Sahuji*. He was profoundly versed in the *Vedas*, a liberal benefactor of the *Brahmans*, and a skilful director of religious rites.

Upon his death and that of the youngest brother, the survivor, *Tryambaka Adhwari*, succeeded to the reputation of his ancestors, and cherished his nephews as his own children.

Accompanied by his mother he proceeded to the shores of the *Ganges*, and by his ablutions in the holy stream liberated his ancestors from the ocean of future existence.

He was solicited by *Sahu*, the king, to assume the burthen of the state, but regarding it incompatible with his religious duties he was unwilling to assent. In consideration of his wisdom and knowledge he was highly

venerated by the *Raja* and presented with valuable gifts, which he dedicated to pious rites or distributed to the *Brahmans*. Having on a particular occasion been lavish of expenditure in order to gratify his sovereign, he contracted heavy debts, and as the prince delayed their liquidation, he was obliged to withdraw to seek the means of discharging them. On his return he was received by *Sáhu* and his nobles with high honours, and the prince by the homage paid to him obtained identification (after death) with *Tyágyasa*, a glory of difficult attainment to *Yáyati*, *Nata*, *Mandhátá*, and other kings.

The brother of the prince, *Sarabhaji*, then governed the kingdom and promoted the happiness of all entrusted to his care by *Sáhu*, for the protection of piety, and rendering the people happy by his excellent qualities: the chief of the *Brahmans* was treated by him with increased veneration.

The land of *Chola* is supplied at will by the waters of the *Kaverí*, maintained by the abundant showers poured down constantly by *Indra*, and in this land did the illustrious *Sarabhaji* long exercise undisturbed dominion and promote the happiness of his people.

Having performed with the aid of his reverend minister the late rite to his brother, he liberally delivered *Tryambaka* from the ocean of debt, and presented him with lands on the bank of the *Kaverí* (the *Sahyagirija*), for the preservation of the observances enjoined by religion and law.

And he diffused a knowledge of virtue by means of the *Tantra* of the son of the foe of *Káma* (*Kártikeya*), as communicated by *Brahma* or *Náreda* to relieve his distress, and whatever learned man takes up his residence on the hill of *Swami* and worships *Skanda* with faith, will undoubtedly obtain divine wisdom.

Thus, on the mountain of *Swámi*, enjoying the favour of *Gírísá*, does *Tryambaka* reside with uninterrupted prosperity, surrounded by his kinsmen, and sons, and grandsons, and *Brahmans* learned in the *Vedas*, engaged in the performance of the holy rites and the worship of *Iswara*. May he live a thousand years!

An object of his unbounded benevolence, and one to be included in those cherished by his bounties, having worshipped the lord of *Srí* (*Vishnu*), and acquitted himself of his debt to the Gods and Manes, is rewarded by having it in his power to be respectfully obedient to his (*Tryambaka's*) commands. This individual, named *Dhúndí*, the son of the excellent Pundit *Lakshmana*, of the family of *Vyasa*, had in his possession, and expounded, the new and wonderful drama entitled the *Mudrá Rákshasa*, and in order to convey a clear notion of his drama, the composition of *Visakha Datta*, he relates as an introduction the following particulars of the story.

Story of *Nanda* and *Chandragupta*

According to the *Puranas* the *Kshetriya* sovereignty was to cease with *NANDA*. In the beginning of the *Kali* age the *Nandas* were kings so named.

Amongst them *SARVARTHASIDDHI* was celebrated for his valour; he was monarch of the earth, and his troops were nine crore and one hundred. *Vaktránasa* and others were his hereditary ministers, but amongst them the most famous was the Brahman, *RAKSHASA*.

He was skilled in government and policy, and the six attributes of princes; was eminent for piety and prowess, and was highly respected by *NANDA*. The king had two wives, of whom *Sunanda* was the elder—the other was of *Sádra* extraction; she was the favourite of the king, of great beauty and amiable character—her name was *Mura*. One occasion the king in the company of his wives administered the rights of hospitality to a venerable ascetic, and after washing his feet sprinkled the queens with the water: nine

drops fell upon the forehead of the elder, and one on *Mura*. This she received with reverence, and the Brahman was much pleased with her deportment.

Mura accordingly was delivered of one son, of most excellent qualities, who was named *Maurya*. *Sunanda* was delivered of a lump of flesh.

This *RAKSHASA* divided into nine portions, which he put into a vessel of oil, and carefully watched.

By his cares nine infants were in time evolved, who were brought up by *RAKSHASA* and called the nine *Nandas* after their progenitor.

The king when he grew old retired from the affairs of state, consigning his kingdom to these nine sons, and appointing *Maurya* to the command of the army.

Maurya had a hundred sons, of whom *CHANDRAGUPTA* was the best, and they surpassed the *Nandas* in merit.

The *Nandas* being therefore filled with envy, conspired against his life, and inviting him and his sons into a private chamber put them to death.

At this time the *Raja of Sinhala* sent to the court of the *Nandas* a lion of wax in a cage, so well made that it seemed to be alive. And he added this message, "If any one of your courtiers can make this fierce animal run without opening the cage, I shall acknowledge him to be a man of talent."

The dullness of the *Nandas* prevented their understanding the purport of the message; but *CHANDRAGUPTA*, in whom some little breath yet remained, offered, if they would spare his life, to undertake the task, and this being allowed, he made an iron rod red-hot, and thrusting it into the figure, the wax soon ran, and the lion disappeared.

Although they desired his death, *CHANDRAGUPTA* was taken by the *Nandas* from the pit into which he had been cast, and continued to live in affluence. He was gifted with all the marks of royalty: his arms reached to his knees; he was affable, liberal, and brave; but these deserts only increased the animosity of the *Nandas*, and they waited for an opportunity of compassing his death.

Upon one occasion *CHANDRAGUPTA* observed a Brahman of such irascible temperament, that he tore up violently a tuft of *kusa* grass, because a blade of it had pierced his foot: on which he approached him, and placed himself under his protection through fear of incurring the Brahman's resentment.

This Brahman was named *Vishnugupta*, and was deeply read in the science of government taught by *Usanas (Saturn)*, and in astronomy: his father, a teacher of *niti* or polity, was named *Chanaka*, and hence the son is called *CHANAKYA*.

He became the great friend of *CHANDRAGUPTA*, who related to him all he had suffered from the *Nandas*.

On which *CHANAKYA* promised him the throne of the *Nandas*; and being hungry, entered the dinner-chamber, where he seated himself on the seat of honour.

The *Nandas*, their understanding being bewildered by fate, regarded him as some wild scholar of no value, and ordered him to be thrust from his seat. The ministers in vain protested against the act; the princes forcibly dragged *CHANAKYA*, furious with rage, from his seat.

Then, standing in the centre of the hall, *CHANAKYA*, blind with indignation, loosened the lock of hair on the top of his head, and thus vowed the destruction of the royal race:—"Until I have exterminated these haughty and ignorant *Nandas*, who have not known my worth, I will not again tie up these hairs."

Having thus spoken, he withdrew, and indignantly quitted the city, and the *Nandas*, whom fortune had deserted, made no attempt to pacify him.

CHANDRAGUPTA being no longer afraid of his own danger, quitted the city and repaired to CHANAKYA, and the Brahman *Kautilya*, possessed of the prince, resorted to crooked expedients for the destruction of the *Nandas*.

With this view he sent a friend, *Indraserma*, disguised as a *Kshapanaka*, as his emissary, to deceive RAKSHASA and the rest, whilst on the other hand he excited the powerful *Parvatendra* to march with a *Mlechchha* force against *Kusumapura*, promising him half the kingdom.

The *Nandas* prepared to encounter the enemy, relying on the valour of RAKSHASA. He exerted all his prowess, but in vain, and finding it impossible to overcome the hostile force by open arms, attempted to get rid of *Maurya* by stratagem; but in the mean time all the *Nandas* perished like moths in the flame of CHANAKYA'S revenge, supported by the troops of *Parvatendra*.

RAKSHASA, being worn in body and mind, and having lost his troops and exhausted his treasures, now saw that the city could no longer be defended; he therefore effected the secret retreat of the old king SERVARTHASIDDHI, with such of the citizens as were attached to the cause of the *Nandas*, and then delivered the capital to the enemy, affecting to be won to the cause of CHANDRAGUPTA.

He prepared by magic art a poisoned maid, for the destruction of that prince; but *Kautilya* detected the fraud, and diverting it to *Parvatésa* caused his death; and having contrived that information of his share in the murder of the monarch should be communicated to his son, MALAYAKETU, he filled the young prince with alarm for his own safety, and occasioned his flight from the camp.

Kautilya, though master of the capital, yet knowing it contained many friends of NANDA, hesitated to take possession of it, and RAKSHASA, taking advantage of the delay, contrived with *Daruverma* and others, machines and various expedients to destroy CHANDRAGUPTA upon his entry; but *Kautilya* discovered and frustrated all his schemes.

He persuaded the brother of *Parvateswara*, VAIRODHAKA, to suspend his departure, affirming with solemn asseverations, that RAKSHASA, seeking to destroy the friends of CHANDRAGUPTA, had designed the poisoned maid for the mountain monarch. Thus he concealed his own participation in the act, and the crafty knave deceived the prince, by promising him that moiety of the kingdom which had been promised to his brother.

SERVARTHASIDDHI retired to the woods to pass his days in penance, but the cruel *Kautilya* soon found means to shorten his existence.

When RAKSHASA heard of the death of the old king he was much grieved, and went to MALAYAKETU and roused him to revenge his father's death. He assured him that the people of the city were mostly inimical to CHANDRAGUPTA, and that he had many friends in the capital ready to co-operate in the downfall of the prince and his detested minister. He promised to exhaust all his own energies in the cause, and confidently anticipated *Malayaketu's* becoming master of the kingdom, now left without a legitimate lord. Having thus excited the ardour of the prince, and foremost himself in the contest, RAKSHASA marched against *Maurya* with an army of *Mlechhas*, or barbarians.

This is the preliminary course of the story—the poet will now express the subject of the drama. It begins with an equivoque upon the words *Krúragraha*, in the dialogue of the prelude. This ends the introduction.

4.

Extracts from Classical Writers relating to the History of *Sandracottus*.

He (Alexander) had learned from Phigæus that beyond the *Indus* was a vast desert of twelve days' journey, and at the farthest borders thereof ran the Ganges. Beyond this river dwell the *Tabresians*, and the *Gandaritæ* whose king's name was *Xandramas*, who had an army of 20,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 2,000 chariots, and 4,000 elephants. The king could not believe this to be true, and sent for *Porus*, and inquired of him whether it was so or not. He told him all was certainly true, but that the present king of the *Gandaritæ* was but of a mean and obscure extraction, accounted to be a barber's son; for his father being a very handsome man, the queen fell in love with him, and murdered her husband, and so the kingdom devolved upon the present king.—*Diodorus Siculus*.

At the confluence of the Ganges and another river is situated *Palibothra*: it is the capital of the *Prasii*, a people superior to others. The king, besides his birth-name and his appellation from the city, is also named *Sandracottus*. *Megasthenes* was sent to him.

Megasthenes relates that he visited the camp of *Sandracottus*, in which 400,000 people were assembled.

Seleucus Nicator relinquished the country beyond the *Indus* to *Sandracottus*, receiving in its stead fifty elephants, and contracting an alliance with that prince (contracta cum eo affinitate).—*Strabo*.

Phegelas informed him, that eleven days from the river the road lay over vast deserts to the Ganges, the largest stream in India, the opposite bank of which the *Gangaridæ* and *Parrhasii* inhabited. Their king was named *Aggramen*, who could bring into the field 20,000 horse and 200,000 foot, 2,000 chariots, and 3,000 elephants. As these things appeared incredible to the king, he referred to *Porus*, who confirmed what he heard. He added, however, that the king was not only of low, but of extremely base origin, for his father was a barber, whose personal merits recommended him to the queen. Being introduced by her to the king then reigning, he contrived his death, and under pretence of acting as guardian to his sons, got them into his power and put them to death. After their extermination he begot the son who was now king, and who, more worthy of his father's condition than his own, was odious and contemptible to his subjects.—*Quintus Curtius*

Megasthenes tells us he was at the court of *Sandracottus*.

The capital city of India is *Palembbothra* on the confines of the *Prasii*, where is the confluence of the two great rivers, *Erranoboas* and *Ganges*. The first is inferior only to the *Indus* and *Ganges*.

Megasthenes assures us he frequently visited *Sandracottus* king of India.—*Arrian*.

Sandracottus was the author of the liberty of India after Alexander's retreat, but soon converted the name of liberty into servitude after his success, subjecting those whom he rescued from foreign dominion to his own authority. This prince was of humble origin, but was called to royalty by the power of the gods; for, having offended Alexander by his impertinent language, he was ordered to be put to death, and escaped only by flight. Fatigued with his journey he laid down to rest, when a lion of large size came and licked off the perspiration with his tongue, retiring without doing him any harm. The prodigy inspired him with ambitious hopes, and collecting bands of robbers he roused the Indians to renew the empire. In the wars which he waged with the captains of Alexander he was distinguished

in the van, mounted on an elephant of great size and strength. Having thus acquired power, *Sandracottus* reigned at the same time that *Seleucus* laid the foundation of his dominion, and *Seleucus* entered into a treaty with him, and settling affairs on the side of India directed his march against Antigonus.—*Justin*.—15—4.

The kings of the *Gandarites* and *Prasians* were said to be waiting for them there (*on the Ganges*) with 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8,000 chariots, and 6,000 elephants. Nor is this number at all magnified, for *Androcottus*, who reigned not long after, made *Seleucus* a present of 500 elephants at one time, and with an army of 600,000 men traversed India and conquered the whole.

Androcottus, who was then very young, had a sight of Alexander, and he is reported to have said, that Alexander was within a little of making himself master of those countries: with such hatred and contempt was the reigning prince looked upon, on account of his profligacy of manner and meanness of birth.—*Plutarch*.—Life of Alexander.

Professor Wilson's Preface to the *Retnáválí*.

The *Retnáválí* is a play of a different character from any of those which we have hitherto examined. Although the personages are derived from Hindu history, they are wholly of mortal mould, and unconnected with any mystical or mythological legend; and the incidents are not only the pure inventions of the poet, but they are of an entirely domestic nature. In this latter respect the *Retnáválí* differs from the *Mrichchakatí*, *Málatí Mádhava*, and *Mudrá Rákshasa*, whilst its exemption from legendary allusion distinguishes it from the *Vikramorvasi* and *Úttara Ráma Cheritra*.

Although, however, the *Retnáválí* differs from its predecessors in these respects, and in others of still greater importance, it is well entitled to attention, as establishing an era in the history of both Hindu manners and literature, of which we are able to fix the date with precision.

The story of this drama appears to have been not wholly the invention of the author, but to have enjoyed very extensive popularity, at a period to which we cannot refer with confidence. The loves of *Vatsa*, prince of *Kausámbi*, and *Vásavadattá*, princess of *Ujain*, are alluded to in the *Megha Dúta*, and are narrated in the *Vrihat Kathá* of *Soma Deva*. The last is a writer of the same period as the drama, but he does not pretend to have invented the story; and the manner in which the tale is adverted to* in the *Megha Dúta*, the date of which work is unknown, but which is no doubt anterior to the *Vrihat Kathá*, seems to indicate a celebrity of some antiquity.† The second marriage of *Vatsa*, which forms the business of the *Retnáválí*, appears to be the invention of the writer, as it is very differently told in the *Vrihat Kathá*; the heroine being there named *Padmávati*, and

* The author terms *Avanti* or "Ougein," great with the number of those versed in the tale of *Udayana* (*Vatsa*).

† The *Vásava Datta*' of *Subandhu*, the nephew of *Vararuchi*, and as well as his uncle patronized by *Bhoja*, has nothing in common with the story of *Vatsa* and his bride, except the name of the latter. The *Megha Dúta*, therefore, does not refer to that work. *Subandhu* also alludes to the *Vrihat Katha*, to which he is consequently subsequent.

being a princess of Magadhá, not of Ceylon. The circumstances under which the marriage is effected are altogether distinct.*

From whatever source, however, the plot of the drama may have been derived, it is very evident that the author is under considerable obligation to his predecessors, and especially to Kálidás, from the Vikrama and Urvasí of which writer several situations, and some of the dialogue even, are borrowed. At the same time, the manners described are very different, and the light and loose principles of Vatsa are wholly unlike the deep, dignified passion of Purúravas. If we compare the Retnávalí with the Mrichchakatí, or with the drama of Bhavabhúti, the difference is still more striking, and it is impossible to avoid the conviction, that they are the productions of different ages, and different conditions of society; the Retnávalí indicating a wider deviation from manners purely Hindu, more artificial refinement, and more luxurious indulgence, and a proportionate deterioration of moral feeling.

The Retnávalí, considered also under a purely literary point of view, marks a change in the principles of dramatic composition, as well as in those of social organization. Besides the want of passion and the substitution of intrigue, it will be very evident that there is in it no poetic spirit, no gleam of inspiration, scarce even enough to suggest a conceit in the ideas. The only poetry of the play, in fact, is mechanical. The structure of the original language is eminently elegant, particularly in the Prákrit. This dialect appears to equal advantage in no other drama, although much more laboured in the Ma'lati Mádhava: the Sanscrit style is also very smooth and beautiful without being painfully elaborate. The play is, indeed, especially interesting on this account, that whilst both in thought and expression there is little fire or genius, a generally correct and delicate taste regulates the composition, and avoids those absurdities which writers of more pretension than judgment, the writers of more recent periods, invariably commit. The Retnávalí, in short, may be taken as one of the connecting links between the old and new school; as a not unpleasing production of that middle region, through which Hindu poetry passed from elevation to extravagance.

The place to which the Retnávalí is entitled in the dramatic literature of the Hindus is the more interesting, as the date is verifiable beyond all reasonable doubt. It is stated in the prelude to be the composition of the sovereign, Sri Hershú Deva. A king of this name, and a great patron of learned men, reigned over Cashmir: he was the reputed author of several works, being however in fact only the patron, the compositions bearing his name being written, the author of the Ka'vya Praka's asserts, by Dha'vaka and other poets. That it was fashionable in his reign to take the adventures of Vatsa for the subject of fictitious narrative, we may infer from their being the groundwork of the Vrihat Katha', the author of which was a native of Cashmir, and a cotemporary of the prince. Somadeva, the author, states that he compiled his collection of tales for the amusement of the grandmother of Hershú Deva, king of Cashmir, the son of Kalasa, the son of Ananta, the son of Sangra'ma. His genealogy is nearly identifiable with that of Abulfazl, which runs in Gladwin's translation of the Ayin Akberi, Sungram, Haray, Anunt, Kulusder, Ungrus, Hurruss. The two additional princes, Huray and Ungruss, reigned conjointly but forty-four days, and they are for all chronological purposes non-entities.† But we have fortunately a

* The story is translated from the Vrihat Katha', in the Quarterly Oriental Magazine, Calcutta, vol. ii. p. 198.

† See also the Quarterly Oriental Magazine for March, 1824, p. 64.

better authority than either of the preceding, in the history of Cashmir by Kalhana Pandit. The first portion of this work, down to the reign of Sangra'ma Deva, in A. D. 1027, is translated summarily in the fifteenth volume of the Asiatic Researches. Since its publication, the subsequent portion of the original has been procured in Cashmir, and presented to the Asiatic Society by the late enterprising traveller, Mr. Moorcroft. From this we are enabled to trace the successors of Sangra'ma with precision.

Sangra'ma reigned twenty-five years, and was succeeded by his son Hari, who enjoyed his elevation but twenty-two days, having been removed, it was supposed, by the practices of his mother, who aspired to the regency during the minority of a younger son. She was set aside by the chief officers of the state, under whose ministry Ananta, the next prince, reigned interruptedly fifty-three years, when he was succeeded by his son Kalasa. Kalasa reigned eight years, and being displeased with his son Hersha, left the crown to a kinsman, Utkersha. That prince, however, enjoyed his authority but twenty-two days, having been defeated, and invested in his palace, by the partisans of the legitimate heir, and putting an end to his existence rather than fall into their hands. Hersha succeeded. He consequently ascended the throne A. D. 1113, and the play must have been written between that date and A. D. 1125, the termination of his reign. No mention is made of the composition by the author of the history : but he dwells at much length, and with some acrimony, on Hersha's patronage of poets, players, and dancers, and the prince's conversancy with different dialects and elegant literature. Hersha's propensities, indeed, were not likely to be regarded with a favourable eye by a brahmanical historian, for, in order to defray the expenses into which he was led by them, he made free with the treasures of the temples, and applied their gold and silver vessels, and even the images of the gods, to his necessities. These measures, and others of an equally imprudent character, distracted the latter period of his reign with civil broils, and he perished in an insurrection which transferred the crown to a different dynasty. The date thus assigned for the composition refers to a period, which Mohammedan history and Hindu literature sufficiently establish, as pregnant with important changes in the political situation and national character of the natives of Hindustan.
